

# Registering and repair-initiating repeats in French talk-in-interaction

Discourse Studies

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**Abstract**

This article examines the prosody and sequential organisation of repeats in French talk-in-interaction. Repeats in French are used for initiating repair, as well as for registering receipt. I show for two sequential contexts – after first pair parts and after second pair parts – that the action import of the repeat depends on its prosodic design; prosody allows participants to differentiate between repair-initiating (i.e. questioning) and receipt-registering repeats. While questioning repeats make a response conditionally relevant, registering repeats do not – however, they do not *preclude* a response either. Registering repeats are sometimes responded to with confirmation tokens, and sometimes not; when produced, such responses are a contingent possibility rather than an expectable second pair part. In the selection and design of confirmation tokens, participants distinguish between solicited and volunteered confirmations. The article relates these findings to prior research on repetition and sequence organisation in French and also in English, Russian and Finnish.

**Keywords**

Conversation analysis, interactional linguistics, intonation, phonetics, prosody, receipts, repair, repeats, repetition, sequence organisation

**Introduction**

The phenomenon of repetition has attracted much attention in research on discourse and interaction and has been approached in various theoretical and methodological perspectives. Investigating French talk-in-interaction, this conversation analytically oriented

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article explores other-repeats – that is, either full or partial lexical repetitions of talk from a co-participant's prior turn – as used for registering receipt of talk in the prior turn and for initiating repair on such talk. This focus excludes, among other things, other-repeats used as second pair parts and various types of self-repeats. The aim of this article is to shed new light on the sequential organisation to which repetitions contribute and on the role of prosodic design in this respect.

Extract 1 will serve as a first illustration and a point of departure for presenting some of the analytic issues at stake (see Appendix 1 for transcription conventions):

**Extract 1** [OTG.ISB0264.0:00]

(Service encounter at a tourist information office.)

- 1PP → 1 C: /dites moi euh/ /qu'est ce qu'il y a à [faire]/ /ce soir/ /dans la ville/  
 tell me uh what is there to do tonight in town?
- 2 H: [oui ]  
 yes
- 3 (0.5)
- REP ⇒ 4 H: /ce soir dans la ville/ | /[[faut re]garder dans Le Petit Bulletin/ /monsieur/  
 tonight in town you'll have to look in Le Petit Bulletin sir
- 5 C: [ouais ]  
 yeah
- 6 (0.3)
- 7 C: ou:: eu:::h dans (le) Grenoble Contact  
 or uh in Grenoble Contact

At line 4 in this extract, H repeats the last part of C's question (line 1). One possible use of repetition in this sequential position, that is, when one repeats a co-participant's first pair part, is to initiate repair (e.g. Schegloff et al., 1977: 368). Such repair-initiating, or 'questioning', repeats will at a minimum solicit a confirmation, which in turn will provide another opportunity for the repeat-speaker to produce the second pair part of the base adjacency pair. Another possibility may be to use a (full or partial) repeat of the question as a preface to the answer (Bolden, 2009), thus breaking the contiguity between the pair parts, although the repeat does not request confirmation or other response. Extract 1, at first glance, has commonalities with both of those practices: C produces a response to the repeat (line 5), but H does not seem to leave a slot for this response, as she continues talking immediately after the repeat, and hence the overlap. While one option is to dismiss this case as a random hitch in the conversational machinery, I have undertaken to investigate whether events like this are recurrent and whether there is any sequential orderliness in them. As it turns out, such apparent 'mismatches' between participants' respective analyses are indeed the product of orderly aspects of registering repeats, which, it will be argued, systematically provide a place and an opportunity for an interlocutor to respond, although without *soliciting* such a response. I will contrast such repeats with one type of repair-initiating repeats, which *do* solicit a response.

The remainder of this article is structured as follows. First, a few remarks are made on the data and the method employed for this study. Next, some previous research on repetition and sequential organisation is surveyed. In the main analytic section which follows, the article focuses, in turn, on the prosodic design of repair-initiating and registering

repeats, on the contingency and optionality of non-solicited confirmations and on the relevance of the selection and design of particular tokens for doing confirmation. Finally, a concluding discussion relates the findings to previous research and brings out some implications.

## Data and method

The data used for this study consist of a core collection of 230 instances, gathered from a total of approximately 26 hours of recordings of (overwhelmingly European) French talk-in-interaction. The majority of the recordings are of telephone calls, but a smaller number of audio-only recordings of face-to-face interactions (no video was recorded) have also been included. The recordings come from various corpora recorded under different circumstances representing a wide range of mundane and institutional settings, including, for example, tourist information office encounters, phone-in radio shows, calls to and from a university department and calls from private telephones. While existing transcriptions were available for some of the corpora, the extracts presented here have been retranscribed and translated by the author.

This article is based on parts of a larger study on phonetic resources in conversational practices for managing issues of intersubjectivity (Persson, 2014). The approach chosen for the larger study combines conversation analytic techniques with phonetic observation, along the lines suggested by Local and Walker (2005). Thus, this work contributes to a growing body of cross-linguistic research on the phonetics of talk-in-interaction (see e.g. Barth-Weingarten et al., 2010; Couper-Kuhlen and Ford, 2004; Couper-Kuhlen and Selting, 1996).

The pitch traces presented were produced using the Praat software (retrieved from <http://www.praat.org>) and manually verified by auditorily comparing the perceived pitch from the recording with a resynthesis of the tracked pitch. All pitch traces have been segmented in syllables, rather than in, for example, lexical words. The pitch is traced on a logarithmic Hertz scale, and the top and bottom of the displayed pitch range correspond to estimates of the speaker's habitual (modal) voice range.

## Background

At least since Jespersen (1924), linguists have been interested in repeats used as questions. Jespersen (1924) coined the term *questions raised to the second power* for questions that 'return' a question rather than answering it (p. 304). Subsequent linguistic research, particularly on English, more generally identified the use of repetitions as *echo utterances*, including *echo questions* and *echo exclamations* (Bolinger, 1957; Quirk et al., 1972: 408–411), both involving repeating the prior utterance, to some degree of completeness. Although not explicitly mentioned by Quirk et al. (1972), one can infer from the (invented) examples that the authors assume echo questions and echo exclamations to differ in terms of whether they solicit a response, for example a confirmation. In English, according to Quirk et al. (1972), echo questions have a rising tone, whereas echo exclamations have a rising–falling tone. Cruttenden (1986: 84–85) makes a similar claim, namely that English echo questions often have a high-rise and echo exclamations

a rise–fall. Hirst and Di Cristo (1998) look at a wider range of languages in their edited volume on intonation in 20 languages and go as far as stating that echo questions are ‘invariably rising in English, Swedish, French, Portuguese, Romanian and Finnish’ (pp. 26–27).

More discourse-oriented work on repeats has underlined the work they may do for building cohesion and coherence by tying utterances together (Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Norrick, 1987) and investigated the accumulated effects that repeats and modified repeats may have on discourse: linking utterances by different individuals together in order to accomplish interpersonal involvement and familiarity (Tannen, 1987).

Focusing more on the sequential implications of particular, individual repetition-formatted turns, Schegloff (1996: 177–179) shows how repeats can occupy three distinct positions in adjacency pair-based sequences and thereby do three main types of interactional work. When they *initiate* a sequence, that sequence is typically an inserted (adjacency pair-based) *repair sequence* dealing with problems hearing or understanding the trouble source, and frequently serving additional interactional purposes at the same time, such as disalignment or the indexing of incongruence with expectations (cf. Benjamin and Walker, 2013; Robinson, 2009, 2013; Robinson and Kevoe-Feldman, 2010; Schegloff, 1997; Selting, 1996; Svennevig, 2008; Wu, 2006). The repeat then occupies the first position (in the repair sequence).<sup>1</sup> When occupying *second position* instead – for example, after a question – repeats form *repetitional (confirming) responses* to the preceding first pair part (which is typically a polar question; cf. Schegloff, 1996, on confirming allusions in English; see also, for example, Heritage and Raymond, 2012; Keevallik, 2010; Sorjonen, 2001a: 72–80, 2001b; Svennevig, 2003).<sup>2</sup> Finally, in *third position*, repeats form *sequence-closing thirds* to adjacency pair-based sequences, registering receipt of the second pair part, without projecting any further within-sequence talk (Schegloff, 1997: 527–531; Sorjonen, 1996; Svennevig, 2004).

A repeat in sequence-closing third position indeed often forms the final turn in the sequence, followed by the launching of a new sequence. While these repeats essentially do not project a conditionally relevant response from the interlocutor, participants nevertheless can, and regularly do, produce a ‘volunteered’ sort of confirmation after a repeat done in third position (Sorjonen, 1996; Svennevig, 2004: 498). The resulting sequential structure is shown below:

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1.	A:	First pair part
2.	B:	Second pair part
3.	A:	<b>Sequence-closing third:</b> repeat of the second pair part
4.	B:	<b>Volunteered confirmation</b> (of the repeated element)

---

Note that such a volunteered confirmation would not be officially or noticeably absent if, in place of B responding to the repeat, either participant were to proceed instead to some new sequence or some next instalment in an ongoing activity (Sorjonen, 1996: 308–312; Svennevig, 2004: 498–499). Thus, doing a volunteered confirmation in fourth position can also be heard as passing on an occasion to produce further (substantial) on-topic or within-sequence talk, making a move towards sequence closure (in addition to the preceding sequence-closing third).

On the face of it, there are formal similarities between the schematised sequence above, and one where a repair-initiating repeat is responded to with confirmation, as shown below:

---

1.	A:	First pair part
2.	B:	Second pair part
3.	A:	<b>Repair initiation:</b> repeat of the second pair part
4.	B:	<b>Repair resolution by confirmation</b> (of the repeated element)

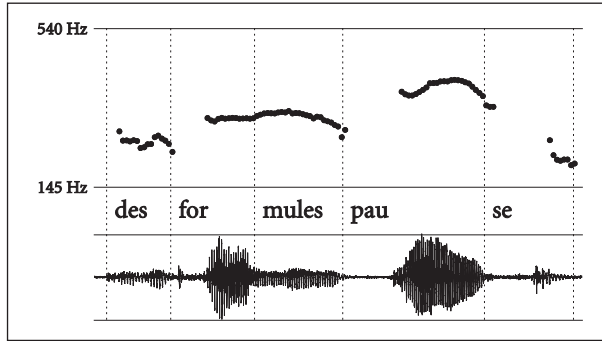
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The similarities include the fact that in French, particles such as *oui/ouais* ('yes/yeah') are regularly used for doing confirmation in both cases laid out above. Thus, when I analyse 'after the fact' the way such sequences have run off, one issue is whether the confirmation was a contingent development or rather a solicited, conditionally relevant response. In other words, how can I justifiably claim that some responses – that did end up being produced – were *volunteered* and others produced because they were *required*? This article will explore this distinction as oriented to by participants.

Bolden (2009), working on Russian, examines other-repeats of a first pair part (such as a question) which do *not* initiate repair. Such repeats instead constitute *prefaces* to second pair parts. Enacting disalignment, these repeats are used to resist the agenda and presuppositions of the first pair part, while projecting continuation of the turn with subsequent same-speaker talk delivering the expectable second pair part. Such repeats may also be used to display difficulty in retrieving information needed to produce a response. While these repeat prefaces are in some sense produced in responsive position (i.e. after a first pair part), the repeat in itself does not constitute a response, unlike repetitional confirming responses.

Couper-Kuhlen (1996) examines repeats in English, in a sequential context where callers responding to a riddle have their guesses repeated by the moderator of the radio show, before he confirms or rejects the guesses. The [riddle]–[guess]–[confirmation/rejection] constitutes a form of three-part known-answer question sequence, within which the repeat is inserted at a specific place: after the guess. The repeat is thus produced in a place where a response (namely, confirmation or rejection) from the repeat-speaker is conditionally relevant – a feature shared with the sequential environment examined by Bolden (2009). The prosodic analysis by Couper-Kuhlen (1996) reveals that speakers differentiate between *relative* and *absolute* pitch register matching ('quoting' and 'mimicry'), where sequential projections differ: the former invites a confirmation whereas the latter does not (pp. 388–389). The mimicry repeats are thus sequentially reminiscent of the Russian repeat prefaces (Bolden, 2009): they defer a projected response, while still not soliciting a confirmation.

There is little research on repetitions in French that includes sequential analysis. However, De Fornel and Léon (1997) propose a dichotomy of *echo questions* versus *echo answers*.<sup>3</sup> Echo questions, identified as rising intonation repeats, reportedly solicit a confirmation, whereas echo answers (falling intonation repeats) do not. However, the sequential position of the *repeated* turn is not taken into account, which makes the data excerpts shown in De Fornel and Léon (1997) an analytically less coherent set of cases.



**Figure 1.** Pitch trace and waveform for the repeat in extract 2.

Also, the authors do not elaborate on the specifics of the two intonation categories, for example, in terms of the domain of the rise/fall. This article attempts to provide a more detailed picture of repeats in French talk-in-interaction, their prosody and their sequential organisation.

## Analysis

Repetitions in French talk-in-interaction can be used, among other things, for initiating repair and registering receipt. It will be shown here that prosody plays a central role in differentiating those two uses. In what follows, I will focus on two prosodic formats in which repetitions are produced in French and their respective sequential implications. Most prominently, repair-initiating repeats elicit (at a minimum) a confirmation, whereas registering repeats allow for a volunteered confirmation without projecting it.

### *Repair-initiating repeats: Prominent rising–falling pitch on primary accent*

There is a fairly large consensus among linguists and phoneticians that *primary accent* in French falls on the *final full* (non-schwa) *syllable* in each stress group and that *secondary accent* falls on the *first syllable of the first content word* in the stress group (Di Cristo, 1998: 196–197). One prosodic format regularly employed with repeats, and one that is systematically associated with repair initiation, is characterised by salient *primary* accentuation, manifested by a pitch prominence exhibiting a relatively wide rising–falling movement. The rise takes place during the primary accented syllable, and often that is where the peak and the fall happen as well. Alternatively, if the primary accented syllable is followed by an unaccented schwa syllable, the peak may come near the end of the accented syllable or at the syllable boundary, and the fall will continue through to the unaccented syllable. If the repeat is composed of several stress groups, the last one carries the wide rising–falling movement, but more than one stress group may have salient primary accentuation.

Extract 2 and Figure 1 illustrate a repair-initiating repeat designed with this prosodic format (slashes are used at focal lines for denoting stress groups<sup>4</sup> and vertical bars for turn-constructional unit (TCU) boundaries;<sup>5</sup> cf. Appendix 1).

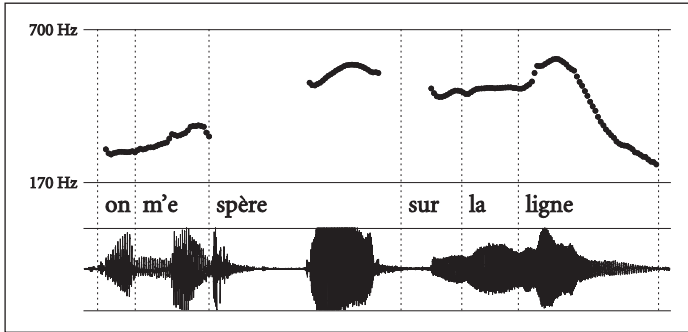
**Extract 2** [CORAL.FTELPV17.0:01]

(Call to a caterer in Paris.)

- 1 E: **oui bonjour je:: j'organise une (réfèren-) une conférence samedi:: .t [.hh]**  
*yes hello I I'm organizing a (referen) a conference on Saturday .t .hh*
- 2 C: **[oui]**  
yes
- 1PP → 3 E: **/e::t j'aurais aimé savoir/ /si vous faisiez des formules pau::ses/**  
*and I would like to know if you offer break specials*
- 4 (0.5)
- REP ⇒ 5 C: **/des formules pauses/**  
*break specials*
- 6 E: **oui**  
yes
- 7 (.)
- 8 C: **c'est à dire**  
*meaning*
- 9 E: **.hhh eu:::h des collatio::ns entre les repas**  
*.hhh uh snacks in between meals*
- 10 C: **.hh a::h de::s des oui des pauses ouais**  
*.hh oh like yes breaks yeah*
- 11 (.)
- 12 E: **oui:: [(oui il va:::) (je suis du Midi donc) ]**  
*yes (yes it will) (I'm from the South so)*
- 13 C: **[ouais (bien sûr) des frui::ts eu::h viennoi]seri::es eu:[:h]**  
*yeah (sure) fruits uh pastries uh*
- 14 E: **[ v]oilà oui**  
exactly yes
- 15 (.)
- 16 C: **ouais**  
yeah
- 17 (.)
- 18 E: **[oui:: ]**  
yes
- 19 C: **[(ça se)] fait oui**  
*(that can be) done yes*

At line 5, C repeats part of E's inquiry. The repeat has a pitch prominence on the primary accented syllable 'pau-', followed by a fall to low pitch continuing through to the unaccented schwa syllable '-se'. This repeat gets a confirming response from E at line 6, after which C initiates repair again (line 8), this time diagnosing the trouble as a problem with understanding the expression. Another attempt at resolution is produced by E (line 9), and C first claims to understand (line 10) and then demonstrates understanding by exemplification (line 13), in overlap with E's account for the trouble (line 12). After E has confirmed C's understanding (line 14), the answer to E's initial inquiry, deferred by the repair sequence(s), is provided (lines 16 and 19).

Extract 3 and Figure 2 provide another illustration of a repeat with salient primary accentuation:



**Figure 2.** Pitch trace and waveform for the repeat in extract 3.

**Extract 3** [UBS.146\_0000093.0:00]

(The receptionist (L) at a university is calling a colleague.)

- 1 F: **allô::**  
hello
- 2 (0.4)
- 3 L: (**ouais**) **c'est Louis**  
(yeah) it's Louis
- 4 (0.3)
- 5 F: **oui::[: ]**  
yes
- 1PP 6 L: **[/on] t'espère/ /sur la ligne/**  
you are awaited on the line
- 7 (0.4)
- 8 F: **ah c- comme::nt**  
oh wh- what?
- 9 (.)
- 1PP → 10 L: **/on t'espère/ /sur la ligne/**  
you are awaited on the line
- 11 (.)
- REP ⇒ 12 F: **/on m'espère/ /sur la ligne/**  
I am awaited on the line
- 13 L: **ouais**  
yeah
- 14 (.)
- 15 L: **[(j'te passe)]**  
(I'll transfer ((the call)) to you)
- 16 F: **[(m bon) ] donne moi**  
(w'l alright) give it here
- 17 L: **mm**

The pitch trace in Figure 2 shows a repeat with two stress groups (*/on m'espère/ + /sur la ligne/*), where each of the two primary accented syllables ('spère' and 'ligne')



receives a pitch prominence. It is the second one that exhibits a wide fall to low in the speaker's range.

Extract 3 shows how, at line 8, F initiates repair on L's assertion (line 6), without overtly specifying the location of the trouble source or the nature of the trouble (*open class repair*; Drew, 1997). What might be at stake here, and what the English translation cannot appropriately convey, is how the utterance 'on t'espère sur la ligne' has an odd quality (hearable as archaic or regional) due to the verb *espérer* ('to hope') taking a person as an object (the verb *attendre* 'to wait for' is more commonly used in this construction). In response to the repair initiation, L repeats the assertion verbatim at line 10, with upgraded phonetics (Curl, 2005). F then produces a second repair initiation – the target repeat at line 12 – and this hearing gets confirmed by L at line 13 ('ouais'). After this mere confirmation, which does not pick up on F's portrayal of the trouble source as a remarkable expression, F does not pursue any more elaborate repair work (unlike at line 8 in extract 2). Instead, at line 16 F settles for doing an explicit acceptance ('m bon'), in overlap with L's proposal (line 15), before producing the deferred response ('donne moi') to the trouble source turn. Given that the repair work is finished without any explanatory efforts from L, F's understanding of L's assertion does not seem to be at stake at any point in the repair sequence(s); the trouble does not seem to be understanding-related, but possibly related to the audibility or acceptability of the problematic expression. Whatever the type of trouble, the target repeat at line 12 clearly is a request for (at least) a confirmation – line 12 is not a receipt of L's self-repeat. This is sequentially apparent from the way that F first awaits a response (i.e. the confirmation, line 13) and then explicitly accepts that confirmation ('m bon'), before she produces the deferred, pending second pair part ('donne moi').

Having briefly shown some repair-initiating repeats, I will now turn to registering repeats and treat them in somewhat more detail.

### *Registering repeats: Prominent pitch on secondary accent*

As previously mentioned, secondary accent in French falls on the first syllable of the first content word in the stress group. Secondary accent is manifested by a pitch prominence and sometimes by strongly articulated and/or prolonged syllable-initial consonants (see, for example, Mertens, 1990: 165). When the first (or the only) stress group of a repetition is produced with a salient secondary accent exhibiting such phonetic features, the repetition is designed to be treated as registering or claiming receipt of prior talk. Extract 4 and Figure 3 illustrate this:

**Extract 4** [OTG.1PF0638.0:00]

(*Service encounter at a tourist information office.*)

- 1 H: [ **bonjour** ]  
hello
- 1PP → 2 C: [ /**bonjour**/ ] /je cherche/ /**le cours**/ /**Jean Jaurès**/  
hello I'm looking for cours Jean Jaurès ((a street))
- 3 (0.6)
- REP ⇒ 4 H: /**le cours Jean Jaurès**/ | [ /**eh ben dis**/ ] **donc**/  
cours Jean Jaurès well how about that
- 5 C: [ **mm::** ]
- 6 (0.6)
- 7 H: (**vous**) **pouvez pas le perdre ç'ui là::**  
that's a street you can't lose
- 8 (0.4)
- 9 C: **ouais**  
yeah?
- 10 (0.4)
- 11 H: **il (fait) huit kilomètres**  
it's eight kilometres long

At line 4, H repeats part of C's first pair part (line 2). After the repeat, H goes on to produce 'eh ben' (a particle cluster typically found at turn beginnings), followed by 'dis donc', and this combination is roughly translatable as 'well how about that', conveying the sense that something about the first pair part (and the involvement of 'cours Jean Jaurès') was unexpected or unusual. The rest of the response (lines 7 and 11) is congruent with this: the street inquired about is portrayed as easy to find. Note that C's 'mm::' at line 5 is overlapped since H produces another TCU directly after the repeat, without leaving a slot for a confirmation. This indicates that the repeat-speaker H is not soliciting or 'requiring' a confirmation, and the 'mm::' token thus seems to be a volunteered confirmation. In other words, the repeat is treated as a registering one.

Figure 3 shows a salient pitch prominence on the syllable 'cours', which carries the secondary accent in this repeat, composed of a single stress group. The primary accent, associated with the final syllable '-rès', is manifested by syllable lengthening

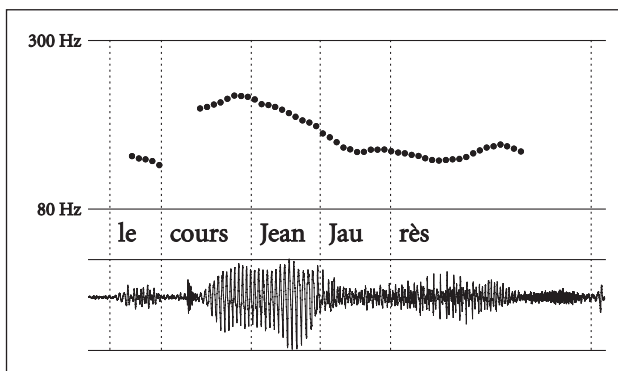
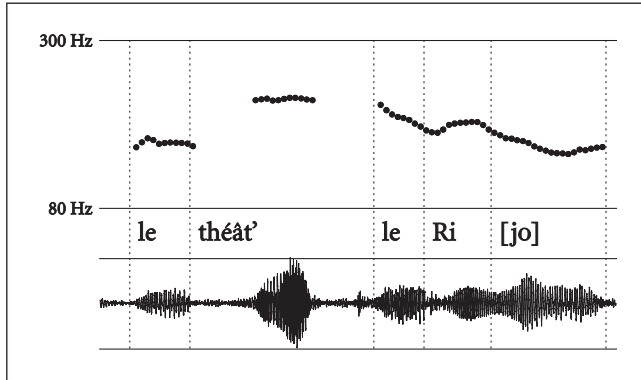


Figure 3. Pitch trace and waveform for the repeat in extract 4.



**Figure 4.** Pitch trace and waveform for the repeat in extract 5.

and pitch-wise only by a slight upward turn in the mid portion of the vowel, before the transition to the final, unvoiced 's' entrains a small (micro-prosodic and imperceptible) dip in the pitch trace just before the voicing stops. In short, the primary accent is not salient in terms of pitch prominence, unlike the secondary accent.

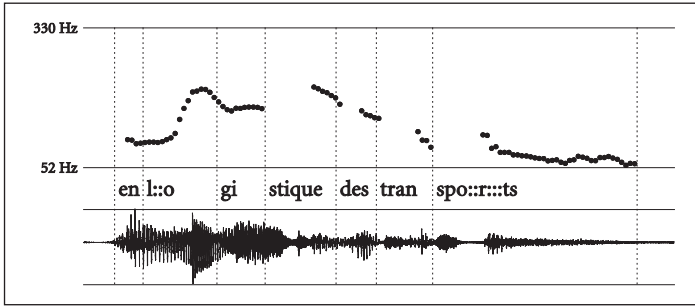
Extract 5 and the accompanying Figure 4 are another illustration of a repeat with this prosodic design being treated as registering, in post-first position (i.e. after a first pair part):

**Extract 5** [OTG.1PF0448.0:00]

(Service encounter at a tourist information office.)

- 1PP → 1 C: /**est ce que vous ave::z/ /u::n prospectus/ /pour le théât du Rio::/**  
do you have a leaflet for the Rio theatre?
- 2 (0.5)
- REP ⇒ 3 H: /**Le théât' le Rio/**  
the Rio theatre
- 4 (( part of the recording omitted, where H moves away, then returns ))
- 5 H: **voilà**  
there you go
- 6 (0.7)
- 7 C: **merci bien**  
thanks a lot

Like in Figure 3, Figure 4 shows a salient pitch prominence associated with the secondary accent (on 'théât', produced as one syllable, with a diphthong), after which the shape of the pitch contour is globally falling, with a slight upward turn during the primary accented syllable [jo]. Unlike extracts 1 and 4, extract 5 is a case where no confirmation is volunteered (nor treated as noticeably absent). Also unlike some other registering repeats, there is no unambiguous evidence here that the repeat is enacting disalignment on the part of H.<sup>6</sup> In producing the repeat, H seems to merely display having registered the initiating action (a request for a physical object), while retrieving the



**Figure 5.** Pitch trace and waveform for the repeat in extract 6.

requested item in preparation for completing the appropriate responsive action.<sup>7</sup> For H, the repeat thus serves to receipt the first pair part, with the pending second pair part remaining the relevant next action.

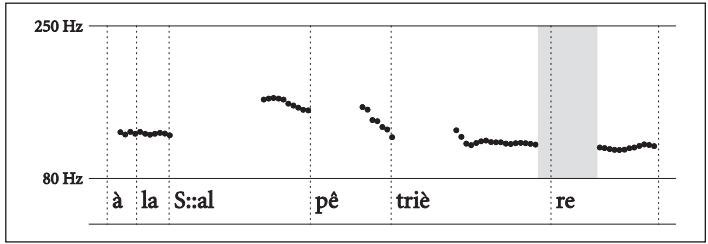
Extract 6 and Figure 5 exemplify a repeat in post-second-pair-part position:

**Extract 6** [MOUV.2010-12-22.52:44]

(Conversation between the phone-in radio show host E and the caller J.)

- 1 E: **t'es étudiante**  
are you a student?
- 2 (0.3)
- 3 J: **oui:::**  
yes
- 4 (0.3)
- 1PP 5 E: **en quoi:::**  
of what?
- 6 (0.2)
- 2PP → 7 J: **.hh /euh j'étudie/ /en logistique/ /des transpo:r:::ts/**  
.hh uh my studies are in transport logistics
- 8 (0.3)
- REP ⇒ 9 E: **/en l:ogistique/ /des transpo:r:::[:ts]/**  
in transport logistics
- 10 J: [ou]ais  
yeah
- 11 E: **c'est bien ça ça je .h [je- .hh] je n'sais pas où ça va t'mene::r**  
that's good it I .h I- .hh I don't know where that will take you
- 12 J: [ha hh]

J produces a second pair part (an answer) at line 7, which E receipts at line 9 with a repeat. This repeat, composed of two stress groups, has a salient pitch prominence on the syllable 'l:o-' carrying the secondary accent of the first stress group.<sup>8</sup> Note that the secondary accent is also manifested by the prolonged syllable-initial consonant ('l:~') – the onset of the vowel ('-o-') is visible in the waveform as a sharp increase in amplitude. The repeated talk gets a volunteered confirmation by J at line 10, and E ratifies it as



**Figure 6.** Pitch trace for the repeat in extract 7. During a portion of the repeat, the greyed out area, the pitch could not be accurately traced because of overlapping talk.

unproblematic with a positive assessment at line 11, before moving on to the first pair part of a new sequence.<sup>9</sup>

With the prosodic categories and their sequential implications identified, a search for potentially counter-evidential cases was conducted, yielding extract 7, where the prosodic format of registering repeats (cf. Figure 6) is used for a repeat which *prima facie* seems to be treated as repair-initiating:

**Extract 7** [CORAL.FTELPV16.1:06]

(*E is calling a caterer in Paris, inquiring about catering services for a conference she is organising. At this point, T is gathering information about the possible delivery, but has not yet given E any quotation or mentioned the available foods and drinks.*)

- 1PP 1 T: **c'est sur quel site madame**  
*at which venue is it ma'am?*
- 2 (.)
- 2PP → 3 E: **/euh à la Salpêtrière/**  
*uh at the Salpêtrière ((the name of a large university hospital in Paris))*
- 4 (.)
- REP ⇒ 5 T: **.hhhhh /à la Salpêtrière/ ]**  
*.hhhhh at the Salpêtrière*
- 6 E: **[c'est à Chju Pitié-Salpêtrière**  
*it's at the Pitié-Salpêtrière university hospital*
- 7 (0.2)
- 8 T: **.hhhhh h [oui:: ]**  
*.hhhhh h yes*
- 9 E: **[c'est à côté de chez vous en princ- 'fin (pas t[rès loin)]**  
*it's right next to you basic- well (not very far off)*
- 10 T: **[oui c'est pas**  
*right it's not*
- 11 **loin oui**  
*far off no*
- 12 (.)
- 13 E: **oui oui:[ ]**  
*that's right*
- 14 T: **[c'est pas loin je me fai::s eu::h de temps en temps**  
*it's not far off I uh sometimes go*
- 15 **soigner chez vous donc eu::h h**  
*to you for healthcare so uh h*

T's question at line 1 is answered by E at line 3, and this answer gets repeated by T at line 5. Figure 6 shows that the repeat has a prolonged initial consonant and a pitch prominence in the secondary accented syllable 'S::al-', followed by a pitch fall and audibly flat pitch during the end of the turn. This is the format regularly used for registering repeats. However, starting in overlap with the repeat, E redoes her answer with an unabridged version of the place reference (line 6) and, in overlap with T's uptake (line 8), further elaborates this by situating the venue relative to the caterer T (line 9). It appears as if the repeat is in fact treated as initiating repair on the place reference, but in what follows, T treats the repair work as unwarranted by claiming independent knowledge of the hospital (lines 10–11 and 14–15). While E seemingly treats the repeat as a repair initiation, T's subsequent talk reacts to this as having been an undue response to the repeat, thus providing some evidence that the repeat was indeed designed to be a receipt and not a repair initiation going after a clarification of the place reference.

In addition, it could be argued that the untypical early placement of E's turn at line 6 indicates that it is not responsive to T's repeat, but rather to the short silence and the long inbreath before it at lines 4–5 (which seem to suggest that T is writing down the answer). Alternatively, it may not be responsive to T's conduct at all, but rather a late same-turn self-repair of E's turn at line 3. At any rate, it is produced as a sequential next after the repeat, and regardless of how the repair was *initiated* (by T's repetition or not), it is subsequently *treated* by T as an unwarranted and unsought clarification or amendment of the reference. This leads me to conclude that extract 7 is a deviant (rather than a counter-evidential) case since T orients to E's departure from how registering repeats are normatively treated.

This concludes the account for the two prosodic formats investigated, where I have shown that they differentiate between repair-initiating and registering repeats. This is not to say that no other prosodic formats are ever used for repair-initiating and registering repeats (cf. Persson, 2014: 212–218), but only that the two formats presented appear to unambiguously cast the repeat as one of the two types.

### *Contingency of volunteered confirmations*

The question was raised in the 'Background' section of how it can be shown that participants treat some confirmations as volunteered and others as required. As an alternative account, one could in fact also hypothesise that confirmations may be either required or precluded, but never 'optional'. Here, I will offer three pieces of evidence in support of the analytic account of volunteered confirmations as contingent sequence developments. First, there is the simple observation that in my collection of repeats with salient secondary accentuation, some instances are responded to with confirmation and others are not (and this holds in extracts from telephone calls and co-present interaction alike, so it does not hinge on visible events). Second, I have seen some cases where the response token occurs in overlap with a sequential next: extracts 1 and 4 (see also extract 9 shortly). In cases such as those – where a *first* pair part is (partially) repeated – a volunteered confirmation of the repeated talk (e.g. 'mm::' in extract 4) may end up in overlap with the delivery of the second pair part that was deferred by the repeat. In fact, I recurrently find such overlaps in the transition space after post-first registering repeats.

When a *second* pair part is repeated and the repeat forms a sequence-closing third, a volunteered confirmation may, and regularly does, overlap with, for example, the beginning of a next sequence, as illustrated in extract 8:

## Extract 8 [UBS.105\_0000006A.0:07]

(Call to the reception of the faculty of law at the UBS university.)

- 1PP 1 E: les résultats de première année là deug eu::h droit un c'est aujourd'hui  
*the results for the first year uh law exams is it today ((they'll be out))?*  
 2 (.)
- 2PP → 3 H: .hhh /eu:::::h oui::/ /c'est aujourd'hui/ /vers dix sept heu::res/  
*.hhh uh yes it is today around five o'clock*  
 4 (.)
- REP ⇒ 5 E: /vers dix sept heures/ | /et à [par]tir de quand/ /on pourra::: retirer/  
*around five o'clock and from what time will we be able to fetch*  
 6 H: [mm ]  
 7 E: /no::::s relevés de notes/  
*our transcripts?*

At line 5, E repeats H's answer by repeating part of it, and it appears to be in response to the repeat that H does 'mm' at line 6, approximately one syllable after E has begun a next first pair part (the words 'et à' are produced as a diphthong, thus as one syllable). One syllable corresponds to a likely 'latency' time (Jefferson, 1986), so the overlap in extract 8 also appears to be an overlap with onset in the transition space after the repeat.

Much like the overlapped volunteered confirmations in extracts 1 and 4, there is a systematic recurrence in my collection of cases such as extract 8, where the registering repeat in sequence-closing third position is responded to with a volunteered confirmation that gets overlapped by some sequential next. This suggests that speakers of registering repeats may or may not leave a slot for an optional confirmation, the production of which is *contingent* and not conditionally relevant. Registering repeats do not make a response normatively expected, but the turn-taking organisation nonetheless provides a place and an opportunity for some response (after the repeat TCU), and that response may well be a volunteered confirmation.

Note that in extracts 1, 4 and 8 there is no evidence of hitches or perturbations (Schegloff, 2000) in the vicinity of the overlaps, and in fact that is typically the case. This suggests that such overlaps are unproblematic to participants and that they are a consequence of the contingent production of volunteered confirmations rather than evidence of participants' diverging analyses of the repeat. On rare occasions, I do, however, find hitches (such as cut-offs and restarts of the talk produced in overlap), and such cases seem to be characterised by confirmations that are not as typically 'unobtrusive' as the *mm* and *ouais* tokens in extracts 1, 4 and 8. I will examine confirmation tokens in more detail later.

To conclude my examination of overlaps, I note that it illustrates how the overlap vulnerability of some fragment of talk – here, the confirmation token – may be attributed not only to turn design and the fragment's position in the turn (as in e.g. Auer, 1996; Tanaka, 2004; Wells and Macfarlane, 1998), but also to its position in sequence. Finally, it should be mentioned that where the repeat does initiate repair, a trouble-resolving confirming response to the repeat may also be overlapped by further talk from the repeat-speaker. However, in such cases, the overlap scenario is of a different kind: the continued talk by the repeat-speaker typically consists of further repair-initiating elements.

As mentioned in the first paragraph of this section, there is a third piece of evidence for the contingency of volunteered confirmations, and that is the distinctiveness of the tokens that are regularly used for solicited and volunteered confirmations, respectively. This point will be developed in the following section.

### Confirmation tokens

The design of the confirmation turn can reveal co-participants' orientations to the work done by the preceding repeat turn. For instance, in Finnish, Sorjonen (1996) has explored the differences between response particles *nii(n)* and *joo*, which are both used as confirming responses to other-repeats, but with different epistemological implications. *Nii(n)* serves to treat the repetition as a first pair part: a request for confirmation (of something uncertain or problematic). *Joo*, on the other hand, is employed to treat the repeat as a correct receipt of the prior talk, thereby treating the repeat as closure-implicative in itself (Sorjonen terms this type of volunteered confirmation a *reconfirmation*).

In responding to repeats in French, participants also differentiate between doing a *solicited* confirmation of the repeated talk, as if it had been somehow questioned, and doing a *volunteered* confirmation of it, as if it had been merely registered by the repeat-speaker. While one way of picking up on the questioning stance of a repeat turn may be to produce a turn composed of both a confirmation and an elaboration component, this short discussion will focus on confirmations composed of *only* response particles and show that these do not form one single, undifferentiated class.

*Some ways of doing a volunteered confirmation.* To begin with, as I have already noted, the token *mm* is an unobtrusive one, physically minimal (cf. Gardner, 1997, on various uses of *mm* in English). This token has already been observed to be used for volunteered confirmations in extracts 4 and 8, and extract 9 is another case in point:

**Extract 9** [UBS.307\_00000134.0:02]

(Call to the reception of the faculty of law at the UBS university.)

- 1PP 1 C: .t .k .hh /oui::/ /bonjour madame/ .t .hh /(maintenant) je voudrais vérifier/  
 .t .k .hh yes hello ma'am .t .hh (now) I'd like to check
- 1PP → 2 /L'heure de soutena::nce/ /d'un stage/ /de D.E.S.S./ /droit des affai::res/  
 the time of the defence of a master's thesis in business law
- 3 (0.9)
- REP ⇒ 4 H: /L::'heure de soutena::nce/ | /al[ors mada]me Thomas/ /n'est pas là/  
 the time of the defence well now missus Thomas is not here
- 5 C: [mm:: ]
- 6 H: /monsieur elle est en réunio::n/ .hh[.hh ]  
 sir she's in a meeting .hhhh
- 7 C: [hm::]
- 8 (.)
- 9 H: donc il (fau)dra que vous la rappeliez en fin de:: matinée  
 so you'll (have) to call her late morning



The repeat at line 4 (which has a salient secondary accentuation on the first syllable ‘l::’heure’, and a prolonged syllable-initial consonant), is responded to with ‘mm::’ at line 5, in overlap with H’s launching of the response (‘alors madame Thomas ...’). The repeat is not designed to solicit a confirmation, and H orients to that by going on to produce a next TCU (the deferred second pair part) immediately after the repeat. C also orients to that by selecting the specific confirmation token *mm*.

Beyond the articulatory ‘minimal’ character of the *mm* token, volunteered confirmations in general are typically neither loud nor high-pitched. They appear to be produced in order not to compete with any talk that might end up being overlapped by the confirmation (cf. French and Local, 1983).

Some volunteered confirmations – and in my data, none of the solicited confirmations – are done using ingressive response tokens (spoken on inbreath). This has been observed in the data for response particles *oui/ouais* (‘yes/yeah’) and *non* (‘no’).

Yet another option for doing volunteered confirmations of repeats is the particle *voilà* (here roughly translatable as ‘that’s it’ or ‘that’s right’); see extract 10:

**Extract 10** [OTG.2SB0008.0:24]

(Interaction between the employee (H) of a tourist information office, and a salesman passing by (V).)

- 1 V: **donc:: eu::h je vous laisse le bon de comma::nde**  
so uh I'll leave you the order form
- 2 (.)
- 3 H: **[oké::]**  
okay
- 4 V: **[avec ] les pri::x et le numéro de télé[phone ]**  
with the prices and the telephone number
- 1PP 5 H: **[et vous re]passez qua:::[:::nd ]**  
and when will you be back?
- 2PP 6 V: **/[je repasse]/**  
I'll be back
- 2PP → 7 **/mercredi prochain/**  
next Wednesday
- 8 (0.3)
- 9 H: **[.hh ]**
- 2PP 10 V: **/[dans une] semaine/**  
in a week
- 11 (.)
- REP ⇒ 12 H: **/mercredi prochain/**  
next Wednesday
- 13 V: **voilà**  
that's right
- 14 (.)
- 15 V: **[j'vous]**  
could I
- 16 H: **[ ok]é**  
okay
- 17 V: **j'vous demande juste un petit tampon pour me rappeler que j'suis passé**  
could I just have a little stamp to remind me that I stopped by
- 18 **chez vou::s**  
here?

H's question at line 5 is answered in V's turn at lines 6–7 (the addition at line 10 *extends* or *clarifies* that answer, as opposed to doing a different answer), and H receipts the answer with a repeat at line 12 which audibly has salient secondary accentuation.<sup>10</sup> After the confirmation with *voilà* at line 13, V moves to launch a new sequence at line 15 and then retries at line 17–18 after the overlap has been resolved. While it may appear as if H is awaiting V's confirmation and then receipting it ('oké', line 16), there is in fact evidence of both speakers orienting to the repeat as a receipt, and thus as a closure-implicative repeat rather than a questioning, trouble-implicative one. At line 15, by almost immediately following up his mere 'voilà' (line 13) with what later turns out to be the launching of a request sequence, V is treating his own 'voilà' as a final closing piece rather than a confirmation picking up on trouble implications of the repeat. The participant H, on her part, produces 'oké' (line 16) with a pitch and loudness reset, which makes it hearable *not* as a sequence-closing third receipting the confirmation, but as a bid for activity transition or as a move towards closing the conversation (cf. Couper-Kuhlen, 2004). Thus, H's 'oké' (line 16) does not indicate that any trouble implications of the repeat are left undealt with, nor that the 'voilà' was a confirmation addressing such trouble implications, but rather that the repeat was a bid for sequence closure and the 'voilà' a move going along with that. In sum, since H's repeat does not seem to have questioned the correctness or acceptability of the mentioned day of return, it appears to have been a merely registering repeat and the 'voilà' a volunteered confirmation.

Throughout the collection of repeats, *voilà* is used as one option for doing volunteered confirmations, for treating the repeat as an unproblematic receipt: it reasserts the repeated talk as something bilaterally accessible<sup>11</sup> (unlike forms of confirmation that unilaterally assert something that was previously questioned via repair-initiating repeats). While the particle *voilà* is known to be recurrently used for confirming collaborative completions and formulations (Bert et al., 2008; Bruxelles and Traverso, 2006; Mondada, 1999), there is no prior research on *voilà* contrasting it with other means of doing confirmations. However, the use of *voilà* to do agreement or confirmation in collaborative and affiliative sequential contexts (cf. Bert et al., 2008: 129) appears to fit nicely with the fact that here, *voilà* is used for reasserting something already shared in the talk, rather than for unilaterally confirming one's own claim after a co-participant has questioned it.

*The confirmation token(s) oui/ouais.* In French standard orthography, the particle *oui* ('yes', canonically pronounced /wi/) has a variant, written as *ouais* (canonically pronounced /we/, and perhaps comparable to 'yeah'), which is often deemed more colloquial (Péroz, 2009). These two possible orthographies do not reflect the full range of pronunciations found in spoken French, but nonetheless suggest that the pronunciation of this lexical item is significant (and the orthographic distinction would perhaps make it possible to argue that they are in fact two lexical items). As responses to repeats, there are phonetically differentiated 'weak' pronunciations of *oui/ouais*, doing volunteered confirmations, and 'strong' pronunciations, doing solicited confirmations which pick up on trouble implications. (Overwhelmingly, but not invariably, weak pronunciations are candidates for being written as *ouais*, and strong pronunciations as *oui*.) The phonetic differences involve the height of the ending vowel, as well as the degree of lip rounding of the first sound. The specifics of these phonetic distinctions are detailed elsewhere

(Persson, 2014: 224–232); for the present purposes, it will suffice to give a few indications. For strong pronunciations, there is some variation, but the final vowel is always high (i.e. close) and front, and there is considerable lip rounding in the first sound. For weak pronunciations, the lip rounding in the first sound is highly variable, as is the height of the final, front vowel – although the final vowel is never as high as for the strong pronunciations. Also, weak pronunciations in my collection are regularly produced with creaky voice finally, whereas strong ones are not. By contrast, strong pronunciations are sometimes produced with final devoicing and accompanying palatal frication.

Extract 2 illustrates the use of a ‘strong’ token (the ‘oui’ at line 6, with a pronunciation close to [wi]) in the context of a repair-initiating repeat.

The use of ‘weak’ tokens for doing volunteered confirmations of repeats is illustrated in extracts 1 and 6, where the respective pronunciations (orthographically transcribed *ouais*) can be represented as [vɛ] (extract 1, line 5) and [ʔɛ] (extract 6, line 10).

On occasion, interactants may choose to respond to a repeat with a ‘weak’ confirmation token where a ‘strong’ one would be expectable. That is, they may treat repair-initiating (or questioning) repeats as if they had been merely registering ones. This should not be seen as ‘conversational mistakes’ or ‘breaking the rules of responding to repeats’, but rather as a participants’ strategy for (partially) resisting the sequential implications of a repeat. For an example, see extract 3: after the repeat at line 12, which is hearable as questioning (cf. the earlier analysis), L produces a ‘weak’ *ouais*, which does not engage with the trouble implications of the repeat. Rather than, for example, insisting on the accuracy of the repeated expression with a ‘strong’ *oui* or accounting for the archaic or regional expression as non-serious, L actually treats the repeat as if it had been an unproblematic registering. While participants are observably attuned to the implications of questioning repeats most of the time, they have the option of ignoring them nevertheless. And conversely, the collection contains a few rare cases where a registering repeat is confirmed with a ‘strong’ *oui* token. The confirming speaker may then be heard as peremptorily settling the matter, arguably even as enacting annoyance with the speaker doing the repeat.

## Concluding discussion

In this article, it is shown that repeats in French talk-in-interaction are used for initiating repair, as well as registering receipt, after both first pair parts and second pair parts.<sup>12</sup> One main finding is that the action conveyed by the repeat depends on its prosodic design: in both post-first and post-second positions, the prosody differentiates between questioning and registering repeats, and thus between soliciting confirmation or not, respectively. This finding corroborates previous research that has underscored the relevance of prosodic resources for action formation and sequence organisation.

The registering repeats that are placed after first pair parts sequentially resemble the Russian answer prefaces examined by Bolden (2009), and they may achieve something similar: resisting the agenda or presuppositions of the first pair part, as in extracts 1, 4 and 9, without initiating repair. However, like answer prefaces in Russian, to do a registering post-first-pair-part repeat in French may also be a way of doing ‘beginning-to-respond’ before the response proper can be produced, without any obvious resistance

being enacted (as in extract 5). As an aside, I note that it may prove useful to distinguish different classes of turn-initial components from a turn-constructive point of view. Consider extract 5, where H moves away from the client after the repeat and produces the second pair part once he has returned so that the registering repeat is temporally removed from the deferred response. Such registering repeats would appear to be turn-constructively different objects from, for example, turn-prefatory particles, which tend not to be separated, to that extent, from the turn they preface.

Russian answer prefaces are 'articulated in such a way as to project further talk by the same speaker rather than to request a response' (Bolden, 2009: 128). Thus, they are prefatory to some turn continuation and do not form TCUs on their own; neither do they elicit a response. One novelty here, then, in relation to the line of inquiry represented by Bolden (2009), is the *contingency of responses* to registering repeats: Bolden does not discuss the possibility of volunteered responses to the repeat (and they may not be possible in Russian), but registering repeats in French may be responded to with a volunteered confirmation token (as in extracts 1, 4, 8 and 9), which is optional and therefore may end up in overlap, should the repeat-speaker produce further talk immediately after the repeat. Another, albeit related, novelty is the finding that, at least in French, *registering post-first repeats are potential TCUs of their own*, which create an opportunity for an optional volunteered confirmation – which thus appears not unlike a continuer or a go-ahead – while the sequential implicativeness of the first pair part is pending (the second pair part, previously projected and made relevant, remains expectable). Consequently, these repeats are in some ways like *first units in emerging multi-unit turns*; they are *not prefatory turn components* of the base second pair part. Such prefaces would project further same-speaker talk *within* the repeat-initiated TCU (i.e. delivery of the deferred second pair part) and thus preclude a response to the repeat.

In relation to Sorjonen's (1996) work, the main new developments here, apart from the prosodic and phonetic aspects, are (1) the demonstration that volunteered confirmations of registering repeats are recurrently produced in overlap as a result of their optionality and (2) the tentative exploration of a somewhat wider range of confirmation tokens/forms (than the particle pair *nii(n)/joo*) as deployed for confirming repeats. With respect to the *echo question* versus *echo answer* dichotomy for French (De Fornel and Léon, 1997), the present sequential and prosodic description proposes a more detailed account, which is also more sensitive to the contingent development of the sequence after the repeat (i.e. volunteered confirmations as optional).

In more general sequence-organisational terms, it may be useful to think of registering repeats as *minimal sequence expansions* of a base adjacency pair, whether they are in post-first or post-second position. As minimal expansions, these registering repeats do not make any particular response normatively expectable, but nonetheless provide for the possibility of a volunteered confirmation in the next slot. This is precisely what Schegloff (2007: 118) means by minimal sequence expansion: expanding an adjacency pair-based sequence by a *non-projected turn which in and by itself does not project any further within-sequence talk*. However, in what is certainly the most complete and authoritative account of sequence organisation available to date, Schegloff (2007) discusses minimal and non-minimal *post-expansions* only (i.e. expansions after a second pair part) and reserves the term *insert expansion* (i.e. expansions between a first pair part

and a projected second pair part) for expansions that are unequivocally adjacency pairs, with a conditionally relevant second pair part. Such insert expansions form a well-delimited phenomenon, and they clearly exhibit a sequential organisation other than post-first registering repeats. Schegloff (2007: 100) also notes that *post-first insert expansions* (as opposed to pre-second insert expansions) are always made up of repair sequences. However, as the registering repeats investigated here make response not conditionally relevant, but merely relevant *as an option* (much like minimal post-expansions such as sequence-closing thirds), they certainly appear to be *minimal (insert or post-) expansions* of the base adjacency pair-based sequence. The notion of *minimal expansion* has the advantage of underlining the resemblance between receipts (in third, or post-second, position) and their counterparts in post-first position, namely that volunteered confirmations of registering repeats are optional, whether in post-first or post-second position.

Furthermore, one may also advance the hypothesis that my minimal post-first expansions are in fact ‘collapsed’ insert expansions,<sup>13</sup> exhibiting some degree of affinity with repeat-initiated, repair-related (non-minimal) insert expansions. It would then be possible, in the collapsed case, to find that a rudimentary solution to the repair – that is, a confirmation of the repeat as a correct hearing – is heard as implicitly conveyed when the repeat is allowed to stand, that is, not responded to with disconfirmation/correction (nor with confirmation). Some support for the hypothesis of collapsed insert expansions could be provided if one were to find that some other – elsewhere repair-initiating – devices, apart from repeats, are *also* used as minimal expansions, *not* soliciting response. Further work, especially cross-linguistic, would be needed to shed light on these issues.

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## Notes

1. However, the repair-initiating repeat retrospectively treats the trouble source as having ‘set off’ the repair sequence.
2. There is typological variation in this respect. Languages differ in the extent to which they favour (1) repetition, (2) positive/negative particles or (3) agree/disagree particles, as means for doing minimal answers; languages may offer speakers a choice between these answer strategies (Keevallik, 2010).
3. The term ‘echo answers’ (*réponses-échos*) is somewhat misleading because these are not repetitive answers doing confirmation, but rather they appear to be either sequence-closing thirds or response prefaces.
4. Stress groups are determined by perceptual identification of primary accents, which are associated with the right boundary of stress groups; primary accented syllables form one stress

group together with any preceding unaccented and secondary accented syllables and the group-final schwa syllable (where applicable). Ambiguity may arise when a potential first stress group has only one ‘accentuable’ syllable (i.e. syllable conveying lexical content rather than grammatical function) and is followed by another potential stress group – as in extracts 1, 5 and 9. The first accented syllable (‘ce **soir** dans la ville’, ‘le **Théât** le Rio’, ‘**P**heure de soutenance’) may then be either the primary accent of a first stress group or a secondary accent belonging to one single effective stress group (comprising both potential stress groups). However, primary accented syllable rimes are rhythmically stronger than secondary accented syllable rimes. Also, groups of adjacent unaccented syllables tend to be perceptually isochronous within each stress group. Cues such as these allow determining how many stress groups are involved in given productions.

5. The reader is advised to treat the turn-constructive unit (TCU) boundary indications with caution. They are determined intuitively rather than on the basis of well-defined criteria since there are no systematic studies of how transition relevance places (TRPs) are projected and marked in French. The notation variously takes into account lexico-syntactic and sequential aspects of possible turn completeness/incompleteness, as well as multiple phonetic/prosodic aspects – not all of which converge at all times. (My focus here is not primarily on boundaries and units, but on sequences of action, so a full investigation of the phonetics of junctures in complex turns is beyond the scope of this article.) The recognition of TRPs is also supported by the timing of effectively produced responses, taking into account response latency. The TCU boundary indications given are intended to tentatively provide readers with a rough sense of where TRPs may be heard to be present (or absent, respectively); these indications do not have any analytic status as evidence.
6. However, there is a possibility that the syntactic modification in the repeat (‘du’ → ‘le’) could be heard as corrective. Both ways of referring to the theatre are nonetheless accepted and used, and there is no uptake of the repeat suggesting it was understood as a correction.
7. One major limitation of this study is that I do not have access to the embodied actions produced in those extracts that come from co-present interaction; visible events are likely to be interrelated with the analysed sequences of talk. However, it seems that the same prosodic distinction is made as in telephone corpora, where participants have no access to visible behaviour, so whatever the embodied behaviour that may be associated with either type of repeat, one can assume that it is produced *in addition to* the prosodic differentiation. The prosodic distinction can thus be cogently accounted for without reference to the visible domain. Nonetheless, observations of visible events would perhaps have helped make my analytic account sharper and richer.
8. The primary accent of the first stress group (on ‘-stique’) visually appears to be intonationally prominent, but less so perceptually, since the speaker’s voice is diplophonic on this syllable, making the pitch sound lower than the pitch trace suggests (cf. Redi and Shattuck-Hufnagel, 2001: 417). There is no pitch prominence associated with the primary accented syllable in the second stress group (‘-spo::r::ts’), which is very low and prolonged.
9. While the subsequent first pair part by E (‘je n’sais pas où ça va t’mene::r’) can be heard as proposing that J elaborate one particular aspect of her answer (the future prospects for work in transport logistics), J’s volunteered confirmation ‘ouais’ is in fact also hearable as passing up a more ‘open’ opportunity to volunteer further talk on the topic of her studies. Indeed, while registering repeats are often responded to with volunteered confirmations, in some cases the speaker of the first saying instead responds to the repeat by elaborating on the first saying (without doing a confirmation or any repair-relevant talk). In sum, compared to repair-initiating repeats, the registering ones are more open-ended in terms of sequential constraints.

10. While the sound quality is insufficient for acoustic analysis of this repeat, it is perceptually identifiable as having a salient secondary accentuation (on 'mer-'), followed by a fall into low pitch and creaky voice.
11. Note that this indexing of (some degree of) shared *epistemic access* does not exclude a possible claim of *epistemic authority* on the part of the confirming speaker (by virtue of the very doing of a confirmation); cf. Mondada (2014).
12. The focal repeats occur in a variety of adjacency pair-based sequences in my collection, but question-initiated and request-initiated ones are especially common.
13. On sequences being collapsed into single turns, see Sidnell (2010: 101).

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### Author biography

Rasmus Persson, PhD (2014, Lund University, Sweden), is currently a post-doctoral researcher in the Department of Language and Linguistic Science at the University of York (UK). His research relates to French linguistics, conversation analysis and phonetics, and he has publications in *Journal of Pragmatics* and *Language in Society*.

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**Appendix I. Transcription conventions.**


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(.)	Silence <0.2s
(0.4)	Silence measured in seconds
eu:::h	Stretching of the sound preceding the colon, each colon representing 0.1 second
.hh	Audible oral inbreath, each 'h' representing 0.1 second
hhh	Audible oral outbreath, each 'h' representing 0.1 second
.p, .t, .k	Sound of ingressive release of an occlusion, with the letter indicating the place of articulation
je-	The '-' indicates an audible cut-off
ha ha	Laughter tokens
(ouais)	Uncertain transcription
[voilà]	Talk in overlap with a co-participant
(( ))	Author's descriptions, comments and explanations
/ /	Delimitation of a single stress group (cf. section 'Repair-initiating repeats')
oui   oké	TCU boundary (cf. section 'Repair-initiating repeats')
IPP	First pair part
2PP	Second pair part
REP	Repeat
→ / ⇌	Lines containing the first saying of the repeated talk are marked with a single arrow, and the lines of the target repeat are marked with a double arrow. The repeat itself is underlined, as is the first saying.

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*TCU*: turn-constructural unit.

Some impressionistic phonetic transcriptions (e.g. [eɛ]) and phonological representations (e.g. /wi/) are given in the text, following the *International Phonetic Alphabet (2005 version)*.