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How Speakers of Different Languages Extend Their Turns: Word Linking and Glottalization in French and German

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ABSTRACT

A speaker who issues a confirming turn starting with particles like *yes*, *oui*, *ja*, and so on, may mean to extend it and provide further material. This study shows that French and German speakers employ the same phonetic contrast to indicate the nature of that turn continuation. In spite of the typological difference between the German use of glottalization and the French use of linking phenomena for word boundaries involving word-initial vowels, speakers of both languages exploit this contrast systematically in their design of multiunit turns. Initial confirmations are joined directly to subsequent vowel-fronted turn components when speakers respond with an internally cohesive multiunit confirming turn. The components are separated by glottalization when responses involve multiple actions or departures from a trajectory projected by the turn-initial confirmation. This is further evidence that sound patterns shape interaction and are not solely determined by language-specific phonologies. Data are in French and German with English translation.

Although many of the seminal studies on the systematic organization of interaction have been conducted using data from English native speakers, conversation analysts have been interested in the interactional order of other languages from early on in the history of the discipline (e.g., Moerman, 1977, 1988). However, it is only relatively recently that conversation analytic work has begun to compare interactional practices across languages more systematically (e.g., Dingemans & Enfield, 2015; Enfield & Stivers, 2007; Enfield, Stivers, & Levinson, 2010; Fox, Maschler, & Uhmann, 2010; Sidnell, 2009; Stivers et al., 2009).¹ In a seminal study, Sidnell and Enfield (2012) show that the same social action, agreeing with a previous assessment, is common across three languages; however, it is accomplished through different linguistic means according to the language in question and therefore co-occurs with different accompanying “collateral effects” on the actions being accomplished.

The analysis presented here contributes to this emerging strand of work in that it compares a specific action, multiunit responses to confirmation elicitation, across two typologically different languages. However, in contrast to Sidnell and Enfield’s (2012) research that investigated a social action cross-culturally and showed the interactional effects of different linguistic means, this study is concerned with a social action that is accomplished through the same linguistic form, against the typological rules for each language. The work presented here shows that the same linguistic means are used for the same interactional purpose in French and German, even though phonological descriptions of the two languages would postulate the opposite. Such commonalities, if they can be

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¹But see Maynard (1990); Hopper and Koleilat-Doany (1989); Hopper, Doany, Johnson, and Drummond (1991); Clancy, Thompson, Suzuki, and Tao (1996); Fox, Hayashi, and Jasperson (1996).

shown in a variety of languages and contexts, would allow a perspective on sound patterns as cross-linguistic social practices, rather than as being determined exclusively by language-specific phonological systems.

To date, cross-cultural comparisons of conversational practices have not paid much attention to sound patterns. What has been emerging so far is a picture of certain organizational structures showing the potential for universal application (e.g., turn taking; Sidnell, 2001; Stivers et al., 2009). Phonetic and prosodic practices have up to now been treated as “context sensitive” (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) features that may vary across languages and varieties (e.g., Wells & Peppè, 1996). This study shows that a certain basic structural contrast in interaction (extending a single social action over a multiunit turn vs. implementing a complex of multiple actions) is achieved through the same phonetic and prosodic distinction (word linking vs. glottalization) across two languages that phonology classifies as typologically different with respect to precisely those patterns. While French is known for various forms of linking across word boundaries that involve a vowel at the beginning of the second word, German is known for inserting a glottal stop at precisely such boundaries. In the following we show that both languages use the contrast between linking and glottalization when speakers distinguish between various types of multiunit turns.

Confirming in natural talk

Response tokens are one of several ways by which the action of confirming can be accomplished in interaction. Response tokens implement a comparatively acquiescent turn design and thus favor the progression of the sequence toward closure (Heritage & Raymond, 2012; see also Raymond, 2003). Therefore, the space immediately following a confirmation is one where participants need to manage sequence-organizational concerns, such as contingent amendment of a potentially complete answer, skip-connecting with earlier talk, and shifts in activity and topic.

There is substantial work on response tokens in some languages other than English. For instance, there is extensive work on Finnish; Sorjonen (e.g., 2001) examines *nii(n)*, *joo*, and repeats as answers to different forms of polar questions, as well as in other contexts. The study intermittently considers the use of prosody for managing sequence-organizational issues in confirmation-initiated turns. For instance, in responses to B-event statements, continuations after the *nii(n)* particle are done in the same prosodic unit, displaying that the confirmation needed some amending (2001, p. 66).

More specific turn types beginning with confirmation, such as *yes but* utterances, have also been examined in Finnish by Niemi (2014), in German and Danish by Steensig and Asmuß (2005), and in English by Barth-Weingarten (2003) within a larger study of concession. These studies show that both prosodic and lexical distinctions are drawn upon for differentiating between confirmation-fronted turns with respect to what type of turn continuation they project. For Swedish, Lindström (2009) has shown that a confirmation token with a certain prosody—the “curled *ja/aa*” (“yes”)—is used for projecting upcoming disalignment. Similar results are found for English (Raymond, 2010, 2013): *Yes/no* responses can be prosodically modulated to project turn continuation rather than turn completion.

Raymond (2013) finds that responses to double-barreled *yes/no* interrogatives have two components: the response to the interrogative (*yes/no*) and the response to the action implemented *via* the interrogative. The two components may consist of materials from different lexicosyntactic unit types (lexical/phrasal/clausal/sentential). In the unmarked case, these two components are nevertheless produced as one single turn constructional unit (TCU) within a single intonation contour. Single TCUs may thus be organized in smaller components filling the two “slots,” which each deal with one of the relevancies set in motion by the first pair-part. Slots and TCUs are independent levels of organization; several TCUs may also be deployed for dealing with a single slot. Raymond (2013) also touches on how participants manage complex responses to the interrogative (e.g., a

turn-initial confirmation token followed by some adjustment) in such a way as not to be hearable as responding to both slots. Clearly, one set of issues relevant to participants is how to manage the “sequential address” of each component in *yes/no*-fronted turns.

More generally, the research reviewed in this section suggests that the turn-internal juncture between response tokens and what follows them is an environment in which issues of sequence organization are regularly made relevant and managed via practices drawing on various prosodic, grammatical, and lexical resources. This is borne out in the phenomena we analyze in this article.

Contrasting patterns for managing word boundaries: Glottalization and linking phenomena in French and German

Research has shown that phonetic practices, such as glottal stop and creaky voice, play an important part in the design of multiunit turns (Auer, 1996; Ford & Thompson, 1996; Local & Walker, 2004; Ogden, 2001, 2004; Szczepek Reed, 2014). Glottal stops occur when speakers completely close their vocal folds, as one might do at the onset of a cough. The release of that closure is often accompanied by a release of air; both the closure and the release of air contribute to a clearly perceptible break in phonation.

A weaker version of a glottal stop is creak, which involves irregular vocal fold vibration. In natural speech, it is common across languages for glottal stops to vary in phonetic realization between a full glottal stop and creak (Garellek, 2014; Kohler, 1994). Especially in intervocalic positions, what is heard as a glottal stop is often a short phase of creaky voice (Ladefoged & Maddieson, 1996, p. 75). The two realizations are often auditorily similar and have in common the percept of a glottal gesture or a disruption of the modal voice (Redi & Shattuck-Hufnagel, 2001, p. 408). Full glottal stops may also be preceded or followed by a phase of creak. For these reasons, and despite the possible conceptual distinction, we use the inclusive term *glottalization* to refer to both glottal stops and creak.

Glottal stop is nonphonemic in French and is often claimed to be produced at vowel onsets for emphasizing a word, frequently together with a secondary (word-initial) pitch accent, a so-called *accent d'insistance* (Battye, Hintze, & Rowlett, 2000, p. 64; P. R. Léon, 2001, p. 109). But generally, French vowel onsets are said to be produced “softly, without the glottal stop as it occurs in German” (M. Léon & Léon, 2004, p. 74, our translation). Thus, it is typically claimed, when two vowels are produced adjacently in French, “the transition from one vowel to the other [...] is produced smoothly, without a glottal stop, as would happen in German, for example” (M. Léon & Léon, 2004, p. 57, our translation). Instead of glottalization, word-initial vowels in French often entail different linking processes at the word boundary. Three commonplace linking phenomena are (a) elision, (b) *enchaînement* (or more properly *enchaînement consonantique*), and (c) *liaison*.

Elision is a linking process through which the production of two adjacent vowels at a word boundary is avoided by means of deletion of the first vowel. Elision is obligatory in some morpho-syntactic contexts: *le + ami* necessarily becomes *l'ami* (see Battye et al., 2000, pp. 105–106; P. R. Léon, 2001, p. 151).

Enchaînement (or “forward syllabification”) is a prevalent syllabification process in French, whereby word-final consonants are “moved” from the coda of the word-final syllable to the onset of the following syllable, as far as possible (Encrevé, 1988, p. 24; Fagyal, Kibbee, & Jenkins, 2006, pp. 53–54): *la porte* (“the door”) would be /la.pɔʁt/, but *la porte ouverte* (“the open door”) would be /la.pɔʁ.tu.vɛʁt/, with the syllable /tu/ spanning across a word boundary.

Finally, *liaison* in French is a phonological phenomenon occurring at word boundaries, where a latent, ordinarily absent, final consonant of the first word is pronounced and typically resyllabified to the onset of the initial vowel of the subsequent word (Encrevé, 1988, pp. 23–24; Fagyal et al., 2006, pp. 63–64). In some morphosyntactic contexts *liaison* is obligatory,

whereas in others it is optional or ungrammatical (P. R. Léon, 2001, pp. 151–155). *Liaison* consonants are analyzable as remnants from older pronunciation (M. Léon & Léon, 2004, pp. 39–40), and they are always represented by a consonant letter in the orthography, whether pronounced or not.

More generally, in terms of syllable structure, there is a tendency in French to prefer open syllables with consonant onsets, even if this results in word boundaries that do not co-occur with syllable boundaries (Fagyal et al., 2006, pp. 52–55; M. Léon & Léon, 2004, p. 74). The three linking phenomena mentioned can be seen as manifestations of that same general tendency (elision and *liaison* are two different ways of avoiding adjacent vowels, which are realized in different morphosyntactic contexts). It is noteworthy that glottal stop insertion between two adjacent vowels would also be aligned with this tendency (see P. R. Léon, 2001, p. 143), insofar as the glottal stop is a consonant, albeit nonphonemic in French. Nevertheless, there is broad agreement in the literature on French pronunciation (see works cited earlier) that adjacent vowels are produced as linked, and this is usually exemplified with clause-internal vowel hiatus.

German directly contrasts with French with respect to the phonetic design of word boundaries. Pronunciation dictionaries for German, such as Krech, Stock, Hirschfeld, and Anders (2009), state that a glottal stop must be inserted at the beginning of words that start with a vowel, as in *guten ?Abend* (“good evening”). In German phonology, glottal stop “epenthesis” (insertion) has been described as the default pattern for Northern and Standard German varieties, while Southern speakers seem to use it less frequently (Alber, 2001; Fleischer & Schmid, 2006). The phenomenon has also been related to stress (Alber, 2001; Kohler, 1994; Malisz, Żygis, & Pompino-Marschall, 2013; Rodgers, 1999), phrase boundaries (Rodgers, 1999), certain segmental contexts (Kohler, 1994; Pompino-Marschall & Żygis, 2010), and speech rate (Pompino-Marschall & Żygis, 2010).

A recent empirical study (Szczepek Reed, 2014) has shown that German speakers in fact do not glottalize vowel-initial words with the consistency that is claimed in phonological accounts of German. The analysis of 1,865 turn-internal TCUs that started with a vowel revealed that while approximately 60% of cases were glottalized, 40% were joined directly to preceding words. The data showed a close link between phonetic design and action formation. While joined-up TCUs implemented one single social action, such as a response to a question, TCUs that were separated by glottalization implemented multiple actions, such as an assessment followed by a new first pair-part.

The findings of that study inspired the comparison with a typologically different language. In order to make the analysis particularly visible and relevant to a cross-linguistic comparison, this research limited the collection to turn-internal junctures that only involved vowels; that is, unit-final vowels followed by unit-initial vowels, with no intervening pause. When the same vowel occurs in both positions, linking typically results in a single occurrence of that vowel, as in French *oui=il* or in German *ja=aber* (see Szczepek Reed, 2015a, 2015b). At times, the resulting vowel is lengthened; however, in many instances it is not.

Figures 1 and 2 show frequency analyses and waveforms from the following data that represent the distinction between glottalized and joined-up word boundaries.

In one strand of phonetic research, articulatory variability at the edges of prosodic constituents has been investigated as a cue to hierarchical prosodic structure (e.g., Fougeron & Keating, 1997; Garellek, 2014). In particular, word-initial glottalization is one such domain of articulatory variability; Dille, Shattuck-Hufnagel, and Ostendorf (1996) show that in American English radio news speech, word-initial vowels are more often glottalized when occurring at the beginning of higher prosodic constituents. Similar results are obtained for French by Fougerson (2001), who notes that articulatory properties such as glottalization work as cues to levels in prosodic hierarchy. Kohler (1994) also reports on glottalization as a boundary marker in read German speech, showing that glottalization of vowels is frequent word-initially, at morpheme boundaries within polymorphic

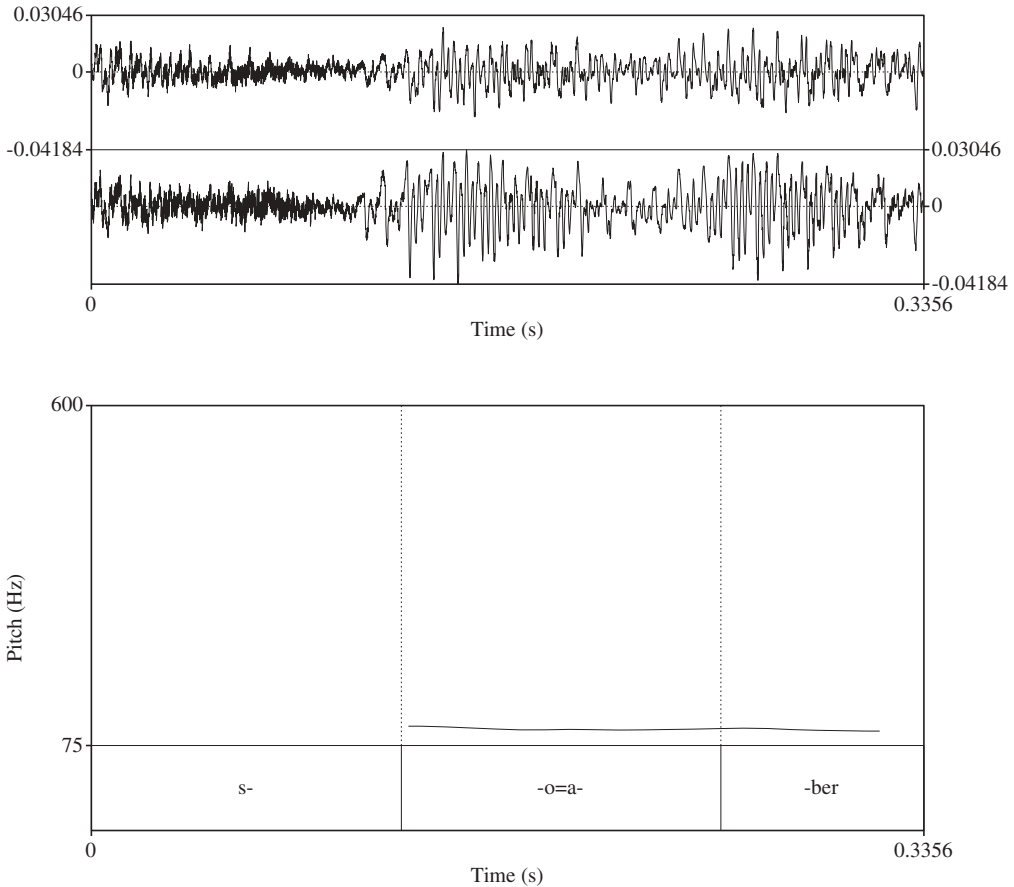


Figure 1. Linked *so aber*, Extract 5, line 2765.

words, and when the word is preceded by a pause. This research points to a role of glottalization for managing boundaries in speech that is borne out in the data presented here.

Data and transcription

The investigated French data come from a variety of corpora (comprising a total of 15 hours) recorded in a range of mundane and institutional settings, including ordinary telephone conversations, tourist office encounters, and radio phone-ins. The majority of the data come from telephone calls, but some audio-only recordings of copresent interaction have been included. The final core collection of analyzed confirmation sequences contains 68 instances.

The corpus of German data consists of 5 hours of video-recorded dinner table talk among German native speakers of different varieties. The recordings were made in the spring of 2013. Each conversation involves the host, Ulla, who participates in all interactions, and one or two dinner guests at her apartment. The final core collection of analyzed confirmation sequences contains 37 instances.

Names and all other identifiers have been anonymized in all extracts, and consent has been given by all participants in private, nonbroadcast data that recordings can be used for research and dissemination purposes.

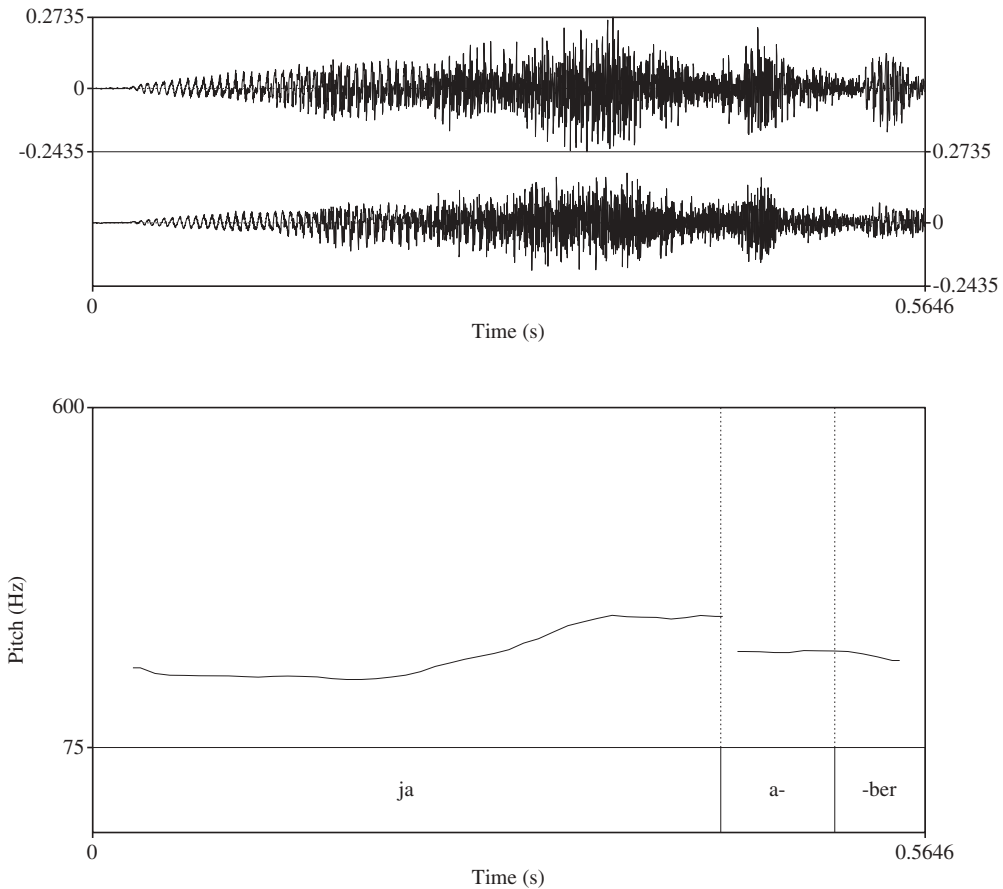


Figure 2. Glottalized *ja aber*, Extract 7, line 473.

All confirmation sequences were analyzed auditorily and subsequently in PRAAT 5.3.77.² The symbol ? is used in the transcripts to represent glottalization, while the = symbol indicates vowel linking. At the relevant word boundary, pitch accents are recorded as capitals where they occur, with an indication of the pitch movement. Throughout the transcript syllable lengthening and pausing are also represented (see the [appendix](#) for transcription symbols). None of these prosodic parameters accounts for the contrast described; as a result their analysis has been kept to a minimum. Similarly, finer phonetic detail has not been transcribed and is not referenced here, since the primary explanation for the contrast between glottalization and linking in the context of turn extension after initial confirmations is an action-based rather than a phonological one.

Transcript lines are translated into English in a separate line. The translations aim to strike a balance between an appropriate gloss and a sufficiently strong sense of the original lexical choices. We draw attention to the fact that translation of all the nuances of the original is not possible. Ashmore and Reed (2000) note that transcripts of natural data are twice removed from the original event through recording and subsequent notation. Translation adds another layer to this process, and neither the transcripts in the original language nor their translations should therefore be considered “data.”

²<http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/>

The turn design of extended confirmations

The data show that participants fundamentally have two options for designing multiunit turns, i.e., turns composed of several lexicosyntactic units. The choice is between designing a turn as a single, unified response, that is, a multiunit turn that starts with an initial confirmation and is extended by talk that straightforwardly furthers the progressivity of that turn, or as a complex multiunit multiaction turn where only the turn-initial confirmation is straightforwardly responsive to the confirmation-eliciting turn and subsequent talk forms a departure from the turn-so-far.

The first scenario includes cases where the second turn component implements further confirmation but also cases where the immediately preceding first pair-part is effectively “double-barreled” (Schegloff, 2007) in that it makes relevant not only a confirmation but also another action alongside it. For example, a confirmable first pair-part may be designed in a way that elicits both a confirmation and an account—or a clarification—of what is being confirmed (Persson, 2013; Steensig & Heinemann, 2013). Participants differentiate between designing responses to such double-barreled turns as either a unified and internally cohesive multiunit turn or as a complex multiunit turn where subsequent response components depart from what the first projects (see Raymond, 2003, 2013, on responses to *yes/no* interrogatives). The complex-action scenario also includes instances in which speakers resume prior talk after an inserted confirmation sequence and cases in which an entirely new sequence is initiated after a completed confirmation.

In the following we show how the turn design of each of these options is accomplished through a distinct phonetic contrast: seamless word linking between the confirmation and subsequent talk on the one hand³ and a glottalized break between the two on the other. In order to make this phonetic distinction highly visible and particularly relevant to the languages involved, we limit our analysis to unit boundaries that involve vowels. This constraint allows for a clear comparison between seamless joining and a glottalized articulatory break.

Confirmation followed by continued responding

Confirmation can be achieved in a single-component turn, for example, through response tokens such as *ouais* or *voilà* in French or *ja* or *ist auch so* in German. When confirmations are designed as more complex turns, they typically involve an initial confirming token followed by talk that extends the confirming action. Extensions vary in their degree of conformity to the initial confirmation: Some simply further the confirmation along the same lines as the first confirming item; others qualify or otherwise elaborate on it. Still others respond to further trajectories opened up by the previous turn. In the following we show that the phonetic turn design of these three types of extended confirming turns shows considerable similarities across French and German data.

Confirmation followed by continued confirmation. When confirmations are extended by additional confirming talk, participants in both the French and the German corpora design the components as joined up phonetically. The following example comes from a French radio phone-in program. Caller Karim has been telling host Éric about a couple who are traveling from Cambridge to Cape Town and are currently staying with him in Tunisia.

³Our instances of linked turn components are not cases of “abrupt-joins” (Local & Walker, 2004). Our cases display no signs of sudden increase in speech rate or a step-up in loudness, and they are not designed to secure otherwise contested turn space.

(1) [MOUV.2010-12-21.43:50]

- 1 K: ils ont décidé de faire ça en tandem
they decided to do that ((journey)) by tandem bike
- 2 (0.4)
- 3 E: en tandem h° d'accord
by tandem bike h° okay
- 4 K: **OUAIS,=en** tanDEM
yes by tandem bike
- 5 (0.2)
- 6 E: bon ben c'est bien
right well that's nice

Karim's telling at line 1 is receipted by Éric at line 3. Karim's response to this (line 4) employs two different ways of doing confirmation: the confirmation token *ouais* and a repeat of the confirmable (the prepositional/adverbial phrase *en tandem*). The two lexicosyntactic units thus constitute a multiunit response turn with two confirming components. The second extends and only slightly amends the confirming action that was delivered in the first; the effect of adding the repeat is that Éric not only confirms Karim's receipt as correct but reasserts the first saying. With regard to the phonetic design of the unit boundary, the vowel at the end of the initial confirmation is linked directly to the vowel at the beginning of the second. A similar practice can be observed in the German corpus. In the following example, Michael has asked Ulla for milk to have with his dinner. She informs him that she only has UHT milk, to which he reacts by getting up from his chair at the beginning of the transcribed section.

(2) Ulla and Michael, 16:43

- 891 M: jut (0.4) denn (0.2) essen wa in zehn minuten weiter
fine in that case we'll continue eating in ten minutes
- 892 (0.5)
- 893 U: ↑ah (.) dann holsch du dir jetzt [milch]
ah so you are going to get milk for yourself
- 894 M: [ja=ick] HOL mir jetzt meine
yes I'm going to get my
- 895 HA-milch meine richtige milch
UHT milk my real milk

Ulla's news receipt and formulation (lines 893) makes a confirmation relevant, which Michael provides. He does so by producing a confirmation token (*ja*), followed by an extended confirmation via a modified lexical repetition of Ulla's talk (lines 894–895). The initial confirming token is designed without prosodic prominence and is joined directly onto the following word *ick* (line 894). The two components are integrated into a unified confirming response.

These examples demonstrate the same phonetic practice being used for the same interactional purpose in French and German. The joining of the end of the initial confirmation to the beginning of the turn extension provides participants with a linguistic resource for presenting a multiunit turn as a unified, internally cohesive action unit.

Confirmation followed by elaboration. Confirming turns that extend beyond a single confirming token may involve additional talk that does slightly more than continue the confirmation. In the following example from the French corpus, a caller has phoned a university department in Vannes inquiring about organizations that offer summer courses in English. The receptionist has tried referring the caller to the Faculty of Humanities in the nearby city of Lorient. Following this suggestion, the caller tries once more to elicit advice with regard to Vannes itself.

(3) [UBS.017_00000012.0:48]

- 1 C: par contre vou::s pouvez pas me: m'orienter vers eu::h
but you:: wouldn't be able to: direct me towards u::h
- 2 °hhh eu::[::h] un organisme sur Vannes qui:::=
 °hhh u:::h an organisation in Vannes that:::=
- 3 R: [vers Lorient]
towards Lorient
- 4 C: =qui s'occupe de ce genre de choses
=that does this sort of things
- 5 (0.3)
- 6 R: eu::hm::: NO:N,=a priori NON j'vois PA:S eu:h
u::hm::: no off the top of my head no I don't see ((any)) u:h

Following the caller's confirmation request (lines 1, 2, 4) the receptionist initially delays her response but then offers a confirmation (*non*) followed by more talk (line 6). Rather than merely doing more confirmation with a repeat or otherwise, the additional talk epistemically downgrades the confirmation (*a priori non je vois pas*) to a less categorical confirmation than a mere *non* would convey. The amending talk is joined directly to the initial confirmation token.

The same practice can be observed in the German corpus. In the following example, 11-year-old Sophie comments on the position of the camera behind Ulla's back.

(4) Ulla, Barbara, Sophie, 22:45

- 1339 S: von dir filmen sie nur noch den rüch[en]
by now they're only filming your back
- 1340 U: [ge]nau ja
exactly yes
- 1341 S: <<giggling> weil sie dich schon so oft drauf habm>
cause they've already got you on camera so often
- 1342 ((gigg[les]))]
- 1343 U: [JA=-ich] bin ja STÄNdich hier quasselpartnerin und ESS
yes I am constantly chatting and eating
- 1344 (4.1)

Sophie's playful postulation, that the reason for the camera's positioning is that Ulla has already been filmed so many times, is jokingly confirmed by Ulla, who not only provides a confirmation token (*ja*) but also elaborates on what being filmed entails for her, upgrading the temporal description of the events (*oft/often* → *ständig/constantly*). The continued talk after *ja* does not depart from the response first initiated by the *ja* token but extends the confirmation along the lines suggested by Sophie's talk. With regard to sound production, the confirmation token receives stress and a level pitch accent and is linked directly to subsequent talk. Note that unlike Extract 3, this elaborating extension does not epistemically downgrade the initial confirmation but rather asserts the state of affairs in stronger terms.

Confirmation followed by another elicited action. Confirmations may also follow on from turns that elicit more than a confirmation, for example, in the form of “double-barreled” first pair-parts (Schegloff, 2007) or turns that express a knowledge gap or make aspects of the confirmable accountable. Responses to such first pair-parts can therefore contain confirmations that are followed by talk that addresses these other trajectories. This is typically achieved with a sequential organization reminiscent of what Raymond (2003, 2013) describes for *yes/no*-interrogatives. In the following extract from the German corpus, Ulla interrupts Mark midturn as he relates a mutual acquaintance's recent financial troubles.

(5) Ulla and Mark, 50.10

2761 M: [wenn er sich n-]
if he-

2762 U: [e::cht (0.3) de::r hat] immer den eindruck gmacht dass er
really he always gave the impression that he had a

2763 sein ding seriöös kalkuliert hat
good grip on his finances

2764 (0.8)

2765 M: IS auch **so=aber** dann sind halt wohl n paar mal ABgesprungen
that is the case but then a few people dropped out

2766 kurzfristig
at short notice

Ulla produces a noticeably loud and lengthened news receipt (*echt*, line 2762) before formulating her prior impression of the person being referred to (lines 2762–2763). The increased loudness of the news receipt continues into the formulation, and additional lengthening on *der* (line 2762) contributes to a strong contrastive emphasis with regard to Ulla's expressed previous assumptions. Mark responds with a confirmation (*is auch so*, line 2765); however, the discrepancy between his previous telling of the person's financial difficulties and Ulla's expectations regarding their financial acumen still needs to be addressed. Mark does so in his subsequent talk initiated by *aber* (line 2765), which is phonetically joined to his initial confirmation. In designing the two components as joined together, Mark achieves a unified response that starts with a first component implementing the elicited confirmation and continues with a second component that addresses the discrepancy with Ulla's expressed expectations and provides an account. In contrast to previous cases, where responses to confirmables took the form of extended confirmations, here the overall response is to a confirmable turn that simultaneously implements another trajectory by eliciting an account. The confirmation is therefore only the first component of the responding turn, followed by a second component responsive to the parallel action.

A similar pattern can be observed in the French corpus. In the following extract a customer in a tourist office has been asking for directions to a museum that is situated on Place de Lavolette.

(6) [OTG.1AP0240.0:20]

- 1 E: vous passez Place Sainte-Claire Place Notre-Dame
you walk past Place Sainte-Claire Place Notre-Dame
- 2 et tout de suite après Place de Lavalette
and immediately after that Place de Lavalette
- 3 C: d'accord
okay
- 4 (.)
- 5 C: c'est pas très loin
it's not very far ((is it))?
- 6 (.)
- 7 E: **non NON.**=il y en a pour même pas dix miNUTES
no no it takes less than ten minutes

The customer's negatively framed question (line 5) is responded to with a confirmation using the negative answer particle twice (*non non*)—the second one receives primary stress—followed by a specification of the estimated walking time. Thus, the question is treated as double-barreled in that it requests not only confirmation but also an elaboration on the confirmable. The nasalized vowel of the second *non* is linked directly to the initial vowel of the elaboration. While the confirmation and the specification respond to different trajectories made relevant by the double-barreled first pair-part and thus constitute separate actions, the vowel linking presents the adjoined specification as straightforwardly furthering the progressivity of the sequence. Thus, although the turn holds two actions, it constitutes one single, internally cohesive response.

The phenomena presented up to this point have involved seamlessly joined-up turn components. When a prior turn elicits more than one action, phonetic linking offers speakers a turn design that allows formatting two lexicosyntactically separate units as one internally cohesive response. However, speakers also have the option of phonetically designing their response to a double-barreled turn as a complex multiunit, multiaction turn, in which the second action departs from the trajectory initiated by the first. The following extract is a representative example from the German corpus. Ulla has been telling Mark that both her telephone and her Internet connections have not been working recently.

(7) Ulla and Mark, 7:20

- 468 U: telefon macht mir nix au:s weil ich ja handy hab
I don't mind the telephone because I've got a mobile
- 469 und festnetzflat (0.2) a:ber des internet (.) ich sags dir
and a flat rate but the internet I tell you
- 470 was du gschwind mal nebenher erledigsch am netz (0.35)
the things you quickly manage to get done online
- 471 [des f::ehlt mir so:]
I miss that so much
- 472 M: [aber du gehst doch übers handy] auch immer rein oder
but you also always go online via your mobile don't you
- 473 U: °hhh **JA:., 2aber** des isch natürlich s:ehr unkomfortabel mit
yes but that is very tiresome of course with
- 474 dieser kleinen taschtatu:r
this small keyboard

At line 472 Mark elicits confirmation from Ulla with regard to her mobile phone habits, challenging her claim that not having Internet access is a basis for her so far rather elliptic complaint (lines 468–470). The use of the particle *doch* and the tag question *oder* implement a strong preference for a “yes” response. Ulla provides the elicited and preferred confirmation token (*ja*, line 473) with rise-to-mid pitch and a lengthened vowel. The subsequent *aber*-prefaced clause addresses Mark’s challenge and provides an account for why her complaint is still valid. The second turn component is separated from the first by glottalization and also by the speeding up of initial syllables. Interactionally, the second component of Ulla’s response is a second action (an account) that departs from the trajectory initiated by the first (the confirmation), rather than an unmarked continuation of the confirming turn.

The context is broadly similar to Extract 5, where a confirmation-eliciting turn highlighting a discrepancy in recipient expectations is responded to with two action components. In contrast to Extract 5, where the components are linked phonetically, the components in Extract 7 are separated by glottalization. An understanding of why this might be the case can be gained from a close analysis of the turns that precede the two responses in each case. Ulla’s confirmable turn in Extract 5, lines 2762–2763, takes the form of a declarative grammatical construction (*he always gave the impression that he had a good grip on his finances*). While Ulla’s turn shows a discrepancy between her own expectations and Mark’s previous claim, there is no epistemic challenge to Mark’s (access to) knowledge and no claim to additional knowledge of her own. The confirmable turn makes no reference to Ulla herself but only to the person being referred to. Further, the declarative form does not implement a first pair-part in the same way a tag question would do. Mark’s response in Extract 5 does therefore not have to address two opposed trajectories; instead, his confirmation is straightforwardly followed by additional displays of knowledge addressing Ulla’s adoption of a K- position.

By comparison, Mark’s confirmable turn *but you also always go online via your mobile don’t you* in Extract 7 openly challenges Ulla’s grounds for a complaint and assumes an epistemic position on a territory of knowledge that is hers by right (her phone, her Internet habits). The tag question assigns Ulla a confirmation slot, which means that in order to address the confirmable *and* uphold her previous complaint, she needs to respond to two directly opposing trajectories: confirming one claim and giving an account for the opposite claim. These separate and opposed trajectories are implemented through social actions where the second is designed as marking a departure from the first.

The French corpus shows a similar case of a glottalized disjunction between a confirmation and a response to a different action trajectory. A customer in a tourist office is asking for a sports brochure.

(8) [OTG.1SB0009.0:00]

- 01 C: j'aurais voulu savoir si vous aviez une brochure sur les
I'd like to know if you have a brochure about the
- 02 sports qu'on peut pratiquer à Grenoble
sports that one can practice in Grenoble
- 03 (0.4)
- 04 E: OUI, Zelle eXI:STE mais il m'en reste plus QU'UNE donc
it yes it exists but I only have one left so
- 05 je vous la do[nne] PA:S
you can't take it with you
- 06 C: [ah]
oh

- 07 E: *sinon il faut aller la retirer à partir de quinze heures*
or otherwise you have to go and get one after three o'clock
- 08 (.)
- 09 C: *ouais*
yeah
- 10 H: *à l'OMS:*
at the OMS:

At line 4 the employee initially confirms being in possession of the requested brochure but then goes on to respond to the request with noncompliance. Similarly to the German Extract 7, here the initial confirmation token *oui* is separated by glottalization from the subsequent sentential unit, which implements a dispreferred response (*it exists but I only have one left so you can't take it with you*) and marks a departure from what the confirmation token alone projects. Once again, a responding turn conveys two directly opposing social actions, confirmation in response to the question and noncompliance with the request, which are packaged phonetically as disjunct response components.

The data presented in the previous three subsections show that responses to confirmation-eliciting turns can take a variety of multiunit forms. Firstly, speakers can extend confirmations with more confirming talk. Turns of this kind are characterized by phonetic joining between initial confirmations and subsequent talk. Secondly, initial confirmations can be amended. In those instances the confirming action is also being extended, but subsequent talk, for example, downgrades or upgrades the confirmation. These turns, too, show phonetic linking at the boundary. Finally, responses to confirmation-eliciting turns can consist of confirmations followed by turn components that address other aspects of the eliciting turn. Such multiunit turns can either be designed as a cohesive, straightforwardly progressing single response or as a complex response where confirmation is offered before the turn departs from the trajectory-so-far. The relevant unit boundaries are accordingly designed phonetically as either continuous (joining) or disjunct (glottalization). Note that this distinction has to do with action trajectories and not with possible turn completion; in neither case does the turn-internal unit boundary correspond to a transition-relevance place, so despite having several lexicosyntactic units, the response turn constitutes a single TCU.

Confirmation followed by noncontinuation of response

While confirmation-eliciting turns make confirmation relevant in immediately next position, there are few constraints on response speakers in terms of what additional actions they might accomplish within their turn once confirmation has been provided. Confirmation-fronted turns may, for example, involve additional talk that is neither an extension of the confirmation itself nor responsive to the confirmation elicitation more generally. Such other talk can be roughly divided into two types: the resumption or continuation of talk that was initiated or in progress prior to the confirmation elicitation and the initiation of entirely new sequences.

Confirmation followed by resumption of prior talk. Confirmation-eliciting news receipts and candidate understandings are frequently produced during in-progress turns; that is, recipients may elicit confirmation during, and sometimes in overlap with, a current turn holder's ongoing telling. In responding to such turns, current speakers may need to design their talk in a way that shows which turn components are responsive to the first pair-part issued by

another speaker and which are part of their own ongoing telling. The following extract from the French corpus—from the same call as Extract 1—is an example. Caller Karim has talked about the visitors staying at his place, who had previously contacted him via the hospitality exchange network CouchSurfing.

(9) [MOUV.2010-12-21.45:31]

- 1 K: ensuite bo:n c'e:st on sait jamais où ça (nous) emmène hein
then well it's you never know where that will take us y'know
- 2 (.)
- 3 E: le [couchsurfing ouais]
couchsurfing yeah
- 4 K: [on comm- ils commen]cent
you st- they start
- 5 (0.2)
- 6 K: **ouais** **2**ils commencent pour deux JOURS ça fait un mois qu'ils
yeah they start with two days now they've been here for a
- 7 sont LÃ: et puis euh °h ils vont parTIR ça va me faire CHIER
month and then uh °h when they leave I'll be bummed out

At line 3, Éric checks the reference of the pronoun *ça* (“that”) in Karim’s turn at line 1. Karim confirms this at the beginning of line 6, with an unaccented *ouais*, before resuming the turn he began at line 4, thereby also resuming and extending the ongoing telling. The resumption is separated from the confirmation token by glottalization. The components of Karim’s turn at lines 6–7 are designed as differentiated in terms of their directionality: The confirmation is responsive to Éric’s intervening candidate understanding, whereas the subsequent talk is a resumption of Karim’s ongoing telling *prior* to Éric’s turn. We find similar cases in our German corpus. In the following, Ulla is in the process of talking about her plans for the weekend.

(10) Ulla and Mark, 6:03

- 358 U: weil ich ja hospitation hab kommendes wochenende
because I have my internship this coming weekend
- 359 M: ach
oh
- 360 [auch schon wieder]
that's come round quickly
- 361 U: [und da hab ich mit]
and there I am
- 362 **JA:;** **2**und da hab ich mit [katrin] kontakt
yes and there I am in touch with Katrin
- 363 M: [(laughs)]

After a news receipt from Mark (line 359), Ulla continues with her telling (line 361); however, Mark also continues in overlap with a second TCU that continues to address Ulla's prior turn and elicits confirmation (line 360). Ulla aborts her turn in progress (line 361) and provides confirmation (*ja*, line 362). She then resumes her telling, repeating the beginning of the previously aborted turn. The two actions, the confirmation and the resumption of prior talk, are phonetically separated by glottalization (line 362).

The phonetic turn design of these examples matches the way the relevant actions relate to one another. The [elicitation]–[confirmation] sequences are inserted into an ongoing sequence in progress. They therefore require a phonetic design as a separate activity in order for prior and following talk to be recognizable as a sequence in progress. The break implemented through glottalization allows recipients to locate the moment at which the confirmation is accomplished and prior talk is being resumed.⁴

Confirmation followed by a new sequence. In contrast to extracts in the previous section, confirmations can also be followed by initiations of new sequences. In these cases, while the overall activity is typically continued, neither the confirming action itself nor any prior talk is being continued or resumed. In the following example from the French corpus, a confirmation is followed by a new first pair-part. Élodie and Sarah are making arrangements for meeting later the same day.

(11) [CORAL.FTELPV06.2:28]

- 1 E: on se retrouve là bas quoi
let's just meet there
- 2 (.)
- 3 S: ouais (.) eu:h donc euh avant ton rendez vous par exemple
yeah (.) u:h so uh say before your appointment
- 4 E: ah oui: largeme:nt oui oui: ou[i]
oh yes: well before yes yes: yes
- 5 S: [o]ké ben vers eu:h ben vers
okay well around u:h well around
- 6 deux heures
two o'clock
- 7 (0.3)
- 8 E: o- OUAIS. ~~Çon~~ se donne rendez VOUS eu:h d:evant le:: ciNÉ
y- yeah shall we meet u:h in: front of the:: cinema?

Following Élodie's confirmation of the time of the meeting (line 8: *o- ouais*), she initiates a new sequence concerning the meeting location. The turn components conveying these two social actions—a confirmation token and a monoclausal sentential unit respectively—are separated by glottalization.

⁴In both Extracts 9 and 10, the resumption of prior talk involves recycling a prior turn beginning. In such instances, it is particularly clear that the talk after the confirmation is not responsive to the elicitation. However, it also routinely occurs that the elicitation is produced in the clear, so that there is no overlap to be dealt with by recycling overlapped talk. In such cases, the glottalization still serves to indicate where the speaker is resuming an ongoing telling, after doing a confirmation in response to, for example, a news receipt or a candidate understanding.

A similar pattern can be observed for German. In the following extract Julia and Ulla have been talking about giving birth and Julia's wish to have a child.

(12) Ulla und Julia 2, 4.50

- 235 J: da krieg ich schon wieder gänse[haut]
that gives me goose bumps again straight away
- 236 U: [oh:::] kla:r willsch du n
aww of course you want a
- 237 kind
child
- 238 J: weil dann war ich echt so und dacht mir so
because then I was like and was thinking like
- 239 (1.2) ((corners of mouth down, gazing at U))
- 240 U: kla:r so n würmchen kommt auch zu dir
of course such a little mite will come to you too
- 241 (1.8)
- 242 hasch doch gsagt zwei seelen warten
didn't you say two souls are waiting
- 243 (2.3)
- 244 J: **ja 2aber** wo i jetzt bei der seelenfrau war des war schon
yes but having been to this soul lady that was
- 245 echt spannend
pretty fascinating
- 246 auch mit der entscheidung kein kind zu wolln oder °hh und
also with the decision not to want a child you know and
- 247 dass die seelen all- in der familie dass die see:len halt
that the souls all- in the family that the souls are
- 248 immer da: sind [und] des war schon spannend
always there and that was pretty fascinating
- 249 U: [hm]
- 250 J: °h weißt wie toll des war (1.3) °h ich wollt erst nich
it was really great you know at first I didn't want to
- 251 hingehn
go there

At line 242 Ulla elicits confirmation with regard to Julia's wish to have a child. Julia confirms this with a quiet and whispered *ja* (line 244). Her subsequent talk initiates a new sequence. While the initial lexical item *aber* suggests a topical continuation, what actually follows is a new telling, where Ulla relates and assesses her firsthand experience of going to a "soul lady." Although issues around childbirth and the wish for children are tangentially connected to this telling (see line 246), and indeed seem to have touched it off, they are not resumed in subsequent talk.⁵ Julia's second turn component (*aber wo i jetzt ...*) is produced with initial glottalization followed by modal voice

⁵Koerfer (1979) identifies the use of *ja aber* for topic shifts.

quality. The return to a default loudness and phonation adds to the articulatory break introduced by the initial glottalization of *aber*, as does an increase in speech rate on the initial syllables (*aber wo i jetzt bei der*).

In sum, Extracts 11 and 12 show that when new sequences are initiated in the talk immediately following the confirmation, the unit boundary is designed with glottalization, indicating the sequential disjunction between the confirmation and the action implemented by subsequent talk implements. Note that here, the two turn components arguably do constitute separate TCUs; by a new sequence, response speakers treat their own confirmation as having sufficiently dealt with the relevancies of prior turns and the floor as open for new sequence initiations.

Concluding Observations

Since confirmations can be potentially complete turns and may sufficiently satisfy the constraints of a preceding first pair-part, they are also potentially implicative of sequence closure. In line with prior research, the phenomena analyzed here further demonstrate that the juncture between confirming response tokens and subsequent talk is the locus for a diverse range of practices through which participants manage sequential progression. One progression-related matter in particular has been considered here: designing next turn components either as extending the course of action implemented by the turn-so-far or as departing from that trajectory and taking up a separate course of action.

The distinctiveness of the two extension types provides ample evidence that French and German speakers have available the same phonetic resources for managing these action-sequential contingencies. The articulatory break that glottalization provides may be an unsurprising candidate for the implementation of unit separation, and vowel linking could be thought of as equally unsurprising for the implementation of cohesiveness. However, phonological descriptions of the two languages postulate directly contrasting practices. While glottalization is considered the norm for vowel-fronted words in German, it would be considered atypical in French, which instead favors linking of various forms. That the two languages make available both practices in a similar way—as options serving differentiated interactional purposes—provides further evidence that language is a resource for social conduct, rather than defined solely by abstract notions of a linguistic system. While in the phonology of French the glottal stop is not phonemic, French—like German—allows for the communicative use of glottalization. And while descriptions of the German phonological system do recognize the glottal stop as a form and stipulate its occurrence in a specific position, German also seems to allow for an interactional function of the glottalization/linking contrast that at times overrides phonological rules and preferences.

We consider this study the starting point of a future program of research that seeks to explore sound patterns and possibly other linguistic structuring mechanisms as *cross-linguistic practices for organizing and managing talk*. This line of inquiry complements recent conversation analytic work on cross-cultural comparisons of social practices (Dingemanse & Enfield, 2015; Fox et al., 2010; Stivers et al., 2009) and actions (Enfield & Stivers, 2007; Enfield et al., 2010; Sidnell & Enfield, 2012).

A cross-linguistic comparison of sound patterns as interactional practices also complements the more substantial body of knowledge accounting for phonetic and prosodic practices as language- or variety-specific. While we do not challenge the overwhelming evidence for phonologies (and phonologies for conversation) that are specific to individual languages and dialects, and while we do not claim that glottalization can be accounted for with an interactional analysis alone, certain articulatory and phonatory gestures seem to lend themselves to marking universally relevant social-interactional contrasts. For example, previous work has shown that the sound design of utterances seems to be used by speakers across languages to indicate their sequential alignment with other speakers' prior talk (for example, through prosodic matching, Szczeppek Reed, 2012; Szczeppek Reed & Li, 2014). Another fundamental contrast is the one between continuing an action trajectory in

progress and beginning a new one. Where these interactional practices come into direct contrast with the phonology of a given language, linguistic inquiry has to be able to incorporate empirical realities of language use. Microanalysis of naturally occurring interactional data must therefore be placed at the heart, rather than at the periphery, of the linguistic endeavor.

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Appendix

Transcription conventions (adapted from Selting et al., 1998)

(.)	micro-pause (< c. 0.2 s)
(2.8)	measured pause
: :: :::	lengthening
°h / h°	inbreath / outbreath
ACcent	primary accent
[overlap of two or more speakers
[
Phrase-final pitch movements:	
?	rise-to-high
,	rise-to-mid
-	level
;	fall-to-mid
.	fall-to-low