

# Practices in Other-Initiated Repair Resolution: The Phonetic Differentiation of ‘Repetitions’

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This study presents a phonetic analysis of repetitions occurring in other-initiated repair sequences in American English. Despite their lexical similarities, the repairs are shown to have 2 distinct phonetic patterns. These patterns correspond systematically with a sequential and interactional difference between *fitted* and *disjunct* trouble source turns. Trouble source turns that are fitted are repeated more loudly and have expanded pitch ranges, longer durations, and changes to the articulatory settings. Trouble source turns that are disjunct are repeated more quietly and have nonexpanded pitch ranges, shorter durations, and no major differences in articulation. These turns may provide an example of a way in which the levels of linguistic organization are split, with reproduction of lexico-syntax handling a possible problem in hearing, whereas the phonetics display an orientation to the sequential fittedness of the turn being repaired. This research highlights the interrelationship of phonetic structure and sequence organization.

In naturally occurring talk-in-interaction we find many instances of self-repetition. Some occur as part of an other-initiated repair sequence, in which one party produces a request for repair, and the other party to the conversation responds with a repairing utterance, as in the following:

- (1) SING 6045CHAm  
1 A: → d'you sing noche de pa:z?  
2 (0.9)  
3 B: is the what?

- 4           (.)  
 5 A: → do you sing n:oche de pa:z?  
 6 B:       .hhh oh y:es::::: uh huh

## (2) CAR 4431CHAm

- 1 B:       y:eah I wasn't (0.3) it's just that uh (0.9)  
 2 A: → wha[t kind of car do you have  
 3 B:               [you know I was gone-  
 4 B:       huh?  
 5 A: → w' kind of car do you have now  
 6 B:       same car

## (3) WORKING 4431CHAm

- 1 B: → o:h °yeah::° (.) she workin' it  
 2       (0.8)  
 3 A:       huh  
 4 B: → she workin' it

These examples show the practice of self-repetition as used in the resolution of other-initiated repair. Although a good deal of researchers have investigated various aspects of the other-initiation of repair (Couper-Kuhlen, 1992; Drew, 1995, 1997; Schegloff, 1997, 2000b, 2004; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977; Wong, 2000) including the role of other-initiated repair in the resolution of overlapping talk (Schegloff, 2000a, 2001), this study takes a new tack in comparing the fine phonetic details of the repetition—the repair turn itself—to the prior, treated-as-trouble-source turn.<sup>1</sup>

The analysis considers the response to the “request for repeat” (Jefferson & Schegloff, 1975; Schegloff, 2004) as a point of departure rather than focusing on the repair initiation. Although Drew (1997) offered an analysis of sequences leading up to the production of “open-class” repair initiators, this study is not an analysis of repair sequences as such; instead, it focuses on the phonetic organization of the two productions of the same string of lexical items that occur in an other-initiated repair sequence.

These sequences provide a means for evaluating claims made in the phonetic and psycholinguistic literature (e.g., Bard, Lowe, & Altmann, 1989; Bradlow, Torretta, & Pisoni, 1996; Fowler & Housum, 1987; Shields & Balota, 1991) about the nature of repetitions. Although these studies purport to investigate the perceptual and acoustic–phonetic properties of repetition, they have not (and often could not have) considered the effects of the sequential location and

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<sup>1</sup>For other studies on the function of self-repetition see, for example, Schegloff (1979, 1996, p. 196–203); for investigations into the structure and use of other-repetition, see Couper-Kuhlen (1996), Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen (1999), and Schegloff (1996).

interactional function on the phonetic realization of the repetitions they analyzed. This is because the data they used are recorded monologues and read-out lists of words and phrases, which by their nature are not situated in interaction with other participants. The participants' behavior in such contexts is likely to be shaped by, for instance, the goals they imagine the experimenter to have; thus, such data comes from a different, and odder, interactional and sequential context than that of naturally occurring data. The data used in this investigation, however, consist of pairs of utterances that are identifiable as strings of the same lexical items and in which the second sayings, or reproductions, all occur after the other-initiation of repair—in this respect, therefore, the focus is on repetitions occurring in similar sequential environments.

The occurrence of repetition in this environment provides a controlled means of comparing the phonetics of repetitions to first sayings without resorting to analyzing speech produced in laboratory situations. In this way, the study reported on here is a "natural experiment" that is similar to Labov's (1966, pp. 63–89) work. Although Labov himself generated the data by prompting the informant for a repair, no researcher involvement was necessary here, because the repetitions were spontaneously produced by Speaker A after production of a repair initiator by Speaker B.

Two examples of the data fragments analyzed in this report follow. Arrows mark the repetition and the (preceding) first saying.

- (4) SORRY 4886CHAm  
 1 A: all right (.) no b'I got it now thank you  
 2 very much I appreciate it  
 3 (0.4)  
 4 B: → (eeoonh[kay] I'm sorry I] couldn' ge'ny more  
 5 A: [and al:so tha- ]  
 6 (.)  
 7 A: hmm? .h  
 8 B: → tch I'm sorry I couldn't get any [m:ore ]  
 9 A: [n:o-cer]-  
 10 tain things of those I didn't I- (0.2) I  
 11 didn't get anywhere else

- (5) BATHROOM 4431CHAm  
 1 A: I'm sick of gettin' trounced on  
 2 (0.7)  
 3 B: → you inna bathroom  
 4 (0.4)  
 5 A: huh?  
 6 B: → you inna bathroom  
 7 A: no. I'[m just cookin'] (.) din[ner]  
 8 B: [inna kitchen ] [oh ]

These fairly bare orthographic transcriptions show few differences between the repairs and trouble sources in Fragments 4 and 5. (Detailed phonetic transcriptions of these particular fragments are presented in later sections and discussed there.) However, unless one was explicitly comparing the production of the repetition repair to the original production, there is no reason these phonetic properties would be noted in a transcript. The differences are relative ones in comparison to the treated-as-trouble-source turns.

Phonetic analysis shows that these repairs look like something they are not. Despite the lexical similarity between the arrowed turns in each fragment, there are distinct phonetic patterns employed on each of the redoings. One pattern consists of repairs that are louder and have expanded pitch ranges, slower tempo, and long-domain articulatory resetttings relative to the trouble source turns; such a pattern is employed on the repair in line 8 of Fragment 4. The other pattern, which is employed on the repair in line 6 of Fragment 5, consists of repairs that are quieter and have compressed pitch ranges, faster tempo, and similar articulatory settings relative to the trouble source turns.

This relative difference in the phonetic realization of repairs is perhaps one reason why even conversation analytic research has treated repetition as a unitary practice (Jefferson & Schegloff, 1975; Schegloff, 2001; Schegloff et al., 1977) even when recognizing that repetitions are sometimes produced as conditionally relevant responses to next-turn-repair initiators (NTRIs) —for instance, the words *what* or *excuse me* that interlocutors use to prompt their conversation partners to produce a repair in the next turn. This study shows, however, that at the phonetic level of linguistic organization, all repetitions are not the same, thus indicating that any investigation of “repetition” should involve analysis of the phonetic organization of the talk.

The different phonetic patterns found in the repetition repairs cannot be accounted for by looking at the turn just prior to the repair (the NTRI). Nearly all of the NTRIs in the collection are of the form called “open class” by Drew (1997) and “weakest” by Schegloff et al. (1977), as exemplified in Fragments 4 and 5 by “hmm” and “huh,” respectively. In fact, the items “huh” and “what” together make up 89% of all the open-class NTRIs in the collection.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, there is little analytical mileage in investigating the relationship between the NTRI and the different phonetic patterns employed on the repair.<sup>3</sup>

The analysis presented here accounts for the difference in the phonetic patterns of the repetition repair turns by demonstrating that these patterns correspond systematically with a sequential and interactional difference between *fitted* and

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<sup>2</sup>The only other form used was “what’s that,” and only one NTRI (given in Fragment 1), “is the what,” is not of the open-class type; however, the repair producer ignores this specification of the item to be repaired and instead reproduces the entire treated-as-trouble-source turn.

<sup>3</sup>No correspondence was found between the phonetic form of the repair initiator and the repetition repair sequence; see Curl (2002) for an explication of this (lack of a) finding.

*disjunct* trouble source turns. Thus, the turn design of repetition repairs shows that two separate levels of linguistic organization—the lexical and the phonetic—can be manipulated independently in response to particular interactional exigencies.

The following section provides information about the data used in the study and how the analysis was conducted. Next, the fitted and disjunct groups are exemplified through the presentation of several case studies of turns treated as trouble sources that were produced in the clear (i.e., with no overlapping talk). The phonetic differences between the repetitions of fitted and disjunct turns are explicated, and the phonetic pattern employed on the repetition repair is shown to reflect systematic differences in the sequential placement and activity of the trouble source turns. The analysis is extended to turns treated as trouble sources that occur in a more complex sequential environment—that of overlapping talk. Speakers' use of these phonetic patterns in negotiating the attribution of fault for the conversational breakdown is discussed before the article concludes with a summary of the main findings.

## DATA

The data used in this study come from the Callhome corpus of American English. Callhome is a corpus of telephone calls between family members and friends that was collected in the late 1990s by researchers engaged in work on speech recognition. The corpus was made available through the Linguistic Data Consortium.

Participants were recruited in the United States and were given a free 30-min phone call anywhere in the world, with the only stipulation being that both callers be native speakers of American English. The telephone calls in the corpus were recorded in stereo, with separate channels for each speaker, and are of a high audio quality overall.

Over 50 calls, totaling 25 hr of talk, were used to compile the collection of 76 fragments used for this study. Some conversations did not yield a single instance of other-initiated repetition repairs; others contained as many as 10. Each repair sequence and surrounding context was copied from the CD-ROMs into separate WAV files using the PRAAT speech analysis program (available from [www.praat.org](http://www.praat.org)). PRAAT preserves the dual channel recordings and also has the capability of playing both channels in stereo. Because of the dual channel recordings, overlapping talk presents no problems for acoustic or impressionistic analysis.

The collection consists of all the sequences in which Speaker A produced a repetition of a prior turn after the production of a repair initiator by Speaker B. All three parts of the sequence were necessary for the fragment to be included in the collection. Only the first and third turns had constraints on their make-up—the third had to be a repetition of the first. The repair initiator was not constrained to be of a certain type; but in the sequences collected, the initiators were all of the open-class variety (e.g., *huh*, *what*; see Drew, 1997).

Other-initiated repairs produced in the aftermath of overlapping talk were included in the analysis, although they were treated separately. This was done because the other-initiation of repair has been shown to be a resource for regaining the floor (Schegloff, 2000a), and, as pointed out by one reviewer, the other-initiation of repair of talk produced in overlap may be a very different practice from that of initiating repair on talk produced in the clear. However, because this study focuses on the phonetic relationship between the treated-as-trouble-source turn and the repetition repair and is not presented as a full analysis of the repair sequences themselves, it was not only possible but in the end necessary to show how the practices of repetition repair for turns produced after overlapping talk were related to those produced in the clear.

### Turns Treated as Trouble Sources Produced in the Clear

In the short discussion of Fragments 4 and 5 just presented, it was shown that although the forms of the repetition repairs were different phonetically, they appeared after the same type of open-class repair initiation. If the turn immediately preceding the repair (the NTRI) cannot account for the different phonetic patterns employed on the repairs, an account may lie earlier in the sequence. Here, that would be the trouble source turns and the sequential environment out of which they arise.

In Fragment 4 (reproduced here as Fragment 6), Speaker B's treated-as-trouble-source turn is a response to a thanks offered by Speaker A. In Fragment 5 (reproduced here as Fragment 7), Speaker B does not respond to Speaker A's complaint, but rather he introduces a new topic in his treated-as-trouble-source turn (see Schegloff, 1987b, p. 217 on the occurrence of self- and other-initiated repairs in new topic beginnings).

(6) SORRY 4886CHAm

- 1 A: all right (.) no b'I got it now thank you  
 2 very much I appreciate it  
 3 (0.4)  
 4 B: → (eeoonh[kay] I'm sorry I] couldn' ge'ny more  
 5 A: [and al:so tha- ]  
 6 (.)  
 7 A: hmm? .h  
 8 B: → tch I'm sorry I couldn't get any m:ore

(7) BATHROOM 4431CHAm

- 1 A: yer- you know you said a lot of hurtful  
 2 things too well god damn it  
 3 (1.8)  
 4 A: I'm sick of gettin' trounced on  
 5 (0.7)  
 6 B: → you inna bathroom?

- 7 (0.4)  
 8 A: huh?  
 9 B: → you inna bathroom?  
 10 A: no. I'[m just cookin'] (.) din[ner]  
 11 B: [inna kitchen ] [oh ]

Because “nothing is, in principle, excludable from the class ‘repairable’” (Schegloff et al., 1977, p. 363), variability in the forms of the trouble source turns is to be expected. Therefore, looking only at the form of this turn is unlikely to yield results. An inspection of the sequential environment of the treated-as-trouble-source turns, however, turns up an interesting difference.

In Fragment 6, Speaker B is responding to Speaker A’s having thanked her for sending him something from Israel (where she lives): ‘I’m sorry I] couldn’ ge’ny more.’ This turn is sequentially fitted to come after a thanking—it rejects the thanks as unnecessary and, by doing so, clearly displays an orientation to the prior turn as a thanks. In Fragment 7, however, there is no displayed link between Speaker B’s turn “you inna bathroom” and Speaker A’s complaint about her treatment by her parents: ‘I’m sick of gettin’ trounced on.’ In other words, the treated-as-trouble-source turn is sequentially disjunct from the prior turn. This difference in the sequential fittedness of the treated-as-trouble-source turns provides an explanation for the difference in the phonetic patterns employed on the repetition repairs.

The ways in which turns can be displayed as fitted or disjunct to the turns they follow are well documented in the literature. The works of Drew and Holt (1998); Jefferson (1984b); Jefferson, Sacks, and Schegloff (1987); and Schegloff and Sacks (1973), among others, provide evidence that fittedness or disjunctiveness is salient to participants; here that saliency is highlighted in the use of different phonetic patterns on the repair by the speaker of the treated-as-trouble-source turn. That is, this speaker retroactively displays his or her understanding of the fittedness of that turn by employing one or another phonetic pattern on the repair—it is not just or only a sequential artifact available to the analyst.

This section presents several examples of sequences containing both fitted and disjunct treated-as-trouble-source turns produced in the clear. The analysis is extended to the potentially more complex cases of treated-as-trouble-source turns that are produced in overlap in a following section. The fit of the trouble source to the preceding talk is argued on independent grounds, although we can see the repair producers’ own analysis of a difference in the treated-as-trouble-source turns as displayed by the use of different phonetic patterns on the repetition repairs.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Although the phonetic and interactional analysis was conducted in tandem, the resulting argument is not circular: There are five cases (of 25 fitted turns in the entire collection) in which the trouble source turn has the design features of fitted turns, but which are not repaired with the upgraded phonetic pattern typically associated with fitted turns.

By showing that some turns preceding repair initiation are designed as and oriented to as fitted, this study adds another dimension to Drew's (1997) analysis of two particular environments that lead to the use of the open-class form of NTRI. He called these environments disjunct (and discussed the differences between topically disjunct and sequentially disjunct); although this study also adopts the term *disjunct* for some of the trouble source turns, it adds to Drew's analysis by also discussing turns treated as trouble sources that appear to be sequentially and/or topically fitted.

### Fitted Turns Treated as Trouble Sources

Fitted turns treated as trouble sources are appropriately designed and placed to fit within the structure set up by the prior turn or sequence. Fitted turns may continue a sequence in progress or begin a new sequence after a (collaborative) closing of a prior sequence. The examples that follow appeared in abbreviated form in the introduction and are reproduced with additional context here.<sup>5</sup> In Fragment 8, the turn treated as a trouble source is the first pair part of an adjacency pair, and it continues the topic of Christmas songs<sup>6</sup> raised by Speaker B in the prior sequence.

- (8) SING 6045CHAm
- 1 B: but the next Monday we're going to sing  
 2 Christmas songs  
 3 (0.9)
- 4 B: .hh so come next Monday  
 5 A: .hhh o:.....:h
- 6 B: so we'll have some fun  
 7 A: [.hh d'you sing noche]  
 8 B: [.hh and the chil- so]me of the children  
 9 are still in school (0.2) but the [majo]rity  
 10 A: [yeah]
- 11 B: have finished  
 12 (0.7)
- 13 A: → d'you sing noche de paz?  
 14 (0.9)
- 15 B: is the what?  
 16 (.)
- 17 A: → do you sing n:oche de paz?  
 18 B: .hhh oh y:es::::: uh huh

<sup>5</sup>The transcripts provided in this section are orthographic only; that is, they are designed for ease of reading and are not to be taken as the object of analysis. That object is the talk itself, which is preserved in the recordings. Transcripts are provided so the reader can track who was talking when and what was said. The phonetic details found to be interactionally relevant are shown in the more detailed transcripts presented and discussed in a later section of this article.

<sup>6</sup>*Noche de Paz* is the title of the Spanish translation of the Christmas carol *Silent Night*.

Speaker B is a music teacher living and working in Honduras. She is recounting to Speaker A a conversation she had with one of her student's parents, who expressed concern over the singing of Jewish religious holiday songs. In lines 2 and 4, Speaker B is telling Speaker A that she reassured the parent, "but the next Monday we're going to sing Christmas songs .hh so come next Monday." After Speaker A receipts this storytelling (line 5, "o:::::::::::::h"), Speaker B concludes her report of the conversation with "so we'll have some fun."

In lines 7 and 9, the transcript shows some jockeying for the turn space. Both speakers take breaths and begin to speak simultaneously. Speaker B, in line 9, cuts off and restarts her talk with an "upgrade" in loudness and pitch (a common practice for overlap resolution, described in French & Local, 1986, and Schegloff, 1987a), after which Speaker A drops out. The very turn that Speaker A drops out of, ".hh d'you sing noche," is redone later in the conversation and treated as a trouble source turn.

The trouble source turn does not occur, however, until Speaker B finishes her turn ".hh and the chil- some of the children are still in school (0.2) but the majority have finished." Speaker A produces a receipt ("yeah") in noncompetitive overlap (French & Local, 1983) with Speaker B's talk. In effect, she 'allows' Speaker B to complete her turn, and both speakers leave a fairly long gap (0.7 s) before Speaker A begins a new turn.

Speaker A redoes ".hh d'you sing noche" (line 7) as "d'you sing noche de pa:z?" in line 13. Speaker A uses the same words to begin this turn, thus displaying that what she is doing now is what she did before (Schegloff, 1996).<sup>7</sup> Thus, the speaker displays this turn as fitted where it is (now) placed by (a) providing the other speaker with the opportunity to finish her talk and the opportunity (although not taken) to continue before beginning her own talk, and (b) reinvoking and continuing the topic of Christmas songs initially introduced by Speaker B (see line 2).

In Fragment 9, the turn treated as a trouble source is also fitted as a sequentially relevant response to the prior turn.

- (9) WORKING 4431CHAm
- |   |    |  |
|---|----|--|
| 1 | B: | so is she home for good?                     |
| 2 | A: | nope   |
| 3 | B: | he took her back?                            |
| 4 |    | (0.5)  |
| 5 | A: | no; he didn't take her back .hhhh but- his   |
| 6 |    | uh mom was gonna buy her a car?              |
| 7 |    | (1.2)  |
| 8 | A: | so that she'd stay out there and sure enough |
| 9 |    | she's staying out there                      |

<sup>7</sup>The pitch and articulation of this turn are also strikingly similar to that of the prior attempt—the pitch is less than 0.01 semitones different.

- 10 B: → o:h °yeah::° (.) she workin' it  
 11 (0.8)  
 12 A: huh  
 13 B: → she workin' it  
 14 A: so (.) anyway she called me a couple of days  
 15 before she's gonna come home en ((0.7  
 16 clanging)) en I go um.hhhh can you tell me  
 17 why (.) you would (.) stay: in a place where  
 18 (.) you know (1.1) you're not wanted

Fragment 9 is from a conversation between a sister (Speaker A) and brother (Speaker B). This fragment begins with Speaker B asking his sister “so is she home for good?” (line 1). Speaker A’s response, “nope,” provides little information and, ending as it does with a bilabial closure, projects no more talk to come (Heritage & Sorjonen, 1994). As described by Raymond (2000, p. 184), this type-conforming response to a yes or no question is used to “implement a response that is in some way accountable or contrary to expectation.” Speaker B displays his orientation to the completeness of Speaker A’s turn by beginning his talk with no gap; in this turn, he pursues the “missing” elaboration by making a guess as to why she is not “home for good”—perhaps “he took her back” (line 3). After a 0.5-s gap, Speaker A rejects this guess with “no” (rather than “nope”) and goes on to provide the pursued elaboration: “no; he didn’t take her back .hhhh but- his uh mom was gonna buy her a car? so that she’d stay out there and sure enough she’s staying out there.”

Falling pitch, complete syntax, and the repetition of “stay(ing) out there” all mark the end of this utterance as a possible completion point. Speaker A’s report concludes with an implication that the woman has in effect been bribed to stay (presumably in the face of some reluctance) by the promise of a car. She thus characterizes the woman under discussion as mercenary, a characterization with which Speaker B affiliates in his response.

In the turn treated as a trouble source, “o:h °yeah::° (.) she workin’ it,” Speaker A displays his understanding of what Speaker B said by ‘confirming the allusion’ (Schegloff, 1996); that is, by making explicit the assessment only implied by Speaker B.<sup>8</sup> This turn is thus fitted to its place in the unfolding sequential structure.

### Disjunct Turns Treated as Trouble Sources

The term *disjunct* is used for turns treated as trouble sources that are sequentially or interactionally inappropriate in relation to the prior turn and/or sequence. These

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<sup>8</sup>Why Speaker A responds to line 10 with an NTRI, and why even after the repair she does not display any agreement or even a recognition that Speaker B is attempting to align and affiliate with her is beyond the scope of this investigation. That Speaker B’s turn in line 10 is a fitted display of his understanding of her prior turn is my only concern. My thanks to an anonymous reviewer for both inviting and assisting in the clarification of this issue.

turns lack a displayed link to the prior turn, and they are not constructed as relevant next actions in the sequence so far. Speakers do have lexical and syntactic means of displaying a turn's lack of relatedness to the prior turn, but such practices are noticeably absent in these treated-as-trouble-source turns.

Fragment 10 provides an example of a disjunct turn treated as a trouble source. The fragment begins with Speaker A telling her brother, Speaker B, of an argument she recently had with their parents.

- (10) BATHROOM 4431CHAm  
 1 A: yer- you know you said a lot of hurtful  
 2 things too well god damn it  
 3 (1.8)  
 4 A: I'm sick of gettin' trounced on  
 5 (0.7)  
 6 B: → you inna bathroom?  
 7 (0.4)  
 8 A: huh?  
 9 B: → you inna bathroom?=  
 10 A: =no. I' [m just cookin' ] (.) din[ner]  
 11 B: [inna kitchen ] [oh ]  
 12 A: .hhhhhhhhh s:o- (.) anyway hhhhhh that's:  
 13 what's new here with: that (.) situation

In line 1, Speaker A is speaking in “another’s voice” as she recounts something that was said to her, rather than by her (see Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen, 1999, regarding the phonetic properties of reported speech): “you said a lot of hurtful things too.” Following this, she returns to her own voice, “well god damn it.” After a pause,<sup>9</sup> Speaker A summarizes her story with an account for her prior reported actions, “I’m sick of gettin’ trounced on” (line 4).

Here (line 5), alignment as a recipient of the troubles telling (which has been withheld throughout the telling) or some form of affiliation is relevant, but Speaker B remains silent. His next turn has no display of empathy with and no understanding of the prior troubles telling. Jefferson (1984b) described two ways that speakers can display orientation to a troubles telling on its completion: by moving to close the conversation or by restarting it. Both of these options display a recognition that a troubles telling constrains the introduction of subsequent topics. Jefferson (1984b) characterized such moves as “topically disjunctive” (p. 194), which the turn at line 6 surely is. However, it does not move to close the conversation and does not attempt a restart (the only possible suggested topic is being in the bathroom); it does not display the “interactional cohesiveness” normally observed in the turns participants use to move out of troubles telling (Jefferson, 1984b, p. 194). That is, although Speaker B

<sup>9</sup>Although this pause is rather lengthy, extended talk from Speaker B does not seem particularly appropriate here. It may be instead that Speaker A is pausing for emphasis, see Lerner (1996).

asks about Speaker A (“you inna bathroom?”) and does not explicitly turn the conversation to himself, the design of the turn shows no orientation to her prior talk. In fact, this turn trivializes Speaker A’s telling by displaying more interest in where she is making the call from than in what she is saying.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, Speaker B does not employ any devices such as “by the way” or “that reminds me,” which are regularly employed to mark out disjunct sequences (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) and used in the examples provided in Jefferson (1984b).

The final representative example of a disjunct turn treated as a trouble source produced in the clear is categorized as such not only on structural grounds but also because of the action it implements. A fairly long extract is presented to make the flavor of the call available for the reader.

I have classified this treated-as-trouble-source turn as being in the clear although the transcript shows two syllables of overlap with the preceding turn (line 47). The word ‘friends’ is produced with falling pitch and focal accent; as a point of syntactic and pragmatic completion, it also provides a point of possible completion for the turn construction unit (Ford & Thompson, 1996; Wells & Macfarlane, 1998). The conversation after the word ‘friends’ is produced at a low volume and with breathy voice, giving it a trail-off or turn-exiting quality (Local & Kelly, 1986). Thus, it provides a space for Speaker B to enter into what Jefferson (1983) called *terminal overlap*—that is, speakers may begin a new turn in overlap with the prior turn when that turn’s end can be projected. This slight overlap is generally seen as a form of alignment, as it can be used to indicate involvement by displaying understanding at the earliest point possible.

(11) DATING 6067CHAm

- 1 A: but like (.) >I have< totally have  
 2 legitimate r:e(h)aso(h)n to think that he  
 3 wants to be with me too: like  
 4 B: well you said Rachel I think this has to  
 5 stop unless he makes like a decision  
 6 A: you’re right it does but like ah- I mean .hh  
 7 B: it’s not healthy  
 8 A: I [know but I (do)] love being with him so=  
 9 B: [for you ]  
 10 A: = much it’s so much fun  
 11 B: you can still be with him  
 12 (1.0)  
 13 B: just in a different w[a:y hhh ((laugh))

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<sup>10</sup>Speaker B does have some warrant to ask this question, as the sound of running water can be faintly heard in the background; however, he is constrained to first produce a response to his sister’s troubles telling (one made all the more intimate because it is about troubles she is experiencing with their parents). Rather than wait for an appropriate place in the structure of the conversation, he instead produces this utterance here.

- 14 A: [but he holds me very  
 15 tight  
 16 (0.7)  
 17 B: tch .hhhhh o:h why does he do that  
 18 (0.3)  
 19 A: thhh hu heh ((laugh))  
 20 B: why does he do it if he doesn: it's not fair  
 21 to you=  
 22 A: =I know it's °not fair to me at all°  
 23 (0.4)  
 24 B: so why you let- [kh  
 25 A: [it's very unlike him you  
 26 know?  
 27 (0.7)  
 28 A: .hhhhh but  
 29 B: unless he's scared is it like (uh this is  
 30 it) this whole law school thing  
*ca. 10 lines of transcript omitted, re: law  
 school as the excuse for not committing to  
 the relationship*  
 31 A: I'm totally getting like his wit and giving  
 32 it back to him it's awesome like it's taken  
 33 a really long time .hhh but like I finally  
 34 get him like as good as he gets me it's  
 35 gr[eat  
 36 B: [really?=  
 37 A: =yeah it's awesome like it's [so much fun]  
 38 B: [(yea:::) ]  
 39 go Rach  
 40 A: [it's so much fun  
 41 B: [(get your) party (.) have a good time  
 42 B: [heheheh  
 43 A: [heheheheh  
 44 B: that must be [so much fun]  
 45 A: [like (0.2) ] it's nothing like  
 46 (.) we're just (.) amazing (.) amazingly  
 47 close friends °and [ts- just°  
 48 B: → [is he dating at all?=  
 49 A: =what?  
 50 (0.4)  
 51 B: → is he dating at all?  
 52 A: I don't think so  
 53 (0.4)  
 54 A: like it'd be one thing like if he was dating  
 55 other people then like that d- n- th'n:  
 56 there's no way I'd like ever do this but  
 57 like he's n:ot

Most of the talk in this telephone call between two women of university age has concerned Speaker A and her on-again, off-again boyfriend, who is referred to in the following as X. Both speakers have engaged in an extensive discussion of the status of the relationship between Speaker A and X, only some of which can be seen in the fragment presented here. Placed where it is, the treated-as-trouble-source turn “is he dating at all?” introduces for the first time the idea that X may be dating people other than Speaker A—notice the syntactic design of the turn that places X in the foreground, as the subject or agent, and omits Speaker A as a possible “object” of dating. In so doing, it also displays a (perhaps deliberate) misunderstanding of what has transpired in the preceding talk and no cognizance, let alone support, of Speaker A’s characterization of the relationship.

The conversation opened with Speaker A’s confession of having slept over at X’s apartment the night before; she also described several long, late-night telephone calls to him, visits beginning at 2:00 a.m., how he has comforted her—in short, Speaker A has spent most of the conversation (28-min long at this point) characterizing her relationship with X as that of a romantic (if star-crossed) couple. Speaker B previously displayed understanding and even collusion in this, even suggesting that Speaker A “just (.) propose already” (data not shown).

In the small fragment of conversation shown here, Speaker A said she has legitimate reason to think that he wants to be with her too (line 2), that she loves being with him (line 8), and that he holds her very tight (line 14). Yet she attempts a summary with “[like (0.2)] it’s nothing like (.) we’re just (.) amazing (.) amazingly close friends,” a self-deprecating utterance that may serve as a bid to close that topic. It is here that Speaker B produces a turn that asks a basic question relating to the possible status of the relationship; if the person they are discussing is in fact “dating at all,” Speaker A’s claims to intimacy with him would be gravely undermined.

Such an inquiry is misplaced at this point in the sequence given the character of the preceding talk. There have been multiple opportunities for Speaker B to inquire into the availability of the boy under discussion; one slot in particular in which she observably does not ask such a question is at lines 4–5. Here, Speaker A has just put forward a claim that she “has reasons” to think he wants to be with her. Speaker B acknowledges this in her response, and although adding that “this has to stop,” she does not here inquire about other people he may be dating.

Interpreting the question as misplaced does, in some sense, require looking at it from a literal point of view. That is, it may not be merely an innocent, information-gathering question—it may be designed to point out to Speaker A that she is being taken advantage of if the boy she thinks is her boyfriend is in fact also dating others (see Drew, 1995, 1997). However, in the talk at lines 38–44, Speaker B’s comments display support of Speaker A’s “having a good time.” In addition, both speakers treat “is he dating at all?” at face value, not as a warning. Speaker B passes on the opportunity to change the utterance in any way in her repairing turn, and Speaker A responds to the repair with “I don’t think so.”

After the resolution of the repair sequence, Speaker A orients to the utterance's many possible levels in the extension of her response, "like it'd be one thing like if he was dating other people then like that d- n- th'n: there's no way I'd like ever do this but like he's n:ot" (line 55ff). In this turn, Speaker A points out the misplacement of the question "is he dating at all?" by asserting that if the answer was "yes," none of the activities she described to Speaker B throughout the course of the call would have transpired.

### THE PHONETIC DIFFERENTIATION OF 'REPETITIONS' OF FITTED AND DISJUNCT TURNS TREATED AS TROUBLE SOURCES

Although it is clear from the orthographic transcripts of the data that the repairs under investigation are lexical repetitions of a prior turn, comparison of the phonetic characteristics of the collection of repetition repairs reveals that the phonetic differences cluster together into two patterns: One group of repairs is done more loudly than the trouble source turn, with expanded pitch ranges, longer durations, and long-domain changes in articulation (e.g., stretches of lip spreading that were not present in the trouble source turn). Another group of repairs is not louder than the trouble source turn, has nonexpanded pitch ranges (i.e., the range is either compressed or nearly identical), does not have longer durations, and has noticeably similar overall articulatory characteristics.<sup>11</sup> Because the phonetic analysis compares the production of one utterance relative to another, I refer to the phonetic patterns as *upgraded* and *nonupgraded*, respectively, to reflect the phonetic differences observed between the repairing utterance and the turn treated as a trouble source.

#### 'Impressionistic' Transcription

The transcriptions that follow show only the turns treated as trouble sources and their subsequent repairs. Pitch appears above the utterances, with tempo, loudness, and articulatory transcriptions appearing below (in that order). The International Phonetic Alphabet is used, along with approved additional symbols and extensions (International Phonetic Association, 1999). The tempo and loudness transcriptions are given within curly brackets that span the amount of speech to which the feature applies. Curly brackets are also used to delimit stretches of speech with particular

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<sup>11</sup>Not every fragment in the collection conforms exactly to the described phonetic pattern; most deviations, however, are small and involve only one of the four parameters of loudness, pitch range, duration, and articulatory settings (see Curl, 2002, for a more detailed analysis of the variations).

articulatory settings, for example, nasalization. The phonetic transcription conventions are as follows:

<i>lento</i>	slow
<i>allegro</i>	fast
<i>f</i>	loud
<i>p</i>	soft
◊	swell in loudness
(( ))	obscured speech due to corrupted recording

Because this study focuses on the comparison of the repair to the first saying, the transcripts show the details of the repetition relative to the turn treated as a trouble source. They do not reflect relative changes within each utterance; that is, a stretch transcribed as *lento* should not be understood as slow relative to the speech before or after it within that same turn, but rather as slow relative to the corresponding stretch in the previous utterance—the turn treated as a trouble source. For this reason, no transcription of loudness or tempo is given for the turns treated as trouble sources; it appears only for the repairs.

Pitch, however, is shown throughout both utterances. This is not because some primacy or salience is attributed to pitch differences above any others, but simply because it is the clearest way to show the increase or decrease (or sameness) in pitch range between the utterances. In addition, note that the pitch transcriptions are not entirely impressionistic. They were prepared using the PRAAT speech analysis software, and each was checked and hand-corrected for errors made by the pitch tracking algorithm.<sup>12</sup> Each pitch track was then scaled in semitones (ST) relative to the speaker's baseline to provide a perceptually more appropriate representation of the intonation contour (see Couper-Kuhlen, 1996; Nolan, 2003).

Detailed phonetic transcripts of both turns are also presented here, which were prepared according to the techniques of analytic parametric listening described in Kelly and Local (1989a, p. 30ff). First, the gross phonetic categories that the sounds of the utterances related to were recorded, for example, voiced bilabial plosive and voiceless alveolar fricative. Attention was also paid to the (small) differences between the two productions of the same articulatory complexes, for example, listening for and noting any differences in the vowels of the individual words in both the trouble source turn and the repetition, and the details of the sound qualities of longer stretches of the material were noted.


The characteristics of these stretches of material are referred to as *settings* (Laver, 1994, p. 396). An utterance that shows a bias toward returning to some habitual state (e.g., voicelessness or whisper) is described as having that setting. Some varieties of vocal tract settings are well-known to those with no formal pho-

<sup>12</sup>The algorithm provides a finite set of possible values, and selection and correction is restricted to those values.

netic training; for example, we can often “hear” that someone is smiling while talking without being able to see the speaker’s face. What we in fact hear are the acoustic consequences of lip spreading; this may affect the entire utterance or only part of it. Other physical manipulations of the oral tract can also affect the sound of utterances, for example, lip rounding or whispery phonation (which is achieved by a particular configuration of the vocal folds). Speakers’ manipulation of these vocal tract settings is another systematic difference among the repetition repairs.

The two phonetic patterns evident in the transcriptions that follow correspond to the fittedness of the treated-as-trouble-source turns being repaired. Examples 12 and 13 show sequences with fitted trouble source turns.

(12) Repair sequence transcription for SING 6045CHAm

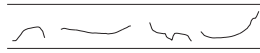


1 A: d'you sing noche de pa:z?  
 dʒʊsɪŋnoʃtʃɛdɛpʰaːz

2 (0.9)

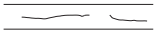
3 B: is the what?

4 (.)



5 A: do you sing n:oche de pa:z?  
           { *lento* }  
 { f < > }  
 dʒʊsɪŋnoʃtʃɛdɛpʰaːz

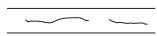
(13) Repair sequence transcription for WORKING 4431CHAm



1 B: o:h °yeah:° (.) she workin' it  
 ʃɪwɚkʰɪnɪt̚

2 (0.8)

3 A: huh



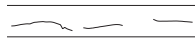
4 B: she workin' it  
 [no differences in tempo]  
           { f }  
 ʃɪwɚkʰɪnɪt̚

As shown here, the repetition repairs of fitted turns exhibit one set of systematic phonetic differences from the trouble source—they typically:

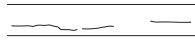
- are louder,
- have longer durations,
- have an expanded pitch range,
- and have long-domain articulatory resettings.

Examples 14 and 15 show sequences with disjunct trouble source turns.

(14) Repair sequence transcription for BATHROOM 4431CHAm

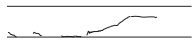


- 1 B: you inna bathroom  
 jɪnəbæt<sup>h</sup>um  
 2 (0.4)  
 3 A: huh?

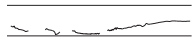


- 4 B: you inna bathroom  
 {allegro }  
 {p }  
 j{ənə}wbæt<sup>h</sup>u<sup>o</sup>

(15) Repair sequence transcription for DATING 6067CHAm



- 1 B: is he dating at all=  
 ʔɪshɪtɛrɪŋədɔ̃  
 2 A: = what  
 3 (0.4)



- 4 B: is he dating at all  
 {lento}{allegro }  
 {p }  
 ɛ'sɪdɛrɪŋədɔ̃

The repetition repairs of disjunct turns have a different set of systematic phonetic differences from the trouble source; they typically

- are not louder;
- have similar or compressed pitch ranges;
- have shorter durations;
- and have similar articulatory and phonatory settings, voice qualities, and vowel and consonant qualities.

### Acoustic Measurements

Quantitative measurements were made to corroborate the acoustic bases of the impressionistic differences in loudness and duration.<sup>13</sup> Loudness judgments were checked against instrumental measures of intensity prepared using the PRAAT speech analysis software. The intensity traces plot the intensity of the trouble source and repetition turns in decibels (dB), using a baseline intensity of 50dB. Although imperfect,<sup>14</sup> the intensity traces provide a reasonably reliable comparison of the loudness of the two turns, and they reflect closely the perceptual experience of louder repetitions (associated with repairs of fitted turns treated as trouble sources) and quieter repetitions (associated with repairs of disjunct turns treated as trouble sources). Variations in amplitude (related to loudness) are reflected in the envelope of the speech-pressure waveform (also shown on the following graphs).

Differences in perceived duration were checked by measuring the duration of the original and repeated words in each utterance and normalizing them on a logarithmic scale. A logarithmic scale is used to normalize the magnitude of difference between, for example, an increase of 10 ms on a word with a 100-ms duration and an increase of 5 ms on a repetition of a word with a 50-ms duration. On a linear scale, the difference between the two utterances of the same word would appear larger for the first pair of words. Each increase, however, is an increase of 10%, and a logarithmic scale represents the differences equally.

The following graphs show the differences between the turn treated as a trouble source and its repetition repair for one of the collection of fitted fragments (Fragment 1). Figure 1 compares the loudness of each utterance by showing the waveforms and intensity traces for the two turns.

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<sup>13</sup>The creation and inspection of the pitch tracks (shown in a smaller format in the transcripts) is described here.

<sup>14</sup>The measurement of intensity in real-life speech settings is beset with problems, including the comparison of voiceless stretches of speech to voiced stretches, the relative amplitude inherent in different vocal tract configurations (e.g., low vs. high vowels), and the inability to control a speaker's distance from the recording instrument (usually a microphone, in this case a telephone handset).

Looking at the waveform, we see that the repetition repair has a higher amplitude and that the intensity peaks are higher as well (the trouble source turn averages 64.5dB, and the repetition repair averages 66dB).

Figure 2 shows the durations of the words produced in both turns plotted on a logarithmic scale. Duration is plotted on the y axis; points plotted higher on the y-axis represent longer durations. The empty circles are the durations of the words in the trouble source turn, the filled circles are the measurements for the repetition. Figure 2 also shows that the durations of the repeated words are longer, exemplifying the pattern for repetitions of fitted turns treated as trouble sources.

The next set of graphs shows the differences between the trouble source turn and repetition repair for one of the collection of disjunct fragments (Fragment 11). Figure 3 shows the difference in loudness between the two turns.

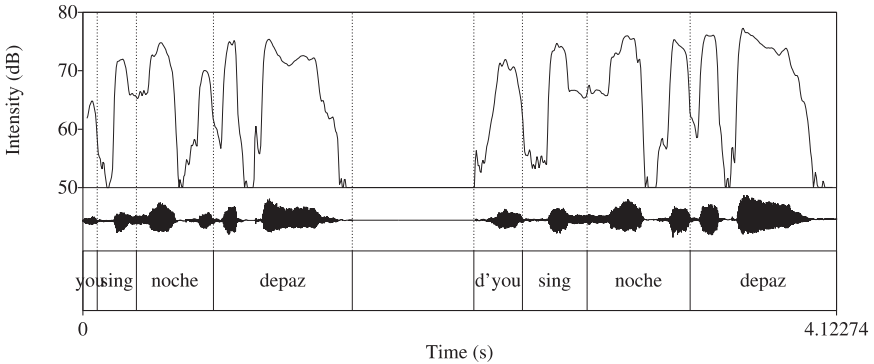


FIGURE 1 Intensity comparison: SING 6045CHAm.

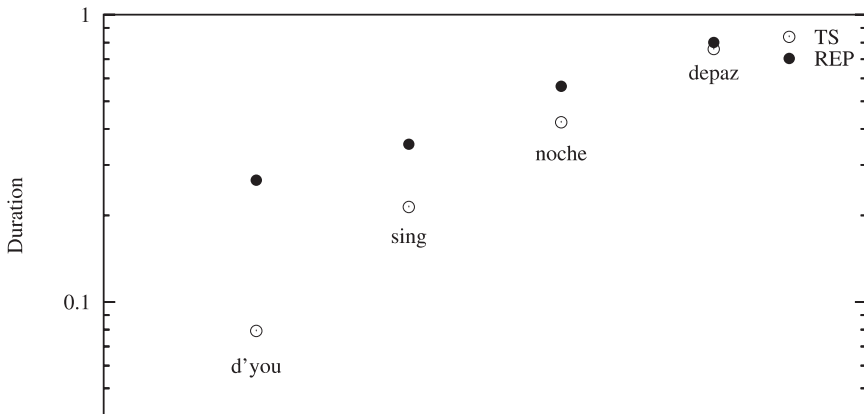


FIGURE 2 Word duration comparison: SING 6045CHAm.

Figure 3 also shows that the intensity peaks of both utterances are similar, and they generally reach approximately 80dB. The repetition is not, however, louder overall than the trouble source turn, and the patterns of changes in loudness are different. In the trouble source turn, the intensity rises from the beginning of the word *dating* till the middle of the word *all*, which is possibly influenced by the speaker's rise into falsetto pitch at the same time. The repetition, in contrast, falls approximately 3dB from the beginning of the word *dating* to the end of the utterance. The use of falsetto at the end of the trouble source, but not in the repetition, contributes to the perception of the repetition as quieter.

Figure 4 shows the pattern of shorter durations in the repetition evidenced by the repairs of disjunct trouble source turns. The durations of the words *he*, *at*, and *all* are shorter in the repetition (as shown by the plot points for the repetition below

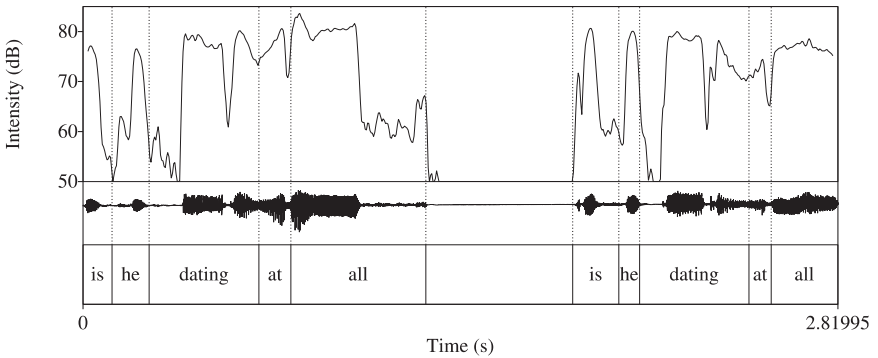


FIGURE 3 Intensity comparison: DATING 6067CHAm.

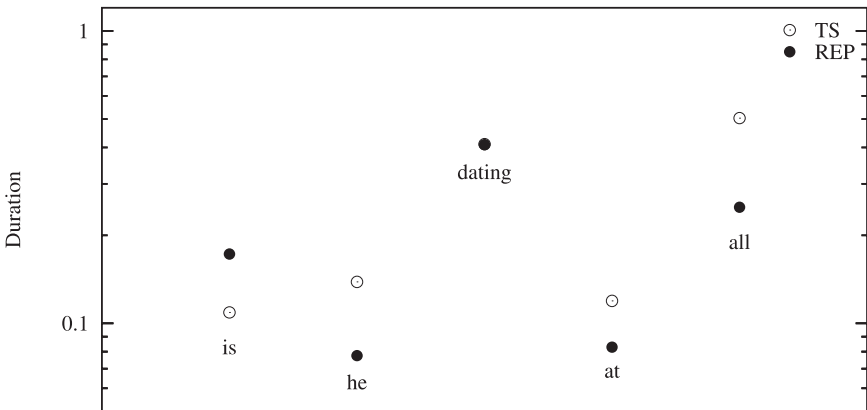


FIGURE 4 Word duration comparison: DATING 6067CHAm.

those for the trouble source turn). The duration of the word *dating* is the same; the plot points fall on top of each other.

These sections have shown how the phonetic realization of the repetition repair corresponds to the sequential placement of the treated-as-trouble-source turn. Fitted turns treated as trouble sources are repaired with phonetically upgraded repetitions, whereas disjunct turns treated as trouble sources are repaired with phonetically nonupgraded repetitions.

### URNS TREATED AS TROUBLE SOURCES OCCURRING IN OVERLAP

The turn design of the repetition repairs shows that participants orient not only to whether their treated-as-trouble-source utterances may or may not be relevant next actions in the sequence so far, but also to possible breaches of the turn-taking organization (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) as manifested in the occurrence of overlapping talk. Approximately half of the collection of repetition repairs occurred after trouble source turns produced in overlap, in one of the two sequential patterns schematized in Figure 5.

The difference between the patterns is who speaks when, including who initiates repair. In the ABBA pattern of overlap, Speaker B begins a turn in what Jefferson (1986) termed “interjacent onset” (p. 158) with Speaker A’s talk; that is, Speaker B’s turn begins “before a current utterance is anywhere near complete or transition ready.” The next turn in the sequence, however, is also by Speaker B, and it initiates repair on the very turn he or she overlapped. This provides an opportunity—that is, it makes it conditionally relevant—for Speaker A to repair the talk that was overlapped.

In the ABAB pattern, however, the treated-as-trouble-source turn itself begins in interjacent onset. As in the ABBA pattern, we again see Speaker B beginning a turn in overlap with Speaker A’s talk, but it is Speaker A who initiates repair. Now Speaker B is provided with a turn space in which the conditionally relevant next action is the repair of a turn that began in overlap with Speaker A’s talk.

In both cases, the treated-as-trouble-source turn could perform a relevant next action in the sequence so far. That is, turns produced with interjacent onsets are not necessarily disjunct or “illegal” from a turn-taking standpoint (Jefferson, 1983,

#### ABBA Overlap Pattern

→ A: Treated-as-[trouble-source turn  
 B: [Utterance  
 B: NTRI  
 A: Repair

#### ABAB Overlap Pattern

A: Ut[erance  
 → B: [Treated-as-trouble-source-turn  
 A: NTRI  
 B: Repair

FIGURE 5 ABBA and ABAB overlap patterns.

1986; Lerner, 1991, 1996, 2002; Schegloff, 2001). In the data collected for this study, however, turns both produced in and subjected to overlap are treated as problematic, as evidenced by the subsequent initiation of repair.

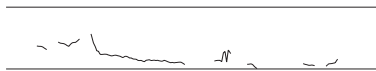
Maintaining this study's focus on the phonetic relationship between the repair and the turn treated as a trouble source, the following sections show how repetition repairs occurring in the ABBA pattern are produced with the same phonetic features as repairs of in-the-clear turns (i.e., upgraded when fitted and nonupgraded when disjunct). However, repetition repairs occurring in the ABAB pattern are always produced with nonupgraded phonetics—which is the same pattern found on repairs of disjunct, in-the-clear turns. Interlinear transcriptions of the relevant phonetic details are provided along with the orthographic transcriptions.

### Turns Treated as Trouble Sources in the ABBA Overlap Sequence

In a subset of the collection of other-initiated repair sequences, the speaker who begins a turn in interjacent onset drops out and initiates repair. The talk in these overlapped turns subsequently treated as trouble sources may be fitted to the prior sequence by (a) providing a sequentially relevant next turn; (b) launching a new, observably related sequence in the wake of the collaborative closing of a prior; or (c) observably breaking with the activity instantiated by the prior turn (e.g., using “misplacement markers,” Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 319).

(16) LETTERS 6825CHAm

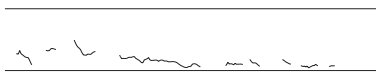
- 1 B: and my essays so far haven't been that outstanding so:
- 2 en- I nee:d (0.4) at least (1.0) y'know a couple good
- 3 (h)o(h)n(h)e(h)s(hh) .hhh



- 4 A → I hope you don't n[eed any more recommendation letters

ʔəhɒpʰjədɔ̃ʔniʷrĩmɔ̃ɛkʰɔ̃mndeʃnlʷɛrəʷs

- 5 B: [I don't know (it) that doesn't make
- 6 any sense
- 7 (0.9)
- 8 B: what?



- 9 B: → .hh said I hope you don't n[eed any more recommen-

{*lento*} {*allegro* }  
{p }

sɛrɛjɒpʰjədɔ̃ʔnirɛnimɔ̃ɛkʰmndeʃnlʷɛrəʷs

- 10            dation lett[ers]  
 11 B:                    [no:] I don't [no  
 12 A:    [good  
 13            (0.8)  
 14 B:            I- I'm (0.2) I'm so I'm (.) I'm (.) re::ally really  
 15            sorry I- I- real- like I re:ally want to do like hhhhh  
 16            something really nice for- (0.2) the tutors who've  
 17            been (.) writing .hhhh like just- (.) Mister Wyatt an-  
 18            and Miss Dunn particularly cuz (I) keep (.) bothering  
 19            them

This fragment begins with Speaker B completing a troubles telling to her boyfriend, Speaker A. The trouble she is describing relates to deadlines she has to meet (for a graduate school application), and she characterizes the essays she has written so far as “haven’t been that outstanding,” concluding with the claim that she needs “a couple good (h)o(h)n(h)e(h)s(hh).”

The “(h)”s in the transcript indicate laughter at the end of the turn (line 3). Laughter in troubles talk is often used by a speaker to display a resistance to the trouble; that is, it displays that the speaker can laugh despite the troubles he or she is telling about (Jefferson, 1984a). The turns that follow laughter in troubles talk generally either join in the laughter and then move into a “time out for pleasantries” (Jefferson, 1984a, p. 351), or the recipient of the troubles talk declines to laugh and instead produces a serious response that addresses the trouble.

In the next turn, then, Speaker A has several ways of displaying uptake of Speaker B’s troubles telling. For instance, Speaker A could join in Speaker B’s laughter; he could produce a serious response to the stated problem of writing good essays; he could acknowledge the trouble and elicit further talk (by, e.g., using a news mark, *really*); or he could display empathy and thereby align as a troubles recipient (Jefferson, 1988, p. 425). Instead, he introduces a potential addition to the stated trouble of putting together graduate school applications, “I hope you don’t need any more recommendation letters.”

Speaker B starts another turn in overlap with this statement at line 5; both speakers produce syntactically complete utterances, and after a 0.9-s pause, Speaker B—who began speaking in interjacent onset—initiates repair.

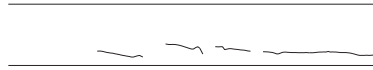
Although Speaker A is not required to empathize with Speaker B, or to encourage more troubles talk from her, Speaker B’s talk is constructed to elicit some such display, and its absence is noticeable. Although Speaker A is still talking about the topic of application preparation, his turn here is disjunct because it does not follow the normative trajectory of talk in a troubles-telling sequence.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup>This utterance is in fact treated as a complaint after the repetition repair sequence when Speaker B responds with an apology at line 15.

As the transcript shows, the phonetics of the repetition repair are of the nonupgraded variety, described in the previous section as systematically occurring on repairs of disjunct turns. Relative to the turn treated as a trouble source, the repair is quieter nearly throughout the entire turn, has a 3 ST smaller pitch range, and is produced at a faster tempo in the middle of the turn. There are no noticeable differences in articulation; in fact, this turn does not seem to exhibit any characteristics of “speaking more clearly,” although it was produced as a repair of a turn that was overlapped by the other speaker.

The next example contains a treated-as-trouble-source turn that displays an orientation to the normative organization set up by the prior turn and sequence. The treated-as-trouble-source turn is responsive to the complex preference structure set up by the previous turn—a thanking.

- (17) SORRY 4886CHAm  
 1 A: all right (.) no b'I got it now thank you very much I  
 2 appreciate it  
 3 (0.4)



- 4 B: → (eeoonh[kay] I'm sorry I] couldn' ge'ny more  
 εmsɔ.ɪa<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup>kɔn<sup>h</sup>k̃ɪn:ɪm:ɔ̃<sup>h</sup>

- 5 A: [and al:so tha- ]  
 6 (.)  
 7 A: hmm? .h



- 8 B: → tch I'm sorry I couldn't get any [m:ore ]  
 {lento} {lento }  
 {f } {f } {f } {f } < >  
 æɪmspɪaɪ {k<sup>h</sup>ɔd} ɪk̃er? ɛnɪm:ɔ̃<sup>h</sup>

Speaker A is thanking his sister, Speaker B, for sending him something from a particular store located in Israel where she lives. The activity of thanking invokes a complex preference structure (see Pomerantz, 1978); accepting the thanks runs the risk of indulging in a form of self-praise, as it confirms the fact that one has done something worth being thanked for. Some type of response is nonetheless due from Speaker B upon the completion of Speaker A's turn.

Speaker B does not begin a response immediately, however; instead, 0.4 s of silence is allowed to elapse. She then releases a nasal outbreath directly into the beginning of what seems to be the word *okay*. Speaker A comes in here in the middle of this word (see line 5).

His talk is an extension of his prior turn, displaying an orientation to the gap in line 3. Although he does not produce much talk before dropping out, what he does say (“and al:so tha-”)<sup>16</sup> indicates that he is about to add another item to the list of things he has been thanking Speaker B for. As Speaker B continues her turn, however, he drops out.

The rest of Speaker B’s turn rejects the thanks offered by providing an apology (“I’m sorry I couldn’ ge’ny more”) as a response. The apology rejects the thanks as unnecessary by claiming that whatever she has done was not enough.

Thus, we see that the turn treated as a trouble source at line 4 is dispreferred in both action (what she says) and format (it incorporates delay as a marker of its not preferred status). Nonetheless, it is fitted to its place in structure; the delay is part of the turn’s composition (Pomerantz, 1978, 1984), and the content of the turn is directly related to being thanked for one item (“it”), because she apologizes for not getting “any more.” Many of the fitted trouble source turns that occur in overlapped sequences are dispreferred responses to a prior first pair part and, as such, incorporate an initial delay as part of their make-up. This delay may prompt talk from the other speaker in an attempt to stave off the dispreferred response projected by the delay. Speakers may aim to begin such talk in the interturn silence, but in fact it often begins slightly after the dispreferred response has begun, thus resulting in overlap of the responsive, second-pair-part talk.

The repetition in line 8 does not reproduce the “eeoonhkay.” Such turn-initial markers are often omitted in repetition repairs (see Schegloff, 2001, 2004). Because the repetition repairs occur at a different place in sequence than the trouble source turns, that is, in response to requests for repair, they need not (and in fact sometimes cannot) begin with the same kind of marker or practice that the original, treated-as-trouble-source turn began with.

The repetition repair is, in this case, repaired with the upgraded phonetic pattern characteristic of fitted turns treated as trouble sources. The repair is louder than the turn treated as a trouble source and has a 2 ST wider pitch range and a slower tempo, especially evident on the word “sorry” and throughout the end of the turn.

These tempo differences are reflected in the segmental phonetics in this case. There are three places in particular where what are perceived as the same lexical items are subject to a massive temporal reassignment of phonetic parameters (e.g., nasality and closure). The first is at the end of the word “couldn’t,” where what is produced in the repetition repair as a voiced alveolar stop released into a nasal, midhigh midfront vowel [dĩ] was produced in the trouble source turn as only an alveolar nasal [n]; the second is at the end of the word “get,” where in the repair, a front, midhigh vowel followed by a tap [er] is repetition of what was produced as only a nasal, midhigh, midfront vowel [ĩ] in the trouble source turn; and the third is in the word

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<sup>16</sup>The manner of articulation here projects the word *thanks* rather than the word *that*.

“any,” where in the repetition, a glottal stop and a creaky, front, midlow vowel are produced before the alveolar nasal [ʔɛ̃n]; this initial glottal constriction and vocalic articulation preceding the alveolar nasal does not occur in the trouble source turn.

Thus we see that in the repair, comparable parts of words are produced with more and different movements of the articulators. This results in additional vowel or consonant articulations—additional when compared to the articulation of the turn treated as a trouble source, that is. I adopt the term *expanded syllables*<sup>17</sup> for this phenomenon.

The percept of expanded syllables is another way in which the articulation of the repetitions of fitted turns treated as trouble sources are differentiated from the original utterance. When syllable expansion does occur, it is usually not just one word that is affected; rather, as is the case with other phonetic differences between repetition repairs and fitted turns, syllable expansion will extend over large sections of the utterance. In this sense, it can be considered a long-domain change, which is on a par with other articulatory (re-)settings.

As exemplified by the aforementioned fragments, turns treated as trouble sources that are overlapped in the ABBA pattern are repaired with the upgraded phonetic pattern when they are fitted to their place of occurrence and with the nonupgraded pattern when they are disjunct. That is, when the turn treated as a trouble source is overlapped by a turn begun in interjacent onset, the phonetics of the repetition repairs pattern in the same way as repairs of in-the-clear turns treated as trouble sources.

### Turns Treated as Trouble Sources in the ABAB Overlap Sequence

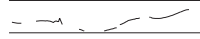
Turns treated as trouble sources are sometimes themselves produced in interjacent onset to an ongoing turn; that is, rather than being overlapped, they do the overlapping.

- (18) HER 4887CHAm  
 1 A: Elliot went to- go get his: u:mhh .hhhhhhh  
 2 whatcha call it (0.6) Barr:on's whatever  
 3 (0.4) .hhhh (0.3) and I'm like OH DO THEY  
 4 HAVE PLAYBOY HERE LET'S G(H)ET (H)I(H)T eh  
 5 heh eh eh eh

---

<sup>17</sup>This term is not intended to refer to some change from a canonical phonological form for the lexical words used in the turn in question. That is, *expanded* should not be taken as the opposite of *phonologically reduced*. I am concerned here only with the difference (or similarities) between a turn treated as a trouble source and the repetition repair of that turn. Expanded syllables, therefore, is simply a shorthand way to refer to the evidence of more articulatory movement in one utterance as compared to the other.

- 6 [eh eh eh eh ] EHEH  
 7 C: [°nhhh eh hu hu°]  
 8 A: .hhh en eve(h)ryb(h)od[y's loo(h)king at] me



- 9 C: → [d'you kno:w her? ]  
 ((d))ĩ((j))ũñõhæ

- 10 (0.2)  
 11 A: what?  
 12 (0.8)



- 13 C: → do you know her?=  
 {allegro}  
 {p }  
 d̥jũñõfiææ  
 + + +  
 14 A: =yeah  
 15 (1.3)  
 16 A: I know her well  
 17 (1.3)  
 18 A: she's a little bit weird hh

Speaker A is a medical student speaking with her mother, Speaker C. Speaker A has been telling a story about a fellow student who has posed in *Playboy* magazine. The punch line of her story concerns her efforts to purchase a copy of the magazine at her local newsstand (line 4). The capital letters in the transcript represent the loudness of this talk. She ends her utterance laughing and continues to laugh for some time (see line 6).

The beginning of this fragment is similar to those investigated by Jefferson et al. (1987), who discussed the introduction of an impropriety as a device speakers use to invite their coparticipants to move into a more intimate interaction. They reported that many of the fragments they examined had the following format: An impropriety that has been introduced is not attended by the recipient, followed by an extension that receives some laughter from the recipient, generally leading to a display of affiliation. What makes this fragment different, however, is the withholding of affiliation by Speaker C.

Although Speaker C does join in Speaker A's laughter, at line 7, this laughter is shorter and quieter than Speaker A's. Speaker A herself orients to this by upgrading the quality of her laughter just as Speaker C drops out (line 6). With no more laughter forthcoming from Speaker C, even after louder laughter from Speaker A, Speaker A then extends her story: "en eve(h)ryb(h)ody's loo(h)king at me" (line 8), during

which she is still laughing (as indicated by the *(h)*). In this turn Speaker A explicitly characterizes her behavior (in asking about *Playboy*) as unusual by reporting the reactions of onlookers. The conclusion of this utterance would provide a place for Speaker C to deal with her daughter's issuance of an invitation to intimacy.

Before the turn extension reaches a place of possible completion, however, Speaker C overlaps Speaker A's turn in line 9, with the question "d'you know her?" The content of this turn displays a lack of understanding of the very basis of the story. The utterance "d'you know her?" is similar to the trouble source turn in Fragment 11, in that it does not appear to display cognizance of what was said in the prior sequence (Drew, 1997). Speaker A's story is predicated on her acquaintance with a woman who recently posed for *Playboy*; that is the reason she was searching for a copy of the magazine. The question "d'you know her?" not only fails to orient to the issuance of a story about an impropriety as an invitation to intimacy, but it also displays a failure to understand the basis of the story.<sup>18</sup>

There is some corruption in the recording during the utterance of the turn treated as a trouble source (indicated by the (( )) in the phonetic transcription and making the pitch track for the end of the trouble source unreliable), but it is clear that the repetition repair is produced with a faster tempo initially and more quietly throughout.

Because some of the turns treated as trouble sources begin in overlap, it sometimes can be difficult if not impossible to tell what the projected next action (of the overlapped talk) would have been; therefore, in all instances it is not possible to provide an analysis of the sequential fittedness of the overlapping turns. In all but four cases<sup>19</sup> where such an analysis can be done (i.e., where there is enough talk produced before the overlapping turn to project a relevant next action), the violative turn-taking status of the overlapping turns treated as trouble sources appears to override any consideration of the possible fittedness of content of the turns. The fragment that follows provides an example of this.

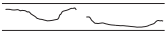
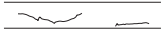
(19) ILLEGAL 6625CHAm

- 1 A: and he says (.) HEY and he- once I got eye
- 2 contact with him I was like (.) Enrique
- 3 whadda you
- 4 doi[n' here en he said whadda you=
- 5 B: [(laugh))

---

<sup>18</sup>This, of course, is again the literal interpretation of "do you know her?" Given that Speaker C is Speaker A's mother, we may also hypothesize that the question has another function: establishing the nature of her daughter's relationship with a woman who posed in *Playboy*. Speaker A herself orients to this potential understanding of the question by distancing herself somewhat from this woman in line 18 but only after initial resistance (evidenced by the silences in lines 15 and 17 and claiming to "know her well" in line 16).

<sup>19</sup>These four cases are described in the section on deviant cases.

- 6 A: =doin' here I [said I gotta
- 
- 7 B: → [he lives there  
 ?ilɪfɔ̃ɛɪ  
 ɪ ɪ
- 8 (0.2)
- 9 A: huh
- 10 (0.3)
- 
- 11 B: → [he lives there]  
 similar duration  
 {p }  
 hɪɪɪfɔ̃ɛɪ  
 ɪ ɪ
- 12 A: [.hh not any mo]re
- 13 (0.3)
- 14 A: he's illegal bubba

In Fragment 19, Speaker A is recounting a conversation she had with a mutual friend whom she had encountered unexpectedly. While she is in the process of telling Speaker B what she said to this friend, Speaker B produces the utterance “he lives there” (line 7). This turn is subsequently treated as the trouble source.

“He lives there” ends up placed in the middle of the constituent “I said”; it is, however, very near a potential transition space opened when the pair of phrases “Enrique whadda you doin’ here en he said whadda you doin’ here” are complete. Speaker A does not cease talking after the second “here.”

Looking at the content of Speaker B’s turn certainly seems to show it as fitted to the prior talk. She attempts, in the turn treated as a trouble source, to deliver information relating to the encounter being described—namely, the reason why Enrique is there (and why Speaker A saw him) is that he lives there. She thus displays that she is attending to the prior talk and designs her turn to speak to the reported question.

However, as can be seen from the impressionistic phonetic transcription, the repair of this turn is done with the nonupgraded phonetic pattern. It is quieter; the pitch range of the repair is smaller by 5 ST; the tempo is slower at the end of the utterance, and there are no major differences in articulation (e.g., in both utterances, the word “lives” ends with a voiceless labiodental fricative and the vowel qualities in all the words are quite similar).

The final ABAB fragment presented next also contains a turn treated as a trouble source that begins in overlap, cutting across a turn in progress.

(20) CAR 4431CHAm

- 1 A: (been) good then  
 2 (0.3)  
 3 A: give you a nice break  
 4 (0.4)  
 5 B: we:- no I miss the hell out of 'e[m  
 6 A: [do y(h)a  
 7 (0.2)  
 8 A: .hhhh [that's good]  
 9 B: [I was read-]  
 10 (0.4)  
 11 B: I was ready (.) [that's sum-]  
 12 A: [go get ] 'em  
 13 (0.8)  
 14 B: y:eah I wasn't (0.3) it's just that uh (0.9)



- 15 A: → wha[t kind of car do you have  
 ̃wəʔkʰãñkʰæɾɹjuhæʔ  
 16 B: [you know I was gone-  
 17 B: huh?



- 18 A: → w' kind of car do you have now  
 {allegro} {p }  
 ʔkʰãñkʰæɾɹjuhævnau  
 19 B: same car

The speakers in this fragment are a sister (Speaker A) and brother (Speaker B). In the talk before the transcript begins, Speaker A has been asking about Speaker B's children, who have been visiting their mother for the summer but are due back soon.

Their talk reveals the difficulty these speakers are having in reaching a consensus on the children's absence. Speaker B's attempts to offer an account of his disagreement with Speaker A's assessment of his break (see lines 5 to 11) are riddled with hesitations and restarts, and thus they are subject to recurrent overlaps from Speaker A (see Jefferson, 1983; Lerner, 1996).

The treated-as-trouble-source turn occurs at line 15. Although the very first word of Speaker A's utterance begins in the clear ("wha"), it is clear that Speaker B's turn in progress has not reached any point of possible completion—that is, what he has said just previously, "y:eah I wasn't (0.3) it's just that uh (0.9)," pro-

jects that he is going to say more. The 0.9 s pause after the “uh” at the end of line 14 is included as part of Speaker B’s turn for the precise reason that “it’s just that uh” projects more to come. Lerner (1996) found, “One cannot stop talking and maintain silence indefinitely in the course of a turn or otherwise retard the turn’s progressivity indefinitely. *A speaker is entitled to produce a complete turn, but he or she is also obliged to continue the turn’s talk to that completion*” (p. 267). Speaker B attempts to fulfill this obligation by continuing with “you know I was gone-”, but Speaker A has started a turn of her own within the intraturn pause.

Unlike her earlier opportunistic completion of a turn begun by Speaker B (see line 12),<sup>20</sup> this turn by Speaker A does not continue the syntax or the activity of the prior, halted turn in progress. Syntactically, this “what” phrase cannot follow the construction “it’s just that”; pragmatically, it does not attempt to provide the account that “it’s just that” projects. Speaker B is still involved in the activity of providing the account (or reason) of why and how he missed his children while they were away; he has not explained what it was he “was ready” to do. Yet the question “What kind of car do you have?” does not further this incomplete activity; instead, it begins a new sequence.

In terms of both turn-taking and conditional relevance, this trouble source turn is disjunct. It begins during an intraturn pause, intruding into Speaker B’s turn space and failing to provide a recognizable completion of the turn in progress. Although we can find a post hoc link between going to get the kids (Speaker A’s talk at line 12) and owning a car, the term *fitted* is reserved for those turns that also adhere to the structural conventions of the organization of conversation (e.g., adjacency pairs and the like).

Like other repetition repairs of disjunct turns treated as trouble sources, this turn has a smaller pitch range and is lower in the speaker’s overall range. It has a somewhat faster tempo and is quieter at the end than the turn it repairs, but it is overall quite similar in articulation (note especially the glottal constriction in both turns before the velar stop).

Thus, we see that when turns treated as trouble sources begin in interjacent onset (the ABAB pattern), their repairs are produced with the same phonetic pattern as disjunct turns. This is so regardless of whether the turn is fitted in terms of the action it performs. Speakers thus display an orientation not only to performing the relevant next action but to their responsibility to do such an action only where provided for by the turn-taking organization. When speakers do not attend to both of these levels of turn design when producing an utterance, and that utterance is subsequently treated by a coparticipant as a trouble source, the phonetic pattern of the repetition repair displays the speakers’ orientation to the turn’s ill-fittedness.

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<sup>20</sup>Note that Speaker A’s utterance here, “go get ‘em” offers a possible completion of Speaker B’s turn; furthermore, Speaker B does not treat this instance of overlapping talk as problematic. Rather, he accepts it with “yeah,” and begins another turn-constructural unit.

### Deviant Case Analysis of Turns Produced in the ABAB Sequence

In the previous section, we saw evidence that speakers can manipulate the phonetic pattern employed on a repetition repair according to both the sequential placement and the relevance of the activity performed by the trouble source turn. This points out the independence of these levels of the organization of turn design, and it also suggests that speakers use the phonetic pattern of the repetition repair to retrospectively characterize the fittedness of a trouble source turn. Although this is done overwhelmingly in one direction—that is, the reconstruction of an overlapping but sequentially relevant next action as disjunct by using the nonupgraded phonetic pattern—it can also be used to display a speaker's claim that a turn treated as a trouble source was fitted, despite what appears to be an interjacent onset.

In a small number of cases (4 of 28, or 14%) in which the turn treated as a trouble source occurs in the ABAB pattern of overlap, speakers use the upgraded phonetic pattern typically found on repetition repairs of fitted turns treated as trouble sources. The transcripts of Examples 21–24 show that, for the most part, these repetitions have expanded pitch ranges and are louder and slower than the turns they repair. A closer look at the sequential organization of these four cases reveals that they all occur at possible completion points within multiunit turns—storytellings. Through both the sequential placement and the lexico-syntactic make-up of these overlapping trouble source turns, the speakers display their understanding of the story so far; by using a particular phonetic pattern on the repetition repair, they display their understanding of and make a claim about the fittedness of the turn treated as a trouble source.

The treated-as-trouble-source turns repaired with phonetically upgraded repetitions share the following sequential and lexico-syntactic features:

- They occur within ongoing multiunit turns (storytellings).
- They occur at points of possible completion of a smaller unit within the larger, ongoing multiunit turn—a place where a display of understanding or affiliation with the story so far is warranted and appropriate.
- They display understanding of and provide affiliative responses to the prior talk.

Analysis of the fittedness of the content of these treated-as-trouble-source turns is aided by their placement in these fragments. They all occur after quite lengthy turns by the other speaker (ranging from 27 to 34 s in length); thus, the analysis of what would constitute a sequentially relevant response is not difficult. Each of the turns subsequently treated as a trouble source provides an appropriate response to the talk it overlaps: Fragments 21 and 22 are affiliative assessments of the other speaker's description of a person and thing, Fragment 23 does an "understanding

check” using a collective anaphor for the items listed in the prior turn, and Fragment 24 displays understanding by providing a potential example of the cause of a described problem. Short excerpts appear next.

## (21) SILLY 4432CHAm

- 1 A: I'm like Katherine (.) you know wait I'm gonna see  
 2 you it's gonna be okay she's like NO YOU'RE NOT ha ha  
 3 ha [yes it's g(h)onna b(h)e okay=  
 4 B: [hhhhh ((laugh))  
 5 A: = it's the [reason that



- 6 B: → [silly Katherine .hh  
 sɔɪlɪkəˈtɛrɪn

- 7 A: huh  
 8 (0.4)

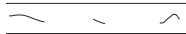


- 9 B: → silly Kather[ine  
 {*lento*}  
 {f }  
 sɛɪˈwɪkətɛrɪn

- 10 A: [she doesn't us[ually  
 11 B: [I don't know anyone like  
 12 that

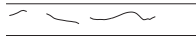
## (22) NICE 5712CHAm

- 1 A: something like um .hhhh going on a barge  
 2 (0.3) along the canals in either France or  
 3 Germany or: Holland (0.3) .hhhhh en he  
 4 [says



- 5 B: → [ooh sounds nice  
 uː( )oʊn( )nɪs

- 6 (0.3)  
 7 A: huh  
 8 (0.8)



9 B: → that sounds nice hh  
 {lento}  
 {f }  
 ˈtæsɔ̃nsnaɪsʰ

10 A: one of those countries I said (.) I h: heard  
 11 about these trips

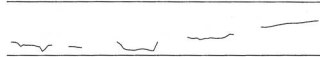
(23) MISSED 6079CHAm

1 A: and like I was talking to people  
 2 .hhh and [meeting some people- ]



3 B: → [but d'you just miss those things]=  
 ((dju))dzəsʔmɪsðɔ̃zðɪŋsʰ

4 A: =and I wasn't (.) what



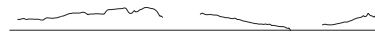
5 B: → do you just miss those things  
 {allegro }  
 {p } {f }  
 dʰjʊdzɪsmɪsðɔ̃zðɪŋs

6 (0.5)

7 A: no no so my point is and then I wasn't  
 8 depressed as much anymore

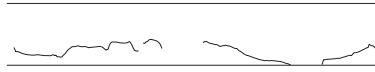
(24) WINDOWS 4623CHAm

1 D: very much bothers the neighbors and after  
 2 the s- after it was quiet the whole summer  
 3 so [heh heh but you get sent a] letter=  
 4 C: [ah how they really (feel) ]  
 5 D: =you know you gotta be quiet the first night  
 6 D: [.hh ] [so she wrote a letter



7 C: → [>and the] windows< [are still open hhh  
 ʔænrewiːɹ̃ððɔ̃stɪˈəʊpʰɔ̃n

8 (0.5)  
9 D: what?



10 C: → and your windows are s[till o]pen  
                                  { *lento* }  
                                  { *f* }  
                                  ẽjæwɪnrəsəstɪləʊpɪ̃r

11 D: [right ]

Within the multiunit turns that comprise these fragments, the transition relevant places that are normally relevant are suspended until completion of the larger unit in progress. The affiliation and understanding displayed by the treated-as-trouble-source turns can be appropriately done within an ongoing multiunit turn. I propose that these turns reveal some of the problems participants encounter in producing responses in relevant sequential positions within multiunit turns (cf. Schegloff, 2000b).

The treated-as-trouble-source turns in these four fragments are placed just beyond points of possible syntactic, pragmatic, and prosodic completion for smaller units within the larger unit of the turn in progress. Given the structure of such multiunit turns, however, more talk is projected beyond the point at which the trouble source turn is produced. Thus, the talk comprising the trouble source turn is produced in overlap with the continuation of the multiunit turn.

A more detailed analysis of Fragment 24 will exemplify these points. It is reproduced next as Fragment 25 and contains more of the story-telling sequence.

(25) WINDOWS 4623CHAm

1 D: in fact Annette was just telling me it it  
2 she always has a very interesting way of  
3 looking at things .hh like a- a very way of  
4 a very nice way of solving problems .hhh she  
5 told me that last year i- this wa- this idea  
6 was conceived last year she wanted to .hhhhh  
7 tell the- (0.2) girls that when they come  
8 they should be careful of the noise the  
9 first night it's ver- y'know it's important  
10 because the:y're y'know they're all excited  
11 and all that .hhhh but on the other hand  
12 it's it- v- eh- very much bothers the  
13 neighbors and after the s- after it was  
14 quiet the whole summer so

- 15 [heh heh but you get sent a] letter=  
 16 C: [ah how they really (feel) ]  
 17 D: =you know you gotta be quiet the first night  
 18 [.hh ] [so she wrote a letter  
 19 C: → [>and the ] windows< [are still open hhh  
 20 (0.5)  
 21 D: what?  
 22 C: → and your windows are s[till o]pen  
 23 D: [right ]  
 24 D: right (0.2) right so how's she gonna write  
 25 that to the girls so she writes them a  
 26 letter to the parents saying .hhh y'know  
 27 hello my name is

Speaker D is telling a story about a headmistress at a school that is near her home. Speaker C's daughter will soon be attending this school.

This story, as do many others, begins with a statement of what it is about—the story preface. In this way, listeners can monitor for the end of the story to provide a timely appreciation or assessment (Sacks, 1992). Speaker D completes one such statement with “she has a very nice way of solving problems.” This utterance lets listeners know that the story is about skill in solving problems and that when a description of skillful problem solving is completed, the end of the story will have been reached.

Speaker D goes on to describe a particular problem the woman faced; namely, telling the girls to be quiet their first night at the school. By introducing a specific problem, this utterance provides another point to monitor for in the story's development—the solution.

After explaining why the girls are not quiet and why they need to be, Speaker D produces what is possibly an end to an episode within the story (Schegloff, 2000b): “but you get sent a letter you know you gotta be quiet the first night” (lines 15 and 17). This utterance fulfills some, but not all, of the expectations provided for at the beginning of the story. It addresses how the girls were told—via letter—but this is not necessarily a particularly skillful way of solving a problem. It is upon completion of this turn constructional unit, however, that Speaker C begins the treated-as-trouble-source turn (line 19).

Speaker D, however, has not relinquished the multiunit turn she claimed for herself by use of the story preface. She continues with an inbreath and “so she wrote a letter.” This continuation of talk by Speaker D results in the talk by Speaker C occurring in overlap.

Speaker C's treated-as-trouble-source turn is not randomly placed within the multiunit turn under construction by her coparticipant. Rather, it is located at a place of possible syntactic and pragmatic completion, and it is at a point where

Speaker D takes an in-breath before producing more talk (see Jefferson, 1986, p. 162ff, and her discussion of the “blind spot”). Speaker C is displaying her understanding of the story so far in her treated-as-trouble-source turn. “And the windows are still open”<sup>21</sup> orients to Speaker D’s prior turn, “you know you gotta be quiet the first night,” by providing a reason that this behavior is necessary. Furthermore, this turn displays Speaker C’s understanding that the point of the story will be the solution to the problem of the girls needing to be quiet by showing how thoroughly she understands why being quiet is necessary.

Although the overwhelming majority of treated-as-trouble-source turns in the ABAB overlap pattern are repaired with the nonupgraded phonetic pattern, and thus treated with disjunct turns, this repair (as well as those in Fragments 21–23) is produced with the upgraded phonetic pattern shown to be characteristic of repetitions of fitted turns treated as trouble sources. The repetition in Fragment 25 is louder, somewhat slower in tempo, and has a 2-ST wider pitch range than the turn treated as a trouble source; in addition, the secondary resonances of the repetition are markedly clear, whereas those of the trouble source turn are dark. That is, the articulations involved in the repetition are produced with tongue body postures that are more fronted in the mouth than those of the turn treated as a trouble source.

Treated-as-trouble-source turns that occur in the ABAB pattern of overlap but are repaired with the upgraded phonetic pattern are all placed in similar positions within ongoing multiunit turns: after the possible completion of an episode within the larger turn. If it were not for their placement within ongoing multiunit turns, these treated-as-trouble-source turns may not have resulted in overlapping talk at all. This fragment shows that when the turn-taking structure is more complex, as it is in storytellings, speakers can use the upgraded phonetic pattern to in effect argue for the fittedness of their treated-as-trouble-source turns in sequential environments where that fittedness is an issue.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>This fragment was included in the collection despite the change from *the* to *your* because, in this instance, the change did not seem to stem from the initiation of repair. Both words are produced with the same volume and at the same pitch. In other words, there is no phonetic marking of the word substitution, and the participants do not appear to orient to it in any way.

<sup>22</sup>A reviewer has suggested that in Fragment 25, Speaker D’s choice of *right* in line 23 may display a recognition of the relevance of the turn treated as a trouble source, as it confirms the displayed understanding before resuming the story. This would strengthen the case by providing some evidence that the coparticipant orients to the fittedness of the turns treated as trouble sources in the talk following the resolution of repair. In this study, I can only describe the orientation of the speaker of the treated-as-trouble-source turn and its repair as displayed through the phonetic realization of that repair and the relationship of these patterns to the preceding talk. Additional work remains to be done on the course of the interaction after resolution of the repair sequence.

## CONCLUSIONS

In this article, I showed that the phonetic form of a lexico-syntactic repetition repair corresponds with the sequential fittedness of the trouble source turns. When the turn treated as a trouble source is fitted, the repetition repairs are produced with an upgraded phonetic pattern—that is, the repairs are louder, have expanded pitch ranges, are longer, and are produced with different articulatory mechanisms. Conversely, when the turns treated as trouble sources are disjunct, the repetition repairs are quieter, have compressed pitch ranges, are shorter, and are produced with very similar articulatory gestures.

This pattern, seen first on repetition repairs of turns produced in the clear, also holds for a particular class of trouble source turns occurring in overlap—those in the ABBA sequence, wherein the turn treated as a trouble source begins in the clear and is overlapped by incoming talk. Turns treated as trouble sources that were themselves overlapping (the ABAB sequence) were overwhelmingly found to be treated as disjunct by being repaired with the nonupgraded pattern (regardless of the content of the overlapping turn). The analysis of deviant cases, wherein overlapping trouble source turns are treated as fitted by being repaired with the upgraded pattern, provides additional evidence that speakers can display an orientation to the sequential appropriateness of a treated-as-trouble-source turn by the type of phonetic pattern they employ on a repair. This shows that the phonetic pattern employed on a repetition repair has a normative organization that is sensitive not only to the interactional function but also to the sequential location.

By demonstrating a phonetic difference between self-repetitions produced in response to the other-initiation of repair, this study shows that not all repetitions can be treated as in the same manner without careful analysis of the sequential structure in which they are produced. The acoustic and psycholinguistic studies of repetition mentioned in the introduction to this article are difficult to compare to this study, because that research uses laboratory speech as data that is devoid of interactional import. In addition, this study shows that even within what looks to be a similar sequential environment, speakers can display an orientation to larger sequences than analysts might expect.

Note that no mention has been made of the repetition repairs as responses to possible problems of hearing. One explanation for the occurrence of the two phonetic patterns may appear to be that the upgraded pattern represents a display of understanding that the NTRI adumbrated such a hearing problem and that the use of the nonupgraded pattern indicated that the speaker had analyzed the problem not as one of hearing but as one of ill fittedness. This solution, however, still incorporates a distinction between the sequential fittedness or disjunctness of the trouble source turn.

Analysis as a hearing problem is offered as an attempt to connect the phonetics of upgraded repairs and fitted trouble sources, and this appeals to our lay intuitions

that speaking louder, more slowly, and so on would make our talk easier to understand. Although appealing on commonsense grounds (see, e.g., Schegloff, 1996, p. 169, on the problems associated with such reasoning), on distributional grounds this argument is problematic. If the upgraded repetition repair is offered to treat a potential hearing problem, we should expect to find it employed most commonly on trouble source turns that are produced in overlap. This is not how the cases are distributed—the majority (71%) of trouble sources produced in overlap are repaired with the nonupgraded phonetic pattern. In addition, one should remember that all of these repairs appear, on the surface, to treat a possible hearing problem: Even when given the opportunity to repair something in the just-prior talk, speakers choose in all these instances to do nothing more than reissue the same bit of lexico-syntax as they have just produced.

Finally, also note that none of the repairs produced with the nonupgraded phonetic pattern were subsequently treated as misunderstood or misheard—that is, regardless of the phonetic pattern employed on the repair, the coparticipant displayed an understanding of the repetition repair that was ratified by the repair producer, and the conversation continued. In other words, there is no evidence that one phonetic pattern makes a repair easier to understand than any other one. Either this is a case in which our commonsense intuitions of how to speak clearly are not borne out in a scientifically based examination of naturally occurring behavior, or speaking more clearly is not what is being done with the upgraded phonetic pattern.

I would be remiss not to mention that it does seem reasonable that quieter utterances with compressed pitch ranges, shorter durations, and similar articulations to the trouble source turns may be seen as iconic displays of an understanding that the prior turns were indeed disjunct and problematic for the sequence so far—they may represent a kind of backing down. Conversely, louder repetitions with expanded pitch ranges, longer durations, and articulatory resettings may be seen as iconic displays of an understanding that the prior turns were in fact appropriate next actions, fitted to their place in the sequence so far, and thus did not warrant treatment as a problem. Couper-Kuhlen (1992, p. 361) proposed that one of the activities organized by the structure of other-initiated repairs is the acceptance or rejection of the social roles of offender and offended. The research reported here is in keeping with this analysis, suggesting that the accused producer of the trouble source turn can display, by his or her choice of phonetic pattern, to accept or reject the proposed role of troublemaker. It may be, however, that this potential explanation trades too much on our socialized beliefs that *louder* equals *strength* and *quieter* equals *submission*; further detailed study of these and other sequences employing systematic phonetic differences remains to be done to provide evidence for a technical understanding (Schegloff, 1996) of the actions being done in talk-in-interaction.

Until evidence for these interpretations of the results can be shown, it seems more prudent—and no less interesting—to entertain instead the possibility that these repetition repair turns are designed in such a way that the levels of linguistic organization are split, with the reproduction of the lexico-syntax handling a possible problem in hearing, whereas the phonetics is manipulated to demonstrate an orientation to the sequential fittedness of the turn being repaired. Thus, this research shows the indispensable role of the phonetic level of organization in the collaborative resolution of (putatively) problematic sequences of talk. Not all lexical repetitions, even those occurring in other-initiated repair sequences (i.e., in similar sequential environments), are truly alike; the analysis instead shows how sequential–interactional differences are reflected in the phonetic realizations of the repetitions. Couper-Kuhlen and Selting (1996), Kelly and Local (1989b), Wells and Macfarlane (1998), and Local and Walker (2004), among others, have all reported similar findings linking sequential function and phonetic realization. Along with these studies, the current work shows that if we believe that there is “order at all points” (Sacks, 1992), order at the phonetic level cannot be assumed to be less interactionally salient than syntactic or lexical choices.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to Paul Drew for his invaluable comments on previous drafts of this article. My work has also benefitted from discussions with John Local and Gareth Walker and from the comments of Michael Schober and three anonymous reviewers.

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