Phonetic and sequential differences of other-repetitions in repair initiation

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Abstract

This paper analyses two different repair initiation practices which both utilise other-repetition. We call these *framing* and *prefacing* other-repetitions, and show that they are treated as making different claims about the speakers' depth of understanding of the prior talk. Framing repetitions repeat the turn-initial components of the prior turn with a particular 'long and flat' phonetic pattern; prefacing repetitions consist of a minimal repetition of the final grammatical structures of the prior speaker's talk, produced quietly and with a falling intonation contour. Whilst framing repetitions are treated as displays of either a hearing or simple understanding problem, prefacing repetitions claim a more serious breakdown of understanding. Data are in British and American English.

Introduction

One reason repetition is so fascinating is that although it seems obvious that one person can say 'the same thing' that another has (just) said, the second saying cannot truly be the same, by virtue of being in a different sequential position (and thus performing a different function), and also because variations in the phonetic form of self- and other-repetitions themselves may instantiate new functions (see eg., Benjamin & Walker, 2013; Bolden, 2009; Couper-Kuhlen, 1996; Curl, 2005; Robinson, 2013; Robinson & Kevoe-Feldman, 2010; Tarplee, 1996; Wu, 2006). This study of other-repetitions used in repair sequences aims to add another piece to the unfinished puzzle of the functions of other-repetition.

In this paper, we discuss the differences in both the phonetic and sequential form and the associated functions of two types of other-repetitions, which we call here *framing* and *prefacing*. An example of a framing other-repetition is given in Fragment 1, and an example of a prefacing other-repetition is given in Fragment 2. Participants have been anonymised as A and B so that Speaker A is always the one whose talk is repeated by Speaker B. Speaker A's first saying is in bold, and the repetition in bold italics.

In framing repetitions, Speaker B repeats some of Speaker A's talk, following which Speaker A himself redoes (self-repeats) the remainder of his original turn.

(1) Time [CF4874, 84.85s; Speaker A: male; Speaker

```
1  A:  yeah so: u::h (.) besides for that i got no time to be
2       get into trouble
3       (0.9)
4  B:  you have no [ti:me]
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5  A:                    [m-   ] to get into trouble
6  A:     ah hah ((both laugh))
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In prefacing repetitions, Speaker B repeats some of Speaker A's talk (often just a single word or phrase), then begins a new turn-constructional unit (TCU, Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974).

(2) PC [NJC, 24m34s; Speaker A: female; Speaker B: female]
```
1  A:     they're pee cee boxes
2         i don't know if pee cees are in them
3         (0.8)
4  B:     pee: cee:
5         (1.3)
6  B:     what's pee cee mean
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Sequentially, these two fragments are similar: in both, Speaker B repeats a part of Speaker A's talk, and this other-repetition comes after a lengthy pause. However, what happens after the repetition is rather different: in Fragment 2, the prefacing repetition, Speaker B is the next to speak, again after a lengthy pause; in Fragment 1, the framing repetition, Speaker A is the next to speak, producing (after no pause) a self-repetition which reproduces his original turn (compare lines 1-2 with lines 4-5). These fragments are not isolated examples, which leads us to the question of how it is that the A speakers choose such different courses of action, i.e., produce such different treatments, of the partial repetitions produced by the B speakers.

In this paper we show that it is crucial to analyse the grammatical structure of what is repeated, and the phonetic design of that repetition, to understand how these other-repetitions are treated as having different functions by recipients. We show that there is a practice for framing repetitions, which are treated as asking for a redoing of something explicitly said in or implied by the prior talk, and that this practice contrasts with one for prefacing repetitions, which are not treated in themselves as requests for repair, but serve to delay

additional repair-implicative talk.

Data and method

As shown above, the other-repetitions we analyse here are other-repetitions which initiate a sequence of repair. We take a broad approach to the definition of 'repair', following that explicated by Hayashi, Raymond, and Sidnell (2013, p. 13); in the sequences in our collection, the other-repetition brings to the interactional surface a trouble, a problem in progressing the talk beyond this point without some remedial work which is focussed on restoring intersubjectivity. Sometimes this work entails expanding the referent of some unknown term; sometimes it is accomplished by reproducing talk which has already been said once before.

    The research proceeds according to the methodology of Conversation Analysis (CA) conducted alongside detailed linguistic and phonetic analyses of the data (see eg., Local & Walker, 2005). The data were collected by the second author during preparation of Benjamin (2013), as part of a collection of other-initiated repair sequences. As noted by Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977), repair can be other-initiated by a variety of practices, one of which is other-repetition. Other-repetition as a practice for initiating repair has been investigated from a variety of angles. Robinson and Kevoe-Feldman (2010) focus only on full repetitions of questions, and analyse these as displaying either a lack of understanding or of accepting the question; similarly, Benjamin and Walker (2013) analyse other-repetitions with a characteristic high rise-fall intonation pattern, which claim that the repeated talk is in some way unacceptable. Robinson (2013) discusses the relationship between the role of the epistemic

status of the speaker who uses a partial other-repetition to the type of repair that is offered. Clearly, other-repetition is used to indicate a variety of differences in the 'trouble' being experienced with the trouble-source turn.

No research to date, however, has investigated the use of other-inititiated repair with other-repetition within the specific sequential circumstances we focus on here: repair sequences containing other-repetition that engenders self-repetition in the next turn by the first speaker (Speaker A), compared and contrasted with other-repetition that precedes additional talk by the same speaker (Speaker B). In the analysis reported on here we include only such sequences, excluding sequences in which a yes/no response is produced after the other-repetition and cases in which Speaker A laughs. These await future research, and some surely fit within the categories already analysed by other researchers.

The practices we analyse here could be described as rare; within the approximately 150 hours of recordings from which the entire collection of other-initiated repairs was built (described in detail in Benjamin, 2013, p. 10ff) only 45 fragments underpin the analysis here[1]. However these sequences do not seem unusual, and there is no evidence within the interaction itself that the participants orient to them as such.

Data was collected from a variety of corpora ranging from videotaped multi-party face-to-face interactions to phone calls, with a large proportion of the data fragments that comprise our collection coming from telephone calls (73%). The transcripts follow the GAT-2 system for minimal transcripts, with

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[1] For instance, some of our findings (for English) are congruent with Bolden (2009) for Russian, and we share the use of the term 'prefacing repetitions', but she reports finding 94 candidate instances in just 60 hours of conversation. There are other notable differences: because our collections were built according to different sequential criteria, our prefacing repetitions are only comparable to Bolden's category of 'indicating information retrieval problems'. And even there, our findings are different – perhaps not unexpectedly, given the different grammatical and prosodic structures of the two languages under investigation.

standard orthography (see Selting et al., 2011). The data is in the public domain, available to download from Talkbank (https://talkbank.org/); in the header of each fragment, we provide the start time. Due to the availability of the data, we have not transcribed focus accents or intonation, focussing instead on maximising the readability of the transcript. As noted previously, participants have been anonymised as Speaker A and B, and names and other identifying details in the talk have also been changed.

Those fragments that come from the Call Friend (CF) and Call Home (CH) telephone corpora permit fine-grained impressionistic and acoustic phonetic analysis even when participants speak in overlap, and we prefer to present those analyses as the outcome of our research rather than as input to our transcripts. Within the body of the paper, we discuss some issues surrounding conducting and presenting phonetic analyses of naturally-occurring data. In what follows, we describe and analyse the linguistic structure and sequential treatment of framing and prefacing other-repetitions, showing how framing repetitions are treated as completion-implicative and that prefacing repetitions are not. The paper concludes with a discussion of how these practices for repair initiation reflect a difference in the severity of the breakdown of intersubjectivity.

Framing other-repetitions

We will first describe what we call framing repetitions. Speaker B repeats part of Speaker A's prior turn, and Speaker A responds by continuing, and thereby co-constructing a turn (Lerner, 1996). This is usually done by self-repeating the remainder of his or her original turn, but sometimes is done by adding new information not explicitly said in the prior turn. Speaker B's talk thus 'frames'

what needs to be redone (or added) to the sequence before it can progress any further.

The following fragment comes from a phone call in which the speakers are discussing what they did over the previous weekend. Speaker A describes an accomplishment – a half-written paper – in lines 4 and 5. Blank lines have been inserted to make it easier to follow the overlapping talk. In this and all the following fragments, the original saying (by Speaker A) is in bold, and the repetition is in bold italics.

(3)   Paper [CH6825: 1516.37s; Speaker A: male; Speaker B: female]

```
1   B:   i can see you've had a very boring weekend
2        (0.7)
3   B:   ye[ah sh: [here there really isn't that mu[ch  ]=
4   A:      [well-(.)[oh my apollonius paper's     [half]=

5   A:   =[written     ]
6   B:   =[going on ev]eryone everyone's gone again

7   B:      .hhhh your apollonius paper:
8           (0.3)
9   A:      is half written
10          i'm on page six out of ten
```

After Speaker B provides an evaluation of A's weekend, both participants begin speaking at nearly the same time. Speaker A produces a competitive incoming by producing a high and loud "oh" (French & Local, 1983), but neither speaker drops out before completing a TCU. Speaker B, in fact, takes a multi-unit turn "here there really isn't that much going on + everyone everyone's gone again" before initiating repair on A's talk with a partial other-repetition, "your apollonius paper."

We will now go through the characteristics of both the structure and treatment of this type of other-repetition, using this fragment as well as the framing repetition shown in Fragment 1. In both cases, Speaker A's next turn is a partial self-repetition, continuing the utterance begun by Speaker B. That is,

in Fragment 1, Speaker A's original utterance is "yeah so uh besides for that I got no time to be get into trouble"; Speaker B repeats the first half of that utterance, "you have no time"[2] and Speaker A the second half, "to get into trouble". In Fragment 3, Speaker A announces "well oh my apollonius paper's half written"; Speaker B repeats the first half of this utterance, "your apollonius paper" and Speaker A completes the repetition, "is half written".

In both cases, Speaker A does some detailed linguistic re-design of the original turn when redoing it in response to Speaker B's framing repetition. Pronouns are changed: Speaker A's "I have no time" is redone by Speaker B as "you have no time", and "my apollonius paper" is redone as "your apollonius paper".

In Fragment 1, Speaker A's non-standard construction, "to be get into trouble" is changed. When completing the repetition, Speaker A produces only "to get into trouble", which is a standard formulation. His original production, "to be get into trouble", could be a phonetically reduced form of 'to be getting into trouble', but there is no audible or acoustic trace of any additional syllable or nasal linking the consonant and vowel between "get" and "into".

In Fragment 3, Speaker A cliticises the verb to the noun "paper", producing "paper's". In Speaker B's partial repetition, however, she produces only "paper"; what this means is that she has only repeated the subject (noun phrase) of the prior utterance, and none of the predicate (verb phrase). When Speaker A begins the completion of the repetition, he orients to the missing clitic, by beginning his turn with the full form of the verb, "is". Thus, it seems clear that the A speakers are orienting to the other-repetition as the beginning of a repair sequence. In responding to the other-initiation of repair, they make

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[2] Note the embedded correction of 'got' to 'have'; such practices have been discussed in detail in Jefferson (1987) and we will not discuss them further here.

slight adjustments to their talk, but still present it as self-repetition.

Of most relevance to us here are the similarities in the B speakers' turn designs. These fragments exemplify the pattern we observed in which the B speakers repeat the initial grammatical components, which given the strict Subject-Verb-Object word order of English, often equates with repeating subjects. In Fragment 1, the main clause "I have no time" contains the subject and finite verb, and in Fragment 3, the noun phrase "my apollonius paper" is the subject of the verb "is written."

Additionally, similarities in the phonetic design of Speaker B's redoings of Speaker A's talk exemplify the recurrent pattern found on framing repetitions. First, the final syllable is longer in the repetition than in the first saying. In Fragment 1, Speaker B's rate of speech slows down by 2 syllables per second (SPS), from 5.3 to 2.1 SPS. In Fragment 3, the slowing down is even more noticeable – from 8.3 to just 3.2 SPS. Second, the pitch of these final syllables is lower than the rest of the turn, and the intonation contour is also flat or with a small (1-2 semitone) rise. Figures 1 and 2 are acoustic records of these utterances produced using PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink, 2016).

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE
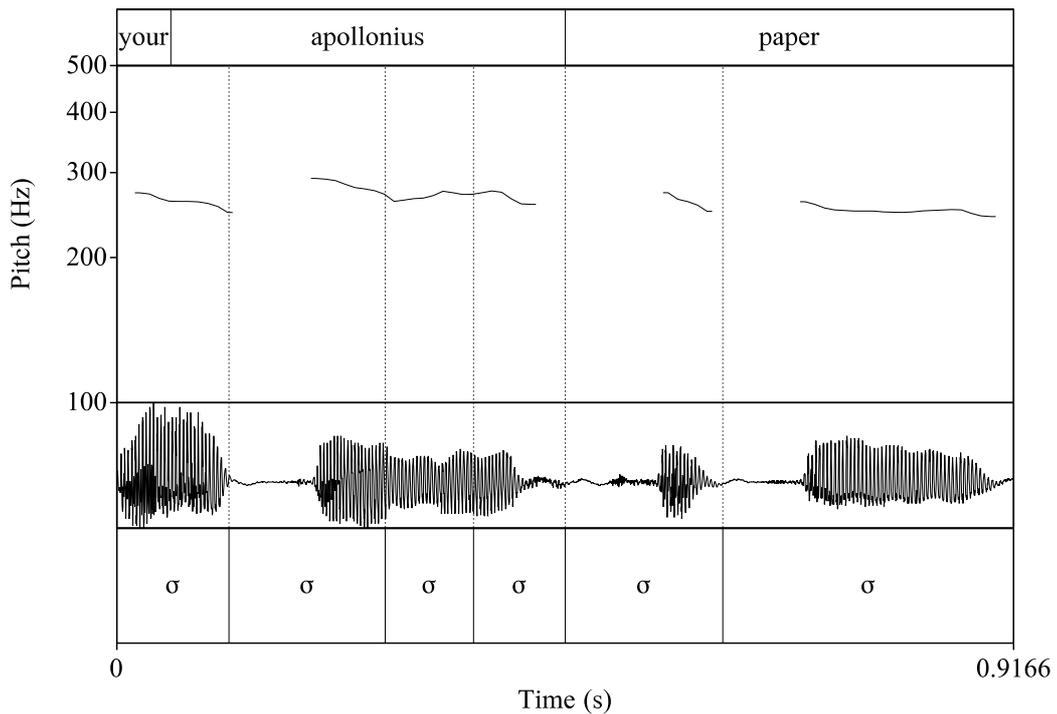
Figure 1: Pitch and duration of Speaker B's repetition in Fragment 3

In the center of the figures, pitch is shown plotted on a logarithmic scale. The waveform, immediately below the pitch trace, is segmented into both words (above) and syllables (below, indicated by the capital Greek letter sigma). The segmentation lines of the words and syllables do not always align. This is because we have indicated the syllable structure as produced, showing the phonetic reduction evident in the utterances, rather than using the canonical citation form. For instance, Speaker B produces only four syllables for the words "your apollonius", whereas in citation form we would expect five syllables. To err on the side of caution, as well as to be more ecologically valid, the actual number of syllables produced were used in the SPS calculations; had we used the citation form of the words to count potential syllables, in all cases the SPS calculation would have shown an even greater difference.

FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE
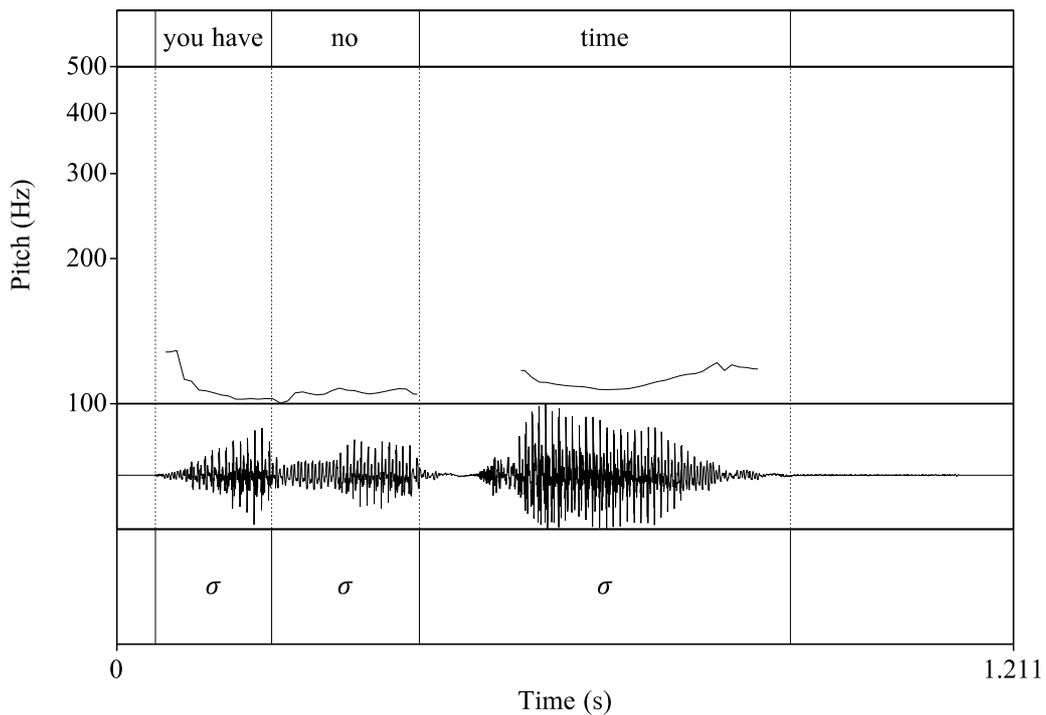
Figure 2: Pitch and duration of Speaker B's repetition in Fragment 1

What this data clearly shows is that neither participant produces exact repetitions of their own nor the other's talk. Just as clearly, however, the second (collaborative) saying is treated and produced as a repetition, first as an other-repetition initiating repair, and subsequently as a self-repetition implementing that repair. What part of Speaker A's prior turn is redone, coupled with the phonetic design of this talk, provides a frame for Speaker A to complete the redoing, resulting in a collaborative repetition of talk originally

produced by Speaker A. This results in an A-B-A sequence of speakers, which

is different from the sequence of speakers when prefacing repetitions are

used.

This practice for producing framing repetitions, where the repeated talk

makes a claim that the speaker only heard or understood the initial part of the

co-participant's turn, is used frequently in our data to initiate repair on spelling

or number sequences. An example is shown in Fragment 4, which also

contains IPA transcriptions of the turns which spell out the letter names.

(4) NIN [CFs4162, 82.87s; Speaker A: male; Speaker B: female]
```
1  A: it's called ningpo
2     (1.3)
3  A: [en eye]   en jee pee oh
4  B: [(what)]
5     (0.9)
6  A:  that's the pattern name
7     (0.2)
8  B: en: ah e:yin [ɛjənaɪːjən]
9      (0.4)
10 A: jee [dʒi]
11    (0.4)
12 A: [pee oh [piʔoː]
13 B: [jee [dʒi]
```

In this conversation, Speaker A has been reading out of a catalog to

Speaker B. Here, they are discussing the name of a china pattern. Speaker

A spells out the name on line 4, and after some pauses and other talk by

Speaker A, Speaker B repeats the first three letters (see line 4).

By uttering (repeating) the next letter in the sequence, "jee", Speaker A

treats this partial repetition as an indication that Speaker B has not 'gotten'

the entire pattern name that he spelt out. He completes his TCU after a 0.4

second gap by self-repeating the rest of the letters, "pee oh".

In Fragment 5, we see the practice employed on a number sequence.
Speaker B has asked Speaker A for an address[3].

(5) Postcode [CF4874, 59.16s; Speaker A: male; Speaker B: male]

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[3] Here the name of the street and the city name have been changed.

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 1  B:    two three one oh=
 2        =what's the address
 3        (1.0)
 4  A:    fourteen ninetee:n
 5        (0.6)
 6  B:    yea:h
 7        (0.2)
 8  A:    east we:st street
 9        (0.7)
10  B:    we:s:t (0.6) s:tree:t
11        (0.3)
12  A:    [one one] two three oh
13  B:    [river  ]
14        (1.0)
15  B:    one one two::
16  A:    t h:[ree  ] oh
17  B:    <<pp>[three]>>
```

Although Speaker B repeats the end of Speaker A's prior talk in line 10, this repetition is not treated as initiating repair, but rather as a go-ahead to proceed with the remainder of the address. It is this part of the address, the ZIP code (which in the US consists of 5 numbers), that Speaker B claims some trouble with. After he repeats the first three numbers (see line 15), Speaker A self-repeats the next two, "three oh". The phonetic design of this other-repetition is part of what marks it as a framing repetition. Earlier in this call, Speaker B produces another other-repetition of the number 2, which is not treated as initiating repair, and which has a duration of only 0.23 seconds. The production shown in line 15, however, has a duration of 0.53 seconds – more than twice as long. It has, additionally, a flat intonation contour.

Speaker B shadows the redoing of "three", (though this is very quiet and distorted on the recording despite the fact that this data is dual-channel). No other single digit number in English begins with the sound [θ], which likely aids Speaker B in beginning his talk so early. There is no evidence that Speaker B is attempting to prevent Speaker A from continuing the repetition to completion; in fact, the extreme quietness of B's talk militates against such an analysis.

In summary, we find the following phonetic regularities in our collection of

framing repetitions: the final syllables (sometimes these are number or letter names) are slower than the preceding syllables; the final words generally have a lower mean pitch than those preceding, but the intonation contours at the end of the utterance are flat or with a small final rise (ie., do not fall); there are few turn-final articulatory closures (that is, the audible release of plosives is common and turn-final glottal constrictions are rare). Additionally, when comparing the other-repetition to the first saying, it is commonly the case that the repetition has a longer duration –that is, the repetition by Speaker B is produced more slowly than the original saying by Speaker A.

In addition to similarities in their phonetic design, there is a sequential similarity to the framing repetitions. They generally redo talk that is in some way sequentially 'first'; that is, talk that is either TCU- or turn-initial. Also, all are treated as completion-implicative, which is to say that Speaker A never orients to the other-repetition as indicating a problem with talk that came prior to it.

So far we have shown only simple redoings, in which the A speakers treat the other-repetition as initiating a repair of a hearing problem. Although they have the chance, the A speakers do nothing to clarify, apologise for (Heritage & Raymond, 2016), or back down (Benjamin & Walker, 2013) from their prior talk – they simply repeat it. So it seems that, in the examples so far, Speaker A treats these partial repetitions as a claim by Speaker B that 'I didn't hear all of what you said; I heard up to here'. However, this kind of repair initiation is also treated as framing an understanding problem; Speaker A sometimes treats the other-repetition as framing something that was not said, but was only implicit in the preceding talk. Such a treatment arises when Speaker B employs an other-repetition using the phonetics described above, but repeats talk that was not sequentially 'first' in the original saying. This is treated as if Speaker B is

claiming 'I didn't understand what you said, but I heard this part of it.' Two

examples of the use of this practice are shown in the following fragments. In

these fragments, we highlight the clarification by Speaker A in bold italics, just

as in the previous examples we highlighted this speaker's self-repetition.

Fragment 6 comes from face-to-face multiparty talk. Prior to this extract, the

group has been discussing water recycling, specifically how gray water

systems are not set up by councils or local authorities, but rather are

administered locally.

(6)   Best way [SBCSAE3, 17m50s; Speaker A: male; Speaker B: female]
```
1 C: right 'cause (.) this is this apartment complex and
2    there's the (.) laundromat and they just (.) dump the
3    water (0.4) from that and everything
4    (.)
5 A: well laundry's the best way and showers I guess
6    (0.6)
7 B: the best way::
8    (0.2)
9 A: to get gray water
```

After Speaker C describes how an apartment complex apparently isn't

recycling gray water (note the use of "dump"), Speaker A states, "well laundry's

the best way and showers (.) I guess".

Speaker B's repetition of "the best way" is done with the phonetic pattern

described above: it has a level intonation contour, and the turn slows to a rate

of 1.8 SPS on the final word, compared to 6.6 SPS for the first part of the turn.

Here, although nothing in the acoustic record indicates a vowel between the

initial consonant sound of "the" and the initial consonant sound of "best", [ðb] is

not a well-formed syllable onset in English. Therefore, we have counted the

voiced fricative as syllabic (though this too is unusual for English).

FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE
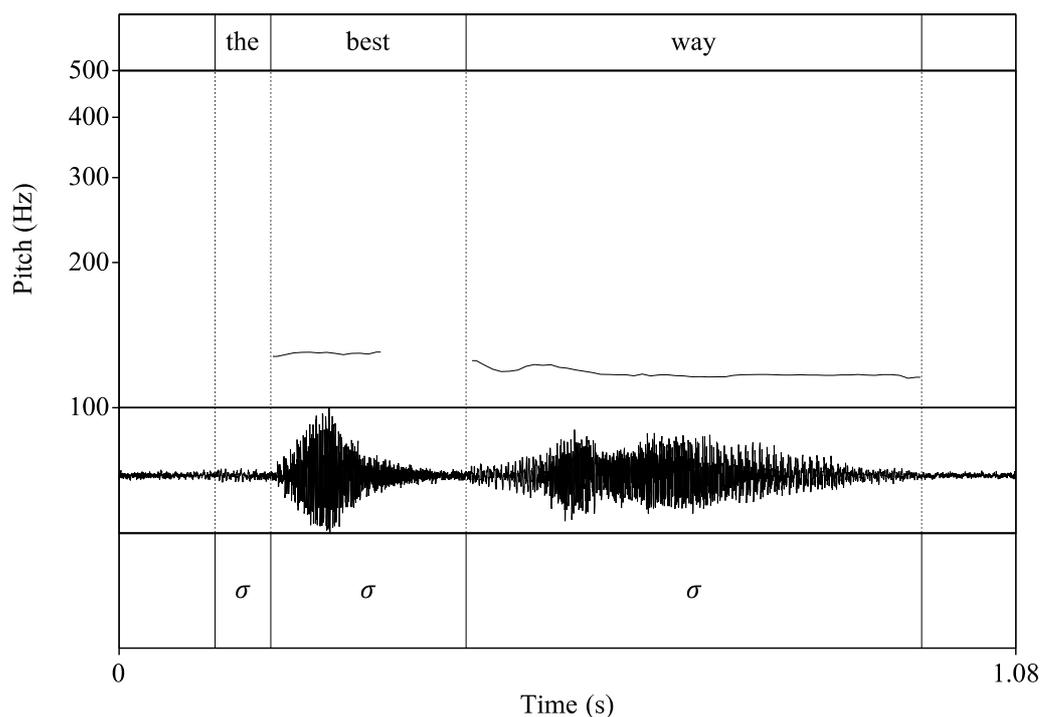
Figure 3: Pitch and duration of Speaker B's repetition in Fragment 6

Speaker B's partial repetition is only of "the best way", which is not sequentially 'first' in Speaker A's turn. Rather, it comes after the subject ("laundry") and verb ("is"), and can be described grammatically as the predicate object. Note though, that although in English the constructions 'laundry is the best way' and 'the best way is laundry' are both permissible and have the same propositional meaning, Speaker A does not treat Speaker B's other-repetition as targetting what came before it (the word "laundry"). Nor does she repeat what followed the first utterance of "the best way", which was "and showers". Instead, Speaker A produces the infinitive phrase "to get gray water" which is grammatically fitted to follow the repetition of "the best way", and provides additional information (ie., LAUNDRY IS THE BEST WAY *TO GET GRAY WATER*).

Fragment 7 presents another example of a framing repetition which is responded to with the provision of additional information.

(7)   Played [CH6825, 1095.41s; Speaker A: male; Speaker B: female]

```
 1 A: but weddin- wedding was in great hall um (0.8) .hhhh
 2    (1.6) liz mark morey and h(0.6)um (0.5) scott (.)
 3    played at the end h
 4    (0.8)
 5 A: .hhhh after everyone had [left
 6 B:                          [pla:yed
 7    (0.5)
 8 A: um (0.6) whatever instruments they happened to play
 9    (1.2)
10 B: oh okay kay
11 A: .hhhh
12    0.5)
13 A: but [(  ) was good
14 B      [sorry i i
```

Speaker A is telling his friend Speaker B about the wedding of a mutual acquaintance, and how some guests "played at the end". Speaker B does not acknowledge this turn (an appreciation or newsmark of some kind would be an appropriate response), and after a silence of 0.8 seconds Speaker A extends his turn with an increment, "after everyone had left". So there is some evidence of trouble here; Speaker B does not take a turn in a timely manner, raising the possibility that she does not understand Speaker A's talk well enough to produce a response. And indeed, she initiates repair in line 6 with the partial repetition, "played".

Here, we cannot calculate a change in speaking rate or difference in duration because the repetition consists of only one word; however, we can compare the duration of this production to the previous one. The first production by Speaker A has a duration of only 0.2 sec, whereas the other-repetition has a duration of 0.5 sec. This is comparable to the difference in duration in the previous example, Fragment 6, where Speaker B's entire repeated phrase "best way" has a duration of 0.9 sec, compared to only 0.6

sec when first said by Speaker A. Again, the intonation contour is flat.

When Speaker A responds to Speaker B's repetition of "played", note that he could have self-repeated either or both of the following prepositional phrases he originally produced: "at the end", "after everyone had left". However, by combining the framing phonetic pattern with the repetition of an item that is not sequentially 'first', we argue that Speaker B displays to Speaker A not that she has a hearing problem with what he has just said, but that she cannot formulate an adequate response because she does not understand the prior turn.

The English verb "played" can occur with or without an object; that is, 'The children played' and 'The children played cricket' are both grammatical[4]. Without an object, 'played' could refer to a variety of activities: children's freeform games, card games, sports, or musical endeavours to name a few. When verbs like "play" are used, a participant is expected to figure out what the speaker means by using it like this on this particular instance – by calculating what Grice (1989) termed implicatures. For instance, in English it is acceptable to say either 'I drank a lot last night' as well as 'I drank a lot of coffee last night'. Both are grammatically correct, and both could be used to mean I DRANK A LOT OF COFFEE, but when 'coffee' or some other type of drink isn't specified, the implicature is generally taken to be 'drank alcohol.'

In this case, Speaker A has been describing the wedding reception, and apparently expects Speaker B to be able to work out the implicature conveyed by 'played' in this context. Speaker B, however, claims an inability to do so, and signals the crux of her problem by repeating "played". Speaker A displays his understanding of her trouble by providing an grammatically explicit object for the verb (however semantically inexplicit it is), "whatever instruments they

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[4] This is not the case for all verbs; eg., 'sleep' cannot take an object, and 'catch' requires one.

happened to play. " He thereby treats "played" as the beginning of a TCU, even though no subject has been expressed. The reconstructed meaning of his first utterance (lines 1-3) would then be LIZ, MARK MOREY AND SCOTT PLAYED WHATEVER INSTRUMENTS THEY HAPPEN TO PLAY AT THE END.

Both speakers orient to Speaker B's inability to adequately understand and respond to Speaker A's prior talk as accountable. Speaker A shows this through his delayed response, achieved by prefacing his repair turn with "um (0.6)" as well as the marked construction "whatever instruments they happened to play". This seems to claim an inability to provide a single object, as presumably the three people in question all played different instruments. It is thus an account for not providing an object of the verb in the first place. Speaker B prefaces her turn with a change of state token (Heritage, 1984) in line 10, displaying that she now understands, and apologises for her lack of understanding in line 14.

This section has presented several examples of how framing repeats are designed and treated by recipients. This particular practice employs both a particular phonetic pattern which requires manipulation of syllable duration and thus rate of speaking (both relative to the speaker's own talk as well as that of the coparticipant) and a flat or non-falling intonation contour. Framing repeats (re)present a bit of talk as grammatically and/or sequentially incomplete. When the talk that is redone was sequentially first when originally produced (eg., turn or TCU-initial), Speaker A self-repeats the remainder of his or her original turn to complete the repair. When the other-repetition consists of talk that was not originally sequentially first, recipients still orient to the completion-implicative function and provide grammatically-fitted arguments that recast the repeated

fragment of talk as now sequentially first -- they do not redo material that was already said prior to the repeated talk, nor do they redo any talk that may have followed the repeated talk when originally produced. The practice of framing repetitions differs both in terms of what is repeated (in sequential/grammatical terms) and how it is repeated from the practice we now turn to – prefacing repetitions.

Prefacing other-repetitions

Prefacing repetitions are another practice used in the initiation of repair. However, the sequence of talk that occurs immediately after this form of other-repetition, and thus the kind of repair that is subsequently produced, is markedly different from that engendered by framing repetitions. The grammatical or syntactic function of the repeated talk as well as the phonetic design of the repetitions are different from the pattern employed on framing repetitions. One example of a prefacing repetition was shown above in Fragment 2, and two more are shown in Fragments 8 and 9.

(8) Inverness [CFs6933, 40.26s; Speaker A: male; Speaker B: male]
```
1  B:    uh where were you born
2        (0.7)
3  A:    i was born in inverness
4        (.)
5  B:    inverness
6        where is that
```

(9) The Edge [CFn6379, 1026.43s; Speaker A: female; Speaker B: male]
```
1  A:    did you get the edge
2        (0.9)
3  B:    the edge
4        is that like a knife company
5        (0.6)
6  A:    yes
```

In Fragment 8, Speaker A responds to Speaker B's query with "I was born in Inverness". Speaker B repeats the final word of this turn before continuing

his own turn and prompting Speaker A to clarify something about "Inverness" with "where is that". Fragment 9 is similar, in that Speaker B repeats the end of Speaker A's turn, "the edge", before requesting additional information, "is that like a knife company".

In both cases, the other-repetition serves as a standalone TCU. That is, in neither case is the repeated talk (just a single word in both these cases) incorporated syntactically into the following talk; neither *Inverness where is that* nor *the edge is that like a knife company* can be described as single grammatical units. We are hesitant to use the term 'sentence' here, as of course turns at talk need not be full sentences. However we must highlight that in these examples, because of their choice of grammatical units, the speakers are producing two TCUs[5]. Therefore, rather than the A-B-A sequence of the framing repetitions, here the participants employ an A-B-B sequence.

After the other-repetition, Speaker B requests repair work relating directly to this repeated item: asking where "Inverness" is, and whether "the edge" refers to a knife company. In all the cases of prefacing repetitions with the ABB sequential pattern, the following talk explicitly asks for additional or clarifying information about the repeated words, or accounts for Speaker B's inability to respond appropriately to the action instantiated by that talk.

An example of a prefacing repetition before an account rather than an explicit request for clarification is shown in fragment 10. The participants here are discussing characters on a popular television show, Neighbours. Speaker A is a long-standing fan, but Speaker B has only recently started watching.

(10)   Kennedy's House [NJC, 37m13s; Speaker A: female; Speaker B, female]

```
1  A:  they lived in the kennedy's house before then
2      (0.2)
3  B:  the kennedy's house
4      well i don't know: cause i only sort of:: recently got
```

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[5] Or even two turns, given the pause in Fragment 2. The use of pauses between the other-repetition and the continuation by Speaker B is discussed below in section 6.

```
5        to meet the kenne[dys
6  A:                    [oh:: right well you wo[n't (     )
7  B:                                           [that's the
8        one with really long hair isn't it
```

In this fragment Speaker A is trying to clarify relationships between characters on the programme by explaining to Speaker B where they used to live. Speaker B, however, claims in her response to this turn that she cannot fully utilise the information because she does not have the same level of detailed knowledge that Speaker A has – as she explains in line 4, she only "recently got to meet the Kennedys". Thus, whilst this talk does not directly invite Speaker A to repair her turn, it does account for why Speaker B does not respond to it with a preferred response, such as a news receipt (eg., 'oh right' or 'yes I know who you are talking about'.) Speaker B's turn, beginning with the other-repetition, alerts Speaker A to the fact that the referent of "Kennedys" is in fact not equally known to both of them. Speaker A responds to this with a change of state token, "oh right". Note, however, that in her next turn, Speaker B does indeed ask directly for more information, "that's the one with really long hair isn't it", lending support to our claim that these prefacing repetitions begin sequences of talk that are concerned with the other-initiation of repair.

The phonetic design of prefacing repetitions concerns the loudness of the repeated talk compared to the continuation by the same speaker, and the use of falling rather than rising intonation contours[6].

To measure of the loudness of the other-repetition compared to the continuing talk, we measured the intensity peaks (in decibels, dB) of the stressed syllables in both the repeated word or phrase and in the next TCU.

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[6] The duration and speech rate of prefacing repetitions was examined and compared with surrounding speech, but no patterns were found. See the following section for a discussion of the difficulties concerning what to measure, and how to compare any measurements.

We then took the mean of these measurements (if there was more than one stressed syllable). For those sequences in which we can compare the intensity of the other-repetition to the intensity of the talk following the repetition,[7] we find that usually, the prefacing repetition is quieter than the continuing talk. In several cases, including Fragments 2 and 8, the repetition is only half as loud as the continuing talk – that is, the continuing talk in Fragment 8 is twice as loud as the repetition (a difference of 10 dB roughly equates to a doubling in perceived loudness), and in Fragment 2 the increase in loudness is even greater, with a difference of 13 dB between the repetition of "pee cee" and "what's pee cee mean".

In Fragment 10, there is a 16 dB change in intensity from the other-repetition to the following talk. Additionally, the other-repetition is whispered. Thus, not only is it designedly less loud than the following talk, it is also produced with a different voice quality that is paralinguistically associated with quietness and talking to oneself.

The pitch of prefacing repetitions falls over the course of the turn, culminating on the repeated word or phrase. Though this is the expected pattern of pitch declination over an utterance (eg., Cruttenden, 1997, p. 162ff), it is especially striking when compared to the intonation pattern of the framing repetitions, which are level or rising.

Alongside the phonetic similarities of the prefacing other-repetitions, we note that a different part of the other speaker's turn is redone from those in the framing repetitions. Recall that in the framing repetitions, the first part of the previous turn is repeated; in prefacing repetitions, it is overwhelmingly the final word or phrase – eg., the complements or objects of verbs rather than the

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[7] See the discussion in section 5 regarding inconsistencies in the data prohibiting a fully systematic measurement of intensity.

subjects. "The edge" is the object of the transitive verb "get"; "Inverness", and "the Kennedy's house" are produced with prepositional phrases which function as complements of the verbs "born" and "lived". Fragment 2 is a slightly more complex case, simply because Speaker A says the word "pee cee" twice in her turn ("they're pee cee boxes I don't know if pee cees are in them", line 1 in Fragment 2). Given that Speaker B (who produces the other-repetition) goes on to ask what "pee cee" means, her understanding problem is linked with the first saying of "pee cee" (and not resolved in any way by the second saying by Speaker A). This first saying is an adjective modifying the noun "boxes", which is the complement of the intensive verb 'be' – occupying a structurally similar position to the other words that are repeated.

Having established the phonetic and grammatical characteristics of prefacing repetitions, we now turn to examples of the use of this practice in slightly different sequential environments. In Fragment 11, we show how a prefacing repetition may be cut off to arrest a repair initiation sequence, and in Fragment 12 how a prefacing repetition on its own may be treated as a repair initiator, with reparative talk from Speaker A coming immediately after the other-repetition.

In this fragment, Speakers A and B are discussing meeting up with former (high school) teachers during their university breaks.

(11)   Mis [CFn5984, 1203.64s; Speaker A: male; Speaker B, male]
```
  1  A:    also (.) are you interested in talking to mister
  2        jordan
  3        (1.1)
  4  B:    mis-
  5        no i didn't have him
```

Here, Speaker B produces an other-repetition of just one syllable of Speaker A's talk, "Mis-". His following talk, "no I didn't have him" does not

initiate repair on the referent of Mister Jordan; in fact, Speaker B displays that he knows enough about who Mister Jordan is to state that he "didn't have him" (as a teacher). So, if Speaker B began to repeat "Mister Jordan" as a preface to initiating repair, he cuts off this repair preface and designs his turn continuation to show such repair to be unnecessary.

In the next fragment, Speaker A doesn't wait for Speaker B to explicitly request repair, but provides clarification immediately after the prefacing repetition.

(12) Country Buffet [CFn5615, 1359.53s; Speaker A: female, Speaker B: female]

```
1  A:    i was supposed to go to the country-
2        do you not have country buffets up there
3        (1.2)
4  B:    [country        ] buff[et
5  A:    [°you know°     ]     [it's like a buffet
6        with all this gross food i mean i [hate buffets
7  B                                        [well they have that
8        on sunday at this place
9        >i don't< go near those places anymore
```

Speaker A inquires in line 2 whether or not there are "Country Buffets" (a restaurant chain) where Speaker B lives. In response, and after a long gap of 1.2 seconds, Speaker B repeats "Country Buffet" with the same phonetic pattern as other prefacing repeats – it is only about half as loud as following talk from the same speaker[8], and has a falling intonation contour. It is also the object complement of the verb "have".

In Fragment 12, the lengthy gap of 1.2 seconds after Speaker A's question surely plays a role in prompting her clarification in line 6. But Speaker B does take a turn, and this turn could be said to employ two delaying tactics – the gap

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[8] Because Speaker B does not continue her own talk right away, the intensity of her subsequent turn (after talk from Speaker A) was measured.

of silence, as well as the prefacing repetition. Her next turn provides evidence that the repetition of "Country Buffet" was indeed designed as a preface to initiating repair. In line 8, she displays little knowledge or understanding of Country Buffet as a restaurant chain – this talk only refers to a "place" that has "that" (a buffet) "on Sunday", whereas Country Buffet is a proper name that refers to a restaurant that only serves buffet-style food. It may be only due to the timing of Speaker A's clarification that Speaker B does not go on to explicitly initiate repair on the referent of Country Buffet.

Methodological considerations in analysing and presenting the phonetic shape of other-repetitions

Before concluding this paper with a discussion of the different interactional problems addressed by these two types of repair-initiating practices, we first take a sidebar to discuss the difficulties of comparing the phonetic output of one speaker to another, and the problem of presenting relativistic inter- and intra-speaker differences within a transcript.

Taking a parametric phonetic approach (Kelly & Local, 1989; Local & Walker , 2005; Walker, 2013), we examined without bias all aspects of the production of the other-repetitions: duration, pitch, voice quality, intensity, voicing, place and manner of articulation. However, it was immediately apparent that some of the absolute measures we were taking (eg., duration, pitch) did not reflect relative differences between the other-repetition and talk by either the same or other speaker. To complicate matters, we could not always compare or measure the other-repetition in a consistent way to the first saying: some other-repetitions were cut off (see eg. Fragment 11 above, "mis-"); some substituted or deleted words, though still designed as repetitions (see eg. Fragment 1, "you have no time"). Nor could we consistently calculate all

measures such as reduction in speaking rate, for instance in cases where the other-repetition consisted of only one monosyllabic word (eg., Fragment 7, "played"). The acoustic measures we do present are therefore merely offered in support of the distinctions and relationships we could hear both between and within speaking turns – distinctions and similarities that we presume the participants themselves also heard, based on their differential treatment.

The analysis of these repetitions also highlighted the difficulties in presenting, in a transcript, the relative differences between one speaker's talk and another's. Transcripts for the most part use symbols to indicate a punctual or short term change within the talk of a single speaker; we are not aware of any widely used symbols to indicate 'this talk is slower than the talk produced by the prior speaker', but that is just what proves consequential in our analyses. Some might argue therefore that these details ought to be presented in the transcripts, but we have chosen not to do so. One reason is to preserve the readability of the transcripts; adding extensive comments detracts from the transcript as any kind of objective record of the talk as it happened. Another reason is that adding only some prosodic/phonetic details makes it seem as if there are no other audible details of note; the question becomes instead, where should we stop? We advocate instead that the phonetic analyses be presented **as** analyses, within accompanying explanatory text. Detailed excerpts and/or acoustic records can present additional detail when necessary or relevant.

Finally, we must comment on the interaction of phonetic parameters given that all linguistic aspects of turn design can be manipulated to encompass multiple functions. At a very basic level, a turn must be designed to indicate

when it is – or is not – coming to an end, a function handled in part by phonetic parameters as detailed by eg., Bögels and Torreira (2015); de Ruiter, Mitterer, and Enfield (2006); Fox (2001); Local, Kelly, and Wells (1986); Local and Walker (2012); Local, Wells, and Sebba (1985); Ogden (2001); Schegloff (1998). We currently know very little about how actions which have been shown to have certain phonetic markers interact with the phonetics of turn-taking, and we wonder to what extent the 'noise' in the phonetic design of our data is due to these interactions. For instance, in one of the 18 fragments for which reliable measurements of intensity could be obtained, the utterance we are calling a prefacing repetition was in fact 5dB *louder* than the following talk – not quieter, as we have claimed is the pattern for prefacing repetitions. This repetition, however, comes in in overlap – interjacent overlap – with the prior turn. It could be that in this case, the use of the $< h + f >$ pattern (French & Local, 1983) 'overpowers' the phonetic pattern of prefacing repetitions (see also Kurtić, Brown, & Wells, 2013).

Conclusion

These two practices, framing and prefacing repetitions, use other-repetition to initiate a repair sequence. The way they are designed and treated, and thus the kind of sequences they engender, reflects differences in the level of breakdown of intersubjectivity in the talk.

Framing repetitions suspend a display of understanding by redoing some grammatically-initial part of the preceding turn, thereby indicating at a minimum that some words were accurately perceived. By not proceeding to repeat all of the prior turn, however, speakers seem to indicate that they heard only this part. The co-participants treat these repetitions as hearing problems, by redoing their previous talk from that point onward. This talk may have minor grammatical changes, dependent on the other-repetition produced by Speaker B (see eg., Fragments 1 and 3) but is clearly designed to be heard as a self-repetition. No clarification or disambiguation of terms is offered. The sequence of speakers is ABA.

The phonetic design of framing repetitions in some ways invites completion, by utilizing some of the features of turn-projection as identified by Local and Walker (2012) and Walker (2016). Those features are lengthening of final syllables and the release of plosives/use of outbreaths. However, framing repetitions also employ an intonational feature not usually implicated in turn-transition – the use of extended *level* pitch rather than a fall-to-low or a rise[9].

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[9] Szczepek-Reed (2004) describes the use of level intonation at the end of turns in making the point that intonation may not always, or only, contribute to the signalling of turn-taking. We are sympathetic to this view, and analyse the function of level intonation in this data as more concerned with marking out these repetitions as inviting a particular kind of completion than with simply signalling that the current speaker is done talking.

Thus in their simplest form, framing repetitions are used to display and/or claim the most innocuous of understanding problems – a hearing problem. Speakers use them not only to indicate what they did hear in the prior turn, but also to frame what they did not hear. They consist of a repeat of the initial part of the other speaker's turn, which due to the grammatical constraints of English is often a noun (phrase) or subject, with the particular 'long and flat' phonetic pattern described above.

This design, however, is also employed to indicate problems of a slightly more serious nature (in terms of shared understanding), as discussed above in Fragments 6 and 7. That is, speakers can manipulate the practice of framing repetitions by repeating, with the long and flat phonetic pattern, something that was not sequentially or grammatically initial when first produced. When this is done, framing repetitions are not treated as requesting simple repetitions, but as claiming that more information is needed about the repeated talk[10]; in other words, in these cases, the use of this particular phonetic pattern 'overrides' the repetition of a non-turn-initial component, and results in the repeated talk being treated as if it were sequentially initial.

Prefacing repetitions, on the other hand, claim a much more serious, and sometimes complete, breakdown of understanding. They consist usually of a minimal repetition of the prior speaker's talk, followed by an explicit request for repair/clarification of the repeated item, or an account

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[10] An anonymous reviewer has suggested that the differences in treatment (as a hearing vs understanding problem) might be better explained by grammatical (expressed vs implied constituents) rather than turn-constructional considerations. We have attempted several analyses based on constituency and subject-hood, but no commonality captured by a single grammatical term seems to account for the dataset as a whole -- not in the same way as 'object-hood' seems to work for the prefacing repetitions.

for not being able to respond appropriately to the turn that introduced the repeated item. Prefacing repetitions do indicate that at least some of the talk was heard, because it is repeated; however, they have a sequential structure that can be described as ABB. The A speaker's talk is repeated by B, but then the B speaker continues.

What part of the A speaker's talk is repeated is different from that in the framing repetitions. In prefacing repetitions, the complements or objects of verbs are repeated. Speakers tend to put new information (new referents, first mentions) in object – or at least non-subject – positions (DuBois, 1987, 2003). If a speaker cannot find the referent, or does not immediately recognise the information, s/he cannot adequately respond. Thus, we suggest that by repeating these items, the B speakers are indicating that they heard this part of the utterance, but cannot (yet) respond, because they cannot understand it.

The phonetic pattern of prefacing repetitions involves relative differences in loudness and the use of a falling intonation contour. Prefacing repetitions are generally quieter than the following talk by the same speaker, sometimes up to three times quieter. Although the use of a falling intonation contour may be thought of as the default for simple English declaratives, we note it here as a design feature, not least because it contrasts with the intonation contour employed on framing repetitions. Additionally, note that Bolden (2009, p. 128) reports that in Russian, repeat prefaces that indicate a problem in retrieving the information required by an initiating action (in her data, questions) have

only level or *rising* intonation[11].

Our claim that the prefacing repeats are part of the delay that is usually involved in beginning an other-intiated repair sequence is not contentious when Speaker B's continuation asks explicitly for more information, as shown in Fragments 2 ("what's pee cee mean?") and 8 ("where is that?"). At first, however, this type of use seems to contrast sharply with that shown in Fragment 11, in which Speaker B speaker cuts off his repetition of "mister jordan." His next turn then treats the previous turn as inapposite because he "didn't have him". We suggest, however, that a function of prefacing repeats is to display a delay in responding. That is, the other-repetition is produced to show that the prior talk was heard, and that mental processing of this turn is now being consciously undertaken (see also Bolden, 2009, p. 138). Perhaps participants use prefacing repeats to buy time, to 'do processing' as an achievement. This would explain why sometimes, they go on to indicate that that processing, that search for 'why that now', has had a successful outcome, as shown in Fragment 11. Here, the success of the search obviates the need for any repair initiation – "mis- I didn't have him." Fragment 10, however, shows a different trajectory to this overt 'doing processing': here the speaker claims her search is unsuccessful but accounts for why: "the Kennedy's house well I don't know cause I only sort of recently got to meet the Kennedys."

There is evidence of participant orientation to the practice of using

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[11] It should also be pointed out that Bolden's findings for repeat prefacing as a practice are not necessarily directly comparable with ours regarding prefacing repetitions, for the reasons noted in footnote 1.

prefacing repeats, in that Speaker A does not come in even when Speaker B leaves a gap before continuing his or her repair-implicative talk. In Fragment 2 we see a long, 1.3 second pause before more information is requested, but with no attempt at an incoming by Speaker A. Similar gaps occur in three other fragments of the 23 total prefacing repetitions. So, while the use of a pause is is by no means common, their existence – without any incoming – provides some evidence that co-participants orient to this 'searching' function of prefacing repetitions.

The phonetic design of prefacing repetitions supports this analysis. By describing the prefacing repetitions as quieter than the following talk, we mean to say that the speakers are producing this talk as quiet relative to the talk they are already planning to produce next: talk which will either overtly claim that they need more information, or that will show that they have resolved the understanding problem in some way.

Researchers employing CA as a methodology generally eschew analyses claiming that talk reflects a underlying psychological state; we trust we have not overstepped this boundary (but see Enfield, 2013, p. 79). Our analyses do support speaker orientation to various orders of trouble severity with the prior talk, as has past research, eg., Benjamin (2013); Bolden (2009); Robinson (2006); Schegloff et al. (1977); Selting (1996). What we have shown here is no more (and certainly no less) than the use of two different practices to initiate repair which both utilise other-repetition, but which manipulate the sound and content of those repetitions to make different claims about the speakers' depth of understanding of the prior talk – and sometimes, in the case of prefacing repetitions, to present the participants as groping for understanding.

Whether those displays are genuine or not is a question we do not presume to definitively answer.

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