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Los Angeles

Repetitive Reportings in Spontaneous Mandarin Conversation

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Asian Languages and Cultures

by

Haiping Wu

2014

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2014

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Repetitive Reportings in Spontaneous Mandarin Conversation

by

Haiping Wu

Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

Professor Charles Goodwin, Co-Chair

Professor Hongyin Tao, Co-Chair

This dissertation studies a widespread yet understudied phenomenon, namely repetitive reportings in spontaneous Mandarin conversation. The practice of repeating what was previously reported seems to violate the Maxim of Quantity (Grice, 1975), which states that speakers should not make their contributions more informative than are required. Using a conversation analytic approach, this dissertation examines four types of repetitive reportings, namely immediate and distant repetitive reportings carried out by the same speaker or different interlocutors, and shows that repetitive reportings provide a rhetorical device with which a speaker creates another “interactional space” to accomplish additional interactional goals.

Drawing evidence from the participants' verbal/nonverbal displays in talk-in-interaction, this research shows how the interlocutors *themselves* orient to essential issues such as the authenticity and efficacy of reported speech. Specifically, Mandarin conversationalists are shown to display fidelity to the authenticity of reported information in situations, whereby the negotiation of propositional details not only updates the audiences, but implements such

interactional functions as enhancing the dramatic character of the reported matters, or challenging the prior reporter's credibility. Furthermore, interlocutors are also observed to orient to the efficacy of reported speech. Immediate repetitive reportings by the same speaker are recurrently proffered either as an encore performance to sustain the ongoing affiliation, or as a remedy to restore the temporarily lost mutual understanding among the co-participants. Immediate repetitive reportings formulated by other interlocutors, in contrast, serve to challenge the pragmatic adequacy and sequential appropriateness of the prior reporting, consequentially laying claim to the current reporter's epistemic authority.

Distant repetitive reportings seem to be designed for different purposes. When a speaker quotes the same locutions in different contexts, adjustments are made to accommodate the immediate interactional needs; in retellings, upshots of report tend to be preserved, whereas peripheral components (e.g., background information) are subject to the most changes. Distant repetitive reportings performed by distinct interlocutors are deployed as resources with which interlocutors perspectivize and make sense of their shared experiences, a process accomplished through various reporting strategies.

Finally, this dissertation attests to the fruitfulness of adopting a context-oriented interactive approach while examining such social phenomena as speech within speech.

The dissertation of Haiping Wu is approved.

Shoichi Iwasaki

Sung-ock Sohn

Charles Goodwin, Committee Co-chair

Hongyin Tao, Committee Co-chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2014

I dedicate this dissertation to my mother Yuqiong Jin, husband, Tong, and all my family.

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TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

I. Temporal and sequential relationships

- [**A left side bracket** indicates the point where the current talk is overlapped by the talk of another, which appears on the next line attributed to another speaker. Left brackets at the beginning of two lines indicate that two speakers begin to speak simultaneously.
- = The **equal signs** (ordinarily at the start of the next line) indicate a "latching" relationship, where there is no discernible silence between the end of a prior turn and the start of a next turn.
- (0.8) **Numbers in parentheses** indicate periods of silence, represented in tenths of a second.
- (.) **A dot in parentheses** indicates a hearable "micropause," ordinarily less than two-tenths of a second.
- (...) **Several dots in parentheses** indicate a longer pause. The more dots, the longer the pause.

II. Aspects of speech delivery, including intonation and voice quality

Punctuation is not used grammatically, but is designed to capture intonation at the end of a word/sound at the end of a sentence or some other shorter unit.

- . A **period** denotes falling intonation.
- , A **comma** is for slightly upward 'continuing' intonation.
- ? A **question mark** represents marked upward intonation.
- ::: **Colons** are used to indicate the noticeable prolongation or stretching of the sound immediately preceding them. The more colons, the longer the stretching.
- ° A **degree sign** indicates that the talk it precedes is markedly quiet or soft relative to surrounding talk.
- becau- Words **cut-off**: A hyphen after a word or part of a word indicates a sudden cut-off of the current sound or self-interruption, often done with a glottal or dental stop.
- Because** **Bold italics** indicate some form of stress or emphasis which may be signalled by changes in pitch and/or amplitude.
- ↑ The **up arrow** marks a sharper rise in pitch, or it may mark a whole shift, or resetting, of the pitch register at which the talk is being produced.
- > < The combination of "more than" and "less than" symbols indicates that the talk between them is compressed or rushed.

- < > The combination of "less than" and "more than" symbols indicates that the stretch of talk between them is markedly slowed or drawn out.
- hhh The letter "h" is used to indicate hearable aspiration, the more the number of "h"s, the more aspiration.
- .hhh "h"s preceded by a dot indicate an inhalation.
- @ @ @ The "@" symbol is used to indicate laughter. The length of laughter is proportional to the number of "@"s. Words between two "@" symbols indicate that the stretch of talk is produced with a laughing voice: @really@.
- <VOX> It is used to mark reported speech that is delivered with remarkably animated voicing: <VOX> 好吧.
<VOX>.

III. Other markings

- () **Empty parentheses** mark talk that is too obscure to transcribe. Words or letters inside such parentheses represent a possible transcription of what is being said.
- (()) Words in **double parentheses** indicate transcriber's comments, or descriptions of events, rather than transcriptions: ((hand raised)), ((switched to a southern dialect)), ((strikes the table)), ((clears throat)), etc.
- **Arrows** in the margin point to the lines of transcript that are relevant to the point being made in the text.

ABBREVIATIONS

1SG	first person singular
1PL	first person plural
2SG	second person singular
2PL	second person plural
3SG	third person singular
3PL	third person plural
ASP	aspect marker
ASSOC	associative <i>de</i>
ATTR	attributive <i>de</i>
BA	disposal <i>ba</i> construction
BEI	passive <i>bei</i> construction
CL	classifier
COP	copular verb <i>shi</i>
CST	change of status <i>le</i>
ADV	adverbializer <i>de</i>
DUR	durative aspect marker <i>zhe</i>
DVC	degree verb complement
NOM	nominalizer
Q	question
OVC	orientation verb complement
PRT	particle
PFV	perfective <i>le</i>
PL	plural marker <i>men</i>
PVC	potential verb complement
RENJIA	a specific form of third-person pronoun <i>renjia</i> , can be singular or plural
RVC	resultative verb complement

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I am also most indebted to another co-chair of my dissertation committee, Professor Charles Goodwin, who inspired me to study the very area of reported speech. Chuck's seminars on talk and body have introduced me to a more sophisticated and comprehensive understanding of talk in interaction, and exposed me to an extensive body of literature on reported speech, which established the foundation of my dissertation. The multi-modal approach he developed has provided great insights in unraveling the puzzle of repetitive reportings examined in this dissertation. I also sincerely appreciate his detailed comments on my dissertation drafts.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Focus of the Present Study

This dissertation studies a widespread yet understudied phenomenon of reported speech in talk-in-interaction, namely repetitive reportings in spontaneous Mandarin conversation. In daily talk, it is not uncommon to observe that conversationalists repetitively quote one's own or others' words that were produced on an earlier occasion, either to the same recipient(s) or to a distinct constellation of audiences. These repetitive reportings can be made either by an individual speaker or by different interlocutors. In terms of the temporal intervals between two reporting sequences, the repetition may be given immediately at the completion of the prior reporting in the same conversation (hence termed 'immediate repetitive reported speech' (IRRS)), or may be proffered several minutes or even several years later (hence called 'distant repetitive reported speech' (DRRS)).

Excerpts 1-1 and 1-2 provide an instance of same-person distant repetitive reports (DRRS), where the same interlocutor is reporting to a third party her argument with her husband in two distinct conversations that are two weeks apart. As I will show in greater detail in chapter 5, the reported dialogue in excerpt 1-1 (marked by arrow 1) is proffered as a second story in alignment with the position expressed in the first story, while the second case of reporting (arrow 2 in excerpt 1-2), embedded within a complaint sequence, is proffered to explicate the speaker's previous somewhat dubious claim of preference for her son. Detailed analysis of this extract in chapter 5 will show that the specific forms and sequential placements of reported speech are interactional achievements, displaying the reporter's pragmatic awareness to the audience, whose responses, stances, and contributions inevitably influence the shape and content of the reported talk.

Excerpt 1-1 Biased grandfather (1)

11 Yang: 1→ 我们 这 个, 也 一样。我: 就 说 他 呢,
Our this CL also same 1SG just say 3SG PRT
our this one, is also the same. I:: just blamed him,

12 1→ 我 说 你 跟 小 冬冬 跟 亮亮 不 一样.
 1SG say 2SG with little (name) with (name) not same
I said you treat little Dongdong and Liangliang differently.

13 1→ 他 说 嘛, ((softly)) °人家 有 自个儿 爷爷. @@
 3SG say what RENJIA have own grandfather
what did he say, ((softly)) °he has his own paternal grandpa. @@

Excerpt 1-2 Biased grandfather (2)

10 Yang: 2→ 我 有时候 说 他 爷爷,
 1SG sometimes say 3SG grandfather
 我 说 你 对 小- 小 冬冬 你 就 偏::心.
 1SG say 2SG to little little (name) 2SG just biased
I sometimes blame his grandpa, I said you had a partiality for little- little Dongdong.

11 2→ 你 对 小 亮亮- 他 说 什么,
 2SG to little (name) 3SG say what
 人家 有 自己的 爷::爷。
 RENJIA have own grandfather
to little Liangliang you're- what did he say, he has his own grandpa::.

For distant repetitive reportings, as the one shown above, memory seems to play an important role in orienting the differences across reporting instances, as a speaker is not likely to recall all the exact details in the original talk after a considerable length of time. However, it is important to note that even in immediate repetitive reportings that are sequentially adjacent to the prior report, verbatim repetition is rather rare. Excerpt 1-3 illustrates a case of IRRS by different speakers. In lines 7 and 8, Zhan quotes a third party's past decision. Note that the third-person pronoun "他们" *they* and the somewhat derogatory reference "老头儿老婆儿" (lit.) *old man old woman* are clearly anchored to the current reporter's perspective, which signals the quoted utterance as an indirect reported speech. In the immediately subsequent turns (lines 9-11), Yang proffers an alternative version of the report, in which she adopts the protagonist's perspective and voice through the use of the protagonist-anchored personal pronouns, with "我们" *we* referring to the protagonist's family, and "你们" *you* referring to the speaker and her husband. Thus, distinct from Zhan's previous indirect reported speech, Yang here reproduces the past dialogue with a direct speech format. As I will show in chapter 4, this shift in reporting format (i.e., from indirect to direct speech form) and negotiations of

specific details in the reported speech serve to implement additional interactional actions, specifically treating the prior reporting as pragmatically inadequate and sequentially problematic.

Excerpt 1-3 House renovation

07 Zhan: 1→ [↑*后来*:: 告诉 咱, 就 是 说 他们 要,
 Later tell us just is say they will
 ↑*later*:: told us, (they) just said they wanted to,

08 1→ 弄 老头儿 老婆儿, 去 住:: [宾- 宾馆 去。
 Take old man old woman go live hotel go
 take the old man and the old woman, to live:: in [a hotel.

9 Yang: 2→ [要 实在 不 行, 我们- 我们 就-
 If indeed not work we we just
 if indeed things don't work out all right, we- we'll just-

10 2→ 你们 要 装修 我们 就 给 他,
 You want-to renovate we then give 3SG
 If you decide to renovate (your house), we will just make him,

11 2→ (..) 嗯, 弄- 住 一段儿 *宾馆*::。
 PRT take live a while hotel
 (..) eh, make- live in the hotel:: for a while.

The repetition of a prior report, as illustrated above, poses a puzzle as to its usage and import. Consider that the primary function of reported speech in general is to inform the unknowing recipients of what was said before. In this sense, in some environments reported speech may be used to present evidence for one's claim (e.g., Willett, 1988: 96-97; Whorf, 1938; Jakobson, 1957; Holt, 1996: 236; Clift, 2006). However, in the cases of repetitive reportings, the new information has already been conveyed by the first reporter, which seems to render a repetitive report redundant and unnecessary. To frame this puzzle in relation to excerpt 1-3 above, why does Yang reproduce the past dialogue when Zhan has already reported it to the audience? Why does Yang do so at this particular point? What action does the redundancy of this practice accomplish?

From a classical pragmatic point of view, a repetitive report apparently violates what Grice (1975) proposed as the Maxim of Quantity, which states that speakers should not make their contributions more informative than are required. In other words, speakers should only provide the information that recipients need, without reiterating

information that they already know (Grice, 1975; see also, Clark and Haviland, 1977; Prince, 1981). The avoidance of redundancy, however, does not seem to constrain Mandarin speakers in the environments of repetitive reporting. This dissertation attempts to solve this puzzle. The analysis presented here suggests that while analyzing the phenomena of repetitions in natural conversations, we need to rethink the quantitative constraints in favor of an interactive point of view. My data will show that by reformulating what was reported before, the speaker creates another occasion or “interactional space” for him/herself to do additional interactive work.

1.2 Defining Reported Speech

Speech within speech seems to be a universal phenomenon across cultural and linguistic boundaries. Almost in every language people talk about what others talk about – “they transmit, recall, weigh and pass judgment on other people's words, opinion, assertions, information; people are upset by others' words, or agree with them, contest them, refer to them and so forth” (Bakhtin, 1981:338). Comparative linguistic studies have investigated aspects of reported speech in languages such as English (see, e.g., Collins, 1987; M. Goodwin, 1990; Mayes, 1990; C. Goodwin, 2007; Holt, 1996, 2000; Clift and Holt, 2007), Mandarin (e.g., Li, 1986; Lin, 1999; Kuo, 2001), Japanese (e.g., Coulmas, 1985, 1986; Hayashi, 1997; Mushin, 2001; S. K. Maynard, 1996, 2005), Korean (e.g., Sohn and Park, 2003; M. Kim, 2003; Park, 2009), Russian (e.g., Bolden, 2004), Greek (Tannen, 1986), and African languages (e.g., Aaron, 1992; Clements, 1975).

Indeed, embedding others' prior words in one's current talk is recognized by Goffman as a social practice, which attests to “our linguistic ability to speak of events at any remove in time and space from the situated present” (Goffman, 1981:3). Despite the prevalence of this phenomenon, scholars have not yet reached consensus concerning fundamental issues of reported speech, such as its definition, its authenticity, and the relationship between its form and function. In what follows, I will discuss some representative arguments concerning these issues and explicate how they are related to my current research.

1.2.1 Definition of reported speech

Reported speech may be simply characterized as quoting another person's or one's own locution made on some previous occasion (Jespersen, 1924). Other scholars also include reported thought in the definition of reported speech (Holt, 1996; Vlatten, 1997). From a context perspective, Buttny (1998) considers reported speech as a practice where previous talk is used and put into context in a present conversation. In his own words, when reporting, a speaker "takes a prior utterance situated in a particular context and unearths it and gives it a life again in the new soil of the reporting context" (Buttny, 1998: 56). Vlatten (1997) broadens the definition of reported speech by including all types of speech-within-speech situations, taking into consideration the introduction of both talk and embodied behavior of other speakers or oneself in the present conversation. Her definition also covers hypothetical talk and thoughts that were not, might not be, or could not be spoken or thought. As Vlatten's (1997) definition captures the complexity and richness of reported speech, the present study shares her view on reported speech. However, my study is restricted to reported speech (rather than reported thought) where the original talk *does exist*, thus excluding instances of hypothetical reports. As we will see later, in repetitive reportings, multiple parties claim knowledge of the reported utterances, thus attesting to the existence of the original talk.

In Mandarin, reported speech is typically introduced syntactically by a nominal agent in the form of a person pronoun or a full NP plus a speech verb, which is usually *shuo* (say). From a multimodal point of view, prosody is equally prominent in reported speech: reported speech is always prosodically marked in various ways and separated from the surrounding turns of the same speaker who produces the reported speech. Excerpt 1-4 illustrates an example of reported speech in spontaneous Mandarin conversation. The reported speech (marked by the arrows) is embedded within a storytelling segment relating how a vendor promotes his goods in a grandiose style. The speaker first attributes the upcoming utterance to a third party by stating "他在那儿说" *he is there saying* (line 17). Then he shifts to a singing voice with a noticeably high-pitched register and range while reproducing the vendor's promoting utterances "↑五毛二: 一件,(.)五毛二: 一件,(.) [快::来买,(.)快:来买" (lines 18, 19). Not only the shifts in register but

also changes in volume coincide with this stretch of reported speech. Additionally, the slower tempo and the pauses interspersed in the reported utterances help create a forceful and emotional tone of voice.

Excerpt 1-4 A vendor promoting goods

- 17 Dou: 你, 他 在 那儿 说, (.) 啊::, 什么, 五- 呃, 就是,
 2SG 3SG at there say PRT what five PRT just is
you, he was there saying, (.) ah::, something like, five- eh, just like,
- 18 → <VOX>↑五 毛 二: 一 件,(.) 五 毛 二: 一 件,(.)
 Five CL two one CL five CL two one CL
 ↑*fifty two: cents a piece, (.)fifty two: cents a piece, (.)*
- 19 → [快: 来 买,(.) 快: 来 买<VOX>.
 quick come buy quick come buy
qui::ckly come and buy, (.) qui:ckly come and buy.

What is striking about this case is that accompanying the verbal rendition of the scene, the reporter moves his left hand vertically and his head horizontally, an embodied movement synchronized in accordance with the rhythmic pattern of the utterance, as illustrated in Figure 1-1. Since the original voice of the vendors was heard on an audio recorder, these embodied actions reproduced by Dou are not likely to be the original body movements, but are added to enhance the dramatic effect of the report. By adding a melodramatic voicing to the reporting and reenacting the reported activity with exaggerated body movements, the speaker is able to add another layer of implicature (i.e., his negative stance) to the report, which cannot be expressed by simply stating the actual words in a plain way. This feature of reported speech (i.e., both the reported speaker's and the reporter's voices can be heard in the reporting) is characterized by Bakhtin's (1981) notion of "multivoicedness", a point I will explicate later in chapter 2 when discussing theoretical issues pertaining to reported speech.

他在那儿说，啊，什么，五-就是
*you, he was there saying, (.) ah::, something like,
five- eh, just like,*

<VOX>五毛二一件，
↑fifty two: cents a piece, (.)

五毛二一件，
fifty two: cents a piece, (.)

快:： 来买，
qui::ckly come and buy, (.)

快来买<VOX>。
qui:ckly come and buy.



Figure 1-1. Dou's embodied reproduction of the vendor's promoting activity

1.2.2 Forms of reported speech

1.2.2.1 Direct vs. indirect reported speech

Previous studies have noted that in general there are two ways of reporting: either one produces, or purports to produce, the exact words of the original talk, which is known as direct reported speech (DRS), or one summarizes the gist of the report and appropriates the original words according to circumstances in the reporting context, which is known as indirect reported speech (IRS) (Jespersen, 1924: 290; Li, 1986). In addition, other scholars have documented amalgamated cases where direct and indirect quotes coexist in one quote, a phenomenon characterized by scholars as 'free indirect' or 'quasi-direct' speech (McHale, 1978; Coulmas, 1986; Banfield, 1973, 1982). Banfield

(1973: 10), for example, observes that in literary works, the distinctions between direct and indirect speech appear blurred or violated, thus giving rise to "free indirect speech." Free indirect speech usually preserves both features of direct speech (e.g., inverted questions, expressive exclamations, or incomplete sentences) and indirect speech (e.g., lack of quotation marks, or referring to the protagonist with the third-person pronoun). Another influential taxonomy of reported speech was proposed by Leech and Short (1981), who put reported speech in five categories based on their analysis of English fictional prose: direct speech (DS), indirect speech (IS), free direct speech (FDS), free indirect speech (FIS), and the narrator's representation of speech act (NRSA) (for more detail see Leech and Short, 1981: 336-348).

These taxonomies are proposed on the basis of written texts, especially literary works. As I will show later, the situations of reported speech in natural conversations are more complicated. Even though taxonomy of reported speech is not the major concern of this study, I consider it necessary and illuminating to specify some typical features distinguishing direct from indirect reported speech. Some authors (e.g., Banfield, 1973; Leech and Short, 1981; Li, 1986; Coulmas, 1986; Holt, 1996) believe that the crucial difference between DRS and IRS lies in the perspective of the speaker: DRS retains the original deixis, in the sense that in DRS, all personal, spatial, and temporal deixis are all given from the point of view of the reported speaker, while in indirect speech, the deictic center is that of the speaking time, namely all the deictic terms are appropriated and adjusted to suit the current reporting context.

Excerpt 1-5 below illustrates an instance of the former, and excerpt 1-6 showcases an example of the latter in my corpus of Mandarin conversation. In extract 1-5, the speaker quotes a little girl (line 3) to evidence how her son is popular in school. Note that in reporting the little girl's words, Yun switches from Mandarin to English, the language that was presumably used in the original context. Moreover, the presence of the proximal deictic term "this" in the reported introduction "This is David" clearly indicates that this utterance is given from the little girl's perspective, thus marking it as a direct speech.

Excerpt 1-5 Popular in school

1 Yun: 然后, 可:: 兴奋 啦, 那些 小 女孩儿 看见 他,
Later very excited PRT those little girl see 3SG
你 知道 嘛:::。
2SG know PRT
then, (they were) ve::ry excited, when those little girls saw him, you kno:::w.

2 Wang: 真 [的 吗?
true MOD ATTR
Really?

3 Yun: → [然后 那- 那 小 女孩儿 就 上 那 个
then that that little girl just attend that CL
%afterschool% 的, 还 跟 %afterschool% 的 老师
(code switch) NOM even to (code-switch) ASSOC teacher
介绍 说 的, <VOX>%This is David.%@@@</VOX>
Introduce say NOM (code-switch to English)
That- that little girl, just the one who attends afterschool, even introduced (him) to the teacher at the afterschool, saying, <VOX>this is David.<VOX> @@@.

Extract 1-6 below shows an instance of IRS proffered in the midst of Yun's introduction of background information for her story; introduction of background information, as many researchers have found, is one of the recurrent environments for indirect speech (Philips, 1986: 162; Günthner, 1997). Instead of citing the protagonist's exact words, Yun here conveys what the reported speaker purportedly said without claiming fidelity to exact details in the original utterance. Her use of the third-person pronoun *ta* 'she' and *talia* 'they two' clearly points to the reporter as the deictic center, because person references are made from her perspective.

Excerpt 1-6 A chance encounter on bus

1 Yun: → 她 说 她 那 个, 第 一 次^::, 坐 公交车。
3SG say 3SG that CL number one CL sit bus
[她 就 跟 她- 就 跟 这 个,
3SG then with 3SG then with this CL
这 个 男 的 叫 %Nathan%。
this CL male NOM call (name)
she said she, that, for the first time (she) took the bus, she happened to sit beside this, this guy is called Nathan.

2 Wang: [嗯。 嗯。
PRT PRT
uh. uh.

3 Yun: → 就 他俩 就 坐 在 一 个 座位 上 了。
 Then they-two just sit at one CL seat top PFV
then, they just sat next to each other.

The second prominent feature scholars have proposed to distinguish DRS from IRS and other types of utterances lies in the expressivity and dramatic character of DRS. Direct speech is believed to be a more effective means to communicate expressive or affective features of the 'original' speaker. The dramatic character of direct speech can be accomplished through linguistic means (e.g., expletives, interrogatives, imperatives, exclamations, vocatives, 'forbidden expressions') (Banfield, 1973; Green, 1976; Myers, 1999; Bergman, 1993: 113), prosody (Günthner, 1997; Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen, 1999), and/or embodied movements (Golato, 2000; Niemelä 2010). Due to these features, direct quoting is always deployed as a stylized, theatrical device used for dramatizing the figure involved in the report. Thus, speakers will choose whether to use a direct or an indirect quote depending on how much affective information they want to convey (Mayes, 1990).

However, as I mentioned earlier, the simple dichotomy of direct versus indirect speech cannot adequately capture the complexities in actual language use. In Günthner's (1997) words, this simple dichotomy "unduly reduce[s] the complexities of restaging past dialogues" (p. 250). In the current corpus of conversational Mandarin, it is found that the blending of direct and indirect speech is actually a quite common practice in ordinary conversations: an indirect speech form may "slip" into a direct speech form, as illustrated by extract 1-7 (for discussions on the slipping of direct speech, see Fairclough, 1992; Yamashita, 1998; Volosinov, 1986).

Excerpt 1-7 A narrow escape

1 Chun: I→ 李 弟兄 就 讲, 他 说, (...)若是 他 平时,
 (last name) brother then say 3SG say if 3SG usually
 他 不 好 好 读 圣经 啊,
 3SG not good good read bible PRT
Brother Lee said, he said, if he usually, he doesn't read the Bible carefully,

2 只要 他 要 问 我, 我 当时 就 死 定 了。
 as-long-as 3SG if ask 1SG 1SG at-that-time then die sure PFV
As long as- if he were to ask me at that time, I would die for sure.

- 3 因为 那 个 时 候 是 关 键 啊,
 Because that CL time is key PRT
Because that moment was crucial,
- 4 G→ 若 是 你 不 讲,
 if 2SG not say
if you don't tell (him),
- 5 D→ 我- 找 不 出 这 个 出 处,
 I look-for not out this CL source
(if) I couldn't find out the source (for this expression),
- 6 D→ 不 马 上 找 出 这 个 出 处,
 Not immediately find out this CL source,
couldn't find out the source of the quotation immediately,
- 7 G→ 你 就 完 了。
 2SG then end PFV
then you will die for sure.

Chun's report starts with indirect speech attributed to a third party "李弟兄就讲, 他说" *Brother Lee said, he said*. The use of third-person pronoun "他" *he* in the quote (line 1, "若是他平时, 他不好好读圣经啊" *if he usually, he doesn't read the Bible carefully*) marks it as an indirect discourse delivered from the current speaker's angle. However, before this quotation is complete, Chun inserts a parenthetical remark concerning her own feeling (line 2) and a comment accounting for the urgency of the reported activity (line 3). Then she shifts to a somewhat general statement concerning the depicted scenario in line 4 with the generic "你" *you*. In the subsequent turn, she shifts her perspective by taking on the protagonist's role and produces the rest of the quotation in direct speech, which is marked by the use of the first-person pronoun "我" *I* to refer to the protagonist. Then at the completion of the quotation, she shifts back to the generic perspective again by stating "你就完了" *then you will die for sure* (line 7), arguably to engage her audience. In this example, we can observe how the reporter's perspective shifts back and forth smoothly between her perspective, a generic third-party's perspective, and the protagonist's perspective. These three spaces intertwine with each other through the shifts of deictic terms.

Our quick analysis of this example, which corroborates those of many previous studies, suggests that the traditional grammatical dichotomy of direct and indirect speech is insufficient to account for real practices of quoting others' words in naturally occurring conversation. It then seems necessary to give a close reading of each turn in the reporting sequence with respect to its turn design and sequential placement as the talk unfolds in interaction. Turn design involves both lexico-syntactic and prosodic features of a turn; issues of sequential placement relate to how turns are occasioned by previous turns, and what responses they subsequently generate. The systematicity of interaction can only be revealed through scrutinizing multiple examples of the same phenomenon.

1.2.2.2 Quotatives and frames of reported speech

Coinciding with scholarly interest in the forms of the quoted content (i.e., direct vs. indirect speech), there has been an increased awareness of the various forms used to introduce reported speech, namely the quotative markers. A typical quotative marker is composed of a person pronoun plus a speech verb that "merely stat[es] the fact of the speaker saying something" (Bamgbose, 1986). *Said, goes, thought, tell, be like* in English (cf. Li, 1986; Tannen, 1989; Romaine and Lange, 1991) and *shuo, gaosu, jiang, juede* in Mandarin are the verbs that occur most frequently in everyday spoken discourse. Romaine and Lange (1991), for example, examine the increasingly widespread use of 'like' in American English, and find that it blurs the boundaries between DRS, IRS and reported thought (see also Cukor-Avila, 2002; Ferrara and Bell, 1995; Macaulay, 2001). Equivalents in other languages have also been identified. Golato (Vlatten, 1997; Golato, 2000), for example, found that the German quotative *und ich so/und er so* 'and I'm like/and he's like' is used to introduce both discourse and gestures as quotables, particularly in storytellings when materials contributing to the climax of the story were quoted.

In addition to unmarked forms of quotative markers such as the ones shown above, there are marked ones, such as verbs describing how a quotation is made in written discourse (e.g., *shout, whisper, agree, smile*) (Bamgbose, 1986; Page, 1988). Jia (2000), drawing on data from both English and Mandarin written discourse, explores the

pragmatic functions of reporting clauses that either precede or follow the reported speech. He summarizes six major functions of reporting speech, which include: indicating the identity of the reported speaker, specifying the action accomplished by the reported speech, pointing out the illocutionary acts carried out by the reported speech, signaling communication styles, describing activities that accompany the reported speech, and providing explanations. In spoken discourse, Mathis and Yule (1994) investigate zero quotatives where direct speech is neither preceded by a reporting verb nor by an attributed speaker in the casual talk of American women. They found that zero quotatives are used to serve some dramatic effect (e.g., indexing the urgency of response), and index the rapport between interlocutors who speak with a single voice.

In the present study of repetitive reportings, I consider not only how a quoted utterance is introduced by the immediately preceding quotative marker (i.e., a person reference plus a speech verb), but also how the larger preceding sequence leads to the production of reported speech. Based on the current data, I argue that the preceding sequence of reported speech not only conveys the reporter's epistemic stance, but also indexes his/her attitude towards the reported person, activity or event. A prominent example comes from the way in which the reported speaker is referred to. For example, in extract 1-8 below, the speaker describes the reported speaker as someone who "is in his forties or fifties", and "is not an idiot" (lines 1-3), suggesting that the reported speaker is a mature adult with normal intelligence. Within this frame, the subsequent reported utterances (lines 5-7), which are delivered in a pedantic and stylistic format, serve to demonstrate the simple-mindedness (or even idiocy) of the protagonist. The description preceding the quotes (line 1) thus functions to set a sarcastic tone for the reported utterances.

Excerpt 1-8 Pedantic styles on Chinese television

1 Dou: →背, 于是 你 知道, 当 你 一 个 四 五
 recite then you know when you one CL four five
 2→ 十 岁 的 一 个 大 老 爷们, 你 知道
 ten year ATTR one CL big old man you know
 3→ 也 不 是 弱智,
 also not is idiot

(they) memorized the lines, then you know, when you, a man in his forties or fifties, (who) you know is not an idiot.

- 4 当 你 再 跟 着 一唱一和 的, 是 吧,
 when you again with DUR echo-each-other ATTR is PRT
- 5→ <VOX>春风 送 暖, 百 花 争 艳, <VOX>
 spring-wind send warmth hundred flower fight-for beauty
*when you echo with each other, right, <VOX> When the spring breeze brings warmth, and the flowers compete in
 splendor, <VOX>*
- 6→ 到 第 三 个, <VOX>在 这 个 美 好 的 季 节, <VOX>
 to number three CL at this CL nice ATTR season
and the third one (goes), <VOX> in this wonderful season, <VOX>
- 7→ 第 四 个 <VOX>我 们 相 聚 在 这 里。 <VOX>
 number four CL we gather at here
and the fourth (goes) <VOX>we gather here. <VOX>

1.2.3 Authenticity of reported speech

Authenticity is another crucial issue that has been extensively explored in the literature of reported speech. The research on reported speech began with the assumption that DRS is more "accurate" and "faithful" to the original talk than IRS (e.g., Bally, 1914, cited from Holt and Clift, 2007). Li (1986) explicitly claims: "A direct quote communicates a more authentic piece of information than an indirect quote in the sense that a direct quote implies a greater fidelity to the source of information than an indirect quote" (p.41). Philips (1986) analyzed the use of reported speech during a courtroom trial, and concluded that the lawyers relied on the assumption that DRS was more accurate and more reliable than other forms of utterances.

This claim, however, is increasingly being demonstrated to have little empirical foundation in the actual practice of reporting what was said. As a number of scholars have observed, reported speech in direct forms is, in fact, rarely an accurate rendition of any reportee's actual speech. Mayes (1990: 331) investigated her collection of 320 naturally occurring conversations, and claimed that at least 50% were doubtful. Hypothetical report, which does not have an original locution, is always delivered in direct speech forms (Myers, 1999; Shuman 1993; Buttny 1997; Mitchell 1998; Semino et al. 1999). Therefore, many scholars suggest that reported speech is a misnomer, and should be referred to as "constructed dialogue" (Tannen 1986, 1989), "pseudoquotation" (Dubois, 1989), "represented thought" (Schourup, 1982), or "playing a part" (Wierzbicka, 1974). Rather than being an authentic

rendition of the original, as Goffman (1986) has pointed out, direct speech is a stylization of the original utterance and a rhetorical device to animate the figures in the "drama" presented. From an interactional perspective, Vlatten (1997: 22) proposes that instead of claiming fidelity to some original utterance, DRS is "doing being faithful" and is always subordinated to the interactional goals of the speaker.

Regarding the reason direct reported speech is unlikely to be a faithful rendition of the original locution, Volosinov (1971) is among the first who pointed out the dynamic relations between the reported speech and the reporting context. He claims that the meaning of the original utterance inevitably gets altered as the context in which it is embedded changes. In other words, because reported speech is "recontextualized" (Shuman, 1993; Sternberg, 1982), no matter how accurate it claims to be in the reproduction of the original locution, it cannot convey the same meaning as that in which it was used in its original context. Volosinov further warns that any approach disassociating their analyses from the actual reporting context remains "static and inert" (Volosinov, 1929/86: 119). To develop Volosinov's point, Buttny (1998) proposes three senses of context: "the original context" in which the original words were uttered, "the context of the story world" which is offered by the reporter to situate the reported speech, and "the reporting context" which is the present conversation between the reporter and the interlocutors. Drawing on these insights concerning the relations between reported speech and reporting context, the current study traces variations in reporting the same original locution and uncovers the systematicity in the practice of repetitive reporting.

Despite the important findings in previous scholarship concerning the authenticity of reported speech, very few studies provide empirical evidence for how participants *themselves* orient to the issue of authenticity in daily social activity of reporting others' words. Specifically, do they take authenticity in reported speech as interactionally relevant in their conversations? When and how do they negotiate authenticity in reporting? What functions does the negotiation of details in the reported speech serve? These are the research questions that I attempt to answer in later chapters by comparing different versions of repetitive reported speech.

1.2.4 Function of reported speech

Recent research on reported speech has expanded from traditional syntactic accounts of speech-reporting based on examples in literary and textual materials (e.g., Cohen et al. 2002, Aikhenvald and Dixon, 2003; Lucy, 1993; Gildemann and von Roncador, 2002) to naturally occurring spoken discourse in a variety of languages. This shift of interest gives rise to fruitful findings concerning the functional and pragmatic aspects of reported speech. Recent research finds that reported speech, especially DRS, can be used as a rhetorical device to "dramatize" the point of a story (see for example, Li, 1986; Wierzbicka, 1974; Goffman, 1986; Chafe, 1982; Labov, 1972), to "demonstrate" the prior claim (Clark and Gerrig, 1990 :764), to reduce "personal responsibility" for what is said (Goffman, 1974/1986: 512), to "internally" evaluate the recounted story (Labov, 1972), to engage the recipients and to create "involvement" (Tannen, 1989), to lay claim to epistemic priority vis-à-vis recipients as "interactional evidentials" (Clift, 2006), to negotiate conflicts and tensions with interlocutors (Myers, 1999), and to index the reporter's attitude towards the reported utterance (Holt, 2000). Despite these miscellaneous functions involved in reporting what was said, they could be classified into two categories: (1) reported speech as evidentials, and (2) reported speech as an index of the speaker's stance.

1.2.4.1 Reported speech as evidentials

The status of reported speech as a marker of evidentiality has long been noted beginning with the work of scholars such as Willett (1988: 96-97), Whorf (1938) and Jakobson (1957). Evidentiality is understood as linguistic means indicating the source of information on which a speaker bases his/her claim, or broadly signaling the certainty with which a speaker makes a statement (see for example, Chafe and Nichols, 1986; Aikhenvald and Dixon, 2003; Willett, 1988: 55). In spoken discourse, the evidential function of reported speech was first identified in a legal context. Philips (1986) finds that quoted speech or DRS was used as evidence in an American criminal trial. She proposes that various reported speech forms are used for different purposes: direct quotes were "reserved for speech

which constitutes evidence or potential evidence relevant to elements of the charge on which the criminal defendant is tried" (p. 154), while indirect quotes were primarily used for introducing less central evidence, such as background information or context for the presentation of more crucial information. Philips accounts for this practice by resorting to the "American cultural notion that speech which a person is willing to quote is remembered better and is more exact than other reported speech, and hence is more reliable" (Philips 1986: 169).

Although the function of quoted speech as evidence is of particular relevance in a judicial setting, it also seems to operate in ordinary conversations, especially in narrative discourse. Wooffitt (1992) examines people's narratives of paranormal experiences and points out that DRS is often used to make their claims robust and less vulnerable to challenges from the recipients. Goodwin (1990) finds that reported speech is used to report contentious comments by a third party to the child targeted by those comments. Mayes (1990) notes that while indirect speech is used when the speaker wants to convey factual information (e.g., as in clarification of information or correction of errors), direct quotes are deployed to present affective meanings. Holt (1996), based on storytelling data, argues that reporting a previous locution can be an effective and economical way of providing evidence: using DRS enables the speaker to give an air of objectivity to his/her account; presenting the quoted utterances as they were uttered in a former interaction enables the reported speaker to "speak for himself or herself," and consequently allows the recipients themselves to "access" and "witness" the interaction being recalled (Holt, 1996: 236). According to Holt, summarizing or glossing what was said, as one is doing with indirect speech, would blur the reporter's point of view and that of the reported speaker. In Volosinov's (1929/86) words, "Analysis is the heart and soul of indirect discourse" (p.129). In this regard, direct quotes, in contrast to indirect speech, can be said to "show" rather than "tell" the speaker what was said (Sternberg, 1982).

In regards to non-narrative discourse, in a recent study, Clift (2007) examines the fleeting uses of reported speech in conversational English and observes that the reporting itself can be used to override a first assessment thus constituting a claim of one's epistemic priority. Along this line of thought, Clift (2006) proposes that reported speech

should be considered as "interactional evidentials", which depend on their sequential positions to index epistemic stance. She maintains that while the well-documented "stand-alone evidentials" orient to the marking of speaker's accountability, interactional evidentials are directed to the orientation of epistemic authority. Clift's findings are essential in the sense that they point out the important role played by the sequential position of reported speech, and relate the function of a linguistic form to its placement, an aspect that is generally ignored in past work on reported speech.

1.2.4.2 Reported speech as an index of stance

In addition to marking evidentiality, reported speech, DRS in particular, has been found to index the reporter's stance towards the reported utterance, a function that is not immediately apparent from examining instances decontextualized from their interactional context. Researchers have identified a number of subtle and intricate ways in which speakers can comment on the utterances they report. Banfield (1973), for example, notices that "expressive" or "emotive" elements (e.g., exclamations and expletives) can only occur in direct quotes, anchoring the reported utterance to the "original" situation and convey affect information. Bergman (1993: 113) argues that reported speech is able to delegate responsibility for 'forbidden expressions', thus giving reporters more freedom to transgress normal rules and 'enjoy playing with taboo modes of expression and turns of phrase that offend good taste' (1993: 117). Couper-Kuhlen (1999) investigates how conversationalists rely on prosodic and paralinguistic voice resources to make sense of an utterance as being reported, especially in cases where explicit cues about reported speech are lacking or misleading.

The dramatic or "theatrical" nature (e.g., Li, 1986; Wierzbicka, 1974) of reported speech realized through the aforementioned linguistic and paralinguistic means is believed to help make a story more vivid (e.g., Chafe, 1982; Labov, 1972), to enable the narrator to convey the point of a story effectively (Mayes, 1990), and to create "involvement" for the recipients (Tannen, 1989). This feature, as many scholars have noted, renders direct quotes

capable of delivering the high point of a story (e.g., Polanyi, 1985; Larson, 1978; Glock, 1986; Macaulay, 1987). Mayes (1990) examines narratives in American conversations, and finds that direct quotation acts as an effective device to "dramatizes the peak of the narrative", thus enhancing the tellability of a story (p. 48). Drew (1998) examines complaints about transgressions and misconduct, and finds that (direct) reported speech of the complained-about person recounts the climax of the complaint stories: "The other's misconduct is represented specifically through what they said to the complainant, this being reported through quoting what they said." (p. 320). By reporting one's own or others' conduct with a number of pragmatic and linguistic resources, as Drew maintains, the speaker communicates what he/she considers "an action's (im)propriety, (in)correctness, (un)suitability, (in)appropriateness, (in)justice, (dis)honesty, and so forth" (Drew, 1998: 295).

Recent work on reported speech in interaction has begun to show that rather than claiming fidelity to any original utterances, speakers use direct reported speech to index dimensions beyond the propositional level. Besnier (1993) finds that in an environment where reported speech is expected to be a faithful rendition of the original, prosodic features can still be used to communicate affect. Günthner (1997) proposes that direct quoting is always a "stylized, theatrical device used for dramatization," and in doing so, the reporter creates involvement and invites the recipients to display coalignment (p. 256). She further maintains that when one "recontextualizes" a prior locution in the new context, the reporter "remodels" the past utterances and "imprints" his/her perspective into the reconstructed dialogue (p. 256). Holt (2000), based on her data of complaints and amusing stories in English interaction, argues that speakers can convey their attitudes towards the reported utterances through the design of the reported speech, the sequence in which it occurs, and prosody. Following Labov's (1972) dichotomy between "external" and "internal" evaluation of a story, Holt (2000) considers direct reported speech as a form of "internal" evaluation, whose turn shape, prosodic contour, and the design of the telling leading up to the reported speech constitute implicit rather than explicit comments on the reported utterance.

This indexical use of reported speech is not restricted to English. Johansen (2011), drawing on data from dinner table conversations in Danish families, analyzes how agency and responsibility are performed and encoded through reported speech in narratives. Johansen's analysis demonstrates that reported speech in these narratives creates a specific embedded position of participation from which the narrator negotiates agency, and hence responsibility. Lampropoulou (2011) explores how direct speech is used in storytelling by Greek youth. Viewing reported speech as a means of self and other presentation, Lampropoulou (2011) proposes to understand direct speech as a powerful narrative device which contributes to bringing forth speakers' gender identities and reinforces social stereotypes.

Recent studies have come to view the practice of reporting others' talk from a dialogic perspective by taking into consideration the recipients' reactions to the reported speech. Holt (2000) suggests that in reporting, reporters can use subtle ways to comment on the reported utterances, thus communicating shadings of his/her attitude; recipients, in turn, can make use of these clues given by reporters and display their alignment by concurrently producing the "same" kind of response. In a similar vein, Niemelä (2005, 2010) proposes the notion of "reporting space" in conversational storytelling, where speakers can orchestrate all semiotic channels for taking a stance. Specifically, she argues that when a teller enacts and embodies a character's talk in a virtual space of the telling, he/she provides a space for all participants to carry out further enactments to display their solidarity in interaction.

Despite previous findings concerning the interactional functions of reported speech, several questions remain to be answered: 1) whether a reported utterance *actually* implements the action it is designed to do, such as to explicate, to demonstrate, to account for a situation, to launch a complaint, and so forth; 2) whether co-participants treat the reported speech as pragmatically adequate or insufficient. The current study is an attempt to address these issues by focusing on repetitive reportings in natural Mandarin conversations. Through comparing variations of reported speech with respect to their turn design and sequential placement, I argue that by proposing an alternative version of a report, the speaker is implicitly commenting on the previous version of reported speech as somewhat

problematic. In a broader sense, the repetition of a prior report, especially the one proffered immediately after the first reporting, is similar to an other-initiated repair for the case of other-formulated IRRS, or a self-initiated repair for the case of self-formulated IRRS in a broader sense.

1.3 Studies on Reported Speech in Mandarin

Reported speech has also received considerable attention and has been examined through various methodologies by Chinese scholars. Traditional approaches focus on syntactic analysis of reported speech, with particular emphasis on the transition from direct reported speech to indirect speech (see for example, Xu, 1996; R. Zhang, 1997; X. Zhao, 2012). Similar to other languages, during this transition process, changes of deictic terms (e.g., personal pronouns, demonstratives, temporal or spatial adverbials, directional verbs, etc.) are involved. However, as many scholars have noticed, some features are peculiar to Mandarin reported speech. Shen (1991a, 1991b), for example, based on her analysis of English and Chinese literary texts, notices that since Chinese does not have tense markers as many other languages do, the transition from direct to indirect reported speech in Mandarin does not involve the change in tense. Therefore, in many cases where the personal subject is omitted, it is hard to tell whether an utterance is a direct or an indirect quote, thus giving rise to ambiguous cases where both interpretations are possible.

Although the focus on syntax has illuminated some grammatical features of reported speech used in Mandarin, this approach fails to account for the practice of speech reporting in actual language use, because most findings along this line were based on constructed and decontextualized data. Realizing the import of reporting context, recent research on Mandarin reported speech has shifted from a solely syntactic perspective to a more functional and pragmatic orientation that focuses on the use of reported speech in specific interactional contexts (e.g., Xin, 1998, 2013a, b; Jia, 2000; Peng, 2001; Kuo, 2001; Tang, 2004; Yang and Lin, 2008; Lü, 2013; for a detailed review see Chen, 2010). In recent years, reported speech in such environments as literary works, academic writings, news

reports, courtroom trials, and broadcast media settings, has been extensively explored, highlighting the role of reported speech as a rhetorical device in social interaction.

Literary works are among the genres that are examined the most. Shen (1991a, b) finds that free direct speech (i.e., direct reported speech without a quotative marker) in Chinese novels enables the readers to access the characters' original speech or thought without any interference from the narrator; while free indirect speech, given its reduced subjectivity, is more suitable for the expression of the characters' subconscious psychological activities. Dong (2008) also observes the mixed usage of direct and indirect reported speech in modern Chinese literature, and attributes this phenomenon to the author's shifts between different characters' psychological spaces.

Even for discourse settings that are ordinarily valued for their objectivity, such as news reports and academic articles, it is found that the reporters' opinions and attitudes can always find a way to infiltrate the reported speech. Comparing two pieces of news reporting the same event, Xin (1998) analyzes their representations of news resources, reporting formats (i.e., direct vs. indirect speech), and speech verbs in the quotative phrases. He concludes that the reporters employ quotations to implicitly convey their subjective opinions and consequently exert influence on the readers. Tang (2004) and X. Li (2011) examine quotations used in academic articles. Both of them point out the dialogic nature of academic quotations, which take shape through the interplay among the author, the quoted author, and the readers.

Despite the fruitful findings in previous studies on Mandarin reported speech, most studies were based on written texts, where the online interaction between the reporter and the recipient is missing. Compared to other well-explored languages (e.g., English, Japanese, and German), the research on reported speech in Mandarin spoken discourse is relatively rare. Only a few authors draw on data from conversational Mandarin, particularly in institutional settings. Kuo (2001) investigates the use of reported speech in Chinese political debate, and finds that direct quotations are used as a rhetorical device to promote the speakers themselves, and at the same time to denigrate their opponents. Guan (2011) and Ma & Guan (2012) examine zero quotatives (i.e., quotations without

speech verbs or attributed speakers) in television interviews. Guan (2011) observes four strategies that speakers may use to mark the boundaries of zero quotatives: shifts of demonstratives, turn-taking organization, code-switching, and changes of prosody. From a cognitive perspective, Ma and Guan (2012) propose that four cognitive pragmatic principles work in cooperation to motivate the use of zero quotatives, namely the Economy Principle, the Clarity Principle, the Urgency Principle, and the Vividness Principle. Yue (2011) is among the few who examine everyday Mandarin conversation. He analyzes the differences between direct and indirect reported speech with respect to their roles in evidential marking. He argues that while direct reported speech is generally considered by conversationalists as more authentic and reliable, indirect reported speech reduces the credibility of the information being reported, as is evidenced by speakers' use of vague expressions or markers of epistemic uncertainty accompanying the production of indirect reported speech.

Drawing insights from previous studies, especially the findings based on natural conversations, this study attempts to further our understanding of the phenomenon of reported speech through a micro-level analysis of actual data from naturally occurring Mandarin conversations. Different from most of the previous studies that show how reported speech operates at a micro level, this study will focus closely on details and subtleties of language use by looking at how a stretch of reported talk comes into form turn-by-turn and moment-by-moment in the course of interaction. Specific attention will be given to both the composition of language and the sequential position of the reported utterances. To achieve these research aims, I draw heavily on a particular approach to understanding the relationship between context and talk-in-interaction, namely Conversation Analysis (CA), which was developed by Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson, and other collaborators. I will turn to a detailed introduction of the theoretical frameworks and methodologies adopted by this study in the next chapter.

1.4 Outline of the Present Study

The layout of this dissertation is as follows. In this chapter, I have reviewed previous studies on reported speech, with a focus on discussions concerning the form, function, and authenticity of reported speech. It is in these

studies that the current work has its starting point. Chapter 2 reviews theoretical issues on speech reporting, particularly drawing insights from the notions of dialogicality, footing, and contextualization. The rationale for adopting a conversational analytic (CA) approach for the present study is also discussed.

Chapters 3 and 4 consider immediate repetitive reported speech (IRRS) that are proffered immediately at the completion of the first report, with a focus on same-person reports and different-person reports, respectively. While both orient to troubles in interaction, they are found to be occasioned by different factors: the former orients to troubles in the recipients' *reactions* to his/her reporting; the latter, in contrast, treats the prior *reporting per se* as somewhat problematic. Chapter 5 examines distant repetitive reported speech (DRRS) in temporally and spatially separated conversations conducted either by the same speaker or by different speakers. Systematic differences can be identified between the two. It is shown that while same-person DRRS is more action-oriented (i.e., determined by what the reported speech is designed to do in the local context), different-person DRRS is shaped not only by the local interactional goals, but also by reporters' respective angles with which they view the reported activities and the protagonists (e.g., whether they sympathize or disagree with the protagonist). Chapter 6 concludes the findings in this dissertation, discusses theoretical implications of the current work, and suggests directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS AND METHODOLOGY FOR THE STUDY

In the previous chapter, we have seen that while quoting former locutions, speakers implicitly insert their own evaluations into the quoted utterances and display their epistemic or affect stances towards what is reported. In this verbal operation, an utterance is removed from its original context and becomes a part of a new context, so that two different contexts implying two different time-space positions are unified in a single utterance. Several theories have been proposed to account for the use of "speech within speech, utterance within utterance and, at the same time, as speech about speech and utterance about utterance" (Volosinov, 1929/1986, 115). This chapter will address these theoretical issues involved in the research on reported speech, and discuss the rationale of adopting an interactional approach for the present study.

2.1 Theoretical Frameworks for the Present Study

2.1.1 Multivoicedness and dialogicality of reported speech

For understanding the use of reported speech, I draw insights from the theory of dialogicality or "polyphony" developed especially in the works of Bakhtin (1971, 1981, 1986) and Volosinov (1929/1986), increasingly influential in linguistic anthropology and folklore. Many scholars have noticed the prevalence of dialogicality in language use: it is proposed that all discourses, depending on their purposes, and consequently devices and strategies adopted in actual expressions, are dialogic to various degrees (Bakhtin, 1981; Voloshinov, 1973; Wertsch, 1991; S. K. Maynard, 1996, 1998, 2005; Linell, 2009; Du Bois and Karkkainen, 2012).

Bakhtin (1971, 1981, 1986), in his analysis of the "speaking person in the novel", proposes that language use is essentially social, that is interactional and dialogic; language simply cannot avoid reflecting multiple voices simultaneously. He takes the position that the meaning of a word is shaped and interpreted in dialogue with the addressee. In his own words, "our thought itself – philosophical, scientific, and artistic – is born and shaped in the process of interaction and struggle with other's thought, and this cannot but be reflected in the forms that verbally

express our thoughts as well" (Bakhtin, 1986: 92). Volosinov (1929/86) also expresses the similar notion considering a word as shared territory. Kristeva (1980), based on Bakhtin's idea of dialogicality, characterizes novelistic discourse as fundamentally "ambivalent", due to "the permutation of the two spaces observed in novelistic structure: dialogic space and monological space" (p. 72).

In literary works, reported speech has been recognized as one of the most typical and extensive instances that signal the dialogicality of discourse (Bakhtin, 1971; Volosinov, 1986). Indeed, as Bakhtin tells us, our mouths are filled with the words of others. According to Bakhtin (1986), in reporting a prior utterance, the speaker's opinion and attitude can "penetrate" through the boundaries of the speaking subjects, and spread to the other's speech, thus exhibiting "varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of 'our-own-ness'" (p. 89). As multiple voices representing heterogeneous registers and styles are superimposed on one utterance, reverberating and interanimating with each other, the addressee can therefore hear not only the voice of the reporter, but also the voice of the person being reported. Volosinov (1986) further points out that the different voices that converge in an utterance are often overtly marked by the use of various quotatives: in direct speech, the reporting and the reported voices are juxtaposed and have little to do with each other, whereas in indirect speech, such infiltration or penetration is made possible through the speaker's analysis of the reported utterances. This claim, however, is not borne out by subsequent empirical studies, which take the position that the reporter's voice may permeate all modes of reported speech in everyday interaction (see for example, Günthner, 1997; Holt, 2000; J. Kim, 2002; M. Kim, 2003; Clift, 2006; the collection in Clift and Holt, 2007; C. Goodwin, 2007).

Dialogicality or "polyphony" is not a phenomenon restricted to literary texts. Rather it is a prevalent feature of reported speech in everyday talk-in-interaction. In spoken discourse, speakers, taking advantage of the "multi-voicedness" of reported speech, can appropriate a former locution for the accomplishment of his/her current interactional goals (Silverstein, 1992; Buttny, 1998). This is generally achieved through a "stylized, exaggerated, and caricatured" way (Günthner, 1999: 696), which ranges from a "direct verbatim quotation" to a "malicious and

deliberately parodic distortion of another's word, slander" (Bakhtin, 1981: 339). Thus by transmitting the original speech into the new context, the reporter is able to communicate his/her disposition and to accommodate shadings of the reporter's evaluations (Günthner, 1999).

The concept of dialogicality of discourse has crucial consequences on the research of reported speech. Specifically, a dialogic perspective has fostered awareness of the active role played by recipients and the role of context in interaction. More and more attention has been devoted to investigating genuine multi-party interaction within which the quoted utterances unfold moment-by-moment and turn-by-turn. Holt (2000), using the conversation analytic approach, investigates the sequences of reported speech in informal telephone conversations. She reveals that recipients can use the clues given by the reporter to offer an assessment, or a reaction to, the reported locution in alignment with the reporter's implicit assessment. Niemela (2005) examines how voiced direct reported speech can be used to display a speaker's stance in talk-in-interaction, and more importantly, how it can "induce similar conduct in other conversationalists." Namely, other participants subsequently recycle direct reported speech with matching voicing in the following turns, and display a shared stance with the prior speaker.

In the current data of Mandarin conversations, the notion of multivoicedness or dialogicality of reported speech is certainly relevant. As we have seen in excerpt 1-4 in chapter 1 (reproduced here as 2-1), the reporter's voiced animation of the vendor's promoting activity constitutes an action of "parodistic stylization" (Bakhtin, 1981). The stylization of the reproduced utterance is primarily achieved through the prosodic recontextualization: the reporter's stress and elongation on the quoted utterances (lines 18, 19), coupled with the noticeably high pitch register and speech volume, contribute to building up a negative stance towards the grandiose speech style in contemporary Chinese society.

Excerpt 2-1 A vendor promoting goods

17 Dou: 你, 他 在 那 儿 说, (.) 啊::, 什 么, 五- 呃, 就 是,
2SG 3SG at there say PRT what five PRT just is
 you, he was there saying, (.) ah::, something like, five- eh, just like,

- 18 → <VOX>↑五 毛 二: 一 件,(.) 五 毛 二: 一 件,(.)
 Five CL two one CL five CL two one CL
 ↑*fifty two: cents a piece, (.)**fifty two: cents a piece, (.)*
- 19 → [快: 来 买,(.) 快: 来 买<VOX>.
 quick come buy quick come buy
qui::ckly come and buy, (.) *qui:ckly come and buy.*

2.1.2 Participation framework of reported speech

Another powerful and influential model for the analysis of reported speech was proposed by Goffman (1971, 1981) in his work on footing. He proposes to understand reported speech as a more general phenomenon in interaction, i.e., as shifts of "footing", defined as "the alignment of an individual to a particular utterance" (1981: 227). In daily life, as Goffman (1974/1986) notes, an individual ordinarily speaks for himself, in his own character. However, sometimes a speaker "employs conventional brackets to warn us that what he is saying is meant to be taken in jest, or as mere repeating of words by someone else, then it is clear that he means to stand in a relation of reduced personal responsibility for what he is saying. He splits himself off from the content of the words by expressing that their speaker is not he himself or not he himself in a serious way" (p. 512).

Goffman (1981) further laminates the roles of speaker into three "production formats": the "animator", the "author" and the "principal" (p. 145). The "animator" is the person who produces the words as "the sounding box" or "a body engaged in acoustic activity" (Goffman, 1981: 144). The "author" is "the agent who scripts the lines" (1981: 226). And the "principal" is "the party to whose position the words attest" (1981: 226). Reported speech is a prominent example illustrating the shifts in footing in interaction, where speakers change from stating something themselves to reporting on their own or others' prior locutions. Excerpt 2-2 provides a case in point.

Excerpt 2-2 Children's education in China

- 4 Cindy:1 → [↑他 奶奶 说 人 四 岁 小 孩儿,
 3SG grandmother say 3SG four year little children
his grandma said some Four-Year-Olds,

5 1→ 认 几: : 千: : 个 汉 字 了。
 know several thousand CL Chinese character PFV
 know a few:: thousand:: Chinese characters.

In excerpt 2-2, Cindy quotes her mother-in-law's utterance concerning a specific group of children's literacy level in China. Here, the reported speaker (i.e., Cindy's mother-in-law) is depicted as the "author" who composes the utterance. In the meantime, she is also the "principal" who stands behind the words and takes responsibility for making the claim. Cindy acts as the "animator" who vocalizes the utterance in the service of supporting her position in the current interaction. However, the stresses on the numeral "几: 千:" *a few thousand* (line 5) may be heard as Cindy's own voice that indexes her taking of the numeral as the most noteworthy part in the report. In this way, Cindy's evaluating voice infiltrates what appears to be an objective report of a third party's prior talk.

Although the deconstruction of the speaker's roles offered by Goffman in Footing offers an analytic framework to analyze the "dialogic interplay of separate voices within reported speech" (Goodwin, 2007), several authors are critical of Goffman's approach. Schegloff (1988) argues that Goffman does not base his theory on the analysis of genuine instances of interaction. Tannen (1989) contends that it is inappropriate to view the conveyor of information as an "inert vessel". She, in alignment with Bakhtin, strongly claims that "there is no such thing, in conversation, as a mere animator ... " (p. 108). Goodwin (2007) also points to problems with Goffman's analytic framework, arguing that what Goffman provides is a *static* typology of participants rather than "analysis of how utterances are built through the participation of structurally different kinds of actors within ongoing courses of action" (p. 17). Goodwin (2007) observes that these problems become especially visible when Goffman's analytic framework is used to analyze, for example, the impoverished talk of a man with aphasia.

Goodwin (2007), building on Goffman's Footing framework, proposes the concept of "interactive footing," where participation is analyzed as "a temporally unfolding process through which separate parties demonstrate to each other their ongoing understanding of the events they are engaged in by building actions that contribute to the further progression of these very same events" (pp. 24-5). Furthermore, Goodwin (2007) proposes a multi-model

approach that highlights multiple semiotic modalities beyond speech to include visible, embodied displays as well as environmental elements that can be shown to be interactively relevant. He contends that by taking into account the "larger ecology of sign systems which can encompass speech without being restricted to talk" (C. Goodwin, 2007: 44), the analysts are able to focus on aspects that are previously ignored.

Using this multi-modal approach proposed by Goodwin (2000, 2007), Y. Park (2009) examines reported speech in Korean multiparty face-to-face interaction and finds that in the absence or presence of grammar, the reported speech is complemented by multimodal resources of various sorts. Niemelä (2010) investigates how conversationalists orchestrate all semiotic channels for taking a stance in conversational storytelling. Niemela proposes the notion of "reporting space", which is a virtual space of storytelling set up by the storyteller through embodied enactment and sustained by the co-participants through further enactments.

Drawing on the notion of dialogicality (Bakhtin, 1971, 1981, 1986; Volosinov, 1929/1986) and the participation framework of footing (Goffman, 1971, 1981; Goodwin, 2000, 2007), the present study treats reported speech in multi-party conversation as an interactively sustained discourse that temporally unfolds and takes shape in corresponding to contingencies in the immediate context. Moreover, in the analysis of conversational data, I pay specific attention to participants' reactions, i.e., how they demonstrate their understanding of what others are doing and of the events in which they are engaged.

Based on the analysis of the sequential organization and linguistic/paralinguistic features of repetitive reportings, I find that repetitive reportings are "sequential practices", which are generally occasioned by troubles in interaction, even though a small number of counter-examples do exist. In the cases of immediate repetitive reported speech (IRRS), a self-initiated repetitive report is usually proffered in response to situations such as the interlocutors' lack of uptake, display of disaffiliation, misunderstanding, or a face-threatening action; an other-initiated repetitive report, in contrast, is proffered as a repair of the prior interlocutors' inaccurate or inadequate presentation of the original talk.

2.1.3 Theory of contextualization

Of particular relevance to the themes being addressed in this dissertation is the concept of "context." Indeed, Volosinov (1929/86: 119) has pointed out the dynamic relationship between the reported speech and the reporting context, where they "exist, function, and take shape only in their interrelation, and not on their own, the one apart from the other." This dynamics reflects "the dynamism of social interorientation in verbal ideological communication between people" (Volosinov, 1929/86: 119). He further cautions that "A failure to take these into account makes it impossible to understand any form of reported speech" (Volosinov, 1971:153).

However, it is hard, or even impossible, to give a single, precise, and technical definition for the term "context" (Goodwin and Duranti, 1992: 2). One way to understand context is proposed by Goffman (1974), who defines context as a frame surrounding the event being examined and that which provides resources for its appropriate interpretation, as Goodwin and Duranti (1992: 3) presented (and reproduced here) in the Figure 2-1 below.

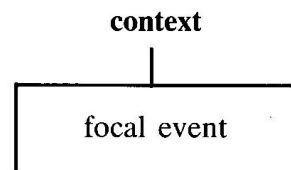


Figure 2-1. Context as a frame of the focal event

The *focal event* refers to the phenomenon being contextualized; context is defined as the field of action within which the focal event is embedded (Goodwin and Duranti, 1992). Not only nonverbal resources can be used to constitute the context for talk (Kendon, 1990; Goodwin and Goodwin, 1987), but also talk can provide context for appropriately understanding nonverbal behavior (C. Goodwin, 1987; Goodwin and Goodwin, 1987). Human beings in particular are recognized as "active agents in their own right, with their own plans and agendas," who are able to attend to other participants as "a key constituent of the environment" (Goodwin and Duranti, 1992: 5).

Furthermore, Goodwin and Duranti (1992) have insightfully pointed out that context changes moment by moment as the talk-in-interaction unfolds, since in social interaction, talk itself is not only shaped by other talk, but also shapes the context for other talk. In Goodwin and Duranti's (1992: 6) own words, "the dynamic, socially constitutive properties of context are inescapable since each additional move within the interaction modifies the existing context while creating a new arena for subsequent interaction" (see also Heritage, 1984: 106-10).

This shift from a general notion of context as static background knowledge to a focus on the dynamics of context resonates with Gumperz's (1982, 1992) perspective, centering on contextualization and conversational inference in real conduct of talk (see also Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz, 1976). Gumperz (1982) observes that as people talk, they constantly make sense of what they hear by filling in what is unsaid and looking for relevance. Moreover, speakers are not passive rule-followers in language use; rather, they are active agents who are able to employ "empirically detectable signs" to cue the interpretation of their utterances (Gumperz, 1982, 1992). "Contextualization" is defined as such a process whereby participants construct context via cues in order to make their utterances interpretable (see also Auer and Di Luzio, 1992). Resources with which speakers contextualize their talk, or in Gumperz's (1982: 130-152, 1999) term "contextualization cues", include prosodic features (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting, 1996), code-switching (Gumperz, 1982), and non-verbal elements such as body position, gesture, and gaze (Auer, 1992), among others.

Contextualization cues are recurrently observed in reported speech. When a speaker reports past utterances, he/she "decontextualizes" the words of the original speaker from their embedding context, and "recontextualizes" them in the new context (Bauman and Briggs, 1990). The recontextualization is generally accomplished by framing and post-framing the quoted speech in a specific way, as exemplified in excerpt 2-3 below. Before quoting the protagonist's words, the speaker makes a comment regarding the protagonist's emotional feeling "他就有点不太爽::" *he was quite discontented::* (line 28), which keys the tone of the reported speech (i.e., as a display of his discontentment). In the subsequent turn, the speaker further frames the reported utterance as a "purposeful"

confrontation with the adverb "成心" *intentionally* (line 29), thus rendering the reported activity less innocent than it appears. The post-framing comment "他明显跟 Paul 弟兄干::上了" *he apparently intended to contradict Brother Paul* (line 30) reinforces the reported activity as a confronting and provocative display of the protagonist's discontentment.

Excerpt 2-3 Talk about the history

28 Peter: → 他 就 有点 不 太 爽:: 你 知道 吧,
 3SG then a little not very satisfied you know PRT
he was quite discontented:: you know,

29 → 他 成心 说 我 再 讲 一下 历:史,
 3SG intentionally say 1SG again talk a little bit history
 30 他 明显 跟 Paul 弟兄 干:: 上 了, 你 知道 吧。
 3SG obvious with (name) brother fight start-to PFV you know PRT
He purposely said I wanna further talk about the hi::story a little bit, he apparently intended to contradict Brother Paul, you know.

The framing devices adopted in this case contextualize the reported speech by expressing the reporter's own understanding of the reported event, thus making certain interpretative schema relevant for the interpretation of the quoted speech. These strategic framings certainly have to do with recipient design considerations (Sacks, 1987). As Sacks (1992:274) states "There are some reasons why these kinds of context information designed for the listener are used, and that is, to keep them attentive to how to read what they're being told. And there is reason for those things to be put directly before or after." So contextualization cues in this case are utterances designed to tell recipients how to hear the reported speech.

The interactional approach to repetitive reportings which I advocate here is in effect inspired by the theoretical insights mentioned above, coupled with the approach of conversation analysis, which I will turn to in the next discussion of methodology and data for the present study.

2.2 Methodology and Data of the Present Study

2.2.1 Conversation Analysis (CA)

As we have seen above, reported speech is an intrinsically dialogic discourse that only takes shape in its interaction with context: it both creates and is created by the reporting context. The present study draws on data from spontaneously occurring Mandarin conversations, not only because conversation is the primordial site of interaction (Schegloff, 1979), but because it provides evidence for the participants' *own* orientations to what analysts take as significant issues involved in speech reporting, such as what factors occasion the participant's selection of a specific form, what functions a form of reporting serves, what other social meanings it may index, what constitutes adequate reports, and so forth. Moreover, looking at conversations enables the analysts to focus on larger units of analysis beyond the sentence level and to take into account multiple interlocutors' contributions in constructing the talk.

An approach to showing how participants' social interaction constitutes and is shaped by their situated context comes from Conversation Analysis (Drew and Heritage, 1992; Drew and Sorjonen, 1997). Conversation Analysis (CA), or the study of talk-in-interaction, is an empirical methodology developed out of sociology in the late 1960s. This approach was first introduced by the work of Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson, Pomerantz, and other collaborators, and later gained its prevalence in a substantial range of fields investigating language in natural use, such as anthropology, sociology, linguistics, ethnology, communication studies, psychology, cognitive science, and philosophy.

Natural conversation was previously perceived as chaotic, unstructured and not worth studying (see for example, Chomsky, 1977). However, Harvey Sacks together with his coworkers was the first to show the richness and subtleties of conversation, through which humans collaboratively construct their social life, and organize and interpret their mundane, everyday activities (Heritage, 1984a; Drew and Wootton, 1988). The CA methodology focuses on micro aspects of language use and asks questions like "how does someone 'properly and reproducibly' come to say such a thing, this thing? What is someone doing by saying this thing, and how do they come to be doing

it?" (Schegloff, 1992: 29). No details, as Heritage (1984a) remarks, "can be dismissed, a priori, as disorderly, accidental or irrelevant" (p. 241).

CA takes several premises as its basic tenets. First, it considers social interaction as an orderly and structured process, the systematicity of which can only be detected through close scrutiny of real examples in natural conversation. Second, social interaction is sequentially organized and constructed moment-by-moment by participants in a collaborative manner. And third, any analysis of social interaction should be justified by showing that the categories postulated by the analyst are relevant for the participants themselves (for a detailed review of CA, see for example, Atkinson and Heritage, 1984; Heritage, 1984a, Chapter 8; Psathas, 1995; Lerner, 2004; Schegloff, 2007).

Concerning the systematicity of talk-in-interaction, conversation analysts have shown how conversation is organized by rules such as turn-taking, conventionalized sequences (e.g., adjacency pairs), mechanisms for repair, and preference organization. Turn-taking is the most fundamental aspect in the sequential organization of everyday conversation, first explored in Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974) analysis of turn taking in conversation (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974). The authors propose that turn constructional unit (TCU) is the basic building block of a turn. Every speaker of a turn is entitled to one TCU. Upon the completion of a TCU, a turn transition relevance place (TRP) occurs, which makes turn transition or speaker change "relevant." However, the authors also noted the interactive nature of TCUs by pointing out that it is always possible for the talk to continue past a TRP, resulting in turn extensions, as in the cases of storytellings (e.g., Sacks, 1978; Jefferson, 1978), increments (e.g., Schegloff, 1996c; Lerner, 2004), among others.

Another important structure of sequential organization is adjacency pairs, which are a pair of adjacently positioned turns produced by two interlocutors (see e.g., Schegloff, 2007). The two turns of an adjacency pair belong to the same action type (e.g., a greeting invites a reciprocal greeting-back, not a question, or a request). Typical examples of adjacency pairs include greetings, question/answer, invitation/acceptance or rejection, and

request/granting or declining (Sacks, 1987; Schegloff, 1968). More importantly, the production of the first pair part makes relevant the production of the second pair part. When a second pair part is missing, it is treated as "noticeably absent" (Schegloff, 1968), and the absence may bear potentially negative implications. The timing with which a second pair part is given also indexes the organization of interlocutor's preference: while a preferred second pair part is usually produced quickly, a dispreferred second pair part is given with a delay and some accounts (see for example, Sacks, 1992 [1972]; Heritage, 1984a; Pomerantz, 1978, 1984; Schegloff, 1988, 2007; Bilmes, 1988; Boyle, 2000). Thus, adjacency pairs provide a procedure through which "participants constrain one another, and hold one another accountable, to produce coherent and intelligible courses of action" (Goodwin and Heritage, 1990).

In addition to sequential organization of social actions, another notion of CA relevant to the present study is that the grammatical design of a turn can be used to accomplish specific actions. Ordinarily, a number of resources are available at the interlocutors' disposal, and the speakers' choices between alternative resources may yield interactional and inferential consequences. For example, a question may be asked in alternative ways ranging from unmarked declarative syntax to interrogative syntax. These grammatical formats embody the questioner's epistemic status with respect to his/her knowledge of the matter being inquired, ranging from a knowing-all "K+" status to a knowing-nothing "K-" status (see Heritage 2012a, b on the discussion of "Epistemics in Action" and the "Epistemic Engine"). In the current work on repetitive reportings in Mandarin conversation, we shall see how participants design their reports for particular audiences (out of a "recipient design" consideration) (Sacks and Schegloff, 1979), and how alternative formats in reporting are deployed as rhetorical devices to achieve specific interactional aims.

In addition to paying close attention to the sequential organization of talk and the implicatures of language choice, this methodology helps limit the analysts' potentially subjective and assumptive interpretations of what is going on in real interaction through the powerful 'next turn proof procedure'. This procedure involves a close inspection of the current turn, which tells us how the current speaker interprets and treats the prior turn (Heritage 1984a; Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974: 729). Thus, by focusing on the sequential nature of turns in talk, CA

ensures that the analyses or interpretations we make reflect how the participants define the situations *themselves*, rather than imposing any analyst-oriented frameworks on the actual data. In this study, this procedure will reveal how the participants arrive at local interpretations of variants in reported speech. Instead of assuming that speakers switch to another reporting format in order to make one's report more 'accurate', more 'effective', or more 'adequate', I attempt to show how such notions as 'accuracy', 'effectiveness', and 'adequacy' of reported speech are invoked, presented, understood, negotiated, and treated as accountable by the participants as the interaction unfolds.

For the reasons stated above, I adopt CA as the methodology for the present study. With a focus on both the sequential position and the composition of reported speech, this study shows features that a sole focus on linguistic forms would not reveal: the central role of context. In the analysis here, both the immediate and larger sequential contexts are examined. Furthermore, this study also sheds light on the links between conversational structures, grammatical structures, and such higher-level social meanings as identities, affects, values, ideologies, and epistemic priorities.

2.2.2 Data for the current research

Data are drawn from 175 hours of Mandarin conversation that I video-taped and audio-taped over a span of four years (2009-2013). The core corpus (75 hours) used for this study consists of 20 hours of video-taped everyday face-to-face conversation, 25 hours of audio-taped telephone conversation, and 30 hours of audio-taped multiparty daily conversation. Around 65 different speakers among my friends, colleagues, family members, and strangers from various regions of China are involved. Except for one speaker, who speaks a southern dialect of Chinese, all the others speak standard Mandarin.

However, even though repetitive reporting is a very common practice in everyday interaction, the data for variation in reporting the same past utterances in natural conversation are extremely hard to find, as the reporting alternatives occur spontaneously rather than, for example, being solicited by the interviewer. Regarding same-person

repetitive reportings, the data collection always involves long-term recording, and keeping track of the same interlocutors' talk for a long period of time. As for different-person repetitive reportings, especially the distant ones that are separated both spatially and temporally, data are even harder to locate. Many instances were identified as reporting the same events or anecdotes by different speakers, only when I was developing a list of reported speech in my corpus.

Due to these reasons, I also use some extracts from a television talk show called *Qiang Qiang San Ren Xing*, which is widely broadcasted in Mandarin-speaking areas. Although distinctions between ordinary and institutional talk have been extensively documented in CA (see for example, Drew and Heritage, 1992; Schegloff, 1992; Drew, 2003; Heritage, 2005), this television talk show is suitable for the present need for several reasons. First, the talk show conversation for each episode is conducted among three participants: the host of the talk show and two guests sitting around a table. Unlike "panel interviews" on American television which involves multiple guests (Clayman and Heritage, 2002, Chapter 8), the guests in this talk show not only address their remarks to the interviewer/host, but also to other panelists. This arrangement thus enables more interactive and dialogic interaction among the interlocutors (see Clayman 2010 on the discussion of the dialogicality of broadcast news interviews). Second, the participants of this talk show generally know one another to various degrees: their relationships range from long-term close friends to acquaintances from work. Their familiarity with each other allows them to have a shared ground in their talk, which is crucial especially in cases of jointly recalling past experiences such as the ones examined in this study.

Although only a few examples from this talk show are presented in this dissertation, more than 200 transcribed excerpts (22 minutes each) have been examined. The general procedure is that I first locate instances of repetitive reportings, and then retrieve the corresponding video clips via online resources. Each instance is viewed and studied carefully in order to uncover patterns in the practice of repetitively reporting what has been reported. From both

ordinary conversations and television talk shows I assembled a collection of more than 50 instances of repetitive reporting usage by interlocutors. These form the basis for the findings presented here.

In transcribing the data, I use an adapted version of the transcription system developed by Jefferson (1983, 1985) (see Appendix II for a detailed description of the transcription notation). Since "transcription is a selective process" reflecting the analyst's "theoretical goals and definitions" (Ochs, 1979: 44), in my transcription, I pay close attention to both linguistic content and paralinguistic features pertaining to speech delivery (e.g., speech pace, prosody, overlaps, pauses, laughter, and speech style). Specifically, in transcribing the quoted utterances, I mark reported speech with arrows in the left margin: The first reporting sequence is marked with numeral 1, and the repetitive reporting sequence is signaled with numeral 2 throughout this dissertation. Moreover, despite the statement that the boundaries of reported speech (especially the right-hand 'unquote' boundary) are hard to discern in many cases (e.g., Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen, 1999; Bolden, 2004), I consider it necessary to make certain compromises in transcription in order to facilitate the readers' reading. In this regard, in some of my transcribed excerpts, I use "<VOX>" (Du Bois et al., 1993) to delineate the boundaries of quotations and signal altered voice quality in direct speech. Since the present study uses Mandarin data, I provide a three-line transcription, with the original talk in the top line, a word-by-word translation in the second line, and a free English translation at the bottom line.

2.3 Summary of Chapter 2

As past work on reported speech has emphasized, the meaning of reported speech is inevitably tied to the context within which it is embedded. In the remaining chapters, I will consider what factors in the reporting context motivate the verbal repetition of the prior reported speech, and how correlated reporting versions differ from one another. Comparing multiple reportings of the same event will also reveal which elements of the reported speech remain substantially intact from one reporting to the next, and which vary in accordance with contingencies in the particular context. In this sense, repetitive reportings provide a rich site where the relationship between the reported

speech and relevant contexts (i.e., the original context, the context of the story world, and the reporting context) may be explored, displaying how interlocutors *themselves* orient to crucial issues in reported speech, such as what should be reported, who has the right to report it, what constitutes an accurate and faithful report, what constitutes a pragmatically adequate and appropriate report, and so forth.

CHAPTER 3. IMMEDIATE REPETITIVE REPORTED SPEECH (IRRS) BY A SINGLE SPEAKER

3.1 Introduction

In natural conversations, we always observe that people repetitively report what they just reported. As the writings of the Bakhtin circle have emphasized (see the review in chapter 2), the meaning of words is tied to the context in which they are embedded (Volosinov, 1929/86, Bakhtin, 1981). Thus, no matter how ‘faithful’ a reported speech utterance may be, its meaning is inevitably different from the original locution (Volosinov, 1986). In repetitive reportings, the two reporting instances not only differ from the original talk, but also are distinct from each other, since the contexts where they appear have changed in the course of interaction.

In this chapter, I consider reported speech repeated by an individual speaker. The current data suggest that this type of repetitive reporting recurrently occurs in two environments. First, it occurs when the speaker's first report has secured alignment from the recipients. The repetitive report is carried out to replay the gist of the prior report, as what I term "an encore performance". This repetition is arguably done in order to invite further affiliation from the audience. The second type of environment in which same-person IRRS recurrently appears is interactional difficulties or problematic situations in interaction, such as a potentially offensive activity carried out by the recipients (e.g., self-praise), the recipient's challenge of the tellability of the reported event, or the reporter's failure in eliciting alignment from the recipients, and so forth. The speaker, in an attempt to remedy the problematic situation, may choose to report the same anecdote again, from a related but ostensibly distinct perspective. Nuanced differences between the two reporting sequences reveal the reporter's shift in stance, and display his/her awareness of the present interactional problems.

3.2 Same-Person IRRS as an Encore Performance

The phenomenon of repeating a prior report as an encore performance has been mentioned in passing by some writers. Marjorie H. Goodwin (1982), for example, examines the processes of dispute management among urban black children. Although her focus is not on repetitive reportings per se, she mentioned that shifting the activity of

argumentation to stories involves the reconfiguration for social organization, namely the shifting involves a change from a participation framework designating only two parties to one inviting the participation of all those present. In doing so, the storyteller is able to summon the co-participants as witnesses of the dispute and invite them to align themselves to a particular side of the dispute. Goodwin further notes that one of the strategies that the co-participants use to display their appreciation of the story is to repeat the lines in the storyteller's story. In addition, the storyteller himself also repeats the punchline of the story to sustain ongoing laughter.

Different from Goodwin's (1982) focus on dispute organization, the current chapter examines how same-person immediate repetitive reportings are carried out in affiliative environments, where the co-participants display a shared stance towards the matter being talked about. It is proposed that, just like the applause from the audiences invites an encore performance during a concert, the recipient's strongly aligning reactions to a story may likewise provide a basis for the reporter to reiterate the gist of the prior quoted utterances. An encore at a concert, however, may be a nuisance for the audience as well, if it were to be unduly prolonged. Therefore, an encore performance is generally short and to the point. Different from a real encore performance in a concert, which may be planned beforehand, the rerunning of reported speech in spontaneous conversation is occasioned by the local interactional context, generally in response to recipients' enthusiastically positive feedback. As we shall see in excerpts 3-1 and 3-2 below, the first reporting is always delivered in an animated and dramatic fashion, accomplished through multiple semiotic resources, such as word choice, syntactic structures, prosody, voice quality, facial expressions, gestures, and body movements. These expressive means arguably serve to convey the reporter's own stance towards the reported matter and to engage the recipients. The second cycle of reporting, in contrast, is a synoptic performance, highlighting only the upshots of the story. The actual details of example 3-1 where the storyteller relates his experience of purchasing antiques at an antique market in Beijing will illustrate these points.

Excerpt 3-1 is extracted from a talk show conversation among three interlocutors, Dou (the host), Wang (a famous TV producer from Taiwan), and Xie (a drama director from Taiwan). In the context prior to the start of this

conversation, Dou has been criticizing the contemporary Beijing dialect as being rough and unconstrained (data not shown here). He maintains that the old Beijing dialect, in contrast, exhibits the wisdom of speech, particularly reflected in the old generation's expressions of critical ideas. At the beginning of this excerpt, Wang, a Taiwanese of a Beijing origin, enthusiastically concurs with strong agreement (line 4, “太::好了. 啊太::好了.” *ve::ry good. ah ve::ry good*). He then recounts a personal experience to support the claim that the old generation of Pekingese possesses wisdom in speech.

Excerpt 3-1 The Old Beijing Dialect

4 Wang: [tsk 太:: 好 了。 啊 太:: 好 了。
 ((nonverbal noise)) very good PFV PRT very good PFV
tsk, ve::ry good. ah ve::ry good

5 Dou: 拐- 拐 着 弯。
 turn turn DUR twist
eu- euphemistically.

6 Xie: @@@@。
 ((laugh))

7 Wang: ((hand raised)) 我 举 个 例子 呀,
 I SG cite CL example PRT
 我 那 个:: 八 八 年,
 I SG that CL eight eight year
let me give you an example, I that:: in 1988,

8 Dou: 嗯。
 PRT
en-hum.

9 Wang: 然后 呢: : 后来- 八 八 年 到 九 四 年
 then PRT later eight eight year to nine four year
 我 姥姥 过世 之前 我 常-
 I SG grandmother pass-away before I SG often
then:: later- from 1988 to 1994 before my grandma passed away I always-

10 常 在 北京, (.) 转悠, .hh 那 时候 到 那
 often at Beijing wander-round that time go-to that
 朝阳门儿 那边 买:: 古董,
 ((place name)) there buy antique
always wandered round Beijing, .hh at that time (I) went to the Chaoyang Gate to buy antiques,

- 11 [tsk, 老 先生- 老 先生 好:: 有意思,
 ((nonverbal noise)) old mister old mister very interesting
tsk, the old gentleman- the old gentleman is really:: interesting,
- 12Xie: [@@@@@@@
 ((laughs))
- 13 Wang: 我 就 转悠 转悠 旁边, .hh
 1SG then wander wander side
 那 老 先生 就 看 看 我,
 that old mister then look look 1SG
I just wandered around, beside me, the old man glanced at me,
- 14 1→ 来来来, 小伙子买什么嘍::?
 Come come come young-man buy what PRT
 唉, 我 就 过来 把 这 个-
 PRT 1SG then come-over BA this CL
Come come come, young man, what are you looking for? Ah, then I walked up to him and (showed him) this -
- 15 我 说 我 就 是 想 买((pointing))
 1SG say 1SG just COP want-to buy
 隔壁 买 一 个 什 么 东 西。
 neighborhood buy a CL what thing
I said I just wanted to buy ((pointing)) something in the shop next door.
- 16 1→ tsk((looks away))
 ((non-verbal noise))
tsk
- 17 1→ 我 跟 你 说, ((pats Dou on the lap, looks away))
 1SG with you say
Let me tell you something,
- 18 1→ 隔壁 那 个, ((pointing away)) 不:: 能 相信。
 neighborhood that CL not can trust
That next door neighbor, don't trust (him).
- 19 1→ ((pointing away)).hhh 啊 不 能 相信,
 PRT not can trust
.hhh Ah don't trust (him).
- 20 1→ 我 是 看 你 呀 ((pats Dou on the lap))
 1SG COP see you PRT
 就 小伙子 挺: : 好,
 just young-man very good
I just thought you are a very:: good young man.

- 21 1→ 找 你 来 聊 聊天儿,
look-for 2SG come chat chat
隔壁 那 个 人, ((pointing))tsk,
neighborhood that CL person
(so I) reached out to you for a casual chat, that guy in the neighborhood, tsk,
- 22 1→ ((looks up, rolls eyes skywards))也 不 是 个 坏 人家,
also not COP CL bad person
is not a bad guy though,
- 23 1→ 但 东西, (..) 都 不 是 真 的。 @@@@
but stuff all not COP real NOM
But the stuff (he is selling), (..) none of them is authentic.
- 24 Xie: [@@@@@
(laugh)
- 25 Dou: [@@@@@ [这 好玩儿。 @
(laugh) this funny
(laugh) *this is hilarious.*
- 26 Wang: 2→ [有 人 一 经过, 唉::, 您 好, 您 好,
there-be people once pass-by PRT 2SG good 2SG good
When there is someone passing by, hi::, hello, hello,
- 27 Dou: @@@@
(laugh)
- 28 Wang: 2→ 隔壁 那 个 人 经过, 诶 您 好
neighborhood that CL person pass-by PRT 2SG good
您 好 您 好, tsk, 你 看 看, (..)
2SG good 2SG good ((non-verbal noise)) 2SG look look
the neighbor, that person passes by, ai, hello, hello, hello, tsk, you see, (..)
- 29 2→ 不 能 相信((hand waving)). @@@@
not can trust
Don't trust him. (laugh)
- 30 Dou: [@@@@@
(laugh)
- 31 Xie: [@@@@@
(laugh)
- 32 Dou: 你 知道 我 第 一 次 啊, 第 一 次 去 台湾 啊::,
2SG know 1SG number one time PRT number one time go Taiwan PRT
you know, for the first time I, for the first time, (I) went to Taiwan,

The first reporting in this excerpt takes the form of a full-fledged narrative extending from line 7 to line 23; the second reporting immediately follows the first reports, however, is represented in a distinctly reduced manner, taking only four turns (lines 26-29). To facilitate comparison, I list the narrative phrases and the reported utterances in both the original and the encore reporting sequences below in Table 3-1.

The original report	The encore report
<p>7 我那个:: 八八年, <i>I that:: in 1988,</i> 9 然后呢:: 后来- 八八年到九四年我姥姥过世之前我常- <i>then:: later- from 1988 to 1994 before my grandma passed away I always-</i> 10 常在北京, (.) 转悠, .hh 那时候到那朝阳门儿那边 买:: 古董, [tsk, <i>always wandered round Beijing, .hh at that time (I) went to the Chaoyang Gate to buy antiques,</i> 11 老先生-老先生好:: 有意思, <i>the old gentleman- the old gentleman is really:: interesting,</i></p>	
<p>13 我就转悠转悠旁边, .hh 那老先生就看看我, <i>I just wandered around, beside me, the old man glanced at me,</i> 14 来来来, 小伙子买什么嘍:: ? <i>Come come come, young man, what are you looking for?</i></p>	<p>26 [有人一经过, <i>When there is someone passing by,</i> 26 “唉::, 您好, 您好”, <i>hi::, hello, hello,</i> 28 隔壁那个人经过“诶您好您好您好, <i>the neighbor, that person passes by, ai, hello, hello, hello,</i></p>
<p>唉, 我就过来把这个- <i>Ah, then I walked up to him and (showed him) this -</i> 15 我说我就是想买((pointing))隔壁买一个什么东西。 <i>I said I just wanted to buy ((pointing)) something in the shop next door.</i></p>	
<p>16 tsk((looks away)) 17 我跟你讲, ((pats Dou on the lap, looks away)) <i>Let me tell you something,</i> 18 隔壁那个((pointing away))不:: 能相信。 <i>That next door neighbor, don't trust (him).</i> 19 ((pointing away)).hhh 啊不能相信, .hhh <i>Ah don't trust (him).</i> 20 我是看你呀((pats Dou on the lap))就小伙子挺:: 好, <i>I just thought you are a very:: good young man.</i> 21 找你来聊聊天儿, 隔壁那个人, ((pointing))tsk, (so I) <i>reached out to you for a casual chat, that guy in the neighborhood, tsk,</i> 22 ((looks up, eyes rolling skywards))也不是个坏人家, <i>is not a bad guy though,</i> 23 但东西, (..) 都不是真的。 @@@@ @ <i>But the stuff (he is selling), (..) none of them is authentic.</i></p>	<p>28 tsk,你看看, (..) <i>tsk, you see, (..)</i> 29 不能相信((hand waving))”。 @@@@ @ <i>Don't trust him. ((laugh))</i></p>

Table 3-1. Comparison of the original and encore reports in the *Antique Shop* narrative

In the original report (left column in Table 3-1), the telling begins with the introduction of detailed background information for the reported anecdote, revealing the time, location, and the narrator's habitual activities (lines 7, 9, 10). After setting the backdrop for his story, the reporter characterizes the main figure in the story (i.e., an elder resident of Beijing) as being *really interesting* (line 11). This somewhat generic comment is vague as to convey the speaker's attitude towards the protagonist. However, as a typical story preface (Sacks, 1992), it indeed "pre-announces" a story (Terasaki, 2004), and suggests a way of understanding it. While in the encore reporting (right column in Table 3-1), the reporter omits the introduction of background, and moves directly to the orientation sequence (i.e., the old man's greeting to the young man in lines 26, 28) and the climax of story (i.e., the old man's warning in lines 28, 29), as the second telling borrows the story frame, structure, and characters from the previous telling.

Significantly, the two versions of reporting differ from one another in terms of their granularity and vividness in representing the reported anecdote. In the first round of reporting (lines 7-23), Wang restages his dialogue with the old man in a highly performative fashion, which is achieved mainly through the use of animated voice and embodied movements. An "animated" tone of voice is characterized, inter alia, by a proliferation of wide pitch movements (Couper-Kuhlen, 2012). In lines 13 and 14, Wang enacts the old man's greeting addressed to him. He first depicts the old man's action of inspecting him in a curious and casual manner (line 13, "老先生就看看我, " *the old man then looked at me briefly*), and then, without using a quotative marker, moves directly on to reenact the old man's greeting inquiries "来来来, 小伙子, 买什么嘍::? " *Come, come, come, young man, what are you looking for?* (line 14). This use of "zero quotative" adds vividness to the recounted scene (Mathis and Yule, 1994). Prosodically, while producing the greetings, Wang is noticeably switching to a high pitched, narrow and thin voice (that of an old man's), and the old Beijing dialect (note the use of "嘍" *nie* instead of "呢" *ne* as a question-ending particle). The reporter's change of voice quality and code-switching suggest that he delivers these utterances from the protagonist's perspective, a feature that characterizes the direct speech format.

In addition to linguistic resources, in reporting the characters' dialogue, Wang makes extensive use of gestures and body movements to depict the courteous, and (over)enthusiastic manner of the old man. Along with the production of the summoning utterance “来来来” *come come come* (line 14), the reporter raises his right arm and waves his right hand, a gesture that usually accompanies a greeting expression inviting one to come closer, as shown in Figure 3-1. These strategies (both verbal and non-verbal) in the reporting help to portray the protagonist as being hospitable, approachable, attentive, and solicitous.

14 来来来，小伙子买什么嘍：：？
Come come come, what are you looking for, young man?



Figure 3-1. Wang's embodied report of the protagonist's greeting in the original reporting

Moreover, in the original reporting, the protagonist's greeting “来来来，小伙子买什么嘍：：？” *Come come come, young man, what are you looking for?* (line 14) is represented as a summons plus a specific inquiry concerning the addressee's ongoing business; whereas in the second case, the greeting “唉：：，您好，您好” *hi：：，hello, hello*, (line 26) are relatively generic and formulaic in nature. Similar to what he does in the original report, in the repetitive encore reporting, the reporter makes use of embodied resources: with the onset of the greeting “唉：：，您好，您好” *hi：：，hello, hello* (line 26), the reporter tilts his upper torso forwardly, gazes earnestly at the recipient sitting opposite to him, and nods his head in quick succession with a smiling face, as shown in Figure 3-2.

26 “唉：：，您好，您好” *hi：：，hello, hello*



Figure 3-2. Wang's embodied greeting in the encore reporting

As Paul Drew (1984) has noticed, reportings recurrently involve a speaker detailing some activities or circumstances without explicitly stating the implications of the reporting, an upshot or consequence. By just detailing some activities, speakers refrain from officially taking positions on the possible implications of their reportings. This is the case with Wang's first reporting in example 3-1. Without commenting on the protagonist's speech style as being "strategic" or "euphemistic", Wang demonstrates the old Pekingese's wisdom in speech through the way he constructs the past dialogue. This is also in line with Clark and Gerrig's assertion that quotations are demonstrations (1990: 764) and Holt's claim (1996: 241) that reported speech provides evidence.

The upshot of the first reporting in example 3-1 is Wang's remarkably animated report of the old man's utterances that prevent him from visiting the antique store next door (lines 16-23). In line 16, Wang reenacts the old man's non-verbal noise 'tsk' in reaction to his stated intention of visiting the antique shop next door (line 15). Even though it is semantically empty, this sound conveys the old man's disapproving attitude towards the addressee's intended activity (i.e., shopping in other stores). Accompanying the production of this sound, Wang enacts the old man's movement of swiftly looking away as if checking out the availability of overhearers before releasing a secret as shown in Figure 3-3.

16 *tsk* ((looks away))



Figure 3-3. Wang's embodied report of the nonverbal sound 'tsk'

In subsequent turns, Wang continues speaking in the old man's voice with a discourse marker “我跟你说话” *let me tell you something* (line 17), which arguably draws the addressee's attention and attaches import to his upcoming talk. The old man's cautious manner is also conveyed through the lowered voice with which Wang produces the discourse marker. Moreover, Wang's embodied movements accompanying the production of this utterance (i.e., he

softly pats one of the audience members on the lap as shown in Figure 3-4) helps portray the old man's caring and sincere demeanor before something important is released.

17 我跟你说, ((pats Dou on the lap, looks away))
Let me tell you something,



Figure 3-4. Wang's embodied report of "我跟你说" *Let me tell you something*

As the old man is reported to refer to the owner of the shop next door, his negative stance towards the referential person is conveyed through multiple ways. One of them is his use of specific person references: “隔壁那个” *that next door neighbor* (line 18) and “隔壁那个人” *that next door person* (line 21). It is possible that the protagonist knows the name of the next door shop owner he refers to (given that they have been neighbors for a long time), but even if this is not the case, there is a shift from the likely default (e.g., “隔壁的张先生” *Mr. Zhang in the neighborhood* or “隔壁的店主” *the shop owner in the neighborhood*) to the marked form of “demonstrative prefaced descriptions” used here (see Stivers, Enfield and Levinson, 2007, for detailed discussion of person reference in interaction; see also, Schegloff, 1996b, 2007; Stivers, 2007; Lerner, 2007; Enfield, 2007). Similar to the use of *that* in demonstrative prefaced descriptions, here the demonstrative determiner ‘那’ *that* preceding a descriptive recognitional seems to be in the service of disassociating the referent from both the speaker and the addressee. In doing so, the speaker places the referent outside of the domain of responsibility of both interactants, and draws closer the relationship between the present interlocutors as it “invokes their shared position relative to the referent” (Stivers, 2007: 95). In the present environment, by placing the referent outside of the speaker’s interactional focal area or ‘here-space’ (Enfield, 2003), the protagonist is heard to implicitly convey his negative attitude toward the referent. Both person references (lines 18, 21) are accompanied by pointing gestures (lines 18, 21) as shown in Figures 3-5 and 3-6 respectively.

18 隔壁那个((pointing away))
That next door neighbor,



Figure 3-5. Wang's gesture accompanying his production of "*That next door neighbor*"

21 隔壁那个人, ((pointing))tsk,
that man in the neighborhood, tsk,



Figure 3-6. Wang's gesture accompanying his production of "*that man in the neighborhood*"

The old man's warning the addressee against trusting the neighboring shop owner is delivered in a strongly assertive manner, which is mainly achieved through the following means. The reporter not only attaches prosodic stresses on the negative imperatives (lines 18, "不::能相信" *don't trust (him)*, line 19, "不能相信" *don't trust (him)*), but also repeats the warning twice. These utterances are also produced with a speed that is slower, which takes up considerably more conversational time and, arguably, weight (Reed, 2011). Accompanying the verbal reporting, Wang waves his hand and shakes his head slightly (as shown in Figure 3-7 below), an embodied gesture that elaborates and reinforces the locutionary force of his verbal expressions.

18 不::能相信。
Don't trust him



19 ((pointing away)).hhh 啊不能相信,
Ah, don't trust him,



Figure 3-7. Wang's reported imperative "*Don't trust him.*"

The protagonist's strategy in speech is partly conveyed through the ways he excuses his interference (i.e., preventing others from visiting the neighborhood shop). In lines 20 and 21, the old man is reported to account for his meddling action by portraying it as arising out of a benevolent intention, namely the old man interferes in the addressee's best interest (lines 20, 21, “我是看你呀就小伙子挺::好, 找你来聊聊天儿” *I just thought you are a very:: good young man, (so I) reached out to you for a casual chat*). The reduplication of the verb “聊” *to chat* not only reduces the seriousness of the conversation between the old man and the reporter, but also reduces the purposeness on the speaker's part. Body movements are again used to add a sincere and wholehearted air to the protagonist's account: as the reporter produces “我是看你呀” *I just thought you*, he gazes at the recipient and pats him on the lap as shown in Figure 3-8 below. However, it is noticeable that this account is delivered with a much faster pace, which lessens its prominence (Reed, 2011) and renders it more like a less important parenthetical sequence.

20 我是看你呀((pats Dou on the lap))就小伙子挺::
好, 找你来聊聊天儿,
(because) *I thought you are a very good young man, I
want to have a casual chat with you,*



Figure 3-8. Wang's report of the protagonist's excuse

Another strategy the reported speaker uses to make his utterances appear objective and unbiased is his acknowledgement of some positive aspect of the referential person. When the old man re-mentions the referent (line 21, “隔壁那个人” *that guy in the neighborhood*), he cuts off what appears to be an assessment about his neighbor by producing a non-verbal noise “tsk”, and then inserts a piece of information stating that “隔壁那个人, tsk, 也不是个坏人家,” *that person in the neighborhood, tsk, is not a bad guy though* (lines 21, 22). Along with the production of this utterance, the reporter looks up with eyes rolling skywards, a facial expression seemingly indicating a thinking process, as shown in Figure 3-9. Again the prominence of this claim is reduced by the fast speech pace with which

the reporter articulates this utterance. In addition, the protagonist's reservation in making such a claim is conveyed through the negative format of this utterance (i.e., "也不是个坏人家", *is not a bad guy though*), which, compared to the regular affirmative form (e.g., "是个好人家" *is a good guy*), compromises his claim. Thereby, rather than being taken at the surface level, this subsidiary note arguably serves to enhance the objectivity of the speaker's utterances, rendering them less vulnerable to charges of being biased or self-serving.

22 ((looks up, eyes rolls skywards))也不是个坏人家,
is not a bad guy though,



Figure 3-9. Wang's embodied report of the utterance "*is not a bad guy though*"

Both strategies mentioned above constitute what M. Goodwin (1997: 78) calls "by-play", in which the evaluation made by the reporter temporarily strays from the actual storyline but nevertheless "serves to delineate the principal conversational activity in progress." Meanwhile, the weak acknowledgement of some merits of the other shopowner (line 22) per se foreshadows an impending unfavorable comment, and the rest of the talk here further suggests that this is the direction in which the speaker is headed. The contrast marker “但” *but* (line 23) signals the change of direction. In what follows, Wang quotes the old man's blatantly unfavorable remark concerning the antiques sold in the neighborhood shop (line 23, “但东西, (..) *都不是真的*” *but the stuff (he sells), none of them is authentic*). In contrast to the remarks in favor of the referential person (lines 21, 22), the denigrating comment here is delivered with a slower pace and emphatic prosody, which are "contextualization cues" (Gumperz, 1982: 130-152, 1999) keying the reported speaker's stance towards the assessable, and suggesting to the audience a desirable interpretation of his utterances.

What is also noticeable about this negative comment is the expression “都” *all* in this utterance makes it an "extreme-case formulation," which is defined as an unmitigated, categorical claim about what is or is not the case in

the world (Pomerantz, 1986). According to Edwards (2000), most instances of extreme case formulations are not softened or qualified in natural conversation, thus suggesting that ECFs are "hearably noniteral, performative, or indexical of investment – that is, offered and received as something other than accountably accurate proposals about the world" (p. 369). In the current example, the extreme case formulation that “但东西, (..) *都不是真的*” *but the stuff (he sells), none of them is authentic* (line 23) is not to be taken as a factual claim, but rather a rhetorical move, reinforcing the strength of the speaker's claim. The sincere manner with which the protagonist makes this assertion is again conveyed through the reporter's embodied enactment: Wang again pats the audience member on his lap when articulating this utterance, as shown in Figure 3-10.

23 但东西, ((pats Dou on the lap)) (..) *都不是真的*。
But the stuff (he is selling), none of them is authentic.



Figure 3-10. Wang's embodied report of the protagonist's comment "*But the stuff (he is selling), none of them is authentic.*"

As we have seen in the previous analysis, the first reporting organizes the narrative along a plotline that exhibits a coherent progression of events located in some past time and place with considerable details. The encore reporting, in contrast, is presented elliptically: after reporting the protagonist's brief and formulaic greeting to a passerby, the reporter noticeably adopts a lower voice and quotes the upshot of the old man's utterances warning the passerby against trusting the next-door shop owner (line 29). As he utters “不能相信” *Don't trust him* (line 29), he waves his hand, a gesture signaling disapproval, as illustrated in Figure 3-11. However, unlike the embodied displays in the prior reporting sequence, the reporter's gestures, facial expressions and body movements in the repetitive report are swiftly performed and never get fully expressed.



Figure 3-11. Wang's embodied report of the upshot of story in the encore reporting

It is remarkable that in the encore reporting, all the details of the exchanges between the reporter (Wang) and the old man are omitted. The omission of details is crucial. Instead of providing detailed descriptions of the protagonist's activities, the reporter portrays the anecdote as a habitual activity that the reported person constantly carries out, especially via the existential structure “有人一经过 *when there are people passing by*” (line 26). The existential “有” *there be* structure indicates that the reported activity (i.e., preventing people from visiting the neighboring shop) is occasioned by the availability of passersby. The syntactic construction “一” (*once, as long as*) (line 26) particularly highlights the promptness of the ensuing activity, namely the reported person's greeting others who happen to pass by.

Moreover, these differences between the two reportings also seem to be determined by what the reportings are designed to do in their respective local contexts. The first reporting is proffered in the environment of assessment as an instance to flesh out the old Pekingese's wisdom in speech. Thus, the reporter vividly enacts the character's utterances through extensive use of lexico-syntactic resources, animated voicing, and body movements, in the service of evidencing the euphemistic features of the old Beijing dialect. As we have seen from the above analysis, this goal is particularly achieved through the protagonist's excusing his interference (lines 20, 21) and acknowledging some positive aspects of the referent (lines 21, 22). Thus, what seems to be a sabotage of a competitor's business has been skillfully manipulated into a heroic activity, where the reported speaker has rescued the young man from purchasing fake antiques. With these means, Wang has vividly demonstrated the strategies employed by the older generation in Beijing in delivering critiques.

The encore performance following the prior reporting seems to be occasioned by the recipients' affiliative reactions, i.e., their simultaneous explosion of laughter (lines 24, 25) and a recipient's appreciative comment (line 25, “这好玩儿” *this is hilarious*). Note that the second reporting is not an exact repetition of the first. Rather, it strips off all the rhetorical strategies identified in the original reporting: the reported turns in the encore report are not qualified or mitigated in any sense. In addition, the warning utterance “不能相信” *don't trust (him)* (line, 29) is the only element that remains stable across reportings, presumably because it carries out the real intention of the protagonist. With reduced granularity, the reporter in the encore reporting has shed an unfavorable light on the protagonist in the story: when all the rhetorical embellishments are taken out, what is left is the reported person's straightforward, bare, and blatant thwarting effort to dissuade people from visiting his competitor's shop underneath the polite, caring, and other-benefiting surface.

Consideration of a similar example will help us see how these features are borne out in another situation. Partial repetition of the prior reported speech as an encore performance is also visible in excerpt 3-2. In this case Mom informs her daughter (Wendy) of an incident about how Wendy's two-year-old niece is competent in speaking (lines 6-12) and performs a refrain of the punchline of the story afterwards (line 26). At the beginning of excerpt 3-2, Wendy initiates the topic of her niece's language competence with a question, which is packaged as a declarative statement plus a question ending particle “吧” *ba* (line 1, “特能说[了吧” *already very competent in speaking BA*). In contrast to regular *yes/no* questions formulated with the question-ending particle “吗” *MA*, a question ended with “吧” *BA* signals more certainty on the questioner's part. Thus, by designing her turn this way Wendy is not so much asking a question seeking information, but instead inviting confirmation from the addressee. Mom's response to this *yes/no* question is not a type-conforming “对啊” *right* or “是啊” *yeah* (Raymond, 2002: 16), but rather repeats part of the question by stating “[说::啊” *spea::k* with further expansion “说好多话了” *can say a lot of things* (line 2). Mom's repetitional answer asserts her epistemic and social entitlement to the matter being addressed and does so by

'confirming' rather than affirming the proposition raised by the questioner (Schegloff, 1996a; Raymond, 2003; Stivers, 2005; Stivers and Hayashi, 2010). To Mom's response, Wendy further confirms with “她是，现[在是-” *she indeed is, [now (she) indeed is-* (line 5).

Excerpt 3-2 Learning to speak

- 1 Wendy: [特- 特 能 说 [了 吧.
 very very capable speak PFV PRT
 [very- *already very competent in speaking.*
- 2 Mom: [说:: 啊, 说 好 多 话 了.
 speak PRT speak very many speech PFV
 [spea::k, *can say a lot of things.*
- 3 Wendy: [啊.
 PRT
 [ah.
- 4 Tim: [唉, 你 别 弄 那 个. ((directed at his son))
 PRT 2SG don't do that CL
 [hi, *don't touch that.*
- 5 Wendy: 她 是, 现[在 是-
 3SG COP now COP
she indeed is, [now (she) indeed is-
- 6 Mom: [你 看 昨天, (0.4) [她::: 在, 喂 她 饭 的 时候,
 2SG see yesterday 3SG at feed 3SG meal NOM time
 [you see yesterday, (0.4) *she::: was, when (I) fed her,*
- 7 Wendy: [嗯。
 PRT
 [en.
- 8 Mom: 1→ 说 你:: (.) 嗯, 嘴 里 吞 了 没有::,
 say 2SG PRT mouth inside swallow PFV not
 (I) said you:: (.) *eh, did you swallow what's in your mouth::.*
- 9 Wendy: 嗯.
 PRT
 en.
- 10 Mom: 1→ 说 再 喂 她 一 口, [她 说,
 say again feed 3SG one mouth 3SG say
 (I)said I fed her one more mouthful, [she said,

- 11 Wendy: [嗯.
PRT
[en.
- 12 Mom:1→ 你们 说话 的 时候 啊, (0.8) 我 没 嚼::,
2PL speak NOM time PRT 1SG not chew
就 慌::忙:: 地 吞 下 去 了.
then hastily ADV swallow down PFV
*when you were talking, (0.8) I didn't chew::, and then swallowed it down **hastily::**.*
- 13 (..)
- 14 Wendy: 啊::@? (1.1) [@ 她 还 挺 会 说@
PRT 3SG even very capable speak
*Ah:: ((laugh))? (1.1) **She is really competent in speaking.** ((smiling voice))*
- 15 Mom: [@@@哦::.
PRT
((laugh)) *uh::.*
- 16 (..)
- 17 Mom: 哦:: (0.4) 哎, 说:: 话 说 得, (0.5) 句子 都 挺 长.
PRT PRT speak speech speak DVC sentence all very long
uh:: (0.4) ei, (she) speaks, (0.5) sentences are all very long.
- 18 比@ [她 哥哥@ (0.5)
compare 3SG older-brother
compared to her older brother (0.5) ((smiling voice))
- 19 Wendy: [@@
- 20 Mom: .hh @@小 的 时候@ 说 话 说 得
small NOM time speak speech speak DVC
清白 多 啦.
clear more PRT
.hh ((laugh)) *when he was at this age, (she) speaks **much clearer.***
- 21 Wendy: @是:: 吗::@
COP Q
really:: ((smiling voice))
- 22 (0.7)
- 23 Wendy: [↑唉::,
PRT
[↑ei::,

24 Mom: [啊哈.
PRT
[ah-huh.

25 Wendy: 哎:::呀.
PRT
ah:::ya.

26 Mom: 2→ 她 还 来 个, (0.7) 嗯::, 还 来 个, 说,
3SG even come CL PRT even come CL say
慌忙 地 吞 下去 了.
hastily ADV swallow down PFV
she even gave a, (0.7) eh::, even gave a, said, **swallowed down hastily**.

27 Wendy: @[@@。

28 Mom: [@@[@@。

29 Wendy: [那 她 可 是(.) [说 话 够 [高级的。
then 3SG indeed COP speak speech very advanced
[then she is really, (.) at an **advanced** level of speech.

In Mom's original reporting, she packages the narrative with great details. She prefaces her narrative with a discourse marker “你看” *you see* (line 6), which orients the recipients' attention to the upcoming talk as an account, evidence, or an excuse in support of the speaker's position (Li and Yin, 2011). This discourse marker also serves as a linking device showing that Mom's upcoming narrative is not produced as a sudden remembering, but as continuous with prior talk as a “triggered story” (Jefferson, 1978). With a “temporal locator” (Jefferson, 1978) (line 6, “昨天, 她:::在, 喂她饭的时候,” *yesterday, she was, when she was fed*), Mom places the story in a past time frame before reporting her dialogue with the girl. The quotative marker “说” *say* in lines 8 and 10 explicitly signals the upcoming talk as quotations, and the attributed speaker is omitted, anaphorically referring to the storyteller herself. In lines 8 and 10, the storyteller shifts her ‘footing’ (Goffman, 1981) to report her own question addressed to the girl in the recounted context. These two reported turns are delivered in a quite plain fashion, with the prior being articulated in the speaker's normal voice (line 8, “你:::(.)嗯, 嘴里吞了没有:::,” *(I) said you::: (.) eh, did you swallow what's in your mouth:::*), and the latter in even less dramatic indirect reported speech (note the shifts of person

pronouns in “说再喂她一口” (*I said I fed her one more mouthful* in line 10). These prosodic and syntactic treatments establish the status of Mom's self-quotations as background information.

The girl's response, in contrast, is presented with more melodramatic effects. This response is introduced by a quotative marker “她说” *she said* (line 10), explicitly attributing the upcoming talk to the girl. After Wendy gives a ‘go-ahead’ “嗯” *en* (line 11), Mom animates the girl's utterance by adopting a high-pitched voice and states that “你们说话的时候啊, (0.8) 我没嚼::, 就慌::忙::地吞下去了。” *when you were talking, (0.8) I didn't chew::, and just swallowed it down hastily::* (line 12). The 0.8 second pause in between the two phrases, and the elongation on multiple words slow down the articulation of this reported turn. By designing her turn this way, Mom captures the girl's attentive and deliberate manner in producing her response. This quotation is also remarkable for its lexico-syntactic features, especially given that it is claimed to be produced by a two-year-old. First, it is rather complex in syntactic structure: it is constructed as a complex sentence encompassing a temporal adverbial phrase “你们说话的时候啊” *when you were talking* and the main clause describing the girl's own action “我没嚼::, 就慌::忙::地吞下去了” *I didn't chew::, and just swallowed it down hastily::* (line 12). The main clause per se “我没嚼::, 就慌::忙::地吞下去了” is also complicated, describing two consecutive activities connected by an adverb “就” *then*, which is used to mark the prompt onset of the second action. Also unusual about this quotation is the girl's reported use of the highly formal expression “慌::忙::” *hastily* to describe the manner with which she carries out the action of “吞下去” *to swallow down* (line 12). Without explicitly commenting on the girl's language proficiency, Mom presents the girl's utterance in a way that enables the recipient to access and evaluate it by herself, thus lending an air of objectivity to her talk (Holt, 1996).

Mom's reported talk successfully elicits a prosodically stressed and lengthened ‘newsmark’ (Terasaki, 1976) from the recipient (line 14, “啊:::@? ” *Ah:: ((laugh))?*), registering the “unexpectedness of information conveyed in a prior turn at talk” (Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 2006:154). Since Wendy does not have independent access to the

scenario Mom has just reported, the story is a “B-event” for her, that is, as something “which B knows about but A does not” (Labov, 1972:301). Thus, her display of surprise or unexpectedness shows her alignment with the narrator’s treatment of the reported event as surprising, unusual, and noteworthy. Wendy further laughingly comments on what the story has implied so far concerning the girl’s superior language proficiency (line 14, “@她还挺会说.@” *She is really competent in speaking*). Her laughing voice suggests a playful tone in her surprise. Overlapping with Wendy’s utterance, Mom strongly confirms with an elongated agreement token “哦:” *uh::* (line 15).

As Jefferson (1978) has pointed out, an assessment is a prototypical telling-ending device. Here, the interlocutors are engaged in an assessment sequence, marking the completion of the prior telling. There is further work done by Mom with the expansion signaling the unusual aspect of the girl’s talk (line 17, “哎, 说:话说得, (0.5) 句子都挺长.” *ei, (she) speaks, (0.5) sentences are all very long*). She then initiates a comparison between the girl and her older cousin (i.e., Wendy’s son) with the verb of comparison “比” *compared to* (line 18). When mom mentions the cousin, she bursts into laughter, apparently concealing her embarrassment when she is about to make an unfavorable remark about Wendy’s son in favor of Wendy’s niece. This attempt, however, does not seem to present a face-threatening situation to Wendy, who jointly laughs (line 19). As Mom actually produces the comparison (line 20, 比@[她哥哥@ (0.5) .hh@@小的时候@说话说得清白多啦 *compared to her older brother, when he was at this age, (she) speaks much clearer*), Wendy again registers it as newsworthy with an enhanced newsmark “@是::吗::.@” *really* (line 21), followed by a series of prosodically stressed response cries (line 23, “↑唉::”, line 25, “哎::呀.”). Here we can see that Wendy’s reactions (her affiliative laughter and comments) display her alignment with Mom with respect to what the story purports to convey. That is, the girl in question possesses an extraordinary capability in speech. In this example, evaluation is jointly accomplished by both participants who share a stance, and create solidarity among themselves.

It is in the context of solidarity that Mom carries out an encore performance of her reporting (line 26, “她还来个, (0.7) 嗯::, 还来个, 说, **慌忙地吞下去了。**” *she even gave a, (0.7) eh::, even gave a, said, **swallowed down hastily***). Note that this repetitive quotation is preceded by a non-typical quotative marker “她还来个” *she even gave a* (line 26). The expression “来个” (*to give a*), which is generally used in inviting an encore performance during a play, indexes the performative nature of the girl’s talk, and conveys the reporter’s treatment of the girl’s utterances more as a spectacular performance rather than an ordinary response to her question. The Mandarin general classifier “个” *ge* further signals the reported speech as a fairly complete unit crystallized through repetitive telling. Moreover, as Biq (2004: 1664) has observed, the sense of minimum/small quantity expressed by *ge* “gives rise to the trivializing interpretation of the entire verbal activity: in asserting doing some activity for the minimum in degree or quantity, the speaker suggests the trivialness, casualness, or unremarkableness in doing that activity.” In this case, the trivialness and casualness suggested by “个” does not trivialize the child’s speech activity, but rather conveys the speaker’s condescending attitude with which she comments on a precocious grandchild.

Once again, the original report and the encore report are presented with distinct granularity. Table 3-2 shows their contrasts. As we can see from Table 3-2, peripheral information, such as background information and organizational utterances (e.g., the reporter’s utterances addressed to the girl), is omitted. In addition, the complex syntactic structure of the girl’s talk (i.e., “...的时候, 就...” *when... then...*) is elided as well. What remains in the encore report is the formal expression “**慌忙地**” *hastily* (line 26), which shows what the reporter herself takes as the most remarkable element in the girl’s utterances. The repetition of the phrase “**慌忙地**” *hastily* (line 26) coupled with prosodic stress on it further singles it out of the bulk of the surrounding talk. This replay again elicits the second round of joint laughter by the participants (lines 27, 28). Wendy further upgrades her comments from the previously generic remark (line 14, “**她还挺会说**” *she is really competent in speaking*) to a more specific statement

about the girl’s speech proficiency level (line 29, “[那她可是(.)][说话够[高级的.]” *then she is really, (.) at an advanced level of speech*).

Original report	Encore report
6 [你看昨天, (0.4) [她:::在, 喂她饭的时候, [you see yesterday, (0.4) she::: was, when (I) fed her; 8 说你:::(.)嗯,嘴里吞了没有:::, (I) said you::: (.) eh, did you swallow what’s in your mouth::: 10 说再喂她一口, (I)said I fed her one more mouthful,	
10 她说, [she said, 12 你们说话的时候啊, (0.8) 我没嚼:::, 就慌:::忙:::地吞下去了. when you were talking, (0.8) I didn’t chew:::, and then swallowed it down hastily :::	26 她还来个, (0.7)嗯:::, 还来个, 说, 慌忙地吞下去了. she even gave a, (0.7) eh:::, even gave a, said, swallowed down hastily .

Table 3-2. Comparison of mom’s original and encore reportings in the *Learning to speak* narrative

To sum up, the examples presented above have exemplified a common context where immediate repetitive reported speech occurs, specifically in an affiliative environment where a shared stance has been established among the interlocutors. In both excerpts 3-1 and 3-2, the reported speech turns are placed in a distinct sequential position after a prior assessment (line 4 for excerpt 3-1, and lines 1-2 for excerpt 3-2), in service of offering evidence for the speakers’ prior claims. In many cases exemplified by excerpts 3-1 and 3-2, after the reporters have successfully elicited affiliation from the recipients, they may offer an encore performance of reporting, elliptically rerunning the gists in the prior reported turns. By doing so, the reporters highlight what they consider the most prominent in the original reports, suggest a desired way of interpreting the reported utterances, and engage the recipients in further alignment.

3.3 Same-Person IRRS as an Attempt to Manage Potentially Problematic Situations

While some reported speech utterances get repeated as an encore performance as illustrated in excerpts 3-1 and 3-2, others are retold for different purposes. This section examines another common environment where same-person IRRS recurrently occurs, namely a report may be repeated to negotiate conflicts or potentially problematic situations arising in the course of interaction. The adjustments the reporter makes in his/her subsequent repetitive report are not directed to the “correctness” of what is said, but rather are bound up with resolving sources of troubles

associated with, say, a potentially face-threatening action (e.g., self-compliment), the speaker's dubious epistemic authority and responsibility for described actions, or difficulties on the recipient's part to align with the reporter. The extracts examined in this section illustrate the aforementioned three situations respectively.

3.3.1 Same-person IRRS occasioned by a self-complimentary sequence

Excerpt 3-3 illustrates a case where the same-person IRRS is occasioned by a potentially problematic situation, specifically, the recipients' enthusiastic compliments of their own son in the face of an extended family member. This excerpt is taken from a telephone conversation between a couple in the US (Helen and Tony) and Helen's older sister in China (Janet). Prior to this excerpt, they have been talking about Helen's one-year-old son, who is currently staying with his grandma in China. In this conversation, Janet, as one of the temporary caretakers of the boy, is reporting to the couple how the boy keeps looking for his parents, which ends up annoying her.

Excerpt 3-3 Looking for mom

- 1 Janet: 而且 他- 他 反正- 他 听话::。
 moreover 3SG 3SG anyway 3SG obedient
and anyway he- he is obedient::.
- 2 Tony: 啊: : 。
 PRT
ah::.
- 3 Janet: 1→ 啊, 因为 他 有 时候 说, 说 那 个::,
 PRT because 3SG have time say say that CL
 (.) 说::, <VOX>找 妈妈::,((crying voice))<VOX>
 say look-for mother
ah, because he sometimes said, said that::, (.) said::, <VOX>look for mom:. <VOX>
- 4 1→ 找 妈妈。我 要 妈妈。然后 我 说,
 look-for mother 1SG want mother then 1SG say
 妈妈 在 美国 呢, 然后 呢,
 mother at US PRT then PRT
look for mom. I want mom. Then I said, mom is in the US, and then,
- 5 Helen: 啊。
 PRT
ah.

- 6 Janet: 1→ 过 一 段儿::, 你::, 回 美国,
pass one period-of-time 2SG return US
after a while::, you::, go back to the US,
- 7 Helen: [啊。
PRT
ah.
- 8 Janet: 1→ [就 去 找 妈妈 去。
then go look-for mother go
then you can go find your mom.
- 9 Helen: 啊。
PRT
ah.
- 10 Janet: 1→ 然后 我 说, 然后 那 个 他 说,
then 1SG say then that CL 3SG say
<VOX>找 姥::姥, 找 姥姥::<VOX>.
look-for grandmother look-for grandmother
then I said, then that he said, look for grandma::, look for grandma::.
- 11 Helen: @@@
((laugh))
- 12 Janet: 1→ 然后 我 说, 姥姥 去 买- 买 大 公鸡 去 了。
then 1SG say grandmother go buy buy big rooster go PFV
then I said, grandma went to buy- buy big rooster.
- 13 Helen: @@@@。
((laugh))
- 14 Janet: 1→ 到 时候 给 你 做 大 公鸡 吃::。
arrive-at time for 2SG cook big rooster eat
then (when she comes back, she) cooks big rooster for you to eat::.
- 15 Helen: [@@哎::哟@。
PRT
ay::yo ((laughing voice))
- 16 Janet: 1→ [然后 他 说, <VOX> 好 吧。 <VOX>
then 3SG say good PRT
[then he said, alright.
- 17 Helen: [@@@@@
((laugh))

- 18 Tony: [@@@@
((laugh))
- 19 Janet: 啊。(.) 真的@: :
PRT real ATTR
ah. (.) indeed:: ((laughing voice))
- 20 Tony: 他[就 是 那 种: : ,
3SG just COP that type
he [is exactly that kind:: of,
- 21 Janet: [你 就 跟 他 说 就 成::。
2SG just to 3SG speak then fine
[you just tell him what to do then everything is fine::.
- 22 Helen: ↑对。 他 听 劝::。
right 3SG listen-to persuasion
↑*right. He is persuadable::.*
- 23 (.)
- 24 Helen: 讲 道理::。
talk reason
reasonable::.
- 25 Janet: =啊, 他听劝::。
PRT 3SG listen-to persuasion
=ah, he is persuadable::.
- 26 Helen: 嗯。
PRT
en.
- 27 Janet: → 但是 他 那 个, 他 话-
but 3SG that CL 3SG speech
>车 转 轱 话 地 来 回 说。 < 你 知 道 吗。
car wheel speech ADV back-and-forth speak you know PRT
but he that, his words- >(he) speaks ramblingly and repetitiously like a rolling wheel. < do you know.
- 28 (.)
- 29 Tony: [@@@。 ((smiling softly))
[((smiling softly))
- 30 Helen: [他 说 什 么 啊: : 。
3SG say what PRT
[what does he say::.

- 31 Janet: 2→ 他 就 是- [他 就 是 说 找 姥姥, [(然后)@@
 3SG just COP 3SG just COP say look-for grandmother then
he just- [he just says look for grandma, [(and then) ((laugh))
- 32 Tony: [找- [@找 妈妈。
 look-for look-for mother
 [look- [((laugh))look for mom.
- 33 Janet: 2→ 又 要 找 妈妈。
 again want-to look-for mother
then again (he) wants to look for mom.
- 34 Helen: 哈@@@@。
 Ah@@@@. ((laughing wildly))
- 35 Janet: 2→ 我 说 妈妈 在 美国, 在 上 学:: 然后
 1SG say mother at US ASP attend school then
 等 你 回去 再 找 妈妈。 找 姥姥。@@@@
 wait 2SG return again look-for mother look-for grandmother
I say mom is in the US, is in school::. Then when you go back you can look for mom then. Look for grandma.
 ((laugh))
- 36 Helen: 啊::::?
 PRT
 ah::::?
- 37 Janet: 他 要是 烦 了 以后, @@@他就- 他 就
 3SG if annoyed CST after 3SG then 3SG then
 这么 着 折- 折磨 你@@@。
 this ATTR torture torture 2SG
when he gets bored, he will- he will torture- torture you like this ((laughing voice))
- 38 [你 知 道 吗。 @@@
 2SG know PRT
do you know. ((laugh))
- 39 Helen: [@@[@@@@@。
 ((laughing loudly))

At the beginning of this excerpt, Janet characterizes the boy in question as being obedient (line 1, “而且他- 他反正- 他听话:::” and anyway he- he is **obedient::**). This claim is followed by an anecdote told by Janet to illustrate the boy’s obedience from lines 3-16, which is the first reporting of the incident. The second cycle of reporting occurs several turns later, from lines 27-35. The second reporting is not necessarily briefer than the first one, but the two

reportings highlight different aspects of the reported event: while the first reporting vividly restages the past conversation portraying the protagonist as obedient and reasonable, the second stresses the annoying part of the incident by presenting the repetitious pattern of the protagonist's activity.

Consider the original reporting first. In lines 3 and 4, Janet animates the boy's insistent requests looking for his mother with a whiny and crying voice (“找妈妈:, 找妈妈。 我要妈妈。” *look for mom:., look for mom. I want mom*). The repetition of “找妈妈” *look for mom* and the self-centered expression “我要妈妈。” *I want mom* convey the self-involved and urgent voice of a little boy. This pattern is similarly presented as Janet reports the boy's second attempt looking for his other custodian (i.e., his grandma) (line 10, notice the repetition of “找姥::姥, 找姥姥::” *look for grandma:., look for grandma::*). The lengthening and stress on “姥姥::” *grandma::* further add a longing and begging quality to the boy's voice.

Several things can be noted about Janet's self-quoting her responses to the boy's requests (lines 4, 6, 8 in response to the boy's first request, and lines 12, 14 to the second). When she is reported to speak with the boy, Janet uses a raised pitch and adopts a greater degree of prosodic variation. She also speaks at a slower tempo: her utterances are short, segmented by regularly spaced brief pauses (note the rhythmic pauses in Janet's utterance in lines 6 and 8 “过一段儿::, 你::, 回美国, 就去找妈妈去。” *after a while::, you::, go back to the US, then you can go find your mom*). Thus, Janet's utterances are set off from the surrounding talk by paralinguistic features such as timing and rhythm as well as exaggeration of intonation, features that characterize “motherese” (Beebe et al., 1979; Fernald, 1983; Stern and Gibbon, 1979; Stern et al., 1983; Stern et al. 1977). Moreover, in her self-quotations, Janet also simplifies her vocabulary choices when speaking with the baby boy. In particular, her use of the hypocoristic term “大公鸡” *big rooster* (lines 12, 14) displays endearment. In response to both requests, Janet is reported to provide detailed accounts for her failure to grant the boy's requests, rather than directly rejecting them. By designing

her turn this way, Janet portrays herself as being patient and caring in dealing with the boy's requests, thus shedding a positive light on herself.

In response to Janet's explanation, the boy is reported to give an abrupt and clear-cut receipt token “*好吧*” *alright* (line 16), signaling his understanding of Janet's explanation as a rejection. The word that he uses to do this, “*好吧*” *alright*, is in this sense a “rejection finalizer” (Davidson, 1984, 1990). In other words, because Janet's explanation (lines 12, 14) is tantamount to the rejection of his request, the boy's “*好吧*.” indicates that he is not contesting the matter further but instead accepting and finalizing its outcome as rejection (Davidson 1984, 1990; Couper-Kuhlen 2009). This acknowledgement token attributed to the boy is delivered in a straightforward and prompt manner, thus contributing to portraying his image as a boy who is understanding and reasonable.

Janet's report elicits an explosion of joint laughter from the recipients (lines 17, 18). At the completion of this story, the interlocutors liberally take turns adding evaluative comments. Tony initiates a comment on the boy categorizing him as belonging to a type of person (line 20, “他[就是那种:]” *he is exactly that kind of-*), then cuts off this utterance in search of an appropriate evaluative term. Although Tony's utterance is unfinished, in the present context (that he is agreeing with Janet), the unsaid evaluative term is very likely to be a synonym of *obedient*, *understanding* or *considerate*. Helen also strongly concurs with positive remarks characterizing the boy as being persuadable (line 22, “他听劝:::” *he is persuadable:::*) and reasonable (line 24, “讲道理:::” *reasonable:::*).

Even though the recipients' responses are highly affiliative in that they agree with the narrator's position, they still touch upon a delicate issue in interaction. Tony and Helen's favorable remarks concerning their own son in face of an extended family member (Janet, who is the boy's aunt) seem to be somewhat problematic in the present interaction. Despite the fact that their positive evaluations are not directly addressed to themselves, the recipient of their compliment is a family member who is within their domain of responsibility, thus constituting a form of self-praise in a broader sense. As early conversation analytic work on the epistemics of self-assessment and constraints

against self-praise has shown, praising oneself is an interactionally delicate matter that may leave one vulnerable to “unfavorable character assessment” or accusations of bragging (Pomerantz, 1978:89).

Helen and Tony’s compliments on their own son seem to be “solicited boasting” (Myers, 2005:80), as they are responding to and agreeing with Janet. However, even in such situations, self-praise may still be fraught interactionally because of the potential existence of a norm that precludes the action of self-compliment “enforceable by self and/or other, in that order” (Pomerantz, 1978:88). It is also because of these constraints on self-praise that the recipients of compliments tend to downgrade, disagree with, or reject them (Pomerantz, 1978; see also Gathman et al., 2008; Golato, 2005; Hudak et al., 2010). In the present case, however, Helen and Tony’s somewhat overdone extolling of their son appears to violate the rule of *self-praise avoidance*. Significantly, the recipients’ comments solely focus on the boy while ignoring other equally noticeable and assessable elements in Janet’s narrative, especially the patient and caring image that Janet has portrayed of herself in her telling. This problematic situation seems to have provided a ground for Janet to shift her stance midway and to retell the anecdote from a distinct perspective, presumably as “a form of social control of minor conversational transgressions” (Drew, 1987:219).

In what follows, Janet marks a shift of her stance with a contrastive marker “但是” *but* (line 27), followed by a summary of the annoying part of the recounted anecdote (line 27, “他那个, 他话- > *车轱辘话的来回说*” *he is like, his words- (he) speaks ramblingly and repetitiously like a rolling wheel*). In doing so, she is making a pre-announcement (Terasaki, 2004), explicitly alerting the recipients to and helping them orient to the upcoming talk that will be delivered from an opposite perspective. At the turn final position, she engages the recipients with an interrogative “你知道吗” *do you know* (line 27), soliciting their attention to her talk and checking their position with respect to her unfavorable claim (Tao, 2003). The mini pause (line 28) after Janet’s status-checking “你知道吗” *do you know* indicates a lack of uptake by the recipients. Helen’s somewhat befuddled question “他说什么啊:.” *what did he say* (line 30) problematizes the mutual availability of the indexical reference, namely what Janet’s critical comment (line 27) actually refers to.

It is in this context – the recipients’ somewhat boasting activity, and their failure to recognize the referent of the narrator’s negative evaluation – that Janet is motivated to repeat her report. From lines 31 to 35, in response to Helen’s question (line 30), Janet repeats her prior reported dialogue in a relatively plain fashion compared to its prior reporting counterpart. The two reporting sequences are listed in Table 3-3 to facilitate comparison.

Original report	Repetitive report
1 Janet: 而且他- 他反正- 他听话:::。 and anyway he- he is obedient ::.	27 Janet: 但是他那个, 他话->车轱辘话的来回说。 < 你知道吗。 but he that, his words->(he) speaks ramblingly and repetitiously like a rolling wheel. < do you know.
3 Janet: 啊, 因为他有时候说, 说那个::, (..) 说::, 找妈妈:(crying voice), ah, because he sometimes said, said that::, (..) said::, look for mom:. 4 找妈妈。我要妈妈。 look for mom. I want mom.	31 Janet: 他就是-[他就是说找姥姥, [(然后)@@ he just- [he just says look for grandma, [(and then) ((laugh)) 33 又要找妈妈。 then again (he) wants to look for mom.
4 Janet: 然后我说, 妈妈在美国呢, 然后呢, Then I said, mom is in the US, and then, 6 过一段儿::, 你:: 回美国, after a while::, you::, go back to the US, 8 [就去找妈妈去。 then you can go find your mom.	35 Janet: 我说妈妈在美国, 在上学::。然后等你回去再找妈妈。 @@@@ I say mom is in the US, is in school::. Then when you go back you can look for mom then.
10 Janet: 然后那个他说, 找姥姥::, 找姥姥::. then that he said, look for grandma::, look for grandma ::.	找姥姥。 look for grandma. ((laugh))
12 Janet: 然后我说, 姥姥去买- 买大公鸡去了。 then I said, grandma went to buy- buy big rooster: 14 到时候给你做大公鸡吃::。 then (when she comes back, she) cooks big rooster for you to eat::.	∅
16 Janet: [然后他说, <VOX>好吧。 <VOX> then he said, alright .	
17 Helen: [@@@@@ 18 Tony: [@@@@@	36 Helen: 啊::::? ah::::? 37 Janet: 他要是烦了以后@@@他就- 他就这么着折- 折磨你@@@。 when he gets bored, he will- he will torture- torture you like this ((laughing voice))

Table 3-3. Janet’s original and repetitive reports in the *Looking for mom* narrative

In an attempt to reiterate the narrative, Janet initiates an explanation “他就是” *he is just*, cuts it off at “是-”, and then resumes it with an indirect report of the boy’s requesting utterance “他就是说找姥姥” *he just said look for*

grandma (line 31). In overlapping with Janet's utterance (line 31), Tony attempts an interpretation by stating the main verb “找-” *look for* (line 32), and further displays his recognition of the pattern for the boy's requests (i.e., the people being sought alternate between his mother and grandma) by completing Janet's utterance with “找妈妈” *look for mom* (line 32). This understanding is confirmed by Janet with a repetition “又要找妈妈” *then again (he) wants to look for mom* (line 33). Helen registers her understanding of the stated pattern with a surprise token inflected with laughter “哈@@@@” (line 34) (Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 2006:170), suggesting a nonserious and appreciative aspect to that surprise. Note that in this case, the boy's requests are delivered in a quite bland fashion, lacking intonational variation or voice qualities that feature in the previous reporting sequence. However, it has sufficiently conveyed the rambling and circular manner in which the boy makes the requests, as evidenced by the recipients' appreciative responses mentioned above.

Janet's report could have been complete here, as alignment and understanding have been achieved among the interlocutors. However, she further elaborates the reported scenario by repeating her explanation for the absence of the party being sought (line 35, “我说妈妈在美国, 在上学:: 然后等你回去再找妈妈” *I say mom is in the US, is in school:: Then when you go back you can look for mom then*). Then without an introductory quotative marker, the reporter animates the boy's follow-up request “找姥姥” *look for grandma* (line 35) as a Plan-B reaction to his previously failed attempt. As Mathis and Yule (1994) have noted, zero quotatives appear to be favored where the omission of a quotative may serve some dramatic effect, as when the use of a zero quotative in the report of an interaction is an iconic representation of one aspect of that interaction. Here the lack of explicit attribution allows the reporter to represent the urgency of the boy's response (i.e., an unfulfilled request is immediately followed by another request), thus capturing the repetitious and circular flavor of the boy's requesting actions. In line with her overall critical tone in the second reporting, the reporter further jocularly post-frames the reported activities as *torture* for her (line 37, “他要是烦了以后@@@他就- 他就这么着折- 折磨你@@@。” *when he gets bored, he*

will- he will torture- torture you like this). The unserious nature of this remark is revealed through the reporter's laughter dispersed in her turn, and is appreciated by Helen who jointly laughs (line 39).

As can be seen from excerpt 3-3, the repetitive reporting is occasioned by a potentially problematic situation in the interaction, namely the recipients' bragging about their son in face of an extended family member. The reporter's retelling of her story from a negative perspective constitutes a critical comment on the self-praisers (Pomerantz, 1978), thus enforcing the constraints against self-praise. While the first reporting sequence portrays the boy as being obedient and receptive, the subsequent repetitive reporting sheds a negative light on the same anecdote by stressing its circular and pestering nature. Furthermore, the second reporting is packaged in a remarkably plain fashion: when all the melodramatic effects associated with the first reporting are eliminated, what is highlighted here is not the manner in which these utterances are delivered (e.g., the boy's begging voice, the reporter's affectionate motherese), but rather the repetitive and circular pattern of the boy's requests (i.e., the object of his requests alternates between his mother and grandma).

3.3.2 Same-person IRRS occasioned by recipient's difficulty in aligning with the speaker

The repetition of a prior report may be triggered by other interactional troubles as well. In this section, I will examine an instance where the same-person IRRS is occasioned by the recipient's displayed difficulty in aligning with the speaker. In the case illustrated in extract 3-4, divergence between interlocutors arises concerning who should be held accountable for the reported incident. By revising her report through repetitive reporting, the reporter makes it easier for the recipient to align with her, and successfully elicits the recipient's affiliation and alignment. In this conversation, Jin is talking to her daughter Cindy on the phone about Cindy's two-year-old son, who recently paid a visit to Jin's house. At the beginning of this extract, Jin informs Cindy that the boy's cousin feels jealous of the boy (line 1, “所以那个吃醋啦。” *so that one was jealous*, line 3, “吃醋啦, 特不高::兴” (*she*) *was jealous, and*

very unhappy). From line 5 to line 23, Jin narrates a story to consolidate her prior statement concerning the cousin's jealousy.

Excerpt 3-4 Snake Firecrackers

- 1 Jin: 所以 咧:: 那 个 吃醋 啦。
so PRT that CL getting-jealous PRT
so:: that one was jealous.
- 2 Cindy: 啊哦: : : : 。
PRT
ah oh:::
- 3 Jin: 吃醋 啦, 特 不 高::兴((softly))。
getting-jealous PRT very not happy
jealous, very unha::py.
- 4 Cindy: [哎::哟。
PRT
[ay::yo.
- 5 Jin: [↑昨天 她 不 是::@@@@。
yesterday 3SG not COP
[↑yesterday wasn't:: she ((laugh))
- 6 Cindy: 啊。
PRT
ah.
- 7 Jin: 昨天 还 哭::。
yesterday even cry
yesterday (she) even cried::.
- 8 Cindy: [哎::呀。
PRT
[ay::ya.
- 9 Jin: [哭:: 咧 个, 呃, 她 是 那 个:: 冬冬
cry this CL PRT 3SG COP that C (person name)
不 是, 呃, 对 门 的 给 的 一 个::
not COP PRT opposite door NOM give NOM one CL
[cry:: this, eh, she was that:: wasn't Dongdong, eh, our neighbor gave (us) a::
- 10 Cindy: 嗯。
PRT
eh.

- 11 Jin: 一个那个:: 蛇::, 蛇:: 年 呗, 送 的 那 个,
 one CL that CL snake snake year PRT give NOM that CL
a that:: snake::, (because it is) the year of the snake, gave us that,
- 12 Cindy: 嗯 嗯。
 PRT PRT
eh eh.
- 13 Jin: 那个什么鞭炮 似的。假 鞭炮 似的, 那么一 挂 一 挂 的。
 that CL what firecracker similar fake firecracker similar that one chain one chain ATTR
that what (looks like) firecrackers. Like fake firecrackers, that kind of a chain of it.
- 14 Cindy: [啊 啊。
 PRT PRT
[ah-huh.
- 15 Jin: [就 还 一 条 蛇::。
 just still one CL snake
[just (in the shape of) a snake::.
- 16 Cindy: 啊::。
 PRT
ah::.
- 17 Jin: 好。(.) 咧 个, 咧 个 冬冬 害怕::。
 good this CL this CL (person name) scared
ok. (.) this Dongdong was scared::.
- 18 Cindy: [啊。
 PRT
[ah.
- 19 Jin: 1→ [说 害怕。[她 妈 就 说 了 一 嘴, 啊,
 say scared her mother just say PFV one mouth PRT
 弟弟 害怕, 你 不要 拿 了 吓唬 弟弟 呀。
 younger-brother afraid 2SG don't use PFV scare younger-brother PRT
*[said scared. Her mom just briefly mentioned, ah, your baby brother is afraid of that, don't use it to scare your
 brother YA.*
- 20 Cindy: [啊啊。
 PRT
[ah ah. 啊啊。
 PRT
ah ah.
- 21 Jin: 1→ 好, 她 就 觉得 委屈 啦, (.)
 good 3SG then feel being-treated-unfairly PRT
 她说 弟弟 害怕,
 3SG say younger-brother afraid
ok, (immediately) she felt like being treated unfairly, (.) she said my brother was scared,

- 22 1→ 她 说<VOX> 我 没 有, (.) 吓唬 弟弟。<VOX>
 3SG say 1SG not have scare younger-brother
she said <VOX>I didn't, (.) scare my brother. <VOX>
- 23 Cindy: 啊啊。
 PRT
ah ah.
- 24 Jin: 啊::, 他 就 是 说 咧:: 抱 呗::, 咧 个:: 走 到 哪里 呀,
 PRT 3SG just COP say PRT hold PRT this CL walk to where PRT
ah::, that is, he was just:: holding:: it, this one::, wherever she goes,
- 25 2→ 弟弟, (.) 有 时候 啊 跟 着 去 啊, 他 还 喊- 还 喊 怕。
 younger-brother have time PRT follow DUR go PRT 3SG even yell even yell scared
*the brother, (.) sometimes follows her, and (surprisingly enough,) he even said- even said **scared**.*
- 26 Cindy: 啊。
 PRT
ah.
- 27 Jin: 2→ 还<VOX>怕 怕<VOX>. 他:: 咧 个::, 咧 个 他
 even scared scared 3SG this CL this CL his
 大姨 就 说 他 姐姐 呀,
 aunt then blame his older-sister PRT
even (said) <VOX>scared scared. <VOX> he:: this one::, this one his auntie then blamed his older sister,
- 28 2→ 说 你:: 不要 吓唬 弟弟。
 say 2SG don't scare younger-brother
said you don't scare your brother.
- 29 Cindy: [啊啊。
 PRT
[ah.
- 30 Jin: 2→ [弟弟 小::, [害怕, **不要** 吓唬。
 younger-brother small afraid don't scare
*[your brother is young::, [being afraid of that, **don't** scare him.*
- 31 Cindy: [啊, 啊。
 PRT PRT
[ah, ah.
- 32 Jin: 她 就 觉得 受 委屈 啦。 后来,
 3SG then feel receive unfair-treatment PRT later
 憋 了 半天 在 那儿 哭:: 上 了。
 suppress PFV long-time at there cry start-to PFV
*she then felt like being treated unfairly. later, after suppressing her feeling for quite a while **burst into tears**::*
over there.

- 33 Cindy: [哎::呀。
PRT
[ay::ya.
- 34 Jin: 2→ [<VOX>呃,((high pitched voice)) 我 没 有, 呃, 吓唬 弟弟::<VOX>.
PRT 1SG not have PRT scare younger-brother
[<VOX>eh, ((high pitched voice)) *I didn't, eh, scare my brother::*. <VOX>
- 35 Cindy: 哎::呀。
PRT
ay::ya.
- 36 Jin: @@@@
((laugh))
- 37 Cindy: 别 老是:: 是:: 说 她::。
don't always always blame 3SG
don't criticize her:: all:: the time.
- 38 (...)
- 39 Jin: 没 有 说::, 没 有 说::。 是,
not have blame not have blame COP
她 平常 都 是 受宠 的 咋::。(soft voice)
3SG normally all COP spoiled ATTR PRT
(We) *didn't criticize her, didn't criticize, it is (because) in general she is considered the apple of the eye::*

Jin's comment concerning the cousin's attitude (line 3, “吃醋啦，特不高::兴” *jealous, very unha::py*) sets a framework for the first telling. Then she shifts to a timeframe in the past (line 5, “昨天” *yesterday*) and announces the outcome of the anecdote (lines 5, 7, “↑昨天她不是:: @@@@. 昨天还哭::” ↑*yesterday wasn't:: she, yesterday (she) even cried::*). Note that after mentioning the incident “昨天她不是::” (line 5), Jin pauses and bursts into laughter, thus signalling that she is about to depict the protagonist in a way that recipients can align themselves with through laughter (Goodwin, in press). The laugh token that occurs here also provides a contextualization cue keying the mood or atmosphere of the subsequent telling (Gumperz, 1982, 1992; Auer and Di Luzio, 1992). This prelude of narrative generates enhanced response cries (Goffman, 1978) from the recipient Cindy (line 4, “哎::哟” *ay::yo*, line 8, “哎::呀” *ay::ya*), who displays her sympathy for the girl in question.

From line 9 to line 17, Jin introduces the background information for the reported anecdote, i.e., her neighbor gave them a chain of fake firecrackers in the shape of a snake, which scares the boy. The way the narrator organizes the recounted activities and her use of the discourse marker “好” *as a result*¹ suggest that the former activity (i.e., the presence of the snake-shaped firecrackers) is the cause for the boy’s panicked reaction. With an explicit quotative marker “她妈就说了一嘴” *her mom just briefly mentioned* (line 19), Jin quotes how the cousin’s mother warns her against teasing the boy with the snake firecrackers (line 19, “啊, 弟弟害怕, 你不要拿了吓唬弟弟呀.” *ah, your baby brother is afraid of that, don’t use it to scare your brother YA*). Several things can be noted about this quotation. First, it is given from the cousin’s vantage point, as a reference to other people (line 19, “她妈” *her mom*) is anchored to her. Second, the seriousness of this reported utterance is alleviated with the introductory phrase packaging the mother’s words as a gentle reminder “她妈就说了一嘴” (*her mom just briefly mentioned*). This reminder is also given in a patient and exhortative manner, in that it provides an account for issuing the reminder (i.e., line 19, “弟弟害怕” *your brother is afraid of that*) and the strength of the imperative is softened by the use of the sentence final particle “呀” *YA* (line 19).

The cousin’s reported responses are again prefaced with the discourse marker “好” *as a result* indicating a causal relationship between what has been stated before and what follows. Thus, the girl’s feeling of being treated unfairly (line 21, “她就觉得委屈啦” (*immediately*) *she felt like being treated unfairly*) is portrayed as a reaction to her mother’s preventative reminder. The adverb “就” *then* (line 21) marks the immediacy of her reaction following her mother’s talk. The mildness of the mother’s reminder and the girl’s prompt, strong reaction to it form a sharp contrast, contributing to portraying the girl as being petulant, spoiled and over-sensitive. When quoting the girl, the speaker is audibly adopting a voice that is higher in pitch and slower in pace, mimicking the voice of a little girl (line

¹ Jin speaks a southern dialect of Chinese. In this dialect, “好” is similar to English expressions such as *as a result*, *consequently*, or *it turns out to be*, indicating a causal relationship between what has been stated before and what follows.

22, “她说<VOX>我没有, (.) 吓唬弟弟。 <VOX>” *she said I didn't, (.) scare my brother*). The girl's reported negation of carrying out the activity warned against by her mother signals her understanding of her mother's words as an accusation.

Jin's narrative has hearably come to a completion here. At the story's completion, a teller generally engages in a search for the recipient's response, and an assessment made by the recipient is a prototypical telling-ending device, displaying his/her understanding of the story (Jefferson, 1978). Where we expect signs of appreciation or alignment, we get instead minimal recipient tokens “啊啊” *ah ah* (line 23) from the recipient. The basis for treating silence and minimal acknowledgement as indications of recipients' disalignment is well established in the research literature (e.g., see Pomerantz 1984; Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks 1977). However it is worth considering further what factors may account for the recipient's disalignment. The minimal response in this case either shows that Cindy takes the narrative as incomplete and thus suspends her assessment until a later moment, or exhibits certain difficulty on her part in displaying alignment with the narrator. No matter which account rings true, several factors appear to contribute to Cindy's lukewarm reactions. First, Cindy's agreement with Jin (i.e., viewing the girl in question as being jealous and spoiled) would be tantamount to criticizing her niece in favor of her own son, an action running the risk of sounding too defensive. Furthermore, grandma's criticism of one of her grandchildren in favor of the other may also be treated as biased, opinionated, and discriminatory, thus shedding a negative light on the storyteller herself. Probably due to these reasons, Cindy turns down the opportunity to display her alignment with Jin.

Jin's failure in obtaining the recipient's affiliation seems to have prompted her to retell the anecdote from a distinctively different perspective. Consider what happens next. In an attempt to explain with “他就是说咧::” *that is, he was just::* (line 24), Jin reframes the story and portrays the boy as culpable, who follows his cousin on his own initiative and ends up being terrified by the snake firecrackers (lines 24-25, “咧个::走到哪里呀, 弟弟, (.)有时候啊跟着去啊, 他还喊- 还喊怕。” *this one, wherever she goes, the brother, (.) sometimes follows her, and*

(surprisingly enough,) he even said- even said **scared**). The original report and the repetitive report are listed below in Table 3-4 to facilitate comparison.

Original report	Repetitive report
<p>1 Jin: 所以咧:: 那个吃醋啦。 <i>so:: that one was jealous.</i> 3 吃醋啦, 特不高::兴((softly)). <i>jealous, very unha::py.</i> 5 [↑昨天她不是:: @@@@。 ↑yesterday wasn't:: she ((laugh)) 7 昨天还哭::。 <i>yesterday (she) even cried::.</i> 9 [哭:: 咧个, 呃, 她是那个:: 冬冬不是, 呃, 对门的给的一个:: <i>cry:: this, eh, she was that:: wasn't Dongdong, eh, our neighbor gave (us) a::</i> 11 一个那个:: 蛇::, 蛇:: 年呗, 送的那个, <i>a that:: snake::, (because it is) the year of the snake, gave us that,</i> 13 那个什么鞭炮似的。假鞭炮似的那么一挂一挂的。 <i>that what (looks like) firecrackers. Like fake firecrackers, that kind of a chain of it.</i> 15 [就还一条蛇::。 <i>just (in the shape of) a snake::.</i></p>	<p>24 Jin: 啊::, 他就是说咧:: 抱呗::, 咧个::走到哪里呀, <i>ah::, that is, he was just:: holding:: it, this one::, wherever she goes,</i> 25 弟弟, (.)有时候啊跟着去啊, <i>the brother, (.) sometimes follows her,</i></p>
<p>17 好。(.)咧个, 咧个冬冬害怕:: .(.)ok. (.) <i>this Dongdong was scared::.</i> 19 [说害怕。</p>	<p>25 他还喊- 还喊怕。 <i>and (surprisingly enough,) he even said- even said scared.</i> 27 还<VOX>怕怕<VOX>. <i>even (said) scared scared.</i></p>
<p>19 [她妈就说了一嘴, 啊, 弟弟害怕, 你不要拿了吓唬弟弟呀。 <i>said scared. Her mom just briefly mentioned, ah, your baby brother is afraid of that, don't use it to scare your brother YA.</i></p>	<p>27 她::咧个::, 咧个他大姨就说他姐姐呀, <i>he:: this one::, this one his auntie then blamed his older sister,</i> 28 说你::不要吓唬弟弟。 <i>said you don't scare your brother.</i> 30 [弟弟小::, [害怕, 不要吓唬。 <i>your brother is young::, being afraid of that, don't scare him.</i></p>
<p>21 好, 她就觉得委屈啦, (.)她说弟弟害怕, <i>ok, (immediately) she felt like being treated unfairly, (.) she said my brother was scared,</i> 22 她说, 我没有, (.)吓唬弟弟。 <i>she said I didn't, (.) scare my brother.</i></p>	<p>32 她就觉得受委屈啦。后来, 憋了半天在那儿哭:: 上了。 <i>she then felt like being treated unfairly. later, after suppressing her feeling for quite a while burst into tears:: over there.</i> 34 [呃, ((high pitched voice))我没有, 呃, 吓唬弟弟::。 <i>eh, ((high pitched voice)) I didn't, eh, scare my brother::.</i></p>
<p>23 Cindy: 啊啊。 <i>ah ah.</i></p>	<p>35 Cindy: 哎::: 呀。 <i>ay:::ya.</i> 36 Jin: @@@@ 37 Cindy: 别老是:: 是:: 说她::。 <i>don't criticize her:: all:: the time</i></p>

Table 3-4. Jin's original and repetitive reports in the **snake firecrackers** narrative

As Table 3-4 shows, the two reporting sequences differ in many ways. First, consider the quotations attributed to the boy. In the first narrative (the left column of Table 3-4), the speaker plainly mentioned that the boy was

terrified without explicitly specifying the reason. In the second, the speaker clearly attributes the responsibility to the boy. With the adverb “还” *even* (line 25), the speaker signals her surprise at the recounted activity (i.e., the boy’s chasing what scares him), thus conveying a blaming tone of voice towards the boy in question. Moreover, the first quotation of the boy is plainly delivered as background information (lines 17, 19), whereas the second quotation adopts a relatively dramatic form that captures the simplicity and reduplicative nature of baby talk (line 25, “怕”, line 27, “怕怕”). By adding details to the boy’s utterances, the reporter portrays the boy’s pitiable image that arouses compassion from others, even though she also holds the boy “accountable” for the reported incident (for discussion of “accountability”, see Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1984a; Lynch, 1993).

The quotations attributed to the mother are represented differently as well. The first reporting takes the girl as the deictic center, as the reference term “她妈” *her mom* is anchored to the girl; the second reported speech, in contrast, is anchored to the boy, as the referencing terms “他大姨” *his auntie* and “他姐姐” *his sister* take the boy as the reference point. Moreover, unlike the first narrative, where the mother’s utterances are framed as a gentle, brief and innocuous reminder (line 19, “她妈就说了一嘴” *Her mom just briefly mentioned*), the second reporting explicitly packages the quotations of the mother as a reproach (line 27, “他大姨就说他姐姐呀” *his auntie then blamed his older sister*). The blaming tone is clearly conveyed through the verb “说” *to blame*. Important features can be noted about how the mother’s quotations are formulated. In the prior quote, with the sentence final particle “呀” *YA*, the mother’s utterance “啊, 弟弟害怕, 你不要拿了吓唬弟弟呀” *your baby brother is afraid of that, don’t use it to scare your brother YA* (line 19) is packaged more as an exhortation to forestall something that may happen in the future. In the second quote, in contrast, the imperative (lines 28, 30 “你::不要吓唬弟弟. 弟弟小::, 害怕, 不要吓唬.” *said you don’t scare your brother. your brother is young::, being afraid of that, don’t scare him*) is used to stop an activity that is in progress or to accuse someone of an action that has already been carried out. Without the

tone-softener “呀” YA, the second quoted imperative conveys a tone that is more determined, resolute, and unrelenting.

Significantly, in the second reporting, the girl’s reaction to her mother’s reprimand is designed with modifications that mark the narrator’s shift of stance. As can be seen in Table 3-4, both reporting versions depict the girl’s feeling as being treated unfairly with almost the same expression (line 21, “她就觉得委屈啦” *she felt like being treated unfairly*, line 32, “她就觉得受委屈啦” *she then felt like being treated unfairly*). Recall that in the first narrative, the girl is portrayed as a petulant and oversensitive child, who overreacts to her mother’s gentle reminder. In the second case, the reporter adds a piece of new information crucial for understanding the girl’s reaction. Specifically, the description concerning the girl’s strong self-control capability in line 32 (“憋了半天在那儿哭::上了” *after suppressing her feeling for quite a while burst into tears:: over there*) highlights the point that the girl in question is able to control her feelings, and her emotional explosion is a result of her being ill-treated, namely being criticized for something that she has not done. In this respect, the added information sheds a positive light on the girl and frames the girl’s upcoming quotations in a favorable fashion.

Regarding the quoted content, both quotations attributed to the girl are confessions of one’s innocence, delivered in a high-pitched, soft and gentle voice mimicking that of a girl’s. However, the first quote of the girl is represented with a relatively plain form “我没有, (.) 吓唬弟弟.” *I didn’t, (.) scare my brother.* (line 22), whereas in the second quote “呃, 我**没有**, 呃, 吓唬弟弟::” *eh, I **didn’t**, eh, scare my brother::.* (line 34), more paralinguistic resources are mobilized to create dramatic effects. The two hesitation markers “呃” *eh* dispersed in this quote (line 34), in particular, create a staccato speech, conveying a hesitant, pathetic and innocent manner with which the girl makes the plea. The prosodic stress on the negation term “**没有**” *didn’t* and the elongation on “弟弟::” *brother* further reinforce the strength of her negation.

Note that the recipient's responses precisely capture these different orientations in the two reportings. Initially, at the completion of the first narrative, the recipient's less than fully affiliative and somewhat disengaged responses (lines 20, 23, “啊啊” *ah ah*) register the receipt of the information but make no comments on it. In the second narrative, in contrast, Cindy registers the retold anecdote as something regrettable with prosodically emphatic response cries (line 33, “哎:::呀” *ay:::ya*, line 35, “哎:::呀” *ay:::ya*). Cindy then makes a strong request in the form of a negative imperative (line 37, “别老是::是::说她::.” *don't criticize her:: all:: the time*). The prosodic stress throughout the utterance and the adverb indicating high frequency “老是” *all the time* convey the speaker's strongly disapproving attitude toward the caretakers' prejudiced activities. Once again, this exhibits Cindy's understanding of the recounted situation as being unjust to the girl, and aligns her with the teller's positively valenced treatment of the girl as a victim. In subsequent turns, Jin apparently registers Cindy's words as a blame, and negates the activity being charged by stating “没有说::, 没有说:: 是, 她平常都是受宠的咋::.” (*We didn't criticize her, didn't criticize, it is (because) in general she is considered the apple of the eye::* (line 39).

As we can see from previous analysis of excerpt 3-4, when the recipient exhibits difficulty in aligning with the speaker, the speaker shifts her orientation and retells the anecdote from a different perspective. Specifically, this is done mainly through the ways in which the reported speech utterances are framed and delivered. In turning an initially culpable role into one that is victimized, the narrator manages to elicit affiliative responses from the recipient who shares her treatment of the protagonist as being unfairly treated. It is also important to notice that the target of the blame has shifted from the girl in the prior narrative to the boy and the adult caretakers in the retold story. And it is this shift in stance that makes it easier for Cindy to take a side. Moreover, distinct from previous examples (excerpts 3-1 to 3-2), where the repetitive reports are elliptical, the repetitive report here is represented with a greater degree of granularity. More details are provided to orient the recipient to a reading that favors the girl in question. By doing so, the reporter not only successfully engages the previously unsympathetic recipient, but also enables the interlocutors to gain a common ground concerning the gist of the story.

3.3.3 Same-person IRRS in the negotiation of speaker's epistemic authority

Extract 3-5 illustrates another context where same-person immediate repetitive reports occur, i.e., in the negotiation of speaker's epistemic authority on the recounted event vis-à-vis the recipients. Also involved is the issue concerning the "tellability" of a story. As Sacks (1992: 12) has pointed out, "the sheer telling of a story is something in which one makes a claim for its tellability. And its tellability can be dealt with. ... So the teller is going about working them up into something tellable." Recipients of a story, however, do not always credit a story for having the tellability that the storyteller claims. In such circumstance, one of the strategies a storyteller may use is to retell the story, emphasizing a previously neglected part in the story and thus highlighting its newsworthiness. Excerpt 3-5 is a case in point that illustrates how the storyteller reengages the recipients and justifies the tellability of the story by retelling her narrative.

In this conversation, a couple (Helen and Tony) and Helen's older sister Janet are talking on the phone about Helen and Tony's one-year-old son, who is currently living with his grandmother and is occasionally taken care of by Janet. At the beginning of this conversation, Janet informs the couple that their son is not able to use the potty trainer (lines 1-4). Her comment concerning the baby's failed attempt in potty training "他- 他- 他不行:::" *he just couldn't make it* (line 5) elicits appreciative laughter from Helen (line 5). From line 8 to line 20, Janet recounts an anecdote to evidence her claim in line 5.

Excerpt 3-5 Potty training

- 1 Janet: 我 把 丽丽 那 尿盆儿 也 带 来 啦,
1SG BA (person name) that potty-trainer also bring come PRT
I brought Lily's potty trainer.
- 2 Helen: 专门儿 [给 他 使 的.
especially give 3SG use NOM
especially [for him to use.
- 3 Janet: [然后 说 那 个,
then say that CL
[then it is said that,

- 4 Helen: 嗯.
PRT
eh.
- 5 Janet: 对 对 对. 他- 他- 他 不 行...
right right right 3SG 3SG 3SG not work
yeah yeah yeah. he- he- he doesn't know how to (use that).
- 6 (..)
- 7 Helen: [@@@.
[((laugh))
- 8 Janet: 1→ [他 就 说 呢, <VOX>拉- 拉臭, 拉臭, <VOX>
3SG then say PRT pass pass-stool pass-stool
[he then said eh, <VOX>p- poo poo, poo poo, <VOX>
- 9 1→ [我 就 说<VOX>那> 赶快 赶快 走<,
1SG then say that hurry hurry go
咱们 去 那 个,> 脱 裤子 坐 尿盆儿.< <VOX>
1PL go that CL take-off pants sit-on potty-trainer
[Then I said <VOX>in that case >hurry up hurry up<, let's go to use that, >take off your pants and sit on the potty trainer.< <VOX>
- 10 Helen: [啊. 啊.
PRT PRT
[ah. ah.
- 11 Tony: 不 行...
not work
(he) couldn't make it::.
- 12 Janet: 1→ 一 坐 到 那儿 又<VOX> 没 有...<VOX>
once sit at there again not have
once he sat there again (he was like) <VOX>nothing::.. <VOX>
- 13 Helen: 啊.
PRT
ah.
- 14 Janet: 1→ <VOX>没 有::.. <VOX>
not have
<VOX>nothing::.. <VOX>
- 15 Tony: @@@@. ((laughing silently))
((laughing silently))

- 16 Janet: 然后 那 个::,
then that CL
then that::,
- 17 Helen: 嗯.
PRT
eh.
- 18 Janet: 然后 你 把 他 扶 起来 吧,
then 2SG BA 3SG hold up PRT
then once you took him off the toilet,
- 19 Helen: 嗯.
PRT
eh.
- 20 Janet: 嘿, (..) 他 就 开始 站 着 使劲儿.
PRT 3SG then start-to stand DUR push
hey, (..) he then started to stand there pushing.
- 21 Helen: 他 不 会:: [他::
3SG not can 3SG
he doesn't know how:: [he::
- 22 Janet: [然后-
then
[then-
- 23 Helen: 他 不 会 蹲 那 [个.
3SG not can squat that CL
he just cannot sit on that [stuff.
- 24 Janet: [是 是 是. ((clear throat)) 是. 然后 他- 他,
yes yes yes yes then 3SG 3SG
[yeah yeah yeah. ((clear throat)) yeah. then he- he,
- 25 不过 他 对 那 还 挺 感 兴趣::
but 3SG to that still very feel interest
but he is very interested:: in that.
- 26 Helen: [啊::
PRT
[ah::
- 27 Janet: 2→ [他 老 逗 你::, 他 说 <VOX>拉 臭臭, 臭臭::<VOX>
3SG always tease 2SG 3SG say pass stool stool
[he always teases you::, he says <VOX>poo poo, poo poo:: <VOX>.

28 Helen: [啊::.
PRT
[ah::.

29 Janet: 2→ [我 说> 走 走 走<, 咱们 去::. 然后 他
1SG say go go go 1PL go then 3SG
就, 又 说, <VOX> 没 有::<VOX>.@@
then again say not have
[I say >go go go<, let's go::. Then he says, again says, <VOX>nothing:: <VOX>. ((laugh))

30 Helen: 唉@@@@@哟.
PRT
ay@@@@@yo. ((laughing voice))

With the quotative marker “他就说” *he then said* (line 8), Janet explicitly frames the upcoming talk as a quotation of the boy, which is a request for using the toilet (line 8, “他就说呃, 拉- 拉臭, 拉臭,” *he then said eh, p-poo poo, poo poo*). The simplified syntax and word choice in the boy’s quotation “拉- 拉臭, 拉臭” work to capture features of the baby’s talk. The repetitive use of the term “拉臭” *poo poo* also conveys the urgency of this request. Following the child’s lead, Janet gives “follow-in directives” (Mccathren et al., 1995) that are directives communicating to the child her expectation that he does something (line 9, “我就说那>赶快赶快走<, 咱们去那个,> 脱裤子坐尿盆儿.<” *Then I said in that case >hurry up hurry up<, let's go to use that, >take off your pants and sit on the potty trainer.<*). Note that Janet’s reported response also embodies the urgency of the requested matter through the fast delivery of her directives (marked by pairs of pointed arrows > < in line 9). Moreover, the detailed instruction provided in the speaker’s reported directives to the baby “脱裤子坐尿盆儿” *take off your pants and sit on the potty trainer* (line 9) characterizes the patient manner with which she talks to the child.

Tony’s response registers his prediction of the failed attempt to potty train by partially repeating Janet’s prior comment “不行:::.” *couldn't make it* (line 11). This understanding is confirmed by Janet’s subsequent description of the boy’s negation of his desire to use the toilet (line 12, “一坐到那儿又<VOX>没有:::<VOX>” *once he sat there again (he was like) nothing:::*). Even without an attributed speaker or a reporting verb, the prosodical stress and

elongation on the term “没有::” set it off from the surrounding talk. The whiny voice quality also marks it as direct speech attributed to the boy. The zero quotative here seamlessly links two consecutive activities, i.e., the boy's sitting on the toilet and his claim of having nothing, adding vividness to the described scenario. In response, Helen gives a go-ahead “啊.” (line 13), registering her expectation of more of the story. Janet then reenacts the boy's utterance again similarly with a prosodic stress and elongation on “没有::” (line 14), which successfully generates a recipient Tony's affiliative laughter (line 15). Janet's follow-up narrative (lines 16-20) shows that the boy's failed attempt to use the toilet is not like what the boy has said (i.e., he does not have any poop, lines 12, 14), but rather due to his inability to do so.

Janet's narrative sequence comes to a potential completion in line 23, after which the turn-by-turn talk is re-engaged (Jefferson, 1978), and the interlocutors begin to take turns making comments (lines 21-25). Instead of giving a more enthusiastic response to display her appreciation of the story (e.g., a response cry or laughter), Helen merely confirms in an affirmative manner what Janet has just reported by reiterating “他不会:: [他:: 他不会蹲那 [个.” *he doesn't know how:: [he:: he just cannot sit on that [stuff* (line 21, 23). As Sacks (1984:424) has observed, speakers have differential entitlements or rights to know and assess certain objects, events, persons, or phenomena. Raymond and Heritage (2006:680) further link epistemic rights to the speaker's identity by stating that “the management of rights to knowledge and, relatedly, rights to describe or evaluate state of affairs can be a resource for invoking identity in interaction”. Accordingly, by claiming her prior knowledge of the reported activity (i.e., her son's inability to use the potty trainer), Helen invokes her epistemic authority vis-a-vis her interlocutor, and relevantly embodies (and is treated by her co-participant as relevantly embodying) “mother” as an identity in the present interaction.

Moreover, Helen's use of the demonstrative determiner “那” *that* plus the general classifier “个” *ge* to refer to the potty trainer (line 23) disassociates the referential object (i.e., the potty trainer) from both the speaker and the

addressee, thus displaying her disdainful attitude toward it (Stivers, 2007). In this respect, Helen's commentary on the boy's inability to use a potty trainer (line 21, 23) is not so much an echoing response to Janet's prior report. Rather, through the way it is delivered (i.e., the affirmative tone and the disdainful voice), it indexes the speaker's epistemic authority vis-a-vis the co-participants. Also in this sense, Helen's utterance resembles more a reminder issued by a parent directed at the boy's current custodian about some habits the boy has.

Janet also registers Helen's commentary as a display of her epistemic authority by repetitively confirming with “是是是.” *yeah yeah yeah* (line 24). Then she apparently attempts to continue the story with a conjunction word “然后” *then*, but then aborts her utterance mid turn construction unit (TCU), halting its progressivity in order to initiate a repair on it (line 24, “然后他- 他,” *then he- he*), eventually shifting her direction to another aspect of the narrated incident with a contrastive marker “不过” *but* (line 25, “不过他对那还**挺感兴趣**.” *but he is **very interested**:* in *that*). This description projects something new to the recipient. In other words, even though Helen knows about her son's potty habits in general, she may not know that he is interested in using a potty trainer, a fact that is only known to the immediate caretakers. To this announcement of new information, Helen acknowledges with a go-ahead token “啊::” (line 26). Then Janet moves on to retell the story (lines 27, 29). The reporting sequences in both the first telling and the second are shown below in Table 3-5.

As can be seen in Table 3-5, while the first telling (left column) is used to evidence the boy's inability to use a potty trainer, the retelling (right column) is mobilized to show the boy's interest in using the toilet (line 25). In the retelling, Janet explicitly frames the boy's requesting utterance as a tease (line 27, “他**老逗你**.” *he always teases you*), suggesting an appropriate interpretative schema for the upcoming quotation. Different from the previous quotation of the boy which conveys the urgency of the requested matter (line 8), the prosodic stress coupled with the lengthening of “**臭臭**.” *poo poo* in the retelling (line 27) adds a playful and provocative quality to the voice. Janet's response to the boy's request is briefly reported (line 29, “我说>走走走<, 咱们去::.” *I say >go go go<, let's*

go:), and is cut off at “去:.” go:). Moreover, all the detailed instructions in Janet’s prior directives (e.g., line 9, “咱们去那个, >脱裤子坐尿盆儿.<” *let’s go to use that, >take off your pants and sit on the potty trainer*) are omitted here. The elliptical form of Janet’s response clearly marks it as a reiteration of a prior quotation, as inferences can be drawn by making reference to the prior. Also noticeable is that the boy’s negation of his desire to use the toilet is reported in a much plainer fashion (line 29).

Original report	Repetitive report
5 Janet: 对对对. 他- 他- 他不行::: <i>yeah yeah yeah. he- he- he doesn’t know how to (use that).</i>	25 Janet: 不过他对那还 挺 感兴趣::: <i>but he is very interested::: in that.</i>
8 Janet: [他就说呃, 拉- 拉臭, 拉臭, <i>he then said eh, p- poo poo, poo poo,</i>	27 [他老逗你:::, 他说<VOX>拉臭臭, 臭臭:::<VOX> <i>he always teases you:::, he says <VOX>poo poo, poo poo::: <VOX>.</i>
9 [我就说那>赶快赶快走<, 咱们去那个, >脱裤子坐尿盆儿.< <i>Then I said in that case >hurry up hurry up<, let’s go to use that, >take off your pants and sit on the potty trainer.<</i> 12 Janet: 一坐到那儿又<VOX>没有:::<VOX>. <i>once he sat there again he (was like) nothing:::.</i> 14 没有::: <i>nothing:::.</i> 16 Janet: 然后那个:::, <i>then that:::,</i> 18 然后你把他扶起来吧, <i>then once you took him off the toilet,</i> 20 嘿, (..) 他就开始站着使劲儿. <i>hey, (..) he then started to stand there pushing.</i>	29 Janet: [我说>走走走<, 咱们去::: 然后他就, 又说, <VOX>没有:::<VOX>.@@ [I say >go go go<, let’s go::: Then he says, again says, <VOX>nothing::: <VOX>.
21 Helen: 他不会::: [他::: <i>he doesn’t know how::: [he:::</i> 23 他不会蹲那个. <i>he just cannot sit on that [stuff.</i> 24 Janet: [是是是. ((clear throat)) 是. <i>yeah yeah yeah. ((clear throat)) yeah.</i>	30 Helen: 唉@@@@@哟. <i>ay@@@@@yo. ((laughing voice))</i>

Table 3-5. Janet’s original and repetitive reports in the *Potty Training* narrative

Similar to what we have seen in excerpts 3-1 and 3-3, without applying any voice quality or melodramatic effect to the reported utterances, in the retelling, what the reporter emphasizes is the repetitious pattern in which the recounted activities are carried out. Once again, while the first narrative describes a specific incident taking place at a specific moment in the past, the subsequent retelling reformulates the recounted event as a habitual activity by eliminating details in the previous narrative. In the present case, the retelling highlights an aspect that the recipients do not have full, independent access to, namely, the boy’s interest in potty training despite his multiple failures. And this indeed is something noteworthy and surprising for the recipients, as evidenced by Helen’s response cry, which is

inflected with laughter (line 30, “唉@@@@@哟.” *ay@@@@@yo*). To sum up then, excerpt 3-5 provides an instance in which the tellability of story is challenged by a recipient who claims previous knowledge of the event being reported. By reformulating her report, the reporter has successfully defended her narrative as relevant and newsworthy, and thus secured alignment from the recipients.

3.4 Summary of Chapter 3

This chapter has examined immediate repetitive reported speech (IRRS) made by a single speaker in the same conversation. In the cases examined above, the reported speech is embedded in the primary or “focal action” of the talk with which the speaker is currently engaged, such as making an assessment or a claim (for more on focal and subsidiary actions, see Kitzinger, 2008:200-203; Speer, 2012). The reported speech is proffered to evidence and objectify the speaker’s prior assessment or claim. Importantly, in all the above instances, the original and the repetitive reportings are found to be represented from distinct perspectives. This may not be surprising: what is the benefit of repeating something that has already been told if there is nothing new in the retelling?

Two environments where same-person IRRS recurrently occurs have been identified. In section 3.2, I have examined instances where IRRS is occasioned by the recipients’ enhanced positive reactions, similar to the situation where an audience’s applause invites an encore performance during a concert. The encore IRRS is usually delivered as a brief run-through, capturing the gist of the prior narrative. In doing so, the reporter arguably invites and usually elicits the second round of display of alignment by the recipients. Another common environment for same-person IRRS is in interactionally problematic situations, such as the situations examined in section 3.3, namely the recipients’ bragging about their son, the recipient’s displayed difficulty in aligning with the speaker, and the recipient’s challenge of the story’s tellability. In these potentially face-threatening contexts, the reporter is observed to reformulate her prior talk, primarily through the ways she frames and delivers the reported speech utterances, thus

rendering it easier for the recipients to align with her. In many cases, a contrastive remark (e.g., “但是” *but* in excerpt 3-3, “不过” *however* in excerpt 3-5) explicitly marks such a shift in speaker’s perspectives.

In alignment with Goodwin's (in press) proposal of understanding narrative as an interactive process, I propose that the shape of reported speech is determined not only by the functions the reporter wants to use it to implement, but by the recipients' reactions to it. The storyteller's ongoing analysis of the recipients' interpretation of his/her report is visible in how he/she reconstructs and reorganizes his/her reporting so as to foster cooperative participation. This process is primarily made possible by empathy or "intersubjectivity" among interlocutors, which according to Duranti (2010: 1), "is more than shared or mutual understanding and is closer to the notion of the possibility of being in the place where the Other is." In other words, intersubjectivity means the condition whereby the speaker assumes that if others were in his/her place, they would see the world the way he/she sees it. In potentially problematic situations such as the ones examined in Section 3.3, we have seen how the mutual understanding among conversationalists is temporarily lost (e.g., manifested through recipients' non-aligning, unsympathetic, and minimal responses), and how it is restored through the reporter's reformulation of his/her report.

CHAPTER 4. OTHER-FORMULATED IMMEDIATE REPETITIVE REPORTED SPEECH (IRRS)

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I examined instances where a single speaker adjusts his/her reported speech and retells it either as an encore performance to invite further alignment from the recipients, or as an endeavor to deal with potentially troublesome situations in interaction. Along this line, it is natural to ask the following questions: What will happen if the repetitive reporting is carried out by an interlocutor other than the current speaker? What factors may prompt a co-participant to report something that has just been reported earlier by another party?

In my corpora of naturally occurring talk-in-interaction, I have identified many instances of other-repetition of someone's prior reporting. Some occur as part of a sequence resembling the practice of other-initiated repairs, in which one party modifies the propositional content of what was reported. This type of other-formulated IRRS displays an interlocutor's orientation to the *authenticity* of the information reported, and their close monitoring of *what is reported* and *what should be reported*. Whereas in other cases, by repetitively reporting, an interlocutor is not so much concerned about the accuracy of the information reported, but rather displays his/her stance with respect to *how something should be reported*. In other words, although the original report has delivered the news accurately, it is still treated by the co-participants as inappropriate, inadequate or ineffective in certain sense. Therefore, an interlocutor other than the first reporter volunteers a second version of the report. By resorting to a variety of linguistic and paralinguistic resources, the second version generally outperforms the prior one in terms of its efficacy, vividness, and appropriateness. Extra meanings that are missing in the original report are thus added on top of the propositional layer in the second quotation.

In both types, by presenting distinct renditions of the same event, the coparticipants in interaction display equivalent knowledge about the event being reported, and lay claim to their epistemic authority. Also involved in this phenomenon is the interlocutors' subtle negotiation of tellership (Ochs and Capps, 2001), namely their displayed awareness of *who has the right to report*. In brief, the analysis to be presented below intends to stand as empirical

evidence for the interlocutors' orientation to what locally constitutes a reportable event, what should be reported, and how it should be delivered.

4.2 Other-Formulated IRRS as a Negotiation of Information Authenticity

In this section, I focus on a collection of such other-formulated repetitive reported speech as used in the negotiation of the accuracy of information being reported. In this regard, other-formulated IRRS resembles other-initiated repair (Drew, 1997; Schegloff, 1997, 2000b; Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks, 1977; Wong, 2000), which is designed to target something as the trouble source in the previous talk. However, different from canonical other-initiated repairs that primarily deal with troubles in the immediately prior turn, other-formulated IRRS discussed here carries out a repair on a higher level, namely what is involved in the repair consists of a larger sequence of actions. Because "nothing is, in principle, excludable from the class 'repairable'" (Schegloff et al., 1977, p. 363), the trouble sources also take on a variety of forms. This study shows that other-formulated IRRS of this type not only serves to modify what is treated as inaccurate in the prior report, but also acts as vehicles for accomplishing extra interactional goals, such as displaying one's stance toward what is reported. Excerpt 4-1 illustrates a case, where a co-participant modifies a detail in the original report, and thus enhances the dramatic effect of the quotation.

In this conversation, a group of Christians going to the same church are talking about how to take care of (in their term "shepherd") the newly baptized saints. In line 1, Ben argues that when one shepherds others, one also gets nourished during this process (line 1). To illustrate his point, Ben quotes another saint's metaphorical utterances at arrow 1, providing a way to understand what he means by spiritual shepherding (lines 3, 4, 6, 7). By drawing a mapping between two conceptual domains – the spiritual domain and the physical domain – the speaker fleshes out his prior claim that even new saints whose spiritual life is inchoate (in this sense resembling "babies") can shepherd other new saints, a situation captured in the metaphor of a baby feeding both himself and other babies with two milk bottles (lines 3, 4). Detail of this reported metaphor is later challenged and revised by another knowing party, Lance, in line 16.

Excerpt 4-1 Milk bottles

- 1 Ben: 所以 他- 你 去 照顾 别 人 的 时候,
 so 3SG 2SG go take-care-of other person NOM time
 你 去 喂养 别 人 的 时候, 你 自 己 也 得 了 喂 养。
 2SG go feed other person NOM time 2SG self also receive PFV feed
*so he- when you go to **take care of** others, when you shepherd others, you yourself are shepherded in return.*
- 2 Matt: [是::。
 yes
 [yeah::.
- 3 Ben: 1→ [所以 那 时 候 他 们 在- Andrew, Andrew
 so that time 3PL ASP (person name) (person name)
 他 们 在 说 拿- 拿 两 个 奶 瓶,
 3PL ASP say use use two CL milkbottle
[so at that time they were- Andrew, Andrew, they were talking about using- using two milk bottles,
- 4 小- 小 baby, 拿 两 个, 一 个 奶 瓶 自 己 喝,
 small small baby use two CL one CL milkbottle self drink
little- little baby, holding two, one milk bottle for himself to drink from,
- 5 Matt: [@@@。
 [((laugh))
- 6 Ben: 1→ [喝- 喝 好 了, <VOX> 呃 呃,
 drink drink RVC PFV PRT PRT
[(when he) finishes drink- drinking, eh eh,
- 7 你 来 喝。 <VOX>
 2SG come drink
it's your turn to drink.
- 8 Others: @@@@。
 ((laugh))
- 9 Ben: [就 是 这 样 的 嘛。
 just COP this look ATTR PRT
[it is just like that.
- 10 Others: [@@@@。
 [((laugh))
- 11 Ben: 吃 了, (吃 了, 喝 了,) 喝 了, <VOX>你-
 eat PFV eat PFV drink PFV drink PFV 2SG
 你 来 喝。 <VOX>喂, 就 得 自 己 也 喝,
 2SG come drink PRT just must self also drink
ate, (ate, drank,) drank, your- your turn to drink. ay, you must be feeding not only yourself,

drink from (line 4) and the other for the other babies. Then he animates the baby's hypothetical directive in direct reported speech form, urging another baby to drink from the bottle "呃呃, 你来喝" *eh eh, it's your turn to drink* (lines 6, 7). His reporting generates joint laughter from the recipients, which displays their appreciation of the relatively absurd hypothetical scenario (i.e., a baby feeding both himself and others) as a humorous way to explicate a theological doctrine.

After securing affiliative responses from the co-participants, Ben performs an encore performance of the reporting (see Chapter 3 for the discussion of encore repetitive reports by an individual reporter) by elliptically repeating the quotation "吃了, (吃了, 喝了,) 喝了, 你- 你来喝." *ate, (ate, drank,) drank, your- your turn to drink* (line 11), which arguably serves to re-accentuate the gist of his report, and to invite the second round of display of alignment from the recipients. As Ben ties back to his prior claim by summarizing his point (lines 11, 12, "喂, 就得自己也喝, 然后又喂- 又喂别人." *ay, you must be feeding not only yourself, but also feeding- feeding others*), he signals the impending closure of his reporting. After generating an expression of agreement "对呀." *right* (line 13) and a recipient token "嗯::" *uh::* (line 15) from a recipient Kim, Ben expands his turn by providing a reason to account for the proposed shepherding method "都是 baby 嘛" (*we are all babies*) (line 14) (i.e., when there are no spiritually mature saints, news saints have to shepherd themselves).

It is in this context – that Ben's report has secured alignment from the recipients, and has ostensibly come to an end – that another interlocutor Lance proposes a revision from "两个奶瓶" *two milk bottles* to "一个奶瓶" *one milk bottle* (line 16), as a display of his equivalent knowledge of the reported utterances. In line 16, Lance starts with a plain claim of what he believes to be the correct version of the original speech "他说是一" *what he said is one-*, then cuts it off and resumes the utterance with a stronger expression "他说是, 更是一个奶瓶。" *what he said is, (he) even said one milk bottle*. By replacing "two milk bottles" with "one milk bottle", Lance dramatizes the reported metaphor in the sense that sharing one milk bottle suggests a more intimate relationship between the one who feeds

and the one being fed. Then he continues the quotation with similar description of a baby's feeding himself and then others "自己喝一口, 给-" *oneself sips from it, gives-* (line 18). Before he finishes the quotation, Lance cuts off at "给-" *gives* and bursts into laughter, which conveys his attitude toward the reported utterance, i.e., treating it as something laughable. Overlapping with Lance's laughter, Ben co-constructs the quotation by completing it with "也给别人喝。" *also give others to drink from (it)* (line 19). This second round of co-constructed reporting, again, generates an explosion of laughter from the co-participants (line 20).

Note that although Lance's version proposes a revision of a specific detail in Ben's prior report (i.e., from *two milk bottles* to *one milk bottle*), it is not subversive in nature. Rather, it displays the recipient's heightened involvement by participating in the co-reporting. Lance's proposed revision not only lends support to the position taken by Ben by supplementing a detail that adds to the impossibility of the reported scenario, but also further dramatizes it. The first reporter himself also treats Lance's proposal of revision as innocuous by claiming "哪个都行" *either one will work* (line 17), and maintains that the revision will not substantially change the principle stated before (line 21, "[这就是- 就是这个原则了。" *this is just- just the principle.*). Moreover, by claiming that the principle remains intact despite the modification of detail (line 21), Ben suggests that he is not meticulously sticking to any details of the quotation as long as the gist of his point comes through (i.e., new saints should shepherd each other). Lance partakes this position with an exact repetition "就是这个[原则。" *is just the principle* (line 22), thus clearly stressing their shared ground and the solidarity between them.

However, not all other-formulated repetitive reports are as affiliative in nature as the one illustrated in excerpt 4-1. Some can be really hostile. This situation is particularly common in what Sacks described as "recompleting another's sentence" in his well-known lecture, "Spouse Talk" (Sacks, 1992: 437–443). Extract 4-2 below illustrates this pattern in which a couple (Cindy and Matt) in a multiparty encounter are informing another couple (Tim and Jenny) about a third party's prior talk — Matt initiates the reported talk, Cindy takes on the job of completing what

Matt has initiated, and Matt proposes a modification of Cindy's report. In excerpt 4-2, the conversationalists are talking about children's education in the US versus that in China. In the context prior to this segment, Cindy expresses her opinion that the children in China have greater pressure in education, and playfully suggests that Tim and Jenny's son would not be able to bear the pressure if he were sent back to China. In response, Tim jocularly retaliates by claiming that Cindy's son, Cong Cong, would not be able to catch up with other children either if he were to receive education in China (line 1).

Excerpt 4-2 Children's education in China

- 1 Tim: 聪聪, 你 现在 再 回去 已经 跟 不 上 了。
 (person name) 2SG now again return already catch-up not RVC ATTR
Cong Cong, if you go back (to China) now, you won't be able to catch up with other kids.
- 2 Cindy: 对 呀。 [他 就 是-
 right PRT 3SG just COP
exactly. [he just-
- 3 Matt: [啊, 对 呀, 他 奶奶 那 天 [说 了,
 PRT right PRT his grandmother that day say PFV
[ah, exactly, his grandma [said the other day,
- 4 Cindy:1→ [↑他 奶奶 说 人 四 岁 小 孩儿,
 his grandmother say REN(3SG) four year-old small children
[↑his grandma said some Four-Year-Olds,
- 5 1→ 认 几:: 千:: 个 汉 字 了。
 recognize several thousand CL Chinese character PFV
know a few:: thousand:: Chinese characters.
- 6 Matt: =哎::呀, 你 胡说八道, 你 又 添- 添油加醋 的 哈。
 PRT 2SG talk-nonsense 2SG again add exaggerate ATTR PRT
=ay::ya, you're talking nonsense, you are ex- exaggerating again.
- 7 Tim: [四 千 字, 就 (可以) 了。
 four thousand character then sufficient PFV
[four thousand characters, that's enough for use.
- 8 Cindy: [没 有。 [她- 她 说-
 not have 3SG 3SG say
[no. [she- she said-

- 9 Matt:2→ [认- 认 很- 很 多 汉- 很 多
 know know very very many Chinese very many
 字儿 了, 都 认 了 好 多 字儿 了,
 character PFV already know PFV very many character PFV
[know- know a lot- a lot of Chinese- a lot of characters, already known a lot of characters.
- 10 [他 奶奶 说 的。
 his grandmother say NOM
[his grandma said.
- 11 Tim: [@一 千 个- 几 百 个 就 了@@[不得 了@。
 one thousand CL several hundred CL already awesome PFV
[one thousand- (even knowing) a few hundreds would be [awesome.
- 12 Cindy:1→ [唉? 她 那 会儿 说
 PRT 3SG that time say
 有 [几 千 个 了。
 have several thousand CL PFV
[eh? At that time she said [a few thousands.
- 13 Matt: [几 千 个,
 several thousand CL
[a few thousands,
- 14 你 认识 几- 多少 个 汉 字?
 2SG know how-many how-many CL Chinesecharacter
how many do you- how many Chinese characters do you know?
- 15 (...)
- 16 Tim: @@@.
 ((laugh))
- 17 Cindy: 他 至::少 认识 一::千 个 汉 字。
 3SG at least know one thousand CL Chinese character
he at least:: knows one:: thousand characters.
- 18 (..)
- 19 Jenny: [谁 呀?
 who PRT
[who?
- 20 Matt: [不 跟 你 争。 不 跟 你 争. (..) 不 争论。
 not with you fight not with you fight no argument
[I won't argue with you. I won't argue with you. (..) no argument.

21 Jenny: ↑谁: 认识 一 千 个 汉 字。 (..) 聪聪:。
 who know one thousand CL Chinese character (person name)
 ↑*who*:: knows a thousand characters. (..) Cong Cong:.

22 (..)

To Tim's somewhat unflattering comment, which both Cindy and Matt take at face value, they display their agreement (lines 2, 3). Matt further cites a third party's utterance lending support to Tim's claim (line 3, "啊, 对呀, 他奶奶那天[说了," *ah, exactly, his grandma said the other day*,). Overlapping with the last two syllables of Matt's talk, Cindy raises her voice and repeats the quotative marker "他奶奶说" *his grandma said* as an attempt to take over the floor and to continue the current quotation. Cindy's raised volume of voice and the prosodic stress on "他奶奶" *his grandma* displays her awareness of a competitive relationship involved in the overlapping talk, and manifests her effort in usurping the tellership in a rather heavy handed manner.

Note that Cindy's reported speech at arrow 1 is delivered as a quotation of the grandma's words (lines 4, 5). From the current data, it is hard to tell if Cindy actually believes what grandma claims. By attributing the authorship to the grandma (line 4), Cindy only positions herself as an "animator" or "the sounding box" of the reported utterances, who merely articulates the quotation (Goffman, 1981), thus avoiding any responsibility associated with the content of the reported speech. However, some features in the design of her report still convey Cindy's attitude toward the reported claim. First, her use of "人" *REN* is an abbreviated form of the third-person pronoun "人家" *RENJIA*. According to Guo and Shen (2004), "人家" explicitly positions the referential person as an outsider ('外人') who is beyond the speaker's domain of relationship or responsibility, thus creating an estranging and distancing effect when "人家" is used to refer to a third party. In the present example, Cindy's formulation of the referential subject "人四岁小孩儿" *some Four-Year-Olds* clearly distinguishes the children in question from Cindy's own son. She also places prosodic emphases and elongation on the numeral "几: 千:" *a few: thousand:*, registering her surprise at the reported fact. Particularly, by prosodically stressing the number of characters that the children are

claimed to have grasped, Cindy attaches import to the numeral and suggests a desired way for the recipients to understand the quoted information (i.e., to take the numeral as significant and noteworthy).

Matt's refutation immediately latches on to Cindy's reported speech with a response cry "哎::呀" *ai::ya* (line 6). Then Matt pejoratively characterizes Cindy's reporting as "胡说八道" *nonsense*, and further portrays the embellishment of facts as a habitual activity of Cindy's (note the use of "又" *again* in Matt's charge "你又添- 添油加醋的哈。" *you are ex- exaggerating again*) (line 6). Note that this charge not only points out the inaccuracy in Cindy's report, but also constitutes a moral implication concerning the credibility of Cindy's words. In response, a recipient Tim confirms the reported amount of characters as sufficient for daily use (line 7, "四千字, 就(可以)了." *four thousand characters, that's enough for use.*), which ends up overlapping with Cindy's negation of Matt's accusation (line 8). Cindy evidently takes Matt's utterances as an accusation directed at her by first initiating a negation with "没有" *no* (line 8), and then attributing responsibility to a third party "她- 她说-" *she- she said-* (line 8). In this way, Cindy portrays the attributed speaker (i.e., the grandma) as both the 'author' – 'the agent who scripts the lines' and the 'principal' – 'the party to whose position the words attest' (Goffman, 1981:226).

Recognizing Cindy's attempt to invalidate his accusation, Matt proposes a second rendition of the quotation, replacing the numeral in Cindy's quote "几::千::个" *a few thousands* with downgraded and generic quantifying terms "很多" *a lot of* and "好多" *many* (line 9). In the present context, the generic quantifiers, "很多" and "好多", clearly points to an amount significantly lower than "a few thousands". Then, Matt adds an 'increment' (line 10, "他奶奶说的" *his grandma said*) (Luke and Zhang, 2007; Schegloff, 1996c, 2000a), explicitly attributing the words to the grandma. By placing his reproduction of the reported speech in this particular position (i.e., after charging Cindy's report as "nonsense" and "embellishing the facts"), Matt's report is proffered as a more faithful and authentic rendition of the original utterance. Overlapping with Matt's increment "他奶奶说的" *his grandma said* (line 10), Tim concurs by claiming that for a Four-Year-Old, even the command of a smaller amount of characters is already

quite phenomenal (line 11, "几百个就了@@[不得了@" (*even knowing*) *a few hundreds would be awesome*), thus conveying the recipient's treatment of Matt's version of report as more credible and reasonable.

While losing the support from a co-participant, Cindy first voices her puzzlement with an interjection "唉?" *eh?* produced with a rising intonation; then she insists that she faithfully reproduces what the original speaker said at a specific past moment (line 12, "唉? 她那会儿说有[几千个了。" *eh? At that time she said a few thousands*). By reaffirming that the numeral "几千个" indeed exists in the original talk, Cindy disassociates responsibility for making up the number and thereby renders Matt's accusation of her exaggeration as misleading. When Cindy refuses to give up her ground for the second time, the argument between Matt and Cindy continues. In lines 13 and 14 Matt persistently challenges the credibility of the numeral by resorting to common sense knowledge shared among the interlocutors. He especially invites Cindy to reflect upon how many Chinese characters she knows in a sarcastic and perhaps insulting fashion (line 14, "你认识几- 多少个汉字?" *how many do you- how many Chinese characters do you know?*). The hostility conveyed in this question is registered by the addressee Cindy with an attributable silence (line 15), after which Tim's laughter (line 16) fills this somewhat embarrassing gap.

Cindy's prosodically enhanced while semantically downgraded defense "他至::少认识一::千个汉字。" *he at least:: knows one:: thousand characters* (line 17) is produced in a furious manner. This claim displays Cindy's limited acceptance of Matt's modification by backing down from "几千个" *a few thousands* to "一::千个" *one thousand*. However, by refusing to further back down, say, by taking a much smaller amount (e.g., a few hundreds), Cindy sticks to her original rendition by keeping the amount at the thousands level. Cindy's insistence of her position (though compromised) meets with a pause (line 18), which is followed by a question from an interlocutor who apparently has lost track of their talk (line 19, "谁呀?" *who?*). Matt then explicitly announces to forfeit his endeavor to argue with Cindy (line 20, "不跟你争. 不跟你争. (..) 不争论." *I won't argue with you. I won't argue with you. (..) no argument*). From a sequential organization perspective, Matt's announcement (line 20) effectively

closes the current argument sequence. However, even though he gives up the argument, he does not necessarily give up his position. Notice that here Matt does not display any recognition of Cindy's prior back-down "他至::少认识一::千个汉字" *he at least:: knows one:: thousand characters* (line 17). Rather by repeating "不跟你争" *I won't argue with you* and reconfirming his position with a somewhat principle-like announcement "不争论" *no argument*, Matt implicitly displays his disagreement with Cindy and maintains the moral high ground that he obtained earlier by condemning Cindy as "exaggerating" and "talking nonsense".

In addition to negotiating propositional details in the quotes as illustrated in excerpts 4-1 and 4-2, interlocutors also pay close attention to the authorship of reported speech. In other words, they display awareness of who scripts the original utterance(s), and whether the identity of the author should be revealed when his/her words are reported to a third party. Excerpt 4-3 provides a relevant example. In this conversation, a group of Christians are talking about a leading saint, who is criticized for occasionally misusing his authority and suppressing others' speech rights at church meetings. Two of the saints, Peter and Sharon, are among the most unsatisfied ones, and take the lead in the criticism. John, as a senior brother in the church who has an intimate relationship with the brother in question, defends the protagonist's behavior by providing some excuses (data not shown here). One of the recipients Matt, however, does not seem to accept John's excuses, and adheres to the original critical position held by most saints by resorting to a doctrine in the bible "所以但是要，天然人要对付。" *therefore however (we) should, we should deal with the natural person (in us)* (line 1). Although the seriousness of this claim is alleviated by the laughter following the turn, Matt's critical stance is still detectable. Peter strongly agrees with Matt with a partial repetition "绝对是天然人" *definitely (it arose out of) the natural man in him* (line 2), and stresses his evaluation with a degree intensifier "绝对" *definitely*. Sharon also concurs by repeating "绝对天然人" *definitely a natural man*, and attributes the brother's arbitrary behavior to his personality (line 3).

Excerpt 4-3 Complaint about a brother

- 1 Matt: 所以 但是 要, 天然 人 要 对付。 [@@@@]
 so but should natural person should deal-with
therefore however (we) should, we should deal with the natural person (in us). [((laugh))]
- 2 Peter: [绝对 是 天然 人。
 exactly COP natural person
[definitely (it arose out of) the natural man in him.
- 3 Sharon: [绝对 天然 人, 他 性格 太 急 了。
 exactly natural person his personality too impatient ATTR
[definitely a natural man, he is so hot-tempered.
- 4 Peter:1→ [()我 那 天 我 说 我 说 Paul
 1SG that day 1SG say 1SG say (person name)
 弟兄 今天 在 己:: 里面。我 说。 @@@
 brother today at self inside 1SG say
[()I, the other day, I said, I said, today Brother Paul is in himself:: I said. ((laugh))
- 5 John: ok::@@。 好。
 ok good
ok: ((laugh)). GOOD.
- 6 Peter: [他 就 是 在 己 里面。
 3SG just COP at self inside
[he indeed was in himself.
- 7 John: 2→ ok. 我 就 说, 我 说 Paul 弟兄, 有些:: 弟兄 们 讲 了,
 ok 1SG then say 1SG say (person name) brother some brother PL say PFV
ok. Then I will say, I will say Brother Paul, some:: brothers said,
- 8 2→ 你 在 己 里面。 [@@@
 2SG at self inside
you are in yourself. [((laugh))]
- 9 ALL: [@@@@@
- 10 Peter: ↑一 开始 我 就 背后 讲 好 了,
 once start 1SG aready behind-one's-back talk DVC PFV
 你 就 讲 我 讲 的 好 了。
 2SG just say 1SG say NOM ok PFV
↑from the beginning I already talked behind his back, you just tell (him) I said it.
- 11 John: =不 不 不, 我 不 讲 你 讲 的, 我 就 [(说 弟兄 们 讲 的).
 no no no 1SG not say 2SG say NOM 1SG just say brother PL say NOM
=no no no, I won't say it is you who said it, I just [(say brothers said it).

12 Peter:

[你 就 讲 我 讲 的。
2SG just say 1SG say NOM
[just tell him I said it.

13

我 也:: [做 个 光明磊落 的 人。
1SG also become CL frank ATTR person
I also [want to be a frank and straightforward person.

In an attempt to demonstrate that Matt's claim echoes with his previous thought, Peter quotes his own words produced at an earlier situation at arrow 1 (line 4, "我那天我说我说 Paul 弟兄今天在 **己::里面**。" *I, the other day, I said, I said, Brother Paul is in **himself:: today***).² By shifting his footing (Goffman, 1981), Peter takes on the role of a past self and voices his opinion in the form of direct speech (note the shift of temporal term "今天" *today* to fit in the past situation). Then he further confirms his authorship of the utterance by attaching an increment "我说" *I said* to his turn. The laughter at the turn final position again suggests a lighthearted reading of his criticism. In response, John laughingly acknowledges Peter's self-quotation with "ok::" and a discourse marker "好" *good* (line 5) indicating a causal relationship between what Peter said before and what he is about to say next. In reaction to John's less-than-serious treatment of his quotation, Peter defends his position by affirming that "他**就是在己里面**." *he indeed was in himself* (line 6). Notice that the prosodic stresses throughout this turn and the intensifier 'indeed' both serve to attach weight and seriousness to his claim.

In what follows, John continues his playful treatment of Peter's criticism, and initiates a hypothetical reported speech made to the brother in question at arrow 2 (lines 7, 8, " ok. 我就说, 我说 Paul 弟兄, 有些::弟兄们讲了, 你在己里面. [@@@" *ok. Then I will say, I will say Brother Paul, some:: brother said, you are in yourself*). John explicitly portrays himself as the 'animator' of the reported speech with "我就说" *then I will say*, and hides the original author's name by adopting a collective personal reference "有些::弟兄们" *some:: brothers*, thus

² "在己里面" *being in oneself*, as a contra-situation of "在灵里" *being in spirit*, is a terminology shared by this group of Christians to refer to an undesirable circumstance a saint is in. *Being in oneself* is in this sense a condemning term tantamount to being self-involved, self-attended, and less saintly.

disassociating responsibility from a specific speaker. John's concealment of the author's identity deals with the delicate nature of this quotation, namely it is a criticism directed at a brother who holds an esteemed status in the church. Since this quotation is delivered in a rather straightforward and disrespectful manner, it is less likely to occur in reality. In this sense, John's hypothetical report is delivered as a teasing remark concerning Peter's somewhat harshly expressed censuring comment (lines 4, 6). The unserious nature of John's report is further suggested by his laughter following the turn. The recipients also display their appreciation of John's teasing attitude by jointly laughing (line 9).

However, Peter seems to take John's hypothetical quotation at face value. In other words, Peter apparently treats it as a rehearsal reporting of what John will actually say to the leading brother in the future, as evidenced by his subsequent modification of John's quotation (lines 10, 12, 13). Peter first acknowledges that his utterance originally was voiced as a talk behind someone's back (line 10, "↑一开始我就背后讲好了" *↑from the beginning I already talked behind his back*). He then affirms his authorship of the critical remark, and insists that John discloses his identity to the recipient of criticism (line 10, "你就讲我讲的好了" *you just tell (him) I said it*). The function of Peter's modification here is multifold: first, it displays his sensitivity towards the authorship of the reported utterances (i.e., who composes the utterance) and whether this information should be revealed to the recipient of the quotation. By insisting on his authorship, Peter treats John's concealment of his identity as highly marked and inappropriate. Second, in doing so, Peter implicitly accentuates the seriousness of his utterance (i.e., *he really means what he said*) despite its lighthearted appearance.

Following Peter's somewhat chivalrous admission of authorship, John immediately negates the proposed way of reporting with a series of negation terms "不不不" *no no no*. He then insists on his prior use of the collective term "弟兄们" *brothers* (line 11, "不不不, 我不讲你讲的, 我就[(说弟兄们讲的)]." *no no no, I won't say it is you who said it, I just say brothers said it*). In this way, John cancels the possible interpretation that he will act as a traitor who betrays his friend in favor of someone of a higher status. This negation also conveys that John's selection of the

attributed speaker "弟兄们" *brothers* is not random, but rather is chosen out of an intention to protect the author. It is also noticeable that, in contrast to his previous playful delivery of the hypothetical report (lines 7, 8), here John adopts a quite assuring and solemn voice when stating "不不不, 我不讲你讲的, 我就[(说弟兄们讲的)]" *no no no, I won't say it is you who said it, I just say brothers said it*, thus indexing a shift of his stance. Specifically, while his hypothetical report was originally delivered as a teasing reaction to Peter's critical comment, evidently it is not treated as such by Peter. Complying with Peter's stance, John now adjusts his position and assumes a serious manner in negotiating the authorship of the quote. In the face of John's forthright refusal to disclose his identity, Peter makes another try by insisting that "你就讲我讲的" *just tell him I said it* (line 12), and proffers a moral motive for his insistence (line 13, "我也::[做个光明磊落的人]" *I also want to be a frank and straightforward person*).

From the above three examples, we can see that interlocutors in daily conversations negotiate specific details in the reported speech, clearly displaying their orientation to the accuracy of information being reported. Although the reported speech utterances (hence the responsibility for scripting them) are attributed to someone else, a reporter is still held accountable if he/she does not report them precisely. Moreover, negative moral implications may be drawn based on a reporter's failure in producing a faithful rendition of the original talk.

Furthermore, it has been shown that proposing a modification of the propositional content of a prior report may be employed to achieve multiple interactional goals. Excerpt 4-1 exemplifies an instance where a modification is proffered to enhance the dramatic character of the reported event, thus standing as a support for the prior speaker's position. Moreover, since the modification is provided when the prior speaker's reporting has ostensibly come to an end, it does not interrupt the current flow of talk. What is also noticeable is that the negotiation of detail in excerpt 4-1 is done quite briefly (lines 16-19), displaying the interlocutors' treatment of it as a minor revision that does not challenge the position stated before (lines 21, 22).

In contrast, in excerpt 4-2, a modification is made following a hostile comment characterizing the prior reporting as "nonsense" and "exaggerating" (line 6). Within this framework, the reproduction of the reported speech

serves as a demonstration of what the second reporter takes to be a more authentic and faithful rendition of the original talk. From a sequential organization perspective, this argument sequence has taken a rather lengthy spate of talk (lines 3-20), and evidently strayed from the original primary business of talk (i.e., to demonstrate that children in China learn at a faster pace than children in the US). In fact, this topic is halted, giving way to the negotiation of specific details in the quotation (i.e., the amount of characters the Four-Year-Olds are reported to have grasped in the original talk). Matt's modification is quite devastating and damaging in nature, in the sense that it not only invalidates what the prior speaker takes to be the most sensational part in the quotation (line 5, "几::千::个汉字了" *a few:: thousand:: Chinese characters*), but also constitutes a severe challenge of the prior speaker's credibility as a reporter (line 6, "你胡说八道, 你又添- 添油加醋的哈。" *you're talking nonsense, you are ex- exaggerating again*).

In addition to negotiating specific details in the quote as illustrated in excerpts 4-1 and 4-2, interlocutors also display awareness to who should be responsible for what is reported, namely the authorship of the reported speech. Excerpt 4-3 provides such a case. In this example, different renditions of Peter's utterance – first in the form of Peter's self-quotation and then in the form of John's hypothetical report to the person being criticized – convey the interlocutors' divergent treatments of whether the author's identity should be explicitly mentioned in the report. And the choices of specific quotative markers – whether to use a collective person reference (e.g., "弟兄们说" *brothers said*) or to use the name of the author – are by no means accidental, and are essentially intersubjective, as they take into consideration who the recipient is, and what reaction it may bring out of the recipient. Admitting one's authorship, here, is clearly linked to the morality of the speaker. As evidenced by Peter's statement that "我也::[做个光明磊落的人" *I also want to be a frank and straightforward person* (line 13), admitting one's authorship and assuming the responsibility associated with its production is viewed in a quite positive light.

- 2 它 有 一 个 机 会 试:验 出 人 性 当 中 的 很 多 东 西,
 3SG have one CL chance test out humanity inside ATTR very many thing
It provides a chance to test:: out many things in humanity.
- 3 Wang: [对 对 对 对。
 right right right right
 [yeah yeah yeah yeah.
- 4 Dou: [你 比 如 说, 呃, 像 咱 们 在 这 个
 2SG for-example say PRT like 1PL at this CL
 戏 里 也 看 到, 这 个 老 兵,
 drama inside also see RVC this CL veteran
 [for example, eh, just like what we have seen in this drama, this veteran,
- 5 (..) 他 他 他, 这 个 多 年 之 后
 3SG 3SG 3SG this CL many year after
 他 就 回 乡 了,
 3SG then return hometown PFV
 (..) *he he he, many years later he returned to his hometown,*
- 6 .hh 回 乡 了 你 说 又 见 到
 return hometown PFV 2SG say again meet RVC
 当 年 的:: 老 婆,
 those-years ATTR wife
 .hh *returned to his hometown and, you see, met his ex-, wife.*
- 7 这 个 时 候 从 台 湾 已 经 [有 了 一 个, 二 奶 了。
 this CL time from Taiwan already have PFV one CL mistress PFV
at the moment, in Taiwan (he) has already [got a, mistress.
- 8 Xie: [@@@@@@
 [((laugh))
- 9 Dou: @不 是 不 是, 就 是 第 二:: 个 [老 婆 了。
 not COP not COP just COP second CL wife PFV
 ((laugh)) *no no, just the se::cond [wife.*
- 10 Wang: [她 是-
 3SG COP
 [she is-
- 11 Dou: 对 吧。 [唉,
 right PRT PRT
 right. [eh,
- 12 Xie: 1→ [<VOX>她 是 你 姐 姐::。 <VOX>
 3SG COP your older-sister
 [<VOX>she is you sister::。 <VOX>

- 13 Wang: =不 是, ((looks up)) 啊::, 不 是::,
not COP PRT not COP
=no, ((looks up)) ah::, no::,
- 14 2→ <VOX>她 应该 说 是 你:: 姐姐.<VOX> ((produced slowly, in a northern dialect of Chinese))
3SG should say COP your older-sister
<VOX>she should be said to be your:: sister. <VOX>
- 15 Dou: [@ @ @ @
[((laugh))
- 16 Xie: [@ @ @ @
[((laugh))
- 17 Dou: 叫 姐姐::@。 ((doing a pointing gesture))
call older-sister
call (her) sister:: ((laughing voice))
- 18 你 就 比如 说 就 多 年 之 后 再 见 面 哪,
2SG just for-example say just many year after again meet PRT
for example, the reunion after many years,

To support his claim (lines 1, 2), Dou cites a specific scene from a drama called *Bao Dao Yi Cun*, which was written by Wang and co-directed by Wang and Xie (line 4, "像咱们在这个戏里也看到" *just like what we have seen in this drama*). Linguistically, Dou explicitly packages the described drama as being known and shared by the recipients. First, he uses the recipient-inclusive plural first-person pronoun "咱们" *we* to register the experience of viewing the drama as shared. Second, the use of the demonstrative-prefaced recognitional "这个戏" *this drama* is a reference term that is locally subsequent to some initial referring expression (e.g., the name of the drama) with respect to both its reference form and position (Schegloff, 1996b: 439), thus signaling the drama as being "in the know" for the coparticipants (Stivers, 2007). In line 6, Dou also explicitly solicits the recipients' attention and agreement with the discourse marker "你说" (lit.) *you say* (Guan, 2011; Sheng, 2013), inviting them to take the described scene as a delicate and somewhat embarrassing situation.

From line 4 to line 9, Dou depicts a scenario of reunion between a veteran currently living in Taiwan and his previous wife now living in Mainland China, who have not seen each other for many years. What is complicated

about this situation is that the veteran has remarried, and at the reunion, he has to face the thorny problem of introducing his two wives to each other. The narrator, Dou, conveys the delicacy of this situation through the way he depicts the scenario. Many aspects of his way of talking suggest that he is having enormous difficulties formulating what he wants to express (see the hesitations, vowel lengthening, repetitions and reformulations in lines 4-7). Note that as he voices "这个时候从台湾已经有了一个" *at the moment, in Taiwan (he) has already got a* (line 7), Dou pauses a bit and assumes a smiling voice, hence providing a "contextualization cue" suggesting the tone of the upcoming talk (Gumperz, 1982, 1992; Auer, 1992). Even before the actual person reference term "二奶" *mistress* is produced, one of the recipients, Xie, has already displayed his projection of the upcoming talk as something hilarious, and shows his appreciation of the delicacy of the narrated scene by laughing (line 8), which ends up overlapping with Dou's latter half of utterance in line 7. Continuing with the playful tone, Dou jocularly refers to the veteran's second wife with a denigrating term "二奶" *a mistress*, a description he immediately negates with "不是不是" *no no*, and self-repairs with a neutral expression "就是第二::个老婆了" *just the se::cond wife* (line 9). The speaker's self-repair from "二奶" *mistress* to "第二个老婆" *the second wife* displays his awareness of the former person reference as an inapposite characterization attributed to the referential person, especially given the negative implications associated with it.

As Dou is struggling with word-searching, Wang initiates an utterance with "她是-" *she is* in line 10, apparently proposing what he takes to be an appropriate reference term for the referential person. As Wang pauses, Xie helps complete his utterance with a quickly produced "她是你姐姐::" *she is you sister::* at arrow 1 (line 12). Several things can be noted about Xie's utterance in line 12. First, it is a "chiming in", where Xie participates "in the voicing of a particular figure" (Couper-Kuhlen, 1999). Although this utterance is zero-framed, from the use of the third person pronoun "她" *she* and the person reference "你姐姐::" *your elder sister::*, we can see that this utterance

is anchored to the second wife as the referential point (since the first wife is generally older than the subsequent one(s)). And this reported utterance is clearly attributed to the veteran, introducing his first wife to the second.

Obviously, Xie's completing what Wang initiates is not a welcomed effort, as evidenced by Wang's immediate disapproval of Xie's report in line 13 ("=不是, 啊::, 不是::," =no, ah::, no::), which is followed by his reconstruction of the reported speech at arrow 2 "她应该说是你:::姐姐。" *she should be said to be your::: sister* (line 14). Wang uses the modal verb "应该" *should* to indicate that the version to be proffered as a more appropriate one. The orientation of "应该" *should*, however, is ambiguous here: if it is taken as the speaker's own words directed at the current interlocutors, "应该" *should* conveys a deontic stance indicating what *should* be proffered as a more appropriate version of reporting; if "应该" *should* is considered as part of the quotation attributed to the veteran, it constitutes an introductory utterance addressed to the second wife and conveys the veteran's uncertain epistemic stance while locating a reference term for his first wife. The ambiguity presented here reflects the intrinsic multi-voicedness of reported discourse, conveying both the original speaker and the present speaker's voices (Bakhtin, 1981).

Differing from Xie's representation of the quotation, which is delivered in a rather plain fashion, Wang's reporting is produced with a much slower pace (note the lengthening in lines 13, 14), thus imitating a thinking process and attaching weight to the reported utterance (Reed, 2011). Significantly, while producing the person reference "你:::姐姐" *your::: sister* (line 14), Wang switches from Mandarin to a northern dialect of Chinese, presumably capturing the dialect used in the original talk. As many interactional sociolinguists, such as Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982), have recognized, "social identity and ethnicity are in large part established and maintained through language" (p. 7). Blom and Gumperz (1972) also consider a person's native speech as "an integral part of his family background, a sign of his local identity" (p. 411). In the present case, with the code-

switching, Wang positions and signals the veteran's identity as a mainlander ("外省人" lit. *person from out of town/an outsider*), who speaks a dialect distinct from the majority of Taiwanese in Taiwan.

Furthermore, through the indexical use of the dialect, Wang invokes the entire background information associated with this identity that is crucial for interpreting the depicted scene: for example, the veteran fleeing from Mainland China to Taiwan after the defeat, his separation from his family for many years, and his eventual remarriage to someone in Taiwan. When these inferential messages are incorporated, the described situation (i.e., the veteran reconciliation between his two wives at the reunion) becomes both understandable and worthy of sympathy. Compared to Xie's reporting delivered in a plain manner, Wang's second reporting applies more colors to the literal and referential layer of propositions. More specifically, by saliently marking the reported person's identity, Wang implicitly conveys his sympathy toward the reported person, i.e., treating his experience as an outcome of historical development that is beyond human control.

Also, by mimicking the veteran's utterance in an animated fashion, the reporter gives the recipients access to the utterance in question, thus allowing them to react to it or to collaborate in the reporting (Holt, 2000). As can be seen from subsequent talk, Wang's report indeed elicits joint laughter from the recipients (lines 15, 16), which displays their appreciation and implicit assessment of the reported utterance. As a way to show his alignment with the reporter, a recipient, Dou, further constructs a hypothetical scene by animating the veteran's directive to his second wife "叫姐姐::@" *call (her) sister:::* (line 17). We can therefore be quite sure that our interpretation of Wang switching into a dialect is related to evoking the reported person's regional identity, which is also shared by the co-participants in this episode. One could view this as one of the subtle ways in which intersubjectivity is established and maintained among the interlocutors.

Excerpt 4-5, an extract from a different episode of the same talk show program, exemplifies another case of other-formulated IRRS. In the prior talk of extract 4-5, the interlocutors – Dou (the host), Wen (a writer) and Mei (an actress) – are talking about how close friends are usually not constrained by social etiquette or cultural norms,

and behave in a free and easy manner while talking to each other. To illustrate this point, Dou recounts an anecdote about a social gaffe committed by one of his good friends. After providing background information of the anecdote (line 1, "昨天我一个好朋友", *yesterday, one of my best friends*), Dou interrupts the current storyline, giving way to a general statement concerning people's careless manner nowadays (lines 1-3, "现在的人哪, 也不知道是因为北京空气不好还是什么, 有时候弄得大脑有点儿短路了。" *people nowadays, I don't know if it is because of the bad weather in Beijing or something, sometimes they just lapse into delirium*). The metaphorical descriptor "大脑有点儿短路" (lit. *there is a short circuit in the brain*) here serves to capture people's temporary lapse of consciousness or judgment. By playfully attributing this situation to the bad weather in Beijing (line 2), Dou helps alleviate the seriousness of his claim. After securing the co-participants' appreciative laughter (lines 4, 5), Dou shifts the topic back to the friend in question with a comment on his ignorance of what he is saying (line 6). As a story preface generally does, this assessment, especially the characterizing adjective for the described status (line 3, "大脑有点儿短路了" *Sometimes they just lapse into delirium*), suggests an interpretative schema for the upcoming narrative, informing the hearers what reactions they should give when the story is over (Sacks, 1992).

Excerpt 4-5 A monk girlfriend

- 1 Dou: 昨天 我 一 个 好 朋 友 , 这 个 人 - 现 在 的 人 哪 ,
yesterday 1SG one CL good friend this CL person now ATTR person PRT
yesterday, one of my best friends, this person- people nowadays,
- 2 也 不 知 道 是 因 为 北 京 空 气 不 好 还 是 什 么 ,
also not know COP because Beijing air not good or what
I don't know if it is because of the bad weather in Beijing or something,
- 3 有 时 候 弄 得 大 脑 有 点 儿 短 路 了 。
sometimes make DVC brain a-little short-circuit PFV
sometimes they just lapse into delirium.
- 4 Wen: [@ @ @ @ 。
[((laugh))
- 5 Mei: [@ @ @ @ 。
[((laugh))

- 6 Dou: [就 是(..) 就 是 说 话::, 就 是, 不 知 道 他 在 说 什 么。
just COP just COP speak speech just COP not know 3SG ASP say what
[(it's) just,(..) just (when he) speaks, just, he doesn't know what he is talking about.]
- 7 [你 知 道 吗@ 就 是 啊,
2SG know PRT just COP PRT
[you know ((laugh)) it's like,
- 8 Mei: [啊哈。
PRT
[ah-huh.
- 9 Dou: 跟 文 道, 就: : 就: : [就 说,
to (person name) then then then say
he said to Wendao, then- then- [then (he)said,
- 10 Wen: → [就 说 到 说 什 么, 你 有 女 朋 友 吗,
then mention say what 2SG have female friend PRT
[then (he) mentioned, said something like, do you have a girlfriend,
- 11 Dou: [嗯。
PRT
[eh.
- 12 Wen:1 → [哟, 你 女 朋 友 也 是 个 和 尚 吗? [@@@@
PRT your female friend also COP CL monk PRT
[yo, is your girlfriend also a monk? [(laugh))
- 13 Mei: [@@@@。
[((laugh))
- 14 Dou: [啊 对, 就: : 就: : 哎,
PRT right then then PRT
[yeah, then- then- ah,
- 15 Wen: 你 说 这 什 么 话。 你 要 说 有 [女 朋 友,
2SG say this what speech 2SG if say have female friend
you see, how **ridiculous** it is. If you admit that you have a [girlfriend,
- 16 Dou: 2 → [就 是 说, 先 先 先 问 什 么, 你 有 女 朋 友 吗?
just COP say first first first ask what 2SG have female friend PRT
[it's like, he first, first, first asked something like, do you have a girlfriend?
- 17 2 → 哦::, 也 是 和 尚 啊。 [就@ 根 本 就 没 听 回 答@@。
PRT also COP monk PRT just at-all just not listen-to response
Oh::, also a monk. [(he) just didn't listening to the answer at all. ((smiling voice))

- 18 Wen: [@@@。
 [:(laugh)]
- 19 Dou: ↑我 说, 你 说 尼:姑: 都 好 些@。
 1SG say 2SG say Buddhist-nun even good a-little
 ↑I said, it would have been even better if you said **Buddhist nun**.
- 20 Wen: 他 怎 么 会 说 是 和:尚: 呢。
 3SG how can say COP monk PRT
 how could it be possible that he said monk::.
- 21 Dou: 哎::, 所以-
 PRT so
 ay::, so-
- 22 Mei: 应 该 也 是 出 家 人::。
 should also COP leave home person
 at least it should be a person::: who leaves the secular world.
- 23 (...)
- 24 Mei: 是 这 个 意 思 吧::。
 COP this CL meaning PRT
 am I right::.
- 25 Dou: 哎, 你 说,
 PRT 2SG say
 Ay, you say,
- 26 Wen: 这 真 [奇:怪:: 啊。
 this really weird PRT
 This is really [weird::.

In line 9, Dou starts to quote the friend's utterances addressed to Wen in an earlier context with "跟文道, 就:: 就:::[就说" *he said to Wendao, then- then- [then (he)said*. Before Dou completes his utterance, Wen, who is one of the characters in the recounted story and is co-present in the current conversation, interjects by recycling Dou's formulation "就说" *then (he) said*. Then he performs a quick synopsis of the reported speech utterances attributed to the protagonist in lines 10 and 12 ("就说到说什么, 你有女朋友吗, 哟, 你女朋友也是个和尚吗?" *then (he) mentioned, said something like, do you have a girlfriend, yo, is your girlfriend also a monk?*). Wen's quotation is successful in the sense that it generates laughter from the unknowing party, Mei (line 13). Wen then proceeds to

comment on the reported utterances as "ridiculous" (line 15, "你说这**什么话**。你要说有[女朋友]" *you see, how ridiculous it is. If you admit that you have a girlfriend*). As Jefferson noted (1978), an assessment is a prototypical telling-ending device. Here, the story hearably reaches a point of possible completion, as the turn-by-turn talk is re-engaged, and the co-participants liberally participate in making comments (lines 13, 14, 15).

Dou apparently does not treat this reporting sequence as completed. He reopens the floor of storytelling with his second attempt to launch the reported talk (lines 14, 16), and eventually delivers his reporting version (lines 16, 17, "就是说, 先先先问什么, 你有女朋友吗? 哦::, 也是和尚啊." *then- then- ah, it's like, he first, first, first asked something like, do you have a girlfriend? Oh::, also a monk*). A comment concerning the protagonist's indifferent manner when he produces the series of questions (line 17, "就@根本就没听回答@@。" *(he) just didn't listening to the answer at all*) serves as an exit device marking the completion of his reporting (Jefferson, 1978). After obtaining Wen's laughter in response to his report (line 18), Dou further searches for recipients' display of alignment by adding a story component in which he quotes his own verbal reaction to the friend's questions (line 19, "↑我说, 你说**尼:姑:都好些**@" *I said, it would have been even better if you said a **Buddhist nun***). The storytelling is eventually treated as completed when the co-participants take turns making comments in a highly affiliative fashion (lines 19-23).

Like what we have seen in previous examples, here again, it is relevant to ask the question: why does an interlocutor represent something that has been reported before? In the present case, although the two reproductions of the quotation are almost identical in form, nuanced distinctions between the two can be discerned, as shown in Table 4-1 below.

	Wen's rendition of the reported dialogue	Dou's rendition of the reported dialogue
Frame of reported speech	就说到说什么, <i>then (he) mentioned, said something like,</i>	就是说, 先先先问什么, <i>it's like, he first, first, first asked something like,</i>
1st reported question	你有女朋友吗, <i>do you have a girlfriend,</i>	你有女朋友吗? <i>do you have a girlfriend?</i>
2nd reported question	哟, 你女朋友也是个和尚吗? <i>yo, is your girlfriend also a monk?</i>	哦::, 也是和尚啊。 <i>Oh::, also a monk.</i>

Table 4-1. Different renditions of reported speech in the *Monk Girlfriend* narrative

The biggest divergence resides in the second question that the friend is reported to have asked (lines 10, 16). In Wen's rendition (line 10, "哟, 你女朋友也是个和尚吗?" *yo, is your girlfriend also a monk?*), the particle "哟" *yo* registers the reported speaker's surprise at the addressee's response (e.g., the addressee's acknowledgement of having a girlfriend); the question "你女朋友也是个和尚吗" *is your girlfriend also a monk* is constructed as a follow-up *yes/no* question based on the addressee's response. Moreover, the person reference term "你女朋友" *your girlfriend* clearly registers the existence of a girlfriend. Therefore, what is highlighted in Wen's version of the report is the protagonist's misuse of "和尚" *monk* to refer to a female.

In contrast, Dou's reproduction of the protagonist's second question "哦::, 也是和尚啊" *oh::, also a monk* (line 16) is prefaced with a different particle "哦::" *oh::*. In general use, "哦" is similar to *oh* in English, which is recognized as a change-of-state token (Heritage, 1984b). The use of "哦::" *oh::* here also registers a shift in the reported speaker's mind status. However, this shift is not occasioned by the addressee's response, as manifested by Dou's subsequent comment "就@根本就没听回答" (*he just didn't listening to the answer at all*) (line 17), but rather is an outcome of the protagonist's own subjective surmise. The subsequent question "也是和尚啊" *also a monk*, by anaphorically referring to the addressee's girlfriend, also presumes the existence of a girlfriend. Different from Wen's reported question, which is delivered as an interrogative with a rising intonation at the turn ending (indicated by the question mark in line 10), Dou's reported question is packaged as a declarative statement "哦::, 也是和尚啊." voiced with a falling intonation (indicated by the period in line 16). Thus Dou's reported utterance "哦::, 也是和尚啊." is not so much a question seeking information from the addressee, but rather a statement eliciting confirmation from the recipient, or even a muttering utterance addressed to the speaker himself.

Although the differences between Wen and Dou's productions of the quotation are nuanced, it is discernible that while Wen's rendition of the reported question is more dialogic in nature, Dou's report, to a greater extent, signals the monologic dimension of the protagonist's talk, portraying it more as the protagonist's soliloquy to himself.

Moreover, I propose that in addition to the interlocutors' divergent opinions concerning what may constitute an appropriate way to deliver the reported speech, another important factor that occasions an other-formulated IRRS is the sequential placement of the first report. Recall that in excerpt 4-4, Wang first initiates the reported speech. However, another knowing party, Xie, preempts the opportunity to deliver the upshot of the reported speech "她是你姐姐::" *she is your sister::* (line 12), following which, Wang proffers the dialectically marked second version (line 14). A similar sequential pattern can be observed in excerpt 4-5. From the way Dou prefaces the story and the way he introduces the quotation, he does not make any explicit effort to invite the other knowledgeable party (Wen) to co-tell the story. Wen's interruption is therefore somewhat unexpected and also undesired, as is manifested by Dou's several attempts to resume his reporting during Wen's report (lines 14, 16). When Wen finishes his quotation, Dou provides the second version that makes salient the monologic nature of the reported utterances. Based on the above analysis, the sequential pattern of other-formulated IRRS (marked by arrow) is suggested below in Figure 4-1.

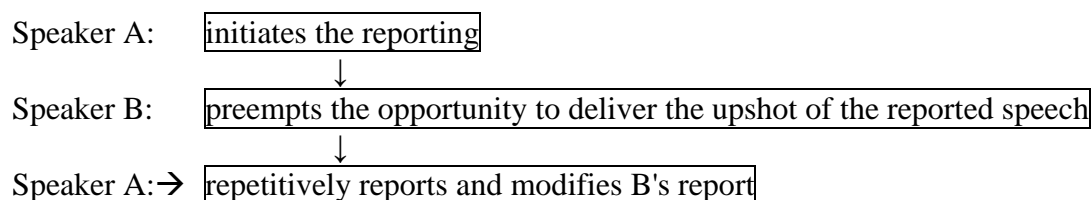


Figure 4-1. Sequential placement of other-formulated IRRS

This sequential pattern is not restricted to institutional talk, as exemplified in talk show conversations in extracts 4-4 and 4-5 above. This pattern is also recurrently observed in ordinary conversation in Mandarin speakers' daily life. Excerpt 4-6 illustrates one of such instances during the course of a couples' co-reporting an anecdote to a third party. In the talk prior to extract 4-6, a couple (Yang and Zhan) are expressing their concern about renovating the kitchen in their house, i.e., the noise of renovating may bother an old couple living downstairs. At the beginning of this segment, Yang reports her proposal of a solution to the old couple's son (line 1), and how it was declined (line 2).

Excerpt 4-6 House renovation

- 1 Yang: 我 跟 他 儿子 也 讲 了, 能 不 能 给 他 挪 走::。
 1SG with his son also say PFV can not can make 3SG move away
I also talked to his son, to see if they could move him away::.
- 2 他 儿子 也 (没 动换,) [说, 没 有 地::方儿。
 his son also not move say not have place
His son didn't move, [said, there was no pla::ce.
- 3 Ting: 嗯::。
 PRT
 uh::.
- 4 (..)
- 5 Yang: 走 不 了。
 leave not PVC
unable to move.
- 6 Ting: [嗯。
 PRT
 [uh.
- 07 Zhan: 1→ [↑后来:: 告诉 咱, 就 是 说 他们 要,
 later tell 1PL just COP say 3PL want-to
 [↑later:: told us, (they) just said they wanted to,
- 08 1→ 弄 老头儿 老婆儿, 去 住:: [宾- 宾馆 去。
 take old-man old-woman go live hotel hotel go
take the old man and the old woman, to live:: in [a hotel.
- 9 Yang: 2→ [要 实在 不 行, 我们- 我们 就-
 if indeed not work 1PL 1PL then
 [if indeed things don't work out all right, we- we'll just-
- 10 2→ 你们 要 装修 我们 就 给 他,
 2PL if renovate 1PL then make 3SG
If you decide to renovate (your house), we will just make him,
- 11 2→ (..) 嗯, 弄- 住 一段儿 宾馆::。
 PRT make live a-while hotel
 (..) eh, make (them)- live in the hotel:: for a while.
- 12 (..)

Overlapping with Zhan's report, Yang initiates the second version of the reported speech at arrow 2 (lines 9-11). To facilitate comparison, I list both reportings in Table 4-2 below. Note that while Zhan's reporting is prefaced with an explicit quotative marker "↑**后来**::告诉咱, 就是说" ↑**later**:: *told us, (they) just said they wanted to* (line 7) attributing the utterance to the old couple's son, Yang's quotation is zero framed. In zero-framing her report, Yang takes over the reporting framework from Zhan, and shifts her "footing" (Goffman, 1981) by speaking in the voice of the son right at the onset of her utterance (line 9). Her shift of footing is marked by her adoption of the plural first-person pronoun "我们" *we* and the plural second-person pronoun "你们" *you* making reference to the old couple's children and the current speakers (Yang and Zhan) respectively. In this regard, while Zhan's first report is delivered from the current speaker's perspective as indirect reported speech, Yang's reporting is produced from the point of view of the original speaker in direct speech form.

Zhan's rendition of the reported dialogue	Yang's rendition of the reported dialogue
07 Zhan: 1→ [↑ 后来 ::告诉咱, 就是说他们要,弄老头儿老婆儿, 去住::[宾- 宾馆去。 ↑ later :: <i>told us, (they) just said they wanted to, take the old man and the old woman, to live:: in [a hotel.</i>	9 Yang: 2→ [要实在不行 , 我们- 我们就-你们要装修我们就给他, (..)嗯, 弄- 住一段儿 宾馆 :: if things don't work out all right , <i>we- we'll just- If you decide to renovate (your house), we will just make him,(..) eh, make- live in the hotel:: for a while.</i>

Table 4-2. Different renditions of reported speech in the *House Renovation* narrative

Significantly, as can be seen from Table 4-2, in the two renditions of reported speech, the motive for carrying out the reported activity (i.e., relocating the old couple to a hotel) is constructed from distinct perspectives. Zhan's quotation (in the left column of Table 4-2) portrays the described relocation as arising out of the reported speaker's own initiative and desire through the use of the modal verb "要" *will/want to* (line 7). Yang's report, in contrast, captures the unwillingness and grudge on the reported speaker's part. This is achieved first through the conditional clause "要实在不行" *if indeed things don't work out all right* (line 9) indicating the relocation as the last solution the reported speaker would take, and then through the repair from "我们- 我们就-" *we- we'll just-* (line 9) to "你们要... 我们就..." *If you decide to..., then we will...* (line 10), explicitly attributing responsibilities associated with the relocation to the party who intends to do the renovation.

Moreover, in comparison to Zhan's plain package of "去住::[宾- 宾馆去。" *to live:: in [a hotel* (line 8), Yang uses a temporal expression in her reporting "住一段儿宾馆::" *live in the hotel:: for a while* to indicate that the lodging at a hotel is only a temporary solution, further indexing the choice of relocation as dispreferred. As Yang's reporting makes it clear that the relocation in question is a forced and unwelcomed one for the reported speaker, Ting aligns with this position by strongly opposing the idea of relocating the old couple through a prosodically stressed rhetorical question (line 13, "那::, 住宾馆哪儿::行啊" *then::, how:: (can they) live in a hotel::*). In subsequent turns, Yang and Ting express their shared rejective stance toward the proposed relocation (lines 14-16).

The same sequential pattern as what we have seen in Figure 4-1 is borne out here. Specifically, it is Yang (speaker A) who initiates the reporting, while it is another knowledgeable party Zhan (speaker B) who preempts the opportunity to deliver the most noteworthy part in the reported anecdote. Yang's subsequent repetitive reporting, therefore, not only treats Zhan's prior report as pragmatically inadequate (i.e., not telling the whole story), but also treats it as sequentially problematic. From what we have seen in excerpts 4-4 through 4-6, not all co-reporting efforts are welcomed. A co-participant's (speaker B) unexpected interruption by preemptively revealing the upshot of reported speech may constitute an action tantamount to stealing the prior speaker's (speaker A) wind. As speaker A resumes his/her previous reporting by doing the report again, he/she is doing extra interactional work: on the one hand, he/she is reclaiming his/her epistemic priority in delivering the reporting, and on the other hand, he/she implicitly points to the problematic nature of the other party's previous report, either pragmatically or sequentially, or both.

Furthermore, the repetitive report is not a simple reiteration of the prior, but rather engages a variety of linguistic and paralinguistic resources to achieve more dramatic effect, for example, to index the reported speaker's regional identity through the use of a dialect (excerpt 4-4), to capture the monologic nature of one's talk (excerpt 4-5), or to convey the reported speaker's unwillingness in making a proposal (excerpt 4-6). This may be explained by the "recipient design" considerations (Sacks et al., 1974:727; Heritage, 1985; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991;

Lawrence, 1996), which maintain that reports not only must be placed relevantly with respect to topic talk, but also must be fashioned to display an orientation toward their recipients. As Goodwin (1979, 1986) has pointed out, taking into account what you take your recipient to know – recipient design – lies at the very heart of turn design. These added components upon the propositional layer provide evidence for speaker A's awareness of the change of knowledge states on the recipient's part, i.e., the recipient's epistemic state has shifted from an unknowing (K-) status to a knowing (K+) status due to speaker B's reporting (Heritage, 2012a, 2012b). Furthermore, by resorting to multi-model resources in his/her reporting, speaker A, who is temporarily suppressed by speaker B's preemptive co-reporting, is evidently seeking a way to outperform speaker B. Repetitively reporting in a more compelling manner, evidently, provides an effective resource to achieve this goal.

4.4 Summary of Chapter 4

In this chapter, I have examined the phenomenon of other-formulated immediate repetitive reported speech (IRRS) in naturally occurring Mandarin conversations. Two environments where an interlocutor other than the current reporter repetitively reports have been identified. In the first type of other-formulated IRRS, as evidenced in excerpts 4-1 to 4-3, interlocutors display their fidelity to the authenticity of reported speech (i.e., what exactly is in the quote, and who scripts it). In this sense, this type of IRRS is similar to what conversation analysts have termed "other-initiated repair" in the broad sense, proposing what the speaker takes to be the more faithful version of reporting. Negotiation of the propositional content of reporting is further recognized as a resource with which conversationalists implement specific interactional purposes. As we have seen in previous analysis, while the sequentially second reporting can be deployed to display the speaker's affiliation with the prior speaker (excerpt 4-1), it can equally be used to manifest the conversationalists' divergent stances (excerpt 4-2). Moreover, since a quotative marker is an integral part of the reported speech, through the way a quotation is introduced (e.g., *brothers said* vs. *Peter said*), we can see that the interlocutors display a keen awareness and sensitivity to the authorship of the

reported utterances and the feasibility of its being disclosed to the recipient (excerpt 4-3). And these modifications of propositional content have clear moral implications.

The second type of other-formulated IRRS addressed in this chapter concerns the issue of what constitutes pragmatically adequate and sequentially appropriate reported speech. This focus beyond the propositional level is particularly made evident in examples where two versions of reporting (i.e., the original and the repetitive) are almost identical in lexical-syntactic form. Only paralinguistic features such as prosody, and voice qualities signal the distinctions between the two otherwise identical reporting instances, as illustrated by excerpt 4-4. This type of revision suggests that the second reporter does not necessarily refute the accuracy of the first reporting. Rather, he/she considers the previous reporting pragmatically inadequate or sequentially problematic. Moreover, these two aspects (i.e., the pragmatic inadequateness and sequential misplacement of the previous report) are interrelated. As I have shown above, the first reporting (speaker B's reported speech) is delivered as an action usurping speaker A's reportership by preemptively revealing the climax of the reporting. Speaker A's reporting (originally intended as a sequentially first one) is now positioned at a sequentially second placement. To nullify the impression that he/she is merely agreeing with speaker B, speaker A arguably asserts his/her agency in the reporting, and adopts a more compelling format of reported speech, through a variety of linguistic and paralinguistic means.

Although in this chapter I roughly categorize other-formulated IRRS in two groups, significantly more instances are amalgamated products of the two, namely, negotiations of propositional details are always intertwined with negotiations of delivery methods. Apparently what is involved in all the above instances of other-formulated IRRS is the interlocutors' display of epistemic stance, i.e., their claimed knowledge of the reported talk. While in the first type, what we can see is the second reporter's relatively innocent display of shared knowledge (e.g., in the sense "*I know that too*"), in the second type, we can observe a more vehement competition among the coparticipants over the epistemic priority in delivering the reported talk (i.e., in the sense "*I get there first*").

CHAPTER 5. DISTANT REPETITIVE REPORTED SPEECH (DRRS)

5.1 Introduction

In the previous two chapters, I have examined how repetitive reportings are carried out in sequentially adjacent positions, either by the same speaker (chapter 3) or by different interlocutors (chapter 4). Hence, they are called 'Immediate Repetitive Reported Speech (IRRS)'. In this chapter, I consider how conversationalists report the same original talk in distinct interactional contexts separated at certain intervals. Since these variations of reported speech do not occur in sequentially adjacent placements, I call these instances 'Distant Repetitive Reported Speech' (DRRS). DRRS may be accomplished by an individual speaker, or by distinct interlocutors who are equally knowledgeable of the matter being reported. Unlike immediate repetitive reportings that occur at adjacent positions in the same conversation, most distance reporting instances are not marked as retellings, and are hard to be identified as such. Multiple factors, such as memory and the reporter's angle of view, may come into play giving rise to different versions of reported speech. Nonetheless, different renditions of some past locutions provide valuable data for examining how a speaker quotes the same past talk on different occasions, and how the same event is reported by distinct conversationalists.

As many previous studies of natural conversation have recognized, audiences play an essential role in determining the shape of an utterance, the production of which can be tracked moment by moment (see for example, Goodwin, 1981, 2007; Sherzer, 1981; Norrick, 1998; Schegloff, 2007). Particularly relevant to the present study is Norrick's (1998) work on retellings of spontaneous conversational stories. He shows how conversationalists adjust their narratives for a newly arrived listener and relate the same story for different audiences. Sherzer (1981) also describes how a basic narrative varies through repetition and reformulation with different contexts, purposes, tellers, and audiences. In the present chapter, to minimize the impact engendered by the shift of audiences, I only consider repetitive reportings made to the same constellation of audiences.

Past work on reported speech has not explicitly considered repetitive reportings in natural conversation. However, since reported speech is generally embedded within narratives, this phenomenon is addressed in passing in studies of retold stories by authors as Norrick (1997, 1998), Schiffrin (2003), Stockburger (2008), Habermas and Berger (2011), and Trester (2013). Schiffrin's (2003) work provides a fascinating account of how a turning point in a narrative of danger during the Holocaust is represented across four tellings. However, since her analysis focuses on an individual narrator's narratives solicited by an interviewer, the data in her work is not interactional in nature. Stockburger (2008) analyzes two versions of the same *lice* narrative – one appears in the writer's memoir and the other appears in the writer's self-published perzine. While she demonstrates how life writers embed small stories within larger narratives of significant episodes in their lives, her focus is on written texts. Finally, Trester (2013), using interactional sociolinguistics, explicitly examines two versions of prankster stories in spoken discourse. Her data, however, have been elicited stories, which necessarily identify different forms and functions than naturally occurring narratives. Despite their diverse focuses and approaches, these studies highlighted intertextual, interpersonal and intercultural differences between alternative versions of narratives in spoken and written discourses, and produced insights into the dynamic relationship between the form of narrative and the larger context within which it is embedded. In this sense, although none of the previous work explicitly deals with reported speech in spontaneous conversation, they provide a foundation for the current work.

Similar to previous chapters, in this chapter, I show that studying variations in reporting provides one way to unpack the role of reported speech, or 'constructed dialogue' in Tannen's (1989) term, in the accomplishment of the interactional aims in their respective larger contexts. The first pair of DRRS shown below (excerpts 5-1, 5-2) illustrates an instance of same-person distant repetitive reportings that spontaneously occurred two weeks apart. The second reporting pair (excerpts 5-3, 5-4), occurring at a shorter interval, demonstrates distant repetitive reportings dispersed in the same conversation made by different speakers.

5.2 Distant Repetitive Reportings by an Individual Speaker

Just as the same story will receive different narrative treatments from tellers, the same original talk in the real world may provide materials for subsequent talks, thus giving rise to varied versions of reported speech. Excerpts 5-1 and 5-2 are cases in point. They are taken from a two-hour-long tape-recorded conversation between two elder women in their sixties, Yang and Qian, who are relatives by marriage (i.e., Yang's son marries Qian's daughter). These two extracts below showcase how Yang reports to Qian her dispute with her husband in two spontaneously occurring conversations that are two weeks apart.

In the previous context of extract 5-1 (not shown here), Qian, who is widowed, expresses her concern regarding taking care of her grandchildren by herself, since she has some chronic diseases. Qian further recounts a narrative evidencing that not only herself but also her daughter's parents-in-law (i.e., the grandparents on the paternal side) share the same concern. In reporting the paternal grandparents' words, Qian conveys her latent criticism of the paternal grandparents (especially the grandfather), treating them as oversensitive about and doting on their grandchild. At the beginning of this segment, Qian reports her response to the paternal grandparents' concern, assuring them with an excuse (lines 1, 2).

Excerpt 5-1 Biased grandfather (1)

- 1 Qian: 我 说 没 事::儿, 我 说 我 那
 1SG say no matter 1SG say my there
 比 你 这 个 (..) 呃, 也 安全。 (.)
 compare-to your this CL PRT also safe
*I said **no pro::blem**, I said my house, compared to yours, (..) eh, is safer. (.)*
- 2 我 说 那 防护 网 都 咧 个 了,
 1SG say that protective net already this CL PFV
 她 想 爬 出去 都 出 不 去。
 3SG want-to crawl OVC even out not go
*I said (I) also set up a protective fence; she cannot crawl out even if she **wanted to**.*
- 3 Yang: @
 ((*laugh*))
- 4 (..)

- 5 Qian: 没 事儿。
no matter
not a big deal.
- 6 (...)
- 7 Qian: 就 这 样。
just this look
just like that.
- 8 (...)
- 9 Yang: 嗯。
PRT
eh.
- 10 (...)
- 11 Yang: 1→ 我们 这 个, 也 一样。我: 就 说 他 呢,
Our this CL also same 1SG just say 3SG PRT
our this one, is also the same. I:: just blamed him,
- 12 1→ 我 说 你 跟 小 冬冬 跟 亮亮 不 一样。
1SG say 2SG with little (name) with (name) not same
I said you treat little Dongdong and Liangliang differently.
- 13 1→ 他 说 嘛, ((softly)) °人家 有 自个儿 爷爷. @@
3SG say what RENJIA have own grandfather
what did he say, ((softly)) °he has his own paternal grandpa. @@
- 14 Qian: 是。 [他 这 是, 他 那 个::
yes 3SG this COP 3SG that CL
Yeah. [He is, he that::,
- 15 Yang: [()
- 16 Qian: 他 那 个 亲 情 呐, 血缘 [关系 啊
3SG that CL family affection PRT blood-relationship relationship PRT
the emotional bonding, and the blood relationship between them
- 17 Yang: (((告诉 我 说)) 人家 有 自己 爷爷。
tell 1SG say RENJIA have own paternal-grandfather
[told me that he has his own paternal grandfather.
- 18 (..)

19 Qian: 是 啊::。
yes PRT
yeah::.

Echoing the critical voice in Qian's narrative, Yang displays her affiliation with Qian by telling a 'second story' (Sacks, 1992), in which she blames her husband for discriminative treatments of his grandchildren (lines 11-13, marked by arrow 1). In claiming that her husband is 'the same' (line 11, “我们^{这个}, (也一样)” *our **this one**, is also the same*), Yang begins her narrative with a clear evaluative framing, signaling her adoption of the stance and framework established in Qian's previous telling (Sacks, 1992). When referring to her husband, instead of using an unmarked person reference (e.g., a speaker-associated '我先生' *my husband*, or simply her husband's name), Yang adopts a marked person reference formulated with a plural first-person pronoun "我们" *we/our* and the proximal deictic term "^{这个}" *this one*. Together, they constitute what Stivers (2007) terms 'alternative recognitionals' in person reference and appear to be doing additional interactional work. In the present example, what is accomplished through this marked reference form is the communication of the speaker's disapproving attitude toward her husband.

From lines 11 to 13, Yang reports her argument with her husband. By simply pointing out the existence of differing treatment of grandchildren, Yang packages her own utterance directed at her husband as a disinterested noticing, which is delivered in a plain way (line 12, “我说你跟小冬冬跟亮亮不一样。” *I said you treat little Dongdong and Liangliang differently*). The begrudging and complaining tone of voice, however, still gets through. Although she does not straightforwardly specify the source of her grudge (i.e., which child her husband favors over the other), as we shall see below, her husband's response (line 13, "人家有自个儿爷爷。" *he has his own paternal grandpa*) clearly treats her utterance (under the disguise of a noticing) as a complaint, and precisely captures the point of her complaint.

In reporting her husband's response, Yang asks a question “他说嘛” *what did he say* (line 13), inviting the addressee to predict the character's reaction. In doing so, the narrator also creates suspense to attract her audience's

attention before the climax is revealed. Her husband's utterance is then delivered in a low, soft voice (line 20, " °人家有自个儿爷爷." °*he has his own paternal grandpa*). "人家" *RENJIA* in this quotation certainly refers to the grandchild on the maternal side (i.e., the child given birth by Yang's daughter), as ' *he has his own grandpa on the paternal side*'. With this claim, the protagonist evokes a tradition practiced in the contemporary Chinese society, i.e., a child is deemed as a member of the paternal family, and is taken care of primarily by the paternal family. By highlighting his own identity as a maternal grandfather, the protagonist shirks the caretaking responsibility for the child on the maternal side, and sanctions his preference for the paternal grandchild, which consequently nullifies Yang's prior accusation in line 12.

It is also noticeable that instead of using a default reference for the child on the paternal side (e.g., a third-person pronoun "他" *he* or the child's name "亮亮" *Liangliang*), Yang's husband is reported to use a specific form of third-person pronoun "人家" *RENJIA* (line 13), which explicitly positions the referential person as an outsider ('外人') who is beyond the speaker's domain of relationship or responsibility (Guo and Shen, 2004). The estranging and distancing effect created by "人家" is more of an emotional and psychological one, signaling the speaker's perceived estrangement with the person being referred to (Hou and Qin, 2013). In addition, as Hou and Qin (2013) has noted, speakers recurrently use "人家" to express their disagreement, disengagement, or disaffiliation with the interlocutors. In the current example, Yang's husband clearly uses "人家" to distance himself from the child in question on the one hand, and to resist the force of Yang's accusation on the other hand. Thus "人家" *RENJIA* preserves the savor of estrangement, aloofness and dissatisfaction in the reported speaker's voice as compared to a more neutral person reference (e.g., "他" *he*), it is reasonable to believe that "人家" *RENJIA* is an essential component scripted and voiced by the original speaker. Thereby, Yang in the present reporting context plays the role of an 'animator' (Goffman, 1981), representing her husband's utterance in a direct speech form.

Two weeks later, Yang is found to report to Qian the same dispute between she and her husband in a distinctively different conversation as shown below in excerpt 5-2. Excerpt 5-2 is embedded in a complaint sequence, where Yang has been criticizing her son (who is in his thirties) for being socially immature and unsophisticated. In the talk prior to extract 5-2 (not shown here), Yang narrates an anecdote to flesh out the ground of her complaint, i.e., her son forgot to call home on his father's 70th birthday, which is a major social faux pas from Yang's point of view. Extract 5-2 occurs at the end of the complaint sequence, where Yang compares her son (Yang Jie) unfavorably with her daughter (Yang Na) (lines 1, 3-5). She first sets up a comparison frame by listing her children as the topic of talk (lines 1, 3, "你说这两个, 我这两个, 杨娜::, 杨杰" *you see these two, these two I have, Yang Na::, and Yang Jie,*). With the discourse marker "你说" (lit.) *you say* (line 1), Yang solicits opinion and recruits alliance from her recipient (Guan, 2011). Then she cuts off what seems to be an expression of her preference "我还最:" *despite of this I especially:* (line 4), giving way to a description of her daughter's life style (lines 4, 5).

Excerpt 5-2 Biased grandfather (2)

- 1 Yang: 你 说 这 两 个,
 2SG say this two CL
 you see these two,
- 2 Qian: 嗯 嗯。
 PRT PRT
 eh eh.
- 3 Yang: 我 这 两 个, 杨娜::, 杨杰, (..)
 my this two CL (person name) (person name)
 these two I have, Yang Na::, and Yang Jie,
- 4 我 还 最:, 我 还- 您 说 人家 杨娜,
 1SG still most 1SG still 2SG say RENJIA (person name)
 您 那- 她 那儿 哈儿 您 也 知道,
 2SG there 3SG there PRT 2SG also know
 (despite of this) I still especially:, I still- you see Yang Na, you- you also know about her situation,
- 5 我 还 **用得着** 关心 人家 啥。
 1SG still need-to care RENJIA what
 what do I need to concern for her.

- 6 Qian: 嗯::。
PRT
eh::.
- 7 (.)
- 8 Yang: 啊::?
PRT
ah::?
- 9 (...)
- 10 Yang: 2→ 我 有时候 说 他 爷爷, 我 说
1SG sometimes blame his paternal-grandfather 1SG say
你 对 小- 小 冬冬 你 就 偏::心。
2SG to little little (person name) 2SG just favor
I sometimes blame his grandpa, I said you had a partiality for little- little Dongdong.
- 11 2→ 你 对 小 亮亮- 他 说 什么, 人家 有 自己的 爷::爷。
2SG to little (person name) 3SG say what RENJIA have own paternal-grandfather
to little Liangliang you're- what did he say, he has his own paternal grandpa::.
- 12 2→ 他 说[@ 人家 有 自己的 爷爷@@。
3SG say RENJIA have own paternal-grandfather
he said he has his own paternal grandpa. ((laughing voice))
- 13 Qian [嗯 嗯。
PRT PRT
[eh eh.
- 14 哎呀, 那, (..) [是 不 一样 [地::。
PRT that COP not same ATTR
aiya, that, (..) is indeed different::.
- 15 Yang: [嗯, [啊?
PRT PRT
[eh, [ah?
- 16 (...)
- 17 Yang: °是:: 呀。
COP PRT
°yea::h. ((softly))
- 18 (..)

- 19 Yang: 我 还 是- 说:: 实在 我 还 是 向着 这:: 个。 (..) 啊 ::。
 1SG still COP tell truth 1SG still COP bias-towards this CL PRT
I still- to te::ll the truth I am still biased toward this:: one. (..) ah::.
- 20 (..)
- 21 Qian: 你 说:: 的::, (.) 他 怎么 说 他 也 是 你的 孙::子。
 2SG say NOM 3SG how say 3SG also COP your paternal-grandson
look what you're saying, (.) no matter what he is your paternal grandson:::
- 22 Yang: [@@@。
- 23 Qian: [那 个 还 是 [外::孙。
 that CL still COP maternal-grandson
[that one is merely a [mater::nal grandson.
- 24 Yang: [啊, @ ↑是, 是。 @
 PRT COP COP
[ah, ↑yeah, yeah. ((laughing voice))

By marking the information as being shared by her recipient with "您也知道" *you also know* (line 4), Yang invites agreement from Qian. The rhetorical question "我还用得着关心人家啥" *what do I need to concern for her* coupled with the prosodic stress on "用得着" *need to* (line 5) reinforces the strength of her claim, i.e., she does not need to worry about her daughter's life at all. It is also noticeable that Yang uses the third-person pronoun "人家" *RENJIA* twice to refer to her daughter (lines 4, 5), which arguably serves multiple interactional functions: On the one hand, it expresses the speaker's appreciative and complimentary attitude towards the referential person (Guo and Shen, 2004); on the other hand, it treats the referential person as an 'outsider' who is perceived as emotionally distant from the speaker (Guo and Shen, 2004). When the daughter is estranged through the expression of "人家" *RENJIA*, the son is automatically drawn closer as a result. Within the contrastive framework established in lines 1 and 3, although Yang does not explicitly mention her son, by portraying her daughter's life as comfortable and carefree, she sheds light on her son's life, which is presumably less satisfying and therefore worries her the most. These descriptions of her daughter's life provide a clue to the previously aborted utterance "我还最:" (line 4), strongly suggesting the incomplete part is something like "我还最偏爱这个儿子" *despite of this I still especially favor my*

son. Given Yang's previous complaint about her son's misdemeanor, her admitted preference of her son here seems somewhat abrupt and paradoxical, which apparently needs some explanatory work.

It is also remarkable that Yang's troubles telling about her son fails to secure explicit display of alignment from the recipient (Qian), who merely provides minimal responses (lines 2, 6) and remains quiet even after Yang directly solicits her agreement with a tag question "啊::?" *ah::?* (line 8). Consider that the complainees are Yang's son and Qian's son-in-law, Qian is in a subtle position when she must comment on the person in question. Agreeing with Yang would amount to criticizing someone who falls within Yang's epistemic domain (Stivers and Rossano, 2010) or territories of knowledge (Kamio, 1997; Heritage, 2012a, 2012b). Although showing sympathy towards the complainer is generally desirable for a recipient in troubles-talk (Jefferson, 1988), as a mother-in-law, Qian is definitely not as entitled as Yang to criticize Yang's son. The trouble Qian has displayed in aligning with Yang has probably provided a ground for Yang to elaborate her point and sustain her position in the subsequent talk.

In what follows, Yang reports what can be identified as the same dialogue as the one we have seen in extract 5-1. Arrow 2 marks the turns where she animates her dispute with her husband concerning the way in which they treat their grandchildren. For the ease of comparison, I listed the two reporting sequences side-by-side in Table 5-1 below. I will compare the two versions of reported speech from the following aspects: frames of the reported speech, the reporter's self-quotation (i.e., Yang's accusation), and her husband's reported retorts (i.e., the refutation).

Frames of the reported speech: Each reporting sequence is embedded within a specific interactional environment. By 'frames of reported speech', I not only refer to the way in which the reported speech is introduced by the immediately preceding introductory phrase (e.g., a personal pronoun plus a speech-act verb), but also include a larger sequence tracing back to the prior context that occasions the occurrence of reported speech. As we have seen in excerpt 5-1, Yang explicitly marks her talk as a secondary contribution, inheriting framework, stance, and characters from Qian's prior narrative with the statement "我们这个, 也一样." *our this one, is also the same* (line 11), which provides important contextualization cues for interpreting her subsequent talk. She also packages the

reported talk as a specific incident that took place in the past (line 11, "我::就说他呢" *I:: blamed him*), featuring its status as a second story resonating with the critical tone expressed in the first story. This frame both reduces the independence of Yang's report, and highlights its responsive nature.

	Yang's reported dialogue in excerpt 5-1	Yang's reported dialogue in excerpt 5-2
Frame of reported speech	我们 这个 ,也一样。我::就说他呢, <i>our this one, is also the same. I:: just blamed him,</i>	我有时候说他爷爷, <i>I sometimes blame his grandpa,</i>
Yang's reported accusation	我说你跟小冬冬跟亮亮不一样。 <i>I said you treat little Dongdong and Liangliang differently.</i>	我说你对小-小冬冬你就 偏::心 。你对小亮亮- <i>I said you had a partiality for little- little Dongdong. to little Liangliang you're-</i>
Husband's reported retort	他说嘛, ((softly)) °人家有自个儿爷爷. <i>what did he say, ((softly)) °he has his own paternal grandpa. @@ he said he has - @ @ @他说@@有-@ he said (he) has – ((laughing voice)) ((告诉我说))人家有自己爷爷。 told me that he has his own paternal grandfather.</i>	他说什么,人家有 自己的爷::爷 。 <i>what did he say, he has his own paternal grandpa::.</i> 他说[@人家有自己的爷爷@@。 <i>he said he has his own paternal grandpa. ((laughing voice))</i>
Post-reporting evaluation		19 Yang: 我还是- 说::实在 我还是 向着这::个 (..)啊:: <i>I still- to tell the truth I am still biased toward this:: one. (..) ah::.</i>

Table 5-1. Comparison of Yang's two reported dialogues in the *Biased Grandfather* narratives

The reported speech in excerpt 5-2, in contrast, is embedded in Yang's own troubles talk, specifically following the speaker's failure in eliciting sympathy from the recipient. As Wooffitt (1992) notes, speakers use direct reported speech to make their claims more robust. Holt also demonstrates that direct reported speech can be used in interaction to give evidence of a former locution: the reported speaker appears to be 'allowed to speak for himself or herself' (1996: 230). In example 5-2, the speaker refrains from explicitly stating that she is biased in favor of her son, but rather showcases how her husband discriminatively treats their grandchildren, a behavior she presumably colludes with her husband in accomplishing. Moreover, the reported dialogue in the second case is framed as a 'script-formulated' version (Edwards, 1995), marked by the term of frequency “有时候” *sometimes*, portraying the speaker's activity as routine and regular. Hence, while the reporting instance in excerpt 5-1 is more responsive in nature (i.e., occasioned by a prior narrative), the reported speech in the second case is more proffered on the speaker's own initiative to support her point of view.

Yang's self-quotation of her accusation against her husband: Across instances of reported speech, the greatest variation resides in the speaker's self-quotation of her accusation against her husband. In extract 5-1, Yang merely states that her husband treats their grandchildren 'differently' (line 12, "我说你跟小冬冬跟亮亮不一样." *I said you treat little Dongdong and Liangliang differently*), whereas in the second reporting in extract 5-2, the speaker straightforwardly specifies the grandchild who is privileged (line 10, "我说你对小-小冬冬你就 **偏::心**。" *I said you had a partiality for little- little Dongdong*). Thereby, while the sense of discriminatory treatment is implied in the first case, it is stated straightforwardly and emphatically in the second (note the prosodic stress on "**偏::心**" *to have a partiality for* in line 10).

The reporter's choice of a specific linguistic form in formulating her quotation (i.e., implicit v.s. explicit mention of prejudice) is by no means random, but rather determined by the interactional goals she attempts to achieve. In the first reporting sequence, the theme has been criticizing a specific type of person, i.e., the doting paternal grandfathers. By identifying her husband with the figure in Qian's prior narrative, Yang displays her affiliation with Qian in treating paternal grandfathers as caring too much about their grandchildren. Within this thematic framework, the figure of 'paternal grandfather' is foregrounded, while other details (e.g., which grandchild is favored) have been left backstage. The second case of reporting (excerpt 5-2), in contrast, features the figures' favoritism of their grandchildren, in the service of evidencing the reporter's own claimed preference for her son. As the theme of "being biased towards the son" looms large in the present context, Yang makes the item "**偏::心**" *to have a partiality for* (line 10) stand out far enough from its context through emphatic pronunciation and elongation. In doing so, the reporter allows the recipient to become especially aware of the 'presence' of favoritism, so as to make the recipient inclined actively to take it into account (Edmondson, 1984). In this context, Yang's seemingly critical remark of her husband as being "**偏::心**" *to have a partiality for* (line 10) actually displays her alignment with her husband with respect to the way in which they treat their grandchildren. This bias is first implied in the

unfinished utterance "我还最:" *I still especially* (line 4), and is later explicitly stated in line 19 as a confession of her real thought ("我还是- 说::实在我还是向着这::个." *I still- to tell the truth I am still biased toward this:: one*).

The husband's reported retorts: The reported rejoinders attributed to Yang's husband in both versions are almost identical in form. The quoted utterance is similarly preceded by a question – "他说嘛" *what did he say* (line 13) in excerpt 5-1 and "他说什么" *what did he say* (line 11) in excerpt 5-2, which not only foregrounds her husband's role as the 'author' and 'principal' of the utterance, but also calls the recipient's attention to the upcoming talk. It is also remarkable that both versions retain the third-person pronoun "人家" *RENJIA* when referring to the grandchild on the maternal side, preserving the estranging and distancing tone in the original talk. The almost intact form of the reported utterance attributed to Yang's husband may shed light on the reporter's own taking of what items in the original talk deserve repetition rather than others. Elements with 'attitude-enhancing properties' (Edmondson, 1984), such as the third-person pronoun "人家" *RENJIA* in both reportings, seem to be more likely to be retained, as they help draw attention to speaker's attitudes which are not otherwise formulated; in particular, 'they allow speakers to communicate value-judgments without doing so openly or even consciously' (Edmondson, 1984).

Even though the lexical-syntactic form of the quote attributed to Yang's husband barely changes, the quote does receive distinct prosodic treatments. In the first case, the quoted utterance " °人家有自个儿爷爷. °" *he has his own paternal grandpa* (line 13) is articulated with a soft, low voice (marked by ° surrounding the quoted utterance in the transcript), as if the reporter is releasing a secret to the audience. Although Yang is neither the 'author' nor the 'principal' of the talk (Goffman, 1981), her attitude and stance indeed permeate the reported speech. Her muted voice in producing the reported utterance "人家有自个儿爷爷" *he has his own paternal grandpa* (line 13) displays her awareness of the delicate nature of the talk, i.e., acknowledging one's partiality for a grandchild over the other.

In the second reporting case, the reporter quotes the protagonist's rejoinder in a very engaging and performative fashion. The quotation "人家有**自己的爷::爷**" *he has his own paternal gran::dpa* (line 11) features a dramatic rise in pitch and prosodic stress on "**自己的爷::爷**" *his own paternal gran::dpa*. On the one hand, the stress evokes the protagonist's identity as a *maternal* grandparent rather than a paternal grandparent for the child in question. On the other hand, the dramatic prosody cues the protagonist's discontentment towards his wife who leveled an accusation against him. Compared to an explicit statement realized through external evaluations (e.g., "他很生气地说" *he said angrily*), the adoption of a dramatic prosody implicitly conveys the reported speaker's attitude with which he makes this defensive claim, thus contributing to the sense of the second version feeling more like "showing" instead of "telling". This reporting performance successfully generates agreement from the previously unsympathetic recipient, who affirms the legitimacy of the discriminatory treatment by referring to the pattern of differential order in the relationship between grandchildren and grandparents (lines 21, 23).

To summarize, as compared to the first version where more of the reporter's *own* voice is heard, in the second, the voice of the original speaker is made more salient. Such dramatic reporting strategies precisely at this moment in the second version not only serve to cue the listener to the climax or punchline of the reported dialogue (Polanyi, 1982; Li, 1986; Larson, 1987; Mayes, 1990), but also display the reporter's attempt in recruiting alliance from an originally unsympathetic audience. Crucially, compared to peripheral elements (e.g., the reporter's self-quotation of her accusation against her husband), the punchline in a report (i.e., the husband's defensive retort) is more likely to be retained, and become gradually crystallized in form during the course of repetitive reportings.

5.3 Distant Repetitive Reportings by Different Speakers

In examples 5-1 and 5-2 above, we have seen how an individual speaker reports the same dialogue in different conversations that are two weeks apart. In the following multi-party conversation among friends, I will consider how past conflicts are represented by different interlocutors. As the protagonist in the story (Paul) is a pastor highly

respected in a church that the conversationalists constantly go to, his inappropriate behavior reported in excerpts 5-3 and 5-4 is somewhat unintelligible and experientially devastating for the conversationalists. The conversationalists' retellings constitute their endeavor to make sense of this particular experience. The first narrative (excerpt 5-3) is recounted by Peter, who characterizes Paul's behavior as evidence of his 'weakness' (line 1 in excerpt 5-3); the second round of telling (excerpt 5-4) is conducted by John, who portrays Paul's behavior as an outcome of his long-term dissatisfaction towards the antagonist. As will be shown below, each narrator employs specific narrative strategies (e.g., external vs. implicit comments, organizational phrases, etc.) to orient his audiences to the desirable interpretations he wants them to arrive at.

The interlocutors in excerpts 5-3 and 5-4 below are a group of Christians, who just finished a prayer fellowship and are engaged in a casual talk about recent events in the church. While the topic shifts to a senior saint (Brother Paul) in the church, Peter recalls an incident about him that took place 'last Sunday', treating it as a display of Brother Paul's 'weakness' and his lack of control of his temper (line 1, "↑*Paul 弟兄上个礼拜* 上个礼拜天就软弱了, *发飙啦:*" ↑*Brother Paul last week- last Sunday was weak (in spirit), flipped ou::t*). Instead of using a more formal expression for angry, such as "生气" *angry*, "愤怒" *indignant*, Peter chooses to use a colloquial expression "发飙" *to flip out*, shedding an unserious and playful light on the recounted anecdote. This preface puts the audience into a certain frame of mind, and sets up expectation for the upcoming narrative.

Excerpt 5-3 Complaint about a leading brother (04:35)

- 1 Peter: ↑*Paul* *弟兄* *上个* *礼拜* *上个* *礼拜天* *就* *软弱* *了,* *发飙* *啦:*。
 (person name) brother last CL week last CL Sunday just weak PFV flip-out PRT
 ↑*Brother Paul last week- last Sunday was weak (in spirit), flipped ou::t*.
- 2 Nancy: 啊?
 PRT
 ah?
- 3 (..)

- 4 Nancy: 哦::, 那 个 啊, (..) [也 不 是 软 弱 啦。
PRT that CL PRT also not COP weak PRT
Oh::, that one, (..) that didn't mean (he) was weak.
- 5 Helen: [谁? (..) Paul 弟兄。
who (person name) brother
[who? (..) Brother Paul.
- 6 Peter: Paul 弟兄:: 就 明显 脾气 不 好 嘛::。 因为
(person name) brother just obvious temper not good PRT because
Mark 弟兄 那么 大 年纪 被 他 骂 了,
(person name) brother that big age BEI 3SG scold PFV
Brother Paul:: is apparently hot-tempered. Because Brother Mark, despite his old age, was scolded by him,
- 7 什么 跟 什么 似的。
what to what similar
what, it's beyond description.
- 8 (..)
- 9 Tony: @@@
(laughs)
- 10 Peter: [我 我 我 觉得 很 尴尬: : 。
1SG 1SG 1SG feel very embarrassed
[I I I felt so embarrassed::.
- ((six turns omitted))
- 17 John: [因为::, 不 为什么, 因为, 他 这 个, 他,
because not why because 3SG this CL 3SG
(..)[年纪 大, 报告 时间 太:: 长 了。
age big report time too long ATTR
Because, no, why, because, he this, he, (..) is senior, (he) took too:: much time to report.
- 18 Sharon: [Paul 弟兄,
(person name) brother
[Brother Paul,
- 19 Peter: 对 呀, 太 长 了, [他-
right PRT too long ATTR 3SG
yeah, too long, [he-
- 20 John: [对 **Mark** 弟兄 他 能 讲, 换 别 人 他 不 敢 讲。
to (person name) brother 3SG can say change other person 3SG not dare say
[to Brother Mark he could say (that), if it were another person he doesn't dare to criticize.

- 21 Nancy: =就 是 呀::。
just COP PRT
= *exactly*::.
- 22 Peter:1→ 没 有, 他::, Edward::, (.) 讲 话 的 时 候 他 就:: >好 了 好 了<,
not have 3SG (person name) speak speech NOM time 3SG already ok PFV ok PFV
no, he::, when Edward:: was speaking, he was like:: >alright alright<,
- 23 1→ 他 *Paul* 弟 兄 就 讲 >好 了 好 了
3SG (person name) brother already say ok PFV ok PFV
好 了<, 他 就, 开 头 要 *发飙* 了。
ok PFV 3SG already begin will flip-out PFV
he, Brother Paul said >alright alright alright,< he was about, about to flip out.
- 24 可 是 那 个 人 他, *Mark* 弟 兄 有 点 干:: 上 了,
but that CL person 3SG (person name) brother a-little contradict start-to PFV
but that person he, Brother Mark apparently wanted to confro::nt him.
- 25 他 *非要* 再 讲 讲 *历::史* 你 知 道 吧,
3SG insist-on again talk talk history 2SG know PRT
he insisted on talking about the hi::story you know,
- 26 你 懂 我 意 思 吧,
2SG understand my meaning PRT
you know what I mean,
- 27 Sophie: @@
(laughs)
- 28 Peter: 他 就 有 点 不 太 爽: : 你 知 道 吧,
3SG then a-little not very comfortable 2SG know PRT
he was quite discontented::: you know,
- 29 1→ 他 成 心 说 我 再 讲 一 下 *历::史*,
3SG intentionally say 1SG again talk a-bit history
他 *明显* 跟 *Paul* 弟 兄 干:: 上 了, 你 知 道 吧。
3SG obvious with (person name) brother contradict start-to PFV 2SG know PRT
He purposely said I wanna further talk about the hi::story a little bit, he apparently intended to confront Brother Paul, you know.
- 30 Sophie: [@@@.
(laughs)
- 31 John: [后面 那 一 排-
back that one row
the row in the back-

- 32 Peter: 1→ [他 最后 说, 我 让 你 **坐** 下 你 就
 3SG finally say 1SG let 2SG sit down 2SG then
坐 下 吧。 然后 变成 这 样子 的。
 sit down PRT later turn-into this look ATTR
*finally he said, since I want you to **sit down** (then) you just **sit down**. Eventually it ended up like this.*
- 33 然后 那 [小 孩子 听 了, 个个 都-
 later that small children listen PFV every-one all
then when those kids heard (this), all of them –
- 34 Sharon: [我 觉得 不 应该, 尤其 是 到- 在
 1SG feel not should especially COP at at
 这么 [多 新 蒙恩 的 人 面前::,
 this many new receive-grace ATTR person front
[I don't think it's right, especially at- in fro::nt of the newly baptized ones,
- 35 Peter: [不过 Mark 弟兄 就 已经 很 多 次 被 这 样 子 了。
 however (person name) brother already already very many CL BEI this look PFV
[however Brother Mark has been treated like this for many times.
- 36 Sharon: 你 这 样 子 做 [很 不 **建造** 人 的。
 2SG this look do very not construct person ATTR
*if you do this, it is really **destructive**.*
- 37 Peter: [让 人 不 舒服。
 make people not comfortable
[make people uncomfortable.
- 38 John: 好 好 好, 这 个 这 个 这 个,
 ok ok ok this CL this CL this CL
 你们 见- 你们 见 到 Paul 弟兄 应该 跟 他 讲。
 2PL see 2PL see arrive-at (person name) brother should to 3SG talk
Ok ok ok, this this this, when you see- you see Brother Paul (you) should tell him.

Peter's statement (line 1) engenders different reactions from the recipients. Nancy, first displays her confusion about the incident being referred to with a befuddled question "啊?" *ah* (line 2), treating the prior turns as in some way problematic. After a mini-pause, she registers her recognition of the event with "哦::" *oh::* (line 4), signaling the change of state in her mind (Heritage, 1984b). She then anaphorically refers to the matter being mentioned with a distal deictic reference term "那个啊" *that one*, suggesting the sharedness of the matter in question among the conversationalists. She further expresses her disagreement with Peter's characterization of the protagonist as being

'weak' (line 3, "哦::, 那个啊, (..) [也不是软弱啦" *Oh::, that one, (..) that didn't mean (he) was weak*). Helen, who is apparently an unknowing party, launches a question concerning the subject in the incident "谁? " *who* (line 5) with some stress. This "谁? " *who* belongs to what Drew (1997) terms the 'open class repair initiator', indicating Helen's trouble with the previous turns. In what follows, she locates the repairable by repeating a part of Peter's prior turn which contains the trouble source (line 5, "Paul 弟兄" *Brother Paul*), offering her best guess of the protagonist in the mentioned anecdote.

In response to Helen's inquiry, Peter first attributes the incident to the protagonist's disposition (line 6, " Paul 弟兄::就明显脾气不好嘛::。" *Brother Paul:: is apparently hot-tempered*), and then provides a sketch of the incident (line 6, "因为 Mark 弟兄那么年纪被他骂了" *Because Brother Mark, despite his old age, was scolded by him*). Except for Tony's brief laughter (line 9), Peter's synoptic narrative does not elicit very enthusiastic reactions from recipients. Peter seems to register the audience's lukewarm responses as interactionally relevant here by further explicitly stating his personal feeling about the matter (line 10, "我我我觉得很尴尬::." *III felt so embarrassed::*). With the epistemic marker "我觉得" *I think*, Peter positions himself 'in consideration of other interlocutors' (Endo, 2013). In stating his subjective opinion, he manages recipients' possible objections in conversational next turn, and invites the co-participants to participate in collaborative evaluation (Lim, 2011). Specifically in the current case, by formulating and stressing his feeling as 'embarrassed', he suggests that the recipients interpret the incident in the same way.

However, as can be seen from the subsequent talk, Peter's assessment again fails to impinge on his recipients' decisions, as none of them explicitly agree with Peter. Starting from line 17, one of the recipients, John, provides an account to excuse the protagonist's behavior (lines 17, 20), treating what Brother Paul has done as both principled (because he only sanctions senior saints) and reasonable (because he does so due to time constraint). John's excuse thus renders Peter's previous criticism groundless. In response, Peter straightforwardly negates John's statement with

a negation "没有" *no* (line 22), followed by a counter-example which showcases that the protagonist also sanctions other younger saints as well (line 22, "他::, Edward::, (.) 讲话的时候他就::>好了好了,<" *no, he::, when Edward:: was speaking, he was like:: >alright alright<*). In lines 22 and 23, Peter animates Paul's sanctioning talk, with a series of quickly produced "好了" *alright* (indicated in the transcript by > <), which serves not only to register the receipt of information as having imparted enough information as needed but, because "好了" *alright* forestalls further production of talk, it also conveys the reported speaker's impatient attitude towards the addressee.

Starting from line 22, Peter restages the conflicting dialogue between the protagonist (Brother Paul) and the antagonist (Brother Mark) (marked by arrow 1). It is noticeable that Peter's report is interspersed with narrative phrases and external evaluations that explicitly tell recipients how to interpret the reported anecdote (Labov, 1972). First, he post-frames Brother Paul's impatient forestallment "好了好了好了" *alright alright alright* (line 23) with a projection of the protagonist's upcoming extreme action "他就, 开头要发飙了" *he was about, about to flip out* (line 7). Then with a contrast marker "可是" *but*, Peter signals that the antagonist's reaction does not follow people's normal expectation (i.e., stop talking as he was requested); rather, the antagonist decides to 'confront' the senior who makes the request (line 24, "Mark 弟兄有点于::上了" *Brother Mark apparently wanted to confro::nt him*). The term "于::上了" *to begin to confront* foreshadows the antagonist's upcoming behavior as an intentional confrontation to Brother Paul's authority, rather than a mishap that he unwittingly committed. In what follows, Peter attempts to account for the antagonist's somewhat unexpected action (i.e., to contradict the authority rather than to submit to it) with a description of the antagonist's feeling "他就有点不太爽::" *he was quite discontented* (line 28). Then Peter animates the antagonist's talk "我再讲一下历::史" *I wanna further talk about the hi::story* (line 29) with some stress, and post-frames it with a reiteration of the motive underlying the reported speaker's confronting behavior (line 13, "他明显跟 Paul 弟兄于::上了" *he apparently intended to contradict Brother Paul*).

Coupled with the expressions of strong will (note the modal verb "非要" *wanted to/insisted on* in line 9, and the adverb "成心" *purposely* in line 29), Peter sets a framework for his narrative that clearly positions Brother Mark as an opponent of Brother Paul, the authority in the church. Note that although Peter displays his disapproval stance towards the protagonist, he does not fully affiliate with the antagonist. By referring to Brother Mark with the distal deictic reference term '那个人他' *that person he* (line 24), Peter distances the antagonist by putting him outside his domain of responsibility (Stivers, 2007), thus conveying his less than full-hearted alignment with the antagonist. In the narrative, Peter also closely monitors recipients' reactions, trying to make sure that they are following him with discourse markers such as "你知道吧" *you know* (line 25, 28, 29) (Tao, 2003) and questions "你懂我意思吧" *you know what I mean* (line 26).

After setting up the frame as a conflict between Brother Paul and Brother Mark, he reveals the high point of the conflict with a direct report of the protagonist's request "我让你坐下你就坐下吧。" *since I want you to sit down (then) you just sit down* (line 32). The authoritative tone of this request is conveyed through the syntactic structure of this utterance, which constructs a causal relationship between the protagonist's self-centered directive "我让你坐下" *I want you to sit down*, and the addressee's expected abeyance "你就坐下吧" *(then) you just sit down*. This structure strongly evokes an unequal power relationship between the directive issuer and the directive recipient. Peter subsequently reflects upon the recounted incident with a summary "然后变成这样子的" *Eventually it ended up like this* (line 32), suggesting the undesirable and unpredictable outcome of the reported event.

As Jefferson (1978) suggests, an assessment as such is a prototypical telling-ending device. That Peter's comment (line 32) signals closure of his narrative is also registered by his recipients, as is evidenced by their active participation in turn-by-turn talk in the subsequent talk (lines 34-38). Note that Peter's reconstructed dialogue between the characters successfully elicits alignment from the audience, who points out the 'destructive' nature of Brother Paul's behavior (line 36, "你这样子做[很不建造人的]" *if you do this, it is really destructive*) and suggests

that the potential destructive impact should be made known to the protagonist (line 38, "好好好, 这个这个这个, 你们见- 你们见到 Paul 弟兄应该跟他讲." *Ok ok ok, this this this, when you see- you see Brother Paul (you) should tell him*).

As the conversationalists continue discussing the incident along this line, another interlocutor, John, initiates a report of the same dispute between Paul and Mark fifteen minutes later than Peter's reporting, as shown in excerpt 5-4 below. In the prior context of this extract, John has voiced his opinion that it is not self-beneficial to pay too much attention to the negative aspects of church life, thus suggesting that “我们说过::了就完了” *we should let it pass after we've discu::ssed it* (line 5). Peter aligns with this position and backs down from his previous strongly negative stance by acknowledging his deference for the elder saint in question (line 8, “我们对 Paul 弟兄还是尊重的” *we still have respect for Brother Paul*). Another interlocutor, Sharon, who has been taking the lead in criticizing the protagonist, also expresses her benevolent motive for her critical remarks (line 11). However, in expressing her expectation “没有, 我是希望他每一次做得更好” *no, I simply want him to do better each time* (line 11), Sharon still conveys her disappointment and dissatisfaction towards the brother in question, since ‘he is not doing well this time’. Sensing that Sharon still harbors discontentment and attributes all the responsibilities to Brother Paul, John initiates the second round of reporting (marked by arrow 2).

Excerpt 5-4 Complaint about a leading brother (19:07)

5 John: =哦 不, 你 你 爱:: 心 的 里 面 讲 嘛,
 PRT no 2SG 2SG love heart ASSOC inside say PRT
 但 不要- 我们 说 过:: 了 就 完 了。
 but don't 1PL say ASP PFV then complete PFV
 = *oh no, you you can say it in lo::ve, but don't- we should let it pass after we've discu::ssed it*

6 比如 你 讲, [Paul 弟兄 [太 过 分 了。
 for-example 2SG say (person name) brother too too-much PFV
For example you can say,[Brother Paul is [overreacting.

7 Tony: [对。
 right
 [*right.*

- 8 Peter: [爱 心 爱 心, 这 我们 对 Paul 弟兄 还是 **尊重** 的。
love heart love heart this 1PL to (person name) brother still COP respect ATTR
[in love, in love, this we still have respect for Brother Paul.
- 9 John: 对 对, 所以 你 要 知道, **我的 意思** 就 是 讲 这 个,
right right so 2SG should know my meaning just COP say this CL
Right right, so you should know, what I mean is this,
- 10 我们 说 他, 甭管 我 告 你 [讲 怎么 说 他,
1PL blame 3SG no-matter 1SG tell 2SG say however blame 3SG
We criticized him, no matter, let me tell you, [however we discussed him,
- 11 Sharon: [没 有, 我 是 希望 他 每 一 次 **做 得 更 好**。
not have 1SG COP hope 3SG every one CL do DVC more good
[no, I simply want him to do better each time.
- 12 [就 是- 他 应该-
just COP 3SG should
It's just- he should-
- 13 John: [**是 啊**。
yes PRT
[yeah.
- 14 () : [@@@
[(laugh)]
- 15 Sharon: 他 有, 很 有 **讲::** 的 [那 个 嘛,
3SG have very have talk ATTR that CL PRT
He has, he really has the talent of prophesying::.
- 16 John: [不, 不 是, Paul 弟兄,
no no COP (person name) brother
我 跟 你 讲, Paul 弟兄 对-
1SG to 2SG say (person name) brother to
[no, it's not like that, Brother Paul, let me tell you, Brother Paul towards-
- 17 Paul 弟兄 因为 对 Mark 弟兄 抱 着-
(person name) brother because to (person name) brother hold DUR
他 已经 **长::期** 以来 有- 有 这 个,
3SG already long-term since have have this CL
Because Brother Paul, for a long:: time, has already harbored- harbored this, grudge against Brother Mark,
- 18 他 这 一 次((claps hands))@ 终于 忍 不 住 了@@@@@。
3SG this one CL finally suppress not PVC PFV
This time he ((claps hands)) couldn't hold it any more ((laughs)).

- 19 2→ 他 先 讲, 你- [Mark 弟兄 刚 开始 讲 他 还 说 好,
3SG first say 2Sg (person name) brother just start talk 3SG even say good
he first said, you- when Brother Mark just started to speak he even praised him,
- 20 Sharon: [他 可能 连 问 都 没 问 啊,
3SG perhaps even ask even not ask PRT
Paul 弟兄 那 也 不 敢 去 问 啊,
(person name) brother then also not dare go ask PRT
[perhaps he didn't even ask, he didn't dare to ask Brother Paul.
- 21 Mark 弟兄 (也 不 敢 去 问 呀)。
(person name) brother also not dare go ask PRT
Brother Mark didn't dare to ask.
- 22 John: 2→ Mark 弟兄 刚 开始 讲 说 我们的, 就 是 要 成全 人 干 什么,
(person name) brother just start talk say our just COP need-to perfect person do what
Brother Mark at the very beginning said that our, (we) just need to perfect others.
- 23 2→ Paul 弟兄 说 哎::, 这 个 不 错,
(person name) brother say PRT this CL not bad
这 个 讲 得 好, 讲 到 后 来 之 后,
this CL say DVC good talk till later after
Brother Paul said ay::, this is a very good point, good prophesying, then later,
- 24 2→ Mark 弟兄 又 新 说 我 还 有 两 件 事,
(person name) brother again new say 1SG still have two CL matter
Paul 弟兄 说 短点 短点 短点 短点,
(person name) brother say shorter shorter shorter shorter
Brother Mark further said that I have two more things to report, Brother Paul said shorter shorter shorter shorter,
- 25 2→ @连 着 短 了 好 几 次@, [后来 他 还 讲, 我 要,
consecutively DUR short PFV very several CL later 3SG still say 1SG want-to
He said 'shorter' for quite a few times, later (despite of this) he still said, I want to,
- 26 Sophie: [(还 要 讲 历史。)
still want-to talk history
[want to talk about the history.
- 27 John: 2→ 我 要 讲 历史:: @@@。
1SG want-to talk history
I want to talk about the hi::story ((laughs)).
- 28 2→ Paul 弟兄 就 烦 了, 你 坐 下 吧@@@。
(person name) brother then annoyed PFV 2SG sit down PRT
Then Brother Paul was annoyed, just sit down. ((laugh))

29 Tony: 所以 啊, 我 觉得 Sharon 你 这 个- 就 是 说, (..) 这 个,
 so PRT 1SG feel (person name) 2SG this CL just COP say this CL
So, I think Sharon you this- I mean, (..) this,

((2 turns omitted))

32 Tony: Paul 弟兄 那 天 做 的 你 看, 这 个, 大 家 都 觉 得 有 点, (..) 不 太 好,
 (person name) brother that day do NOM 2SG see this CL everyone all feel a-little not too good
You see what Brother Paul did the other day, this, everyone considers it a little bit, (..) inappropriate,

33 但 是 你 要 是 被 这 个 绊 跌, 那 你 就, 那 就 是 你 不 太 好 了。
 but 2SG if BEI this CL stumble then 2SG just then just COP 2SG not too good PFV
*But if you are **stumbled** by this, then you, that is your own fault.*

34 John: 你 自 己 你 自 己 受 亏 损。 没 必 要。
 2SG self 2SG self receive compromise not necessary
You yourself you yourself is compromised. That's simply unworthy of it.

In John's reporting, he first provides a reason that is not stated before (probably unknown to most interlocutors present at the conversation), i.e., Brother Paul has been holding a grudge against Brother Mark for a long time (line 17). By formulating and stressing the grudge as a 'long-term' one, John suggests that Brother Paul's interruption of Brother Mark's speech is not a whimsical action in situ, but rather is the outburst of a deep-rooted negative emotion (line 18, “他这一次@终于忍不住了” *This time he couldn't hold it any more*). This statement makes inferentially available particular dispositional states of the actors; their moral character, personality, state of mind, and so forth (Smith 1978; Edwards, 1994). Moreover, as it identifies the incident in question as part of a regular pattern, something that happens in a regular and predictable way, John's account constitutes an instance of what Edwards termed 'script formulation' (Edwards, 1995), which provide a basis for actors' accountability within a normative and moral order. In other words, John's formulation sets up a frame that normalizes the protagonist's action and portrays it as reasonable and intelligible, which is especially useful as a rhetorical device precisely when the protagonist's morality is in doubt. After shedding a positive light on the protagonist, John further fleshes out with some specific reporting of dialogue (lines 19-28), whose sequential placement provides for it to be heard as the evidence for his prior claim. John's report starts with a reporting of the protagonist's praise on Mark (lines 19, 22, 23), a part that is

missing in Peter's reporting. The added information is crucial here, as it contributes to portraying the protagonist as even-handed and objective, i.e., he not only criticizes but also recognizes others' merits.

Comparing Peter's and John's two versions of report, we can see that the same past incident has received distinct treatments by different interlocutors. Let us first consider Paul's initial sanctioning attempt to forestall Mark's talk, as illustrated in Table 5-2. In Peter's version (left column of Table 5-2), Paul's utterance “好了好了好了” *alright alright alright* (line 23) is packaged as a finalizer, which signals receipt of enough information from the other party, and functions to terminate the ongoing talk. The quick production of “好了好了好了”, as I have mentioned earlier, also conveys the reported speaker's impatience. Compared to the relatively generic request (“好了好了好了” *alright alright alright*) in Peter's version, in John's quotation (right column of Table 5-2), Paul's utterance “短点短点短点短点” *shorter shorter shorter shorter* (line 24) makes a more specific request for the recipient to shorten his talk. Given its less urgent manner, a request as “短点短点短点短点” *shorter shorter shorter shorter* is less difficult for the recipient to comply with. By designing his turn this way, John packages Paul's utterance as a reminder, which is less pressing and less authoritatively-toned as compared to its counterpart in Peter's rendition.

Peter's report of Paul's initial sanctioning attempt	John's report of Paul's initial sanctioning attempt
23 Peter: 他 Paul 弟兄就讲>好了好了好了<, 他就, 开头要发飙了. <i>he, Brother Paul said >alright alright alright,< he was about, about to flip out.</i>	24 John: Paul 弟兄说短点短点短点短点, @连着短了好几次@, <i>Brother Paul said shorter shorter shorter shorter,</i>

Table 5-2. Comparison between Peter's and John's reports of Paul's initial sanctioning attempt

Turning to Mark's response to Paul's sanctioning request, both versions record Mark's insistence on further talking about the history of church. The contrast between them is shown below in Table 5-3. In Peter's version (left column of Table 5-3), he frames Mark's talk as an 'intentional confrontation' to the addressee (line 29, “他成心说” *he purposely said*). He also softens the tone of Mark's request “我再讲一下历史” *I wanna further talk about the hi::story a little bit* (line 29) with the measure word “一下” *a little bit* indicating that the action in question will not

last for long. In formulating Mark's request this way, Peter indexes Mark's deference for the addressee's authority and his awareness of the potential objection from the addressee. John's rendition (right column of Table 5-3) also works up the strong will of the antagonist. However, he does not portray Mark as a reasonable 'fighter' for his rights, but rather emphasizes his persistence and stubbornness. Note that John's quotation of Mark "我要, 我要 **讲历史**:" *I want to, I want to talk about the hi::story* is not mitigated in any way. It's minimal form, coupled with the modal verb "要" *want to/desire* indicating strong personal will, conveys the resolute and impenetrable voice with which Mark makes the request. These strategies help build John's case for Mark's unreasonableness. Indeed, John's own perspective permeates his report through his laughter at the end of the turn (line 27), treating the figure's behavior as laughable or even ridiculous in some sense.

Peter's report of Mark's request	John's report of Mark's request
29 Peter: 他成心说 我再讲一下历史 。史, <i>He purposely said I wanna further talk about the hi::story a little bit,</i>	25 John: [后来他还讲, 我要, <i>later (despite of this) he still said, I want to,</i> 27 John: 我要 讲历史 。@@@。 <i>I want to talk about the hi::story</i>

Table 5-3. Comparison between Peter's and John's reports of Mark's request

The conflict between characters continues to escalate until Paul is reported to give Mark an ultimatum, which is the climax of the report. In each version of reporting, the climax is delivered in a direct speech form as Paul's command directed at Mark requesting him to sit down. As can be seen in Table 5-4 below, in Peter's rendition (left column), Brother Paul's request "我让你 **坐下**你就 **坐下**吧" *since I want you to sit down (then) you just sit down* highlights the hierarchical relationship between the command issuer (Paul) and the command recipient (Mark), thus conveying the tyrannical tone in Paul's voice. In John's report (right column), however, he prefaces the reported speech with a description of Paul's emotional status "Paul 弟兄就烦了" *Brother Paul was annoyed* (line 28), portraying Paul's subsequent locution as a reaction to Mark's provocative behavior. Then John shifts his footing by speaking in Paul's voice "你坐下吧@@@" *just sit down* (line 28). The authoritative force of this request, however, is attenuated both formally (note the minimal form of "你坐下吧") and prosodically (note the lack of prosodic stress

and its unclear production obscured by John's own laughter). With these treatments, John manages to normalize Paul's behavior, which was formerly considered autocratic by the interlocutors.

Peter's report of Paul's ultimatum	John's report of Paul's ultimatum
32 Peter: [他最后说, 我让你 坐下 你就 坐下 吧。 <i>finally he said, since I want you to sit down (then) you just sit down.</i>	28 John: Paul 弟兄就烦了, 你坐下吧@@@。 <i>Then Brother Paul was annoyed, just sit down.</i>

Table 5-4. Comparison of Peter's and John's reports of Paul's ultimatum

From the above analysis, we can see how different interlocutors, who have equal access to the recounted scenario, report the same anecdote in distinct ways. In their reportings, Peter and John apparently attribute responsibilities to different characters involved in the anecdote: while Peter cites the incident as evidence to showcase Brother Paul's 'weakness' and dictatorship, John uses the same anecdote to justify and normalize Paul's behavior, thus treating the antagonist as blamable. In this sense, we can see how past dialogues are constructed and reconstructed by the conversationalists to perspectivize and make sense of their experiences. Indeed, the analysis presented here echoes with Ochs and Capps' (1997: 88) compelling idea that it is through narrative that “we come to define ourselves as we grapple with our own and others’ ambiguous emotions and events” (see also Bruner, 1990; Goffman, 1974; Ochs and Capps, 2001; Polanyi, 1966; Polkinghorne, 1988; Propp, 1968; Ricouer, 1988).

Moreover, this perspectivization of experience, as extracts 5-3 and 5-4 have shown, is primarily achieved through linguistic and paralinguistic means. Even if life is not necessarily narratively structured, in both reportings shown above, the reporters deploy multiple means of external evaluations and narrative phrases to organize and structure their experiences. According to Labov's (1972) definition, "evaluation" refers to remarks that highlight or point to the main point. He also identifies two types of evaluation: external and internal evaluation. External evaluation is the narrator's overt comments on the point, through which the narrator 'tells' the audience what the point is. Internal evaluation, on the other hand, is implied in the way the narrative is delivered through choices which the narrator makes 'at the phonological, lexical, sentential and discourse level in deciding how to present his information' (Polanyi 1985: 195). In other words, with internal evaluations, the narrator 'shows' rather than 'tells' the

recipients his point. As can be seen in Table 5-5, Peter and John have deployed different evaluating and organizing strategies during the course of reporting.

In Peter's reporting	In John's reporting
↑Paul 弟兄上个礼拜 上个礼拜天就软弱了, 发飙啦::。 ↑Brother Paul last week- last Sunday was weak (in spirit), flipped out::t.	[不, 不是, Paul 弟兄, 我跟你讲, Paul 弟兄对- Paul 弟兄因为对 Mark 弟兄抱着- 他已经长::期以来有- 有这个, 他这一次((claps hands))@终于忍不住了 @@@@。 [no, it's not like that, Brother Paul, let me tell you, Brother Paul towards- Because Brother Paul, for a long:: time, has already harbored- harbored this, grudge against Brother Mark, This time he ((claps hands)) couldn't hold it any more ((laughs)).
Paul 弟兄::就明显脾气不好嘛::。因为 Mark 弟兄那么大年纪被他骂了, 什么跟什么似的。Brother Paul:: is apparently hot-tempered. Because Brother Mark, despite his old age, was scolded by him, what, it's beyond description.	他先讲, 你- [Mark 弟兄刚开始讲他还说好, he first said, you- when Brother Mark just started to speak he even praised him,
我我我觉得很尴尬::。 I I I felt so embarrassed::.	讲到后来之后, then later,
没有, 他::, Edward::, (.) 讲话的时候他就:: no, he::, when Edward:: was speaking, he was like::	Mark 弟兄又新说 Brother Mark further said
他 Paul 弟兄就讲 he, Brother Paul said	@连着短了好几次@ He said 'shorter' for quite a few times
他就, 开头要发飙了。 he was about, about to flip out.	后来他还讲, later (despite of this) he still said,
可是那个人他, Mark 弟兄有点干::上了, but that person he, Brother Mark apparently wanted to contradict::ct him.	Paul 弟兄就烦了 Then Brother Paul was annoyed
他非要再讲讲历::史 he insisted on talking about the hi::story	
他就有点不太爽::: he was quite discontented::	
他成心说 He purposely said	
他明显跟 Paul 弟兄干::上了, he apparently intended to contradict Brother Paul	
他最后说, finally he said	
然后变成这样子的。 Eventually it ended up like this.	

Table 5-5. External evaluations and narrative phrases in the two reportings in the *Complaint about a leading brother* narrative

It is remarkable that compared to John, Peter resorts to external evaluations and narrative phrases to a greater extent. This strategy slows down the rhythm of his report, and renders his reporting more like a summary of the reported incident. John's version, in contrast, is more performative in nature, in that it involves a higher degree of stylistic and ideological heterogeneity by drawing on multiple voices and reporting strategies (Bauman and Briggs, 1990; Schiffrin, 2006). The fast pace of John's reporting is accomplished through the use of brief quotative phrases

(e.g., "他先讲" *he first said*, "Mark 弟兄又新说" *Brother Mark further said*, "后来他还讲" *later he still said*, " Paul 弟兄就烦了" *Then Brother Paul was annoyed*), which mimics the escalating conflicts between the characters. Moreover, John also enhances the dramatic effect of his reporting performance through repetition, prosodic stress, elongation, mimicry, and orientation to previously ignored details. In doing so, he engages the audience's interest and involvement, and successfully refutes the negative judgment of the protagonist established in the previous talk. To summarize then, the comparison between Peter's reporting in which the point is more conveyed externally (i.e., through explicit evaluations) and John's reporting in which comments are largely internal (i.e., through the more performative format) shows varied reporting strategies interlocutors deploy to achieve their interactional goals. In doing so, each reporter provides a way for the listeners to re-experience the reported anecdote as a means to make sense of the experiences and relationships involved in the complex situation in question.

5.4 Summary of Chapter 5

This chapter investigates how an individual event is reported either by the same speaker or by different speakers in conversations occurring at an interval ranging from a few minutes to a few weeks. As different versions of reported speech occur in temporally and/or spatially separated conversations, they are more independent of each other than immediate repetitive reported speech examined in chapters 3 and 4. In same-person DRRS, the variations in reporting seem to be more occasioned by contingencies in the immediate contexts. In excerpts 5-1 and 5-2, Yang adjusts her report (e.g., replacing "不一样" *differently* with "偏心" *to have a partiality for*) depending on the interactional functions she wants to accomplish (i.e., to align with her interlocutor on the critical stance towards paternal grandfathers, or to evidence her preference for her son). Significantly, while core elements that constitute the upshot of report tend to be retained, peripheral details are subject to the most changes.

Compared to same-speaker repetitive reports, reportings made by different interlocutors vary to a greater extent. By reconstructing a past dialogue in varied ways, the reporters appear to be motivated by a desire not only to

update others but also to construct a version that favors their respective points of view, thus perspectivizing their experiences and soliciting affiliation from the recipients. As I have shown above, this perspectivization of discourse is primarily achieved through linguistic and paralinguistic means. Lexical items and syntactic structures, in particular, serve as key for recognizing a reporter's intentionality and stance. In extracts 5-3 and 5-4, for example, different representations of the climax – the authoritative directive "我让你**坐下**你就**坐下**吧" *since I want you to **sit down** (then) you just **sit down*** in Peter's report vs. the plain request "你坐下吧" *just sit down* in John's version – display the reporter's positioning of the characters (*figure* in Goffman's terminology) with respect to each other in a power relationship. In this sense, the choice of lexico-syntactic forms is a highly selective and (inter)subjective process, where fidelity to the original talk does not seem to be the major concern for the interlocutors. Rather, interlocutors apparently orient more to the stance indexed by a specific reporting form.

Furthermore, variations in reporting performances, given their multiply reflexive nature, provide a privileged site for the investigation of the communicative constitution of social life, including how people construct and negotiate their identities, and how they make sense of their experiences through re-organizing their past experiences. Different versions of reported speech, as verbal performances, highlight "the salience and cultural resonance of the meanings and values to which the performer gives voice" (Bauman, 2000). In reporting past locutions, a reporter is able to position him/herself as a moral individual who values shared group values, such as equality in human rights (excerpt 5-3) or harmony in the community represented by the interlocutors (excerpt 5-4). Thereby, the recollection of the past speech can be translated into a process of self-discovery, or a process of assimilating the described experience into one's life. Crucially, by restaging a past dialogue, a reporter is able to guide the audience through the labyrinth of what happened in the real world, thus rendering repetitive reportings an effective device for making sense of one's experiences.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

Throughout this dissertation I have provided a detailed empirical analysis of real-life instances of repetitive reportings in natural conversation. By focusing on a larger sequence of talk, and especially by comparing correlating reportings of the same original talk, this study shows how repetitive reportings are dialogic discourses, which not only display sensitivity to the immediate reporting context, but also to another reporting sequence made somewhere in the prior context. Using the conversation analytic approach, my analysis draws evidence from the participants' publicly visible displays (both verbal and nonverbal) in context, and shows how the interlocutors *themselves* understand what a specific reporting is doing in their interaction. It thus sheds light on several essential issues concerning the phenomenon of speech within speech, specifically the authenticity and adequacy of reported speech.

Regarding the authenticity of reported speech, since the data for the original talk is hard to retrieve, alternative reportings thus provide an ideal locus for the analysts to discern how the conversationalists negotiate details in the original talk, i.e., what components in the original talk do they agree upon, and what elements do they have divergent representations in the reported speech? Significantly, it is not like what many scholars have claimed that interlocutors do not seem to care much about the accuracy of reported speech and freely 'construct' past dialogues in the service of their present interactional aims (e.g., Tannen, 1986, 1989; Dubois, 1989; Schourup, 1982; Wierzbicka, 1974). Rather, the current dataset reveal that conversationalists in Mandarin conversations do display fidelity to the authenticity of reported speech. This orientation is particularly prominent in other-formulated immediate repetitive reportings examined in chapter 4. Chapter 4 has shown that by proposing what they take to be a more accurate version of reporting, the interlocutors do more than merely updating their audiences. Multiple interactional functions can be accomplished: they either display their involvement by correcting some details in the service of further dramatizing the reported scenarios, or challenge the prior reporter's credibility in quoting past locutions and consequently lay claim to their own epistemic authority.

From a functional perspective, the interlocutors also display their awareness of the adequacy of reported speech, i.e., whether a reported talk actually accomplishes what it is designed to do. In same-person repetitive reportings that appear in adjacent positions in potentially problematic situations (chapter 3), we see how a speaker adjusts his/her prior report to solicit alignment from previously unsympathetic audience, to establish his/her epistemic authority in the reported matter, and to assert the tellability of his/her story. Chapter 4 has illustrated how an interlocutor other than the current reporter proposes an alternative rendition of reported speech, which is generally more dramatic and vivid, thus displaying the interlocutor's treatment of the prior reporting performance as bland, dull, less engaging, and consequently less effective in conveying meanings beyond the propositional level. Attention to the sequential organization of repetitive reportings also reveals that co-reporting, especially the preemptive revelation of the climax of story, is not always a welcomed effort, which may be challenged and outperformed by a subsequent reporting. The sequentially next reporting thus constitutes an effort not only to regain a speaker's floor of talk, but also to claim his/her epistemic priority in reporting.

Although the present study has revealed that same-person and other-formulated IRRSs occur in different environments and implements distinct functions, it is still worthy of comparing these two types of immediate repetitive reportings with respect to other features, such as the preference organization of these two types in interaction, namely which form of IRRS is preferred by conversationalists. The current data, despite its limited scope, suggest that same-person IRRS seems to be the preferred format, since it can equally be used in highly affiliative environments, as illustrated by instances of IRRS proffered as encore performance (section 3.2 in chapter 3). IRRS carried out by different speakers, however, is predominantly used in the negotiation of problematic situations.

Even though the current study has identified several environments whereby immediate repetitive reportings recurrently appear, they are not meant to be an exhaustive list of contexts for repetitive reportings. For example, M. Goodwin (1982) has noted that repetitive reportings as an encore performance can appear in disputes among urban black boys. An encore reporting may generate alignment from the audiences who stand on the same side with the

reporter, while it may generate different reactions from recipients who oppose the theme or stance established in the story. Therefore, it is worthwhile examining other interactional environments where repetitive reportings occur, and taking into the heterogeneity of recipients.

Turning to distant repetitive reportings, they seem to be designed for different purposes compared to immediate repetitive reportings. Specifically, in same-person DRRS, when a speaker quotes the same past locutions in different situations, this quotation tends to be gradually crystallized and become increasingly fixed in form. As we have seen in chapter 5, upshots of reported speech are among the most stable elements that are preserved in a relatively intact form; peripheral components such as background information, are subject to the most changes. It is shown that nuanced adjustments are made to accommodate immediate interactional needs. However, since chapter 5 only represents one pair of instances for the same-person DRRS, more data of this phenomenon (probably by looking at an individual's repetitive reportings on more than two occasions) are needed to provide solid evidence for this proposal.

Distant repetitive reportings performed by different speakers are shown to be rhetorical devices through which the interlocutors perspectivize their shared experiences and exert influence on their audiences. As chapter 5 has shown, the interlocutors have a variety of devices at their disposal to achieve these goals: they could set a positive or negative framework for the reported talk, selectively highlight certain background information crucial for interpreting the characters' activities, or comment on the character's activities in an implicit or explicit way. An interlocutor's particular version of reporting not only displays his/her stance towards the reported matter, but by positioning him/her with respect to other co-participants, indexes the reporter's identity, ideology, values and cultural norms that he/she holds.

Finally, the current work attests to the fruitfulness of adopting a context-oriented approach while examining a social phenomenon such as speech within speech. Rich subtleties would be lost if a reporting instance is examined in

isolation. Significantly, this study accentuates the necessity of taking into consideration a larger context relevant to the reporting instance that extends beyond the immediate context surrounding the reported speech.

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