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Repetition and the prosody-pragmatics interface[1]

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Abbreviated title: Repetition

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Abstract

The problems that repetition poses for utterance interpretation have been the subject of some analysis in the pragmatics literature. Sperber and Wilson's claim that "the effects of repetition on utterance interpretation are by no means constant", is shown to be particularly apposite when we turn our attention to repetitions produced in naturally-occurring talk. Repetitions are complex phonetic objects whose design has received little analytic attention. As part of an ongoing study of how phonetics relates to the dynamic evolution of meaning within the sequential organisation of talk-in-interaction, we present an analysis of a particular kind of self-repetition.

The practice of repetition we are concerned with is clausal rather than lexical, and exhibits a range of syntactic forms ("have another go tomorrow...have another go tomorrow", "it might do...it might do", "it's a shame...it's a shame"). The approach we adopt emphasises the necessity of exploring participants', rather than analysts', understandings of pragmatic inferences in talk and attempts to prejudge as little as possible the relevance of phonetic (prosodic) parameters. The analysis reveals that from a phonetic point of view speakers draw on a range of phonetic features and relationships between features which include tempo and loudness as well as pitch in designing these repetitions. From a pragmatic point of view, it reveals that these repetitions function to close sequences of talk.

Our findings raise a number of theoretical and methodological issues surrounding the prosody-pragmatics interface and participants' understanding of naturally occurring discourse.

Nat, *I said*, leave off your idle twittle-twattle. You are magotty headed.
YOU ARE IN THE RIGHT, *he replies*, YOU ARE IN THE RIGHT.
And he withdraws from me a little with downcast looks.

Peter Ackroyd, *Hawksmoor*

1 Introduction

Repetition is one of but a handful of phenomena to have received analytic attention in the fields of both pragmatics and phonetics. However, the units being analysed as `repetitions' are often rather different. Examples 1 to 3 below are taken from published work which deals with the structure, meaning, and function of repeated lexical items: the first from theoretical pragmatics; the second from experimental phonetics; and the third from a study integrating phonetic analysis with the participant-driven proof procedures of Conversation Analysis.

(1)   There's a fox, a fox in the garden.
                          (from Sperber and Wilson 1986: 219)
(2)   Her cat chases our cat.
                          (from Shields and Balota 1991)
(3)   A: you in the bathroom
        B: huh
        A: you in the bathroom
                          (from Curl 2002)

One difference is the source of the data reproduced here: the provenance of example 1 is not provided; example 2 is a construction designed to be read out loud in a laboratory experiment; example 3 comes from naturally-occurring talk-in-interaction. Structurally, they are also all different: in example 1 the repetition consists of an indefinite article + noun, with no intervening material; in example 2 one lexical item is read out twice in two different noun phrases separated by a verb; in example 3, Speaker A reissues his entire previous utterance after prompting from Speaker B. Despite these differences, all these instances are known colloquially - and in these cases, described technically - as repetitions.

Work using data such as that in example 1 is unlike ours in a fundamental way. Sentences like example 1 have been used in the pragmatics literature to discuss the problems that repetition poses for utterance interpretation (see e.g. Blakemore 2001: 102-103; see also Tannen 1989: 36-97, Perrin et al. In press, Tyler 1994, Johnstone 1994); discussion of the possible meaning(s) of repetition feed into the development of a cognitive model of communication which can be used to explain the use of inference in decoding the intentions of others. Work in this vein either implicitly (Sperber and Wilson 1986) or explicitly (Thomas 1995) advocates the use of linguistic intuitions in generating both the data and the analyses.

Work in psycholinguistics and phonetics (e.g., Shields and Balota 1991; Fowler and Housum 1987; Bard and Anderson 1994; Sotillo 1997), which often generates data of the sort exemplified in 2, has concentrated on the intelligibility of repeated words, finding them less intelligible than first mentions. This work has reported that repetitions are shorter than first mentions of the same word(s), and that repetitions

generally undergo phonological reduction processes which account for their lower intelligibility ratings (but see Sotillo 1997 who discounts this explanation for the loss in intelligibility).

However, working in a framework in which both phonetic details and speaker's actions are studied, Curl (2002) found that repetitions produced in naturally-occurring talk-in-interaction did not adhere to the published findings regarding the phonetic structure of redone utterances.[2] Using data of the type exemplified by example 3 above, in which only repetitions produced after a request for repair (e.g., "huh?" "what?") were examined, it was shown that the phonetic shape of a repetition is systematically related to the sequential placement of the trouble source turn (the turn engendering the "huh?" or "what?"). Thus, Curl (2002) shows that even when the sequential location of a repetition is controlled for, `repetition' is not a unitary phenomenon, and that the meaning, use, and phonetic composition of repetitions must be studied *in situ*. Therefore, studies of naturally-occurring repetitions cannot easily be related to analyses of repetitions in introspective or in experimental data-sets since these objects have no *in situ* meaning or use, and possibly no phonetic shape.

Consonant with Curl's study of repetition, our method of analysis relies on the observable orientations of the participants themselves, as demonstrated in naturally-occurring talk, rather than on an intuitively likely or logical interpretation of the meaning of a particular utterance. Therefore, studies like ours cannot easily be related to theoretically- or experimentally-based analyses of repetitions, especially in those cases where the meaning, possible use or function, and sometimes even the phonetic shape of the utterance is constructed by the analyst. We will therefore make few explicit links between our linguistic-sequential account of a narrowly-defined type of repetition and extant analyses of repetition. However, the analysis we present has important theoretical and methodological implications for the study of repetition, which are drawn out throughout the paper.

In this paper, we report on the use of clausal self-repetition in closing down a sequence of talk, as shown in Fragment 4 (see Appendix for transcription conventions). Although this fragment is treated in more detail in section 3.1, this short sketch shows how a close examination of the sequence as it unfolded in real time provides evidence of how the participants themselves understood the talk; that is to say, we are not offering our interpretation, or *an* interpretation of the sequence, but rather explicating *the* interpretation of the sequence as displayed by the speakers in their own talk.

(4) Holt.5.88.1.5.nevermind (telephone)

```
1       Rob:    you know she's very .hh sometimes she's quite helpful
2               and other times I feel you know I don't know where I
3               stand with her
4       Les:    no
5               (0.2)
6       Les:    no no
7  -->  Rob:    never mind (.)
8               (.)
9  -->  Rob:    never m[ind
10      Les:           [no
11              (0.3)
```

```
12      Rob:    anyway (.) I will let you (0.2) [go
13      Les:                                    [oh yes
```

In this fragment of telephone conversation, two supply teachers (Robbie and Leslie) have been talking about the unhelpfulness of the full-time teachers at a school at which they have both worked. Robbie describes a particular teacher in lines 1 to 3, and Leslie agrees (see Jefferson 2002 on the use of "no" to agree). Robbie then proposes the curtailment of her own line of talk, with a turn that displays that she has no more to say regarding the complainable matter she has been speaking about (line 7). When this turn receives no response from Leslie, she reissues the same lexical items, and thereby performs the type of activity we are concerned to explicate in this paper, a DOUBLE: "never mind (.) never mind" (lines 7 to 9). After a 0.3 second pause, during which Leslie passes on the opportunity to take a turn at talk (Schegloff 1982), Robbie displays an understanding of the prior sequence as complete by launching a new activity - a move to close the conversation - in line 12: "anyway (.) I will let you (0.2) go".

Our analysis of this practice is not meant to suggest that this is the *only* way speakers have of closing sequences (see for instance the descriptions in Button 1990; Drew and Holt 1998); however, it is a practice that is in fairly frequent use. What is perhaps of most interest is that in these doubles used to close sequences, speakers draw on a range of phonetic features and relationships between features, which include tempo and loudness as well as pitch height and pitch range, to differentiate them from other uses of self-repetitions. Taken along with Curl (2002), these findings show that the practice of `repetition' has different phonetic exponents when used to perform different activities in different sequential environments.

The paper is structured as follows: in Section 2, we set out and explicate the principles we follow in conducting our analysis. In Section 3 we analyze several canonical instances of the phenomenon of doubles used to close sequences, and also show how non-canonical cases show participant orientation to the practice even when it appears to fail. This section also presents the phonetic analysis of doubles. Section 4 compares our findings concerning doubles with another type of repetition, showing each to have distinct phonetic and interactional properties. Some of the implications of our analysis are discussed in Section 5.

2 Theoretical and methodological background

Having outlined some issues in the study of repetition in section 1, this section sets out some of the principles to which we adhere in conducting analysis, all of which contribute to the construction of the analysis presented in section 3. It should not be thought of as a complete statement, but rather as a necessarily brief discussion of some central aspects of the framework. The principles can be divided loosely into three sections: data (section 2.1), interactional analysis (section 2.2), and phonetic analysis (section 2.3).

2.1 Data

The DATA ARE DRAWN EXCLUSIVELY FROM TALK-IN-INTERACTION. Talk-in-interaction is not used simply for the sake of its naturalness (cf. Anderson et al. 1991). Rather,

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data are drawn only from talk-in-interaction as

1.   talk-in-interaction offers us largely untapped analytic resources,
        particularly with regard to demonstrating participants' orientations to the
        analytic categories posited;
2.   talk-in-interaction is the bedrock of social communication, and as such
        offers us a legitimate and defensible starting point for understanding
        "everyday language";
3.   data constructed by the analyst are inherently problematic:
        (a)   first, it is not always clear that constructed data accurately
                represent utterances/actions produced in the course of
                talk-in-interaction;
        (b)   second, given that we do not (and necessarily cannot) have access
                to the treatments of constructed utterances/actions by
                co-participants, it is not clear what would constitute solid
                evidence for the claims we might want to make and the analytic
                categories which we might want to posit.

2.2 Interactional analysis

Many of the principles in which the analysis in section 3 are grounded are adopted
from Conversation Analysis (for overviews and introductions, see e.g. Levinson
1983: 284-370; Heritage 1984; Goodwin and Heritage 1990; Schegloff 1995; Hutchby
and Wooffitt 1998; Drew 2003). Three principles are taken up for discussion here.

First, THE ANALYSIS IS GROUNDED IN THE OBSERVABLE BEHAVIOUR OF PARTICIPANTS.
Utterances represent social actions on the part of the speaker, and these actions are "as
real, concrete, consequential, and as fundamental as any other forms of conduct."
(Drew 2003). The analysis is *not* grounded in intuition, nor does it attempt to describe
what the speaker `had in mind' when performing some action. Rather, the analysis
focusses on the treatment of that action by the co-participants in terms of their
observable actions. It should be noted that we make no claims as to whether this
displayed treatment equates to the hearer's privately-held mental interpretation of the
prior activity: "Individuals, and only individuals, have access to the `local' and
particular shadings of experience which impregnate their constructs of the natural and
social world. This much is private, inaccessible to an observer, and inexpressible in a
public language." (Heritage 1984: 59).

Second, terms of description (e.g. `assessment', `request', `preference' etc.) are not lay
terms, or vernacular glosses. Rather, THE TERMS OF DESCRIPTION ARE TECHNICAL
DESCRIPTORS intended to capture observable details of the talk, its sequential
organisation, and the orientation to that organisation displayed by co-participants. In
many cases, the terms and concepts have been established on the basis of empirical,
qualitative research on talk-in-interaction over the last forty years (for a review of just
some of the findings arising from this field, see Heritage 1989). In contrast, glossing
utterances/actions with vernacular terms such as `polite', `rude', `angry', `bored' etc. is
not a useful analysis unless it can (i) show whether the participants displayed to each
other an *observable orientation* to those categories or (ii) explain what it is about the
organisation of the utterances/actions which lend themselves to being glossed in such
a way (see Schegloff 1988; also Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 298).

Third, THE ANALYSIS IS ATTENTIVE TO THE ORGANIZATION OF TALK IN SEQUENCES which are co-constructed by the participants and emergent over time. Part of this attentiveness involves the inspection of the relationship between a turn and the turn which immediately preceded it; another part involves an attempt to "distributionalize a phenomenon":

> An initial and fundamental step toward identifying the patterns or organizations associated with a linguistic phenomenon is to see whether that phenomenon has any discernible distribution in talk. While the sense of, or basis for, "distributionalizing a phenomenon" can vary according to one's analytic perspective, here we mean determining whether the phenomenon has any regular or recurrent position in sequences of talk (Drew and Holt 1998: 498-499)

It will be seen in section 3 that such attentiveness to sequential organisation is crucial to reaching an understanding of the target phenomenon.

2.3 Phonetic analysis

The phonetic analysis of data drawn from talk-in-interaction is performed alongside the sequential analysis. The phonetic analysis is conducted in a parametric fashion (Abercrombie 1965; Kelly and Local 1989a,b), employing impressionistic and acoustic techniques. Crucially, the phonetic analysis affords no primacy to any particular phonetic parameter; in presenting phonetic details, the focus on some particular phonetic characteristic reflects the outcome of the analysis (in terms of the relevance of that particular characteristic), rather than reflecting a restriction on the details explored.

3 The target phenomenon: DOUBLES in sequence closings

This section contains the bulk of the interactional analysis of our target phenomenon: doubles and their role in sequence closings. The data come from a variety of recordings made in Britain and the United States. The corpus of 30 cases is drawn from many hours of audio recordings of (i) telephone calls between friends, family members, and colleagues (ii) radio interviews and phone-in shows (iii) face-to-face interaction.

Section 3.1 sketches the phenomenon by analysing a number of fragments in some detail. Section 3.2 extends the analysis via an inspection of a number of fragments which, at first glance, appear to contradict the analysis presented in section 3.1.

3.1 Interactional analysis I: a sketch of the phenomenon

Fragments 5 to 7 exemplify what might be regarded as the canonical shape for the sequences in which doubles occur. That shape consists of the following six parts: some topic or sequence is made ripe for closing, followed by the mutual passing up on the opportunity to take an extended turn at talk (step 1). There is then some form of `appraisal' (step 2); these turns take a variety of different shapes, but all are recognisably produced as moves toward topic closure. These appraisals are followed

by further passing up on the opportunity to take a turn (step 3). The appraisal is then redone (step 4), and followed again by the mutual passing up of the opportunity to take an extended turn at talk (step 5), which amounts, functionally, to the confirmation or acceptance of the move to topic closure. Finally, there is a next move to some new sequence (step 6), regularly, though not exclusively, performed by the double-producer.

All of these steps are exemplified in this fuller explication of the fragment seem in the introduction, reproduced below as Fragment 5. Prior to this fragment, both speakers have been assessing, and complaining about, work colleagues.

(5) Holt.5.88.1.5.nevermind (telephone)

```
1        Rob:    you know she's very .hh sometimes she's quite helpful
2                and other times I feel you know I don't know where I
3                stand with her
4        Les:    no
5                (0.2)
6        Les:    no no
7   -->  Rob:    never mind (.)
8                (.)
9   -->  Rob:    never m[ind
10       Les:           [no
11               (0.3)
12       Rob:    anyway (.) I will let you (0.2) [go
13       Les:                                    [oh yes
```

Robbie puts forward an assessment of a colleague at lines 1 to 3. The end of this turn marks a transition relevance place - a point of syntactic, prosodic, and pragmatic completion (see e.g. Sacks et al. 1974, Ford and Thompson 1996); thus it is relevant for a next speaker, in this case Leslie, to begin talking. Robbie's turn duly receives a response, "no", from Leslie (line 4) which acknowledges and agrees with Robbie's negatively framed turn at lines 1 to 3 (Jefferson 2002). She thus passes up on the opportunity take a more extended turn and provides for the current speaker, Robbie, to continue (Schegloff 1982). In the silence which follows, both participants are observably withholding any talk on this or indeed any other topic (line 8). Leslie then self-selects to talk (Sacks et al. 1974), but again passes on the opportunity to take an extended turn at talk. Her turn at line 6 shows characteristics of other designed-to-beand treated-as-complete utterances; that is, it slows down (Local et al. 1986), shows none of the phonetic features of turn-holding (Local and Kelly 1986), and constitutes a complete, falling intonation phrase. Robbie's immediate starting up provides evidence that this talk from Leslie is hearably complete, and thus transition relevant.

Robbie's "never mind" (line 7) marks a disengagement from the previous sequence of complaints in that it offers no further reporting of `complainables.' Furthermore, this turn proposes that there is nothing more to be said about the problem, and has no phonetic features which adumbrate more talk to come. In other words, talk from Leslie would appropriately follow it; however, none is forthcoming. Robbie then produces "never mind" again, but this time with a characteristic phonetic pattern relative to her first saying (described in more detail in section 3.3). This creates our target phenomenon: a double.

Leslie produces another aligning turn (line 10) in terminal overlap. This turn is sufficiently delayed relative to Robbie's talk at line 9 that it can be seen as responsive to it (see Jefferson 1983, 1986 on terminal overlap); furthermore, the turn shows no signs of competitive turn-incomings (French and Local 1983, 1986; Wells and Macfarlane 1998), thus providing evidence of her own orientation to it as a legitimately placed turn. She makes, however, no attempt to take an extended turn at talk; nor does Robbie begin a turn, resulting in a 0.3 second silence (line 11). This silence is brought to an end by Robbie's lexically explicit formulation that they begin a new sequence; in fact, she displays her orientation to the possibility of the call moving into closing at this point (Schegloff and Sacks 1973; Button 1987, 1990). Thus, the sequence we are concerned with consists of a pattern in which both participants disengage from a topic, one produces a repetition of his/her own talk (with no intervening move to resurrect the failing topic), followed by a move to close the sequence.

Fragment 6 provides another example of this sequence. It is taken from some way into a call made to the Nightowls late-night radio phone-in show, broadcast in the North East of England. Michelle (Mich) is an American, enrolled in a course at a local university. Talk has turned to some of the differences between British and American culture.

(6) no.1.10.american.probably-are (radio phone-in)

```
1       Mich:   you know that was my other biggest shock when I got
2               here .hhh was that there is cursing and nudity on
3               television
4       AR:     no
5       Mich:   .hhhhhhh I was amazed
6       AR:     becaus[e i- in Ameri[ca    you    just   ] have
7       Mich:         [I::          [couldn't believe it]
8       AR:     preachers asking for money
9               (0.4)
10      Mich:   well (.) true (.) but (.) you know
11              (0.3)
12      AR:     huh heh hih
13              (.)
14      Mich:   'cause
15      AR:     huh [huh] [hih]
16      Mich:       [I ] g[ue ]ss they think we're all sinners I
17              don't kn[ow
18      AR:             [huhhh huh hah [hah hah hah
19      Mich:   [hih hah huh huh [hih [huh .hh
20 -->  AR:                     [and [we
21 -->          probably are
22      Mich:   ah huh ((laugh))
23 -->  AR:     [we pr[ o ]bab[ly] are
24      Mich:   [.hhh [huh]    [hh]
25      AR:     .hh that's lovely Michelle=thank you for calling
26              (0.2)
27      Mich:   thank yo[u
28      AR:             [what is your musical taste
                ((arrangements are made for AR to send Michelle some
                free CD's in return for her call; the call then runs
                to closing))
```

AR (the presenter) and Michelle have been engaged here in a teasing sequence (see

Drew 1987 for the particulars of what constitutes such a sequence) regarding the appearance of televangelists on American (as opposed to British) television. In overlap with AR's laughter, Michelle produces a possible warrant for the preachers asking for money on TV (see AR's talk at lines 6-8), the warrant being that "they think we're all sinners" (line 16).[3] In response to this turn from Michelle comes more laughter from AR (line 18), which in turn is endorsed by laughter from Michelle (line 19).

These turns at lines 18 and 19 also embody the mutual passing up (by both participants) on the opportunity to take a turn (Schegloff 1982). This is not to suggest that laughter is not an analyzable activity in talk-in-interaction, merely that is different from talk, and can be used to withhold talk. In this respect, it should be noted how similar this sequence is to lines 4 to 6 in Fragment 5; although the precise details are different, both sequences display the mutual passing up on the opportunity to take a turn at talk.

Out of this reciprocal laughter emerges AR's appraisal, formatted in such a way (i.e. beginning with "and") that it is linked to Michelle's talk at line 16. Although this turn starts in overlap with Michelle's laughter, Michelle stops and produces no more laughter or talk during the remainder of AR's turn, allowing him to complete his turn in the clear. This turn looks back to and agrees with Michelle's prior talk, but offers little more to take up.

Immediately on completion of AR's "and we probably are" Michelle produces more laughter. This laugh marks a passing up on an opportunity to take a turn at talk at the same place in sequential structure in which we find a silence in Fragment 5, line 8. Additionally, by not speaking here, Michelle offers no resistance to any move that AR might launch to close the sequence, or perhaps even the call (see Schegloff and Sacks 1973 for more on what constitutes a call closing environment). Following the laughter, AR repeats "we probably are" (line 23) simultaneous with additional laughter from Michelle (line 24). In this way, both speakers are engaging in co-ordinated, though differently realised, displays of there being no more to say; AR in his production of "we probably are" as a double, and Michelle in her continued laughter.

Following the double, AR moves into a new sequence in which he offers an appreciation of Michelle's call: "that's lovely Michelle=thank you for calling" (line 25). This talk is also produced with a disjunctive step-up in pitch and loudness, characteristics which have been shown to have associations with the launching of new topics and sequences (see Goldberg 1978; Couper-Kuhlen 2003; Local and Walker 2003). Michelle collaborates with AR in this move to a new sequence with her reciprocal thanking (line 27).

The final fragment to be discussed in detail here is shown below, taken from a face-to-face interaction between a female fieldworker (Fwkr) and Carl (aged 4;1). They are playing with objects taken out of a bag by the fieldworker.

(7) PF.Carl1.15 (face-to-face)

```
1      Carl:  on the field beside the (0.2) the sea life center
```

```
2        Fwkr:   a::h::w::: had [you been to the circus
3        Carl:                 [and
4                (0.8)
5        Carl:   mm:
6        Fwkr:   no::
7                (0.4)
8        Fwkr:   oh dea[r
9        Carl:         [(but/by) then it had gone
10               (0.3)
11       Fwkr:   !t a:h::: that's a shame
12               (0.7)
13       Carl:   !t .hhh
14       Fwkr:   ah::: but you went to the sea life center
15               (0.6)
16       Carl:   yes [but when they packed up (0.3) we couldn't go:
17       Fwkr:       [.hhhh
18       Fwkr:   aww
19               (0.7)
20       Fwkr:   oh dear
21               (1.0)
22       Fwkr:   what when you went to the sea life center
23               (.)
24       Carl:   yeah:
25               (.)
26       Carl:   but wuh- (0.5) but- (0.3) we couldn't go, cos it was
27               closed
28       Fwkr:   !t aw::: oh dear
29               (0.7)
30       Carl:   c::os it had gone
31               (0.5)
32       Fwkr:   cos i- oh what the circus (oh) it'll come back th[ough
33       Carl:                                                    [!t
34               (0.5)
35 -->   Fwkr:   it'll come b[ack
36       Carl:               [well maybe it went to another field
37 -->   Fwkr:   yea::h it might do
38               (1.2)
39 -->   Fwkr:   it might do
40               (1.2)
41       Fwkr:   right
42               (0.4)
43       Fwkr:   what else have we got in here
```

Carl is reporting to the fieldworker the circumstances which led to him not being able
to go to the circus because it had variously "gone" (line 9), was "packed up" (line 16),
or was "closed" (line 27). Following Carl's *n*th announcement of not being able to go
to the circus at line 27, the fieldworker issues an object similar to those discussed in
Jefferson (1988): "!t aw::: oh dear" (line 28), displaying sympathy and alignment with
the prior talk as a trouble. Following this (and an inter-turn gap at line 29), Carl
expands the sequence (line 30).

The first part of the fieldworker's next utterance, line 32, embodies an overt display of
there having been a mismatch between what the participants have taken each other to
have been talking about (Schegloff 1992: 1321ff). She goes on to complete her turn
with "it'll come back though". Following an interturn gap (line 34) in which neither
speaker is making a move to take a turn (similar to the withholding of talk in line 8 of
Fragment 5 and line 22 of Fragment 6), the fieldworker repeats part of her previous
turn: "it'll come back" (line 35), which is done in a similar manner to the repetitions in

Fragments 5 and 6 (with the exception of the omission of the final "though" in the repeat). However, unlike those instances (in which a new sequence is initiated after the repetition), in this case Carl comes in in terminal overlap with this repetition to continue talk on this topic.

The sequence here is similar to the doubles presented in Fragment 5 and 6; however, unlike those sequences, this one does not end after the production of a double. We argue that this part of the fragment underscores an important point about conversational organisation: it is not mechanistic (Drew and Holt 1998). That is, almost no practice in conversation is guaranteed to work, as they require the collaboration (in some cases, like this one, over a number of turns) of at least two parties.[4] So, although we can show that doubles are *often* used to close sequences, there are points at which one participant may resist the move to closing embodied in the repetition - and Carl has exploited one here (see Schegloff and Sacks 1973; Button 1987 on a similar phenomenon regarding re-openings in the closings of telephone calls). In section 3.2, we give a fuller analysis of cases like this, where the use of a double is not (immediately) followed by sequence closure; this short explication is necessary here, however, because it feeds into the production of the `canonical' case in lines 37 and 39.

Carl continues his talk about the circus in line 36, and this is followed by agreement from the fieldworker in line 37. After this, there is no move by either participant to produce more talk, resulting in an inter-turn gap of more than a second (see line 38; compare the ends of the turns at line 7 in Fragment 5 and line 23 in Fragment 6). The fieldworker then self-selects to speak and repeats her prior turn, producing a double in the same kind of sequential location as exemplified in lines 32 and 35, and in Fragments 5 and 6. Being a repetition of talk just produced, this turn offers no new talk on the topic; indeed it seems to signal, as do the appraisal turns in Fragments 5 and 6, that there is no more to be said on the matter. Following another gap of over a second (line 40) the speaker who produced the double (again, as was shown in Fragments 5 and 6) then initiates a new sequence in line 43, after marking the juncture with "right" (line 41).

The above sketches set out, in as much detail as space considerations allow, the canonical sequential pattern of doubles used to close sequences. This pattern is set out in Figure 1 (which presents Fragments 5 to 7) and Figure 2 (which presents three new fragments). The six steps which comprise the sequences within which doubles occur are given in the left column, and examples from naturally-occurring data fragments are given on the right. The examples serve to emphasise the point that the schema represents the sequential format of an aggregate of cases discovered through empirical analysis of the data, rather than the application of a coding scheme.

The sequences consist of the following steps:

1.   Mutual passing up on an opportunity to take an extended turn. These turns are generally realized by minimal responses, continuers, laughter, or silences by one or both speakers, none of which function to extend the current line of talk.

2.   A recognisable move to topical closure (appraisal). Although these turns

have a variety of syntactic shapes, they share certain features: they project no more talk, and have the phonetic features of turn-finality (see e.g. Local et al. 1986).

3. Mutual passing up on an opportunity to take an extended turn. This step shows how the co-participant has available a further chance of topicalising that which is in the process of being de-topicalised by the other speaker. Not all of the fragments have an appreciable silence in step (3); however, there is converging syntactic and phonetic evidence for transition relevance places at the end of the turns labelled as step (2) turns.[5] These are places which provide an opportunity for the co-participant to perform some action. The fact that in the collection, the step (2) turns are followed by a passing on the opportunity to take an extended turn at talk - and sometimes by no talk by the co-participant at all - highlights the collaborative achievement of these closing matters.

4. Repeat of (2), with particular phonetic features as detailed in Section 3.3. It is in this step that the employment of a double to propose and embody sequence termination becomes manifest. By redoing the previously issued lexical items, the speaker declines to further the trajectory of the preceding sequence, and thus aligns with the recipient (who has also passed on the opportunity to produce further on-topic talk in the immediately previous step).[6]

5. Mutual passing on an opportunity to take an extended turn. In this step, the co-participant is given yet another opportunity to `breathe life' into the existing topic, or to accept in some way the closing trajectory. Most commonly, acceptance of the move to close is displayed by the co-participant's withholding of any additional talk. In the radio phone-in cases, the presenter orients to the availability of this option by moving to interdict incoming talk from the co-participant by producing disjunctive in-breaths with pitch and loudness reset typical of other topic disjuncts where work is done to interdict incoming talk (see Local and Walker 2003; Walker 2003).

6. Move to a new sequence (usually, though not exclusively, done by the doubles producer).

===== INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE =====

===== INSERT FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE =====

Due to constraints of space, an explication of the sequences in Figure 2 of the order of detail lavished on Fragments 5 to 7 is not possible. However, the following brief sketches show that each sequence can be understood with reference to the canonical shape set out above.

Immediately prior to the first fragment in Figure 2 (Holt.Nov2002.2.2) a story by A concerning a work's dinner is brought towards conclusion. There is laughter from A, with no movement by either participant to take a turn. A then issues the

14

figurative/summative "it's cool", following which B makes no move to take a turn. A (following an exhalation) then repeats his "it's cool". Following a gap A solicits talk on a changed topic: "so: you're all done and dusted". The proferred topic duly gets taken up by B.

Immediately prior to the second fragment in Figure 2 (NO.1.22.sister.shame) Claire (a caller to the Nightowls radio phone-in show) has been concluding a telling. AR's extended "a::::hh::::::" and Claire's laughter both pass on taking an extended turn at talk. AR's next turn is not followed by any talk from Claire; he then repeats this turn ("I just think it's a shame") to form the double, and follows this with a lexically explicit move to close.

The third fragment in Figure 2 (SN-4.9) is included (in a more complete form) in a discussion of *sequence closing sequences* in (Schegloff 1995: 195-209), though no direct reference is made to the repetition:

> "When the sequence in progress fails to secure co-participation at [step 1], Karen provides the sort of aphoristic summing up which can launch an overt sequence-closure ["c'est la vie"]. Mark's response aligns with that project, and he leaves it for someone else to launch a next sequence or topic [step 5], before continuing himself in the absence of any takers. The closing relevance of what has preceded - for the most recent topic/sequence and for the occasion as a whole - is displayed at the start of the next turn [step 6]." (Schegloff 1995: 208)

Schegloff's description paints very much the same picture as the descriptions provided above of the other sequences involving doubles: there is collaborative disengagement from on-topic talk, a `summative' turn which is repeated, a minimal aligning response and withholding of additional talk, then the opening of a new sequence, albeit launched not by the double producer (Karen) but by a co-participant (Mark).

Having sketched in this section what might be considered a canonical shape for sequences involving doubles, the following section extends the analysis by dealing with cases which do not appear to so readily fit the pattern. However, it will be shown that these cases can be explained with reference to the canonical shape, and that their analysis deepens our understanding of the practice.

3.2 Interactional analysis II: extending the analysis

This section provides analyses of a small number of cases which are instances of the target phenomenon, but which do not run off in the canonical pattern of sequential organisation exemplified in cases such as those in Fragments 5 to 7 above. However, given that the methodology employed here is qualitative, these cases must be subjected to detailed analyses.[7]

Typically, the inspection of such cases leads to one of two outcomes. First, it may lead to a reconfiguring of an analysis in order to account for the potentially deviant case(s) (an outcome exemplified by Schegloff 1968). Second, an existing analysis may be strengthened in some way by a detailed understanding of such cases and how they run off. For instance, the participants themselves may orient to the non-

normative organisation of that particular case (an outcome exemplified by Wootton 1989: 250-252, Drew and Holt 1998: 510-518, Schegloff 1996: 192-199). Examination of possible deviant cases leads to an outcome of the second type in this instance.

In the present analysis, each of these cases can be understood by referring to the canonical shape set out in section 3.1, and each deepens our understanding of the practice and participants' orientations to it. Each case also reinforces the point (introduced in the discussion of Fragment 7) that the organisation of talk-in-interaction is not a mechanistic one:

> "Devices or practices in conversation do not work in an automatic or mechanistic fashion: The practices evident in conversational patterns are RESOURCES that enable speakers to engage, recurrently, in certain activities, using means by which those activities will be coherent, recognizable, and meaningful to co-participants. But the use of those resources DOES NOT DETERMINE the course of the interaction. At any point in an interaction, participants may orient to the possibilities that a conversational practice occasions; nevertheless, they are not obliged or constrained to follow the sequential track implicated in those possibilities. In short, they may choose to take a different direction - to suspend the sequential track implicated in an object and instead take a different track." (Drew and Holt 1998: 510-511)

In the following fragments, we show (as much as it is possible to do so) how participants orient to the canonical shape set out in the schema. Given that these cases are *not* canonical, they may not go through all the steps; or if they do, the participants are employing the double to negotiate their way through other contingencies mobilised in the sequence of talk.

Fragment 8 is taken from an interview broadcast on BBC Radio 2; the interviewer is Jonathan Ross (JR) and interviewee is Gillian Anderson (GA), star of the hit television show "The X-Files" which at the time had recently ceased being made.

(8) G.Anderson.completely (radio interview)

```
1       GA:    and it's just been a most incredible experience
2       JR:    well let's talk about it ah- ah- ahb- after another
3              track but it must have been I would have thought very 4
               exciting to be doing something like that and saying
5              okay I'm gonna go because the feedback you get from
6              an audience and just from going out every night must
7              be so wildly different to shooting a T V
8              sh[ow
9   --> GA:       [completely
10      JR:    muh
11  --> GA:    completely
12             (0.5)
13      GA:    did you just say you need(ed) to take a break
14      JR:    no [we're gonna put a record on] we'll chat after this
15      AD:       [  *    *    *    *    news ]
16      JR:    oh we're * * the news
17             (0.5)
18      GA:    new:s
```

```
19     JR:    we've gone past the news
20     AD:    [yeah]
21     JR:    [you ]should have given me you're your big looping
22            [ar:m signal
23     AD:    [I tried I gave you [my normal loo]k (.) I gave you=
24     JR:                        [ you  didn't ]
25     AD:    =[that stare
26     JR:     [because 'cause uh Gillian and I were sharing a
27            moment [there
28     AD:           [yeah of course
29     JR:    that's what it was .hhh eighty eight to ninety one F M
30            this is radio two [from the B B C
31                              [((jingle starts))
```

In the talk beginning at line 2, following GA's assessment of a recent stage project, JR delivers what appears to be a preface to the closing of the sequence - "well let's talk about it ah- ah- ahb- after another track" - which acts, simultaneously, as an account of why JR will not be, at that moment, taking up GA's talk. This would be step 1 in our schema. However, JR goes on not to play another track, but rather to align with GA by reformulating her "incredible experience" as "very exciting" (line 4) with a listing of a number of factors that contribute to that excitement (lines 5 to 8).

This turn is potentially problematic for GA to respond to: JR's talk at the start of his turn (line 2) points towards talk on this topic (and indeed on any topic) having to be curtailed, albeit temporarily; on the other hand, JR's talk about GA's move to stage performance makes relevant more talk from GA (namely, the acceptance or rejection of his reformulation). GA handles this tension by offering a single-word aligning response which projects no further talk: "completely" (line 9). This turn constitutes step 2 in the schema, as it orients to yet potentially closes off the prior sequence by strongly displaying agreement with JR.

However, rather than also moving to close the sequence (and, as projected by his own talk, to play "another track") JR offers a continuer (line 10).[8] This continuer, taken along with the non-projecting nature of GA's prior "completely", constitute step 3 in the schema (mutual passing up on the opportunity to take an extended turn).

Thus, GA finds herself with the floor again, albeit under the shadow of the closing implicativeness mobilised by JR in his talk beginning at line 2. Her response is to reissue her "completely" (line 11), completing the double (step 4). In the following turns, it becomes apparent that GA is utilising this double to attend to that very closing implicativeness.

In the 0.5 second gap which follows (line 12), a move to close by JR is again absent, as it was in line 10. The relevance of this absence is brought to the surface in GA's following turn: "did you just say you need(ed) to take a break" (line 13). This makes explicit the orientation by GA to the constraint placed on her by JR's talk beginning at line 2 to say `as little as possible' and to collaborate in a move to closing by disengaging, for the moment, from the ongoing topic. This turn from GA also makes explicit her orientation to the non-arrival of a relevant next action from JR (i.e. his move to play another track) on her production of a double. In doing so, it also shows that the objects which have been shown to routinely occur after a double (i.e. new topic/sequence start-ups) are *relevantly absent* if not occurring.

While the preceding fragment exemplified the use of a double in an attempt to facilitate sequence closure, the following fragment shows an attempt to *block* a double, displaying participant orientation to their use in closing sequences. Fragment 9 is also taken from the Nightowls radio phone-in show (see Fragment 6 above). The call was made at the height of the British foot and mouth outbreak; caller Mark has been expressing his concern for livestock which is not infected, but which is at other farms and cannot be brought home due to movement restrictions.

(9) no.1.26.foot&mouth.snooker (radio phone-in)

```
1       Mark:   these need to be brought home you see and they
2               can't bring them home
3               (0.7)
4   --> AR:     and they're snooker::(ed)
5               (.)
6   --> AR:     they're snook[er(ed)
7       Mark:                [s::nookered
8       AR:     M:ar:[k:
9       Mark:        [(the) far:m that they're putting them on is:: is
10              running out of fodder
11              (0.3)
12      AR:     yeah=
13      Mark:   =so you can't feed them
14              (0.4)
15      AR:     Mark I'm gonna have to stop you there but what I am
16              gonna ask Sandra to do right now .hhh is to (0.2)
17              g::rab Mark (0.4) cos Mark hasn't had a chance to get
18              his point across at all and I'm running flat out of
19              time .hhhh so- invite Mark back on tomorrow at a time
20              to suit him (.) .khh because wewe haven't really
21              scratched the surface and we wanna know mo:re
```

Following the first turn shown in this fragment, there is a gap where neither speaker makes a move to take a turn - step 1. AR's figurative "they're snooker(ed)" (line 4), which makes explicit one upshot of Mark's telling (Schegloff 1996) while not projecting any more talk, comprises step 2. Following a short gap (step 3) AR moves to repeat his assessment, which would be step 4 in the schema. However, rather than allowing AR to complete his double in the clear, Mark `usurps' the double by interdicting AR's talk with his own "s::nookered" (line 7). This action appears to be a display of Mark's orientation to the closing-implicativeness of the practice with an attempt to block it, because following this move, the participants act out over a number of turns a tension between the move to close AR had attempted to mobilise with his double and Mark's resistance to that move.[9] Thus, although this fragment does not show a successful move to close in the turn(s) immediately after the production of a double, it does show both participants' orientation to closing as the projectable next action after a double.

Fragments 8 and 9 thus strengthen the analysis of the canonical cases exemplified by the fragments in section 3.1 by showing participant orientation to the use of doubles to close a sequence, even when that closing is not immediately collaborated with, or even contested.

The final double to be presented, shown in Fragment 10, is taken from a telephone

call between two middle-aged female friends. In the talk immediately preceding this fragment, Ann has announced the arrival of two new beds. The new beds are described as six inches wider than the old ones, with the result that the room now looks cluttered.

(10) Rahman:B:1:11:3:nevermind (telephone)

```
1        Jen:    and are they hi:gh Ann o[r are
2        Ann:                           [yes
3        Ann:    yes [they're the high just like your] eh David's
4        Jen:        [they're the hi:gh ones as well ]
5        Jen:    and they they (.) look funny you see when [you've=
6        Ann:                                              [we:ll
7        Jen:    =been use to the I like the high ones better I must
8                say but uh but they (.) they [feel a bit funny]
9        Ann:                                 [ it causes prob ]lems
10               with overcrowding of fu:rniture that's the only thing
11       Jen:    ye:s
12               (.)
13       Jen:    [ye:s
14 -->   Ann:    [never mind nev[er mind
15       Jen:                   [the room looks quite different
16               doesn['t it
17       Ann:        [ye:s it doe[:s
18       Jen:                    [ye:s
19               (.)
20       Ann:    .h anyway [I'll
21       Jen:              [so have you got it all organized then
22               [more'r less]
23       Ann:    [   well   ] well except that there's mu:d from the
24               front door ri:ght up to they .hh trai:led up and down
25               to the garage with screwdrivers and god knows what
```

Ann produces a potential move to close the sequence at line 10, by claiming that the overcrowding problem is in fact "the only thing" (note that this is contrary to Jenny's suggestion that the high ones look and feel a bit funny). Ann's turn receives minimal agreement from Jenny via her "ye:s" (line 11) which passes up on the opportunity for further on-topic talk. In the (short) gap which follows (line 12) there is no move by either participant to offer more talk, thus comprising step 1.

Jenny then reissues her minimal agreement (line 13) simultaneous with Ann's start up (line 14). With "never mind", Ann moves even more strongly toward sequence closure by displaying that she herself has no more to say on the topic of her furniture. Jenny, however, orients to the transition relevance of Ann's talk and begins additional on-topic talk (line 16) in overlap with Ann's repetition of "never mind". The placement of Jenny's talk (i.e. just after the completion of the first "never mind") and the absence of the regular features of turn-competitive incomings (French and Local 1983, 1986), show Jenny's orientation to her incoming as legitimate.

Jenny's displayed orientation to Ann's first "never mind" underscores two features of doubles. First, we have found no evidence, phonetic or otherwise, that what we call the `first' parts of doubles are identifiable as first-to-seconds on their production. Indeed, we in fact claim that these turns do not project more talk of any kind. What this means is that nearly any kind of turn could be transformed into the first part of a double if the sequence allows, and if the second is produced with a particular phonetic

relationship to the first. Second, this fragment shows that the closing work which can be done by doubles is a collaborative achievement, in much the same way as other types of closings discussed in the literature (see e.g. Button 1987, 1990; Drew and Holt 1998; Schegloff and Sacks 1973). Ann makes another bid to close in line 20, and although this bid to close fails in much the same way as her double, the observation strengthens the claim that the double occurred at a point where a bid to close from Ann was in the air.

Having set out an interactional analysis of a number of instances of doubles in this section, the next section presents a phonetic analysis of doubles.

3.3 Phonetic analysis

This section presents some of the phonetic systematicities in the whole of our corpus of doubles. Doubles exhibit a number of recurrent characteristics, particularly in respect of their syllabic make-up, their pitch and their duration, which are the three characteristics focussed on here.

For each instance in the corpus

* the second part consists of the same lexical items with the same number of syllables as the first part.
* the second part has the same stress pattern and main accented syllable location as the first part.
* the first and second part are two distinct intonation phrases.
* the second part has a falling pitch contour, as does the first part.
* the second part has the same (falling) main pitch prominence as the first part.
* the main pitch prominence bearing syllable in the second part is shorter in duration than the main prominence bearing syllable in the first part.

In what follows we present these findings in more detail, focussing on the doubles in Fragments 5 to 10, and making quantified generalisations where appropriate.

3.3.1 Syllabic make-up and accentual patterning

One characteristic of talk-in-interaction is that the same lexical item (or string of lexical items) uttered by the same individual may have rather different phonetic shapes in different contexts. One way in which this may happen is in terms of variation in the number of syllables produced. So for instance, in Fragment 8 we observe that at lines 5 and 24, JR produces "because" in its two-syllable form while at line 26 he produces the same lexical item in its `reduced' one-syllable form as "'cause". In Fragment 9, AR produces two versions of the pronoun "I" followed by "am" at line 16: the first (cliticised) token forms a single syllable ("I'm") while the second is done as two syllables, with "am" produced with a full (front open) vowel.

However, we find that when speakers redo lexical items in the second parts of doubles, they produce them with the same number of syllables and the same accentual patterns that those items had in the first part. In Fragment 6, for instance, AR produces "probably" with three syllables on both occasions (rather than with a two-

syllable contracted form such as "prob'ly" in the second part). In Fragment 7, "it'll" (lines 32 and 37) is produced both times as a single syllable (with cliticised "will" in both parts), and not as two syllables with a full form, "it will come back", in the second part.

Additionally, one of the discriminably regular features of doubles is that speakers retain the rhythmic and accentual patterning of the first part when they produce the second part. Specifically (i) words are metrically footed in the same way in the two parts of the double and (ii) the location of the main pitch prominence is the same in the two parts.

In the following transcriptions `/' is used to indicate the beginning of a metrical foot, underlining to indicate the location of main pitch prominence and `//' to indicate the end of an intonation phrase. In Fragment 5 the first part of the double is footed such that both words are stressed and the main pitch prominence falls on the second word (*/never /<u>mind</u>// /never /<u>mind</u>//*). In Fragment 6 the repeated phrase "they probably are" is also produced with two metrical feet thus: *they /probably /<u>are</u>// they /probably /<u>are</u>//*. The first of the two doubles in Fragment 7 is produced with two feet in each part, with the main pitch prominence coincident with the word "back" - */it'll come /<u>back</u> though// /it'll come /<u>back</u>//*. Her second double is designed with the main pitch prominence on "might" - *it /<u>might</u> do// it /<u>might</u> do//*. GA's double in Fragment 8, formed by repeating the word "completely", has a canonical lexical accentuation for the word with the second syllable being foot initial and bearing the main pitch prominence of the phrase; *com/<u>pletely</u>// com/<u>pletely</u>//*. Fragment 9's double is footed as *they're /<u>snookered</u>// they're /<u>snookered</u>//* with "they're" as a weak syllable and the main pitch prominence falling on the metrically strong syllable of the final word. In Fragment 10 the production of "never mind" is footed and accented in the same way as it was produced by another speaker in Fragment 5 - */never /<u>mind</u>// /never /<u>mind</u>//*.

3.3.2 Pitch and pitch-range characteristics

All of the doubles in the corpus are characterised by being constructed as two distinct intonation phrases, each having a falling main pitch prominence. In addition, the second part of the double is typically lower in overall pitch than the first part, and the pitch range of the second part of the double is typically compressed relative to the first part. Each of these features is represented in the labelled F0 traces of the double in Fragment 6 ("we probably are") which are shown in Figure 3.

===== INSERT FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE =====

The arrows in Figure 3(a) show the falling main pitch prominence in each part; Figure 3(b) shows that the first metrically strong syllable of each part (the first syllable of "probably") is 2.9 ST lower in the second part than in the first; Figure 3(c) shows that the first part has a pitch range of 17 ST whereas the second part has pitch range of 9.7 ST - a compression of more than 7 ST.

Since it is not practical to present F0 traces of all instances in the corpus, nor even those discussed in this paper, Table 1 presents measurements supporting our descriptions. The table contains pitch data for each of the doubles in Fragments 5 to 10. The first column of the table shows that the highest pitch in the second part of the double is lower than the highest pitch in the first; the two rightmost columns show that the pitch range is compressed on the second part relative to the first. Over the whole of our corpus, the average difference between the pitch range of the first and second parts of doubles is 4 ST (with a maximum difference of 10.6 ST and a minimum difference of 2 ST). It can be seen, therefore, that doubles are associated with particular pitch relationships between the first and second parts, encompassing features of intonation phrasing, pitch height, and pitch range.

====== INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE =====

3.3.3 Duration characteristics

Over the corpus of doubles, the second parts are somewhat shorter in duration than their first parts (mean: second part is 75% of the duration of the first part; range: 55% to 92%). However, the relatively faster production of the second parts of doubles is not achieved by uniform temporal compression of the repeated words and syllables.

One systematic locus of temporal compression is the syllable bearing the main pitch prominence in the second, repeated part of the double. Although there is not a uniformity of temporal compression across each lexical item (i.e. there may be a greater degree of temporal compression on some items than on others), for all cases in our corpus the pitch prominent syllable in the second part is noticeably shorter than its congener in the first part (mean: main pitch prominence in second part is 62% of the duration of the main accented syllable in the first part; range: 42% to 71%).

The labelled waveform in Figure 4, of the double from Fragment 6, provides an exemplar of these descriptions. In this particular case, temporal compression of the second part relative to the first is observable throughout (first "we" = 159 ms, second

"we" = 138 ms; first "probably" = 588 ms, second "probably" = 376 ms). It can also clearly be seen that the syllable bearing the main pitch prominence ("are") is considerably shorter in the second part than in the first (first "are" = 303 ms, second "are" = 126 ms; i.e. the second is 42% of the duration of first).

===== INSERT FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE =====

3.3.4 Further observations: articulatory and loudness characteristics

Regularities of two further phonetic characteristics are apparent across our corpus. The first concerns constraints on variation in articulatory details between the two parts of the double. The second concerns the patterning of loudness between the two parts.

Although it is well known that rather different productions may be recognised as the same lexical item(s), the articulatory details of doubles are organised in such a way as to maximise the similarity between the second parts and first parts. Other work on the articulatory variability observed in repetitions of individual lexical items has often attributed the variation to phonologically or biologically triggered reduction processes. For instance, Jurafsky et al. (1998) identifies the lexical item "that" as being realised by a variety of phonetic forms, including [ðæt, ðæ, æ, ðɛ, ðɛt, ðɛɾ, ðɪt, ðɫ, ðɪɾ]. Such variation, however, is not observed between the items in the first and second parts of doubles.

Additionally, we do not find the systematic differences in the patterns of articulatory variation of the kind documented by Curl (2002). Although her study shares the methodological approach adopted here, she found that some repetitions were produced to be maximally *distinct* from the first sayings, and that this was dependent on the sequential organization of the talk up to that point.[10] These different phonetic realizations of re-done talk at different sequential locations speaks to our claim that repetition is not a unitary phenomenon, and should not be analyzed as such. Finally, the first and second parts of doubles are loudness integrated, with no noticeable increases or decreases in overall loudness from the first part to the second. Among other functions, disjunctive step-ups in loudness have been identified as marking new sequences in talk-in-interaction (see for instance Goldberg 1978; Local and Walker 2003). We therefore take this lack of difference as one of the hallmarks of a double, and as contributing to the status of the second part as a second to the first part.

Having outlined the interactional and phonetic characteristics of doubles in this section, the following section discusses some of the consequences of these observations.

4 Comparison with another type of repetition

In the introduction to this paper, reference was made to a larger ongoing study of repetition in talk-in-interaction. In Fragments 11 and 12, we present two instances of repetition which appear comparable to our cases in three ways: they are clausal; they are produced by the same speaker; and each part constitutes a single intonation contour. However, these are the only three features shared by these repetitions and the doubles we have been documenting. As shown below, the repetitions are not

deployed, nor treated by the co-participants, in the same manner as the doubles.

(11) BBC Saturday Live, 25/5/85 (radio interview)

```
1       RS:     he played very few live performances John
2               (0.5)
3       JM:     two to my knowledge (0.1) one .hhhhhh was a (0.2) a
4               christmas affair given by the (Colletry Climats)
5               Apprentices:
6               (.)
7       JM:     I suppose it was their uh: (0.2) christmas ba:ll: uh
8               he was the- that really destroyed him .hhhh because I 9
                think they they they'd rather've listened to:: (0.2) 10
                the Tro:ggs
11              [or whatever
12      RS:     [Amen Corner or someth[i:ng=
13 --> JM:                           [th[at's right th[at's right=
14      RS:                              [=yeah         [yeah
15      JM:     so I think uh that was that was a major blow to his
16              confidence I remember him: being .hhhh defensive about
17              that for days and days and then he did another one
18              .hhhh at the festival hall supporting Sandy Denny
```

(12) SBL.3.2.R (telephone)

```
1       Cla:    =we::ll: I: I thought I made it plai:n: and: she said
2               shi-(.) she understood that uh hh we played on Friday
3               nights and well you spoke uh well: uh Peyton Pla:ce¹¹
4               was o:n Fri:day 'cause you and I were talking and we
5               could get along without Peyton Place one time you
6               [know hh[hh
7       Sar:    [yeah   [yeah
8       Sar:    [mmhm ]
9       Cla:    [and I] said and (.) and Geri spoke up and said she
10              couldn't play on F[r i : ]day
11 --> Sar:                      [that's] ri:ght that's right
12              because of uh:[m
13      Cla:                  [the ba::ll ga[ : : me :: ]
14      Sar:                               [the ball ga]:me [yeah ] 15
        Cla:                                               [and I]
16              said no and I guh so I said well we'll make it
17              We:dnesday so when I: come home and found I had to go
18              to Lo:dge well I called everybody en hhhh you had your
19              cla:ss o:n Tue:sday:s and We:dnesdays and Fri:da:y:
```

In Fragments 11 and 12, the arrowed turns are examples of a redone or repeated clause, but are not used to close topics or sequences in the ways identified for the doubles. In Fragment 11, musician JM (the interviewee), is in the midst of a telling concerning the live performances of a late colleague. Following intervention of this telling by RS (the interviewer) at line 12, JM responds with "that's right that's right" (line 13). This redoing is not used to end talk on this topic, as was shown in the examples above, but rather is followed by further on-topic talk by JM himself. Note also the lack of any silences around this sequence - both speakers overlap each other's talk before and during each production of "that's right".

Fragment 12 is produced in quite a similar way. It comes from a complaint sequence concerning spoiled arrangements for a get-together. Following Claire's assertion that

"Geri spoke up and said she couldn't play on Fri:day" (lines 9 to 10) Sarah aligns with Claire's version of past events and immediately goes on after her repeated "that's right" to display a fuller understanding by adding additional information to the account that was given (line 12 to 14). Note again how much of the talk surrounding this repetition occurs in overlap (and that in neither case is the overlapping talk treated as problematic).

In addition to the sequential differences between the repeats in Fragments 11 and 12 and those described in previous sections, the phonetic characteristics are also noticeably different from those of the doubles. In Fragment 12, for instance, we note that the major pitch prominences coincident with the two tokens of the word "right" are both falling-*rising*. In none of the cases of doubles discussed here did we find final *rising* pitch. Nor does the repeated talk in Fragments 11 and 12 exhibit the kinds of pitch lowering observed for the second parts of the doubles.

Figure 5 shows that there is a marked similarity in pitch (both in maximum pitch height and pitch range) between the first and second tokens of "that's right". There is a 0.5 ST difference between the mean pitches of "that's", while the main pitch prominence, coincident with "right" in the two tokens, displays the same local maximum (105Hz) and a similar falling pitch excursion (3.4 ST and 3.9 ST respectively), though the microdetails of the fall in pitch can be seen to differ in the two cases. Figure 6 plots the pitch contours for Sarah's turn "that's right that's right" in Fragment 12. Again we can see that the two versions are very similar in terms of the pitch height of their parts. There is only a difference of 0.08 ST between the pitch maxima of the two tokens of "that's". Similarly, the two tokens of "right" exhibit effectively the same pitch maxima (206 Hz and 205 Hz respectively) located at the beginning of the words.

===== INSERT FIGURE 5 ABOUT HERE =====

===== INSERT FIGURE 6 ABOUT HERE =====

5 Summary and implications

A number of findings have been demonstrated in this report. First, it has been shown that verbatim self-repetitions are used in the collaborative closing of sequences of talk. Second, these repetitions (DOUBLES) have been shown to involve particular kinds of utterances (which we have dubbed APPRAISALS) which look back to and display an understanding of the prior sequence, but offer little for co-participants to take up in following talk. Third, the second parts of doubles have been shown to have particular phonetic characteristics which are deployed with reference to the phonetic characteristics of the first part of the double. These phonetic details express a syntagmatic relationship between the two parts, and contribute to the status of the second part as a second part to the first, thus forming a double.

A number of issues arise out of the empirically-grounded linguistic-sequential analysis we have provided. These issues have relevance for the analysis of repetition, the analysis of conversation more generally, and for work at the prosody-pragmatics interface. In the following, we deal with each of these issues in turn.

First, it has been shown that repetition is not a unitary phenomenon. That is, not all repetitions are deployed or treated as functionally equivalent by participants in interaction, even when each repetition is a verbatim self-repetition of a proximate and possibly complete utterance. This supports one central claim of other linguistic-sequential analyses of repetition (Curl 2002).

Second, and leading on from the first point, the most felicitous account of the organisation of conversation would seem to be one based on notions of polysystemic organisation (see e.g. Firth 1957; Hawkins and Smith 2001). Under this view, there is no compunction for the analyst to view all instances of what appear to be the same phenomenon (e.g. repetition) as being equivalent and thus worthy of comparison. Rather, analytic work of the kind presented here (i.e. a linguistic-sequential account) is required to show that instances of some proposed practice are deployed and treated in the same way by interacting participants. By doing this, the analyst can establish structural sameness and compare objects which truly deserve comparison, leading to a more rigorous account of the deployment and treatment of linguistic resources.

Third, we have grounded our linguistic-sequential analysis in the observable behaviour of participants to interaction. In analysing doubles, we have found no evidence that `prosody,' as commonly conceived, is relevant or useful in explaining participants' understandings of utterances. That is, the separate and individuated treatment of phonetic resources which are typically dubbed `prosodic' does not seem to be warranted by the observable behaviour of participants. This is not to say that resources which might fall under the rubric of `prosody' are not at work here: they plainly are. However, we have shown that these resources only form a *part* of the practice, which incorporates features of lexis, articulatory details, loudness, duration, syllabic make-up, and a variety of pitch characteristics. Furthermore, the part played by `prosodic' resources seems no greater than that played by others. We would suggest, therefore, that serious analytic work (driven by the observable orientation of participants) is required to warrant the separate and individuated treatment of linguistic resources at any level and for any given practice.

Appendix: Transcription conventions

Transcriptions of talk-in-interaction are presented in courier font, employing a modified orthography. The presentation transcriptions given here aim for enhanced readability wherever possible, while representing features which (i) are useful to the analysis presented here (ii) are part of the sequential organisation of talk (e.g. gaps, overlaps) and (iii) have been shown elsewhere to have interactional significances (e.g. audible breathing, abrupt cut-off of speech production with oral or glottal closure). It is important to note that these presentation transcriptions are not the data, and should not be treated as a substitute for the original audio recordings.

`[`	aligned square brackets mark onset of overlapping talk
`(.)`	"micropause" (pause of less than 0.1s)
`=`	"latching" talk (talk starts up in especially close temporal proximity to the end of the previous talk)
`:`	sustention of sound (the more colons the longer the sound)
`(0.8)`	pause (in seconds)
`h`	outbreath (each "h" representing 0.1s)

`.h`	inbreath (each "h" representing 0.1s)
`( )`	unintelligible talk; the space between the parentheses indicates the duration of the unintelligible talk
`(yes/is)`	uncertain hearing
`(( ))`	description rather than transcription e.g. `((laugh))`
`goo-`	abrupt oral or glottal cut-off
`!t`	the exclamation mark is used where a stop articulation is released with ingressive airflow; the following symbol denotes the place of articulation (in this case, alveolar)

Notes

1   Authors are listed alphabetically; each made an equal contribution. Thanks to Tony Wootton for insightful comments on an early draft of this paper. Authors are listed alphabetically; each made an equal contribution. Email: lang4@york.ac.uk (Local); tsc3@york.ac.uk (Curl); gw115@york.ac.uk (Walker).

2   In a recent article, Hellerman (2003) engages in an attempt to understand participants' orientations to certain phonetic characteristics of repetitions of students' talk by teachers; see also Perrin et al. (In press) for work from a different theoretical perspective but also incorporating phonetic analysis.

3   Note also that this warrant is adumbrated by her preceding talk in line 14, "cause".

4   The claim is attenuated to almost no practice as some practices, e.g. putting down the receiver during a telephone conversation, might be seen as guaranteed to work.

5   E.g., each part of a double comprises a complete intonation contour; there is a lack of `assimilation' between the final sounds of a first part and the initial sounds of a second part. More detail is provided in Section 3.3 and in the discussion of Fragment 10.

6   Further research contrasting the use of doubles to close sequences with e.g. the use of figurative expressions (see Drew and Holt 1998) remains to be done.

7   There are a number of reasons why we adopt a qualitative methodology in handling material drawn from talk-in-interaction, though we cannot even begin to detail them here; the interested reader is referred to Schegloff (1993).

8   The standard orthography used in the transcripts does not, in this instance, render this vocalization as one that readers can easily recognize. The spelling attempts to capture its quiet, nasalized, lax quality. We call it a continuer because does not project further talk from JR (as it is not even a recognizable item, unlike e.g. "mm-hm"), and because GA starts up her own talk immediately, showing her orientation to it as such.

9   It is interesting to note that the `fight' to close appears to be won by AR's employment of perhaps the strongest resource available in order to close an

interaction: it appears that he cuts Mark off from the broadcast at some point after his "so you can't feed them" (line 13). The evidence for this is (i) Mark doesn't speak again after this point (ii) the shift from "you" to index "Mark" in line 15 to "Mark" in 17 and (iii) AR's reference to being "flat out of time", which may form an account for his transgression.

10   It should be noted that Curl (2002) also focussed on exact lexical repetitions, as does the study presented here.

11   `Peyton Place' was a soap opera, originally broadcast on U.S. television in the mid- to late-1960s.

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|	
(5) Holt.5.88.1.5.nevermind	

1. mutual passing up on the opportunity to take extended turn	`Les:   no`
	`            (0.2)`
	`Les:   no no`

2. recognisable move to topical closure (appraisal)	`Rob:   never mind`
3. mutual passing up on the opportunity to take extended turn	`          (.)`
4. repeat of (2)	`Rob:   never[mind`
5. mutual passing up on the opportunity to take extended turn	`Les:        [no` `            (0.3)`
6. next move on some new topic/sequence	`Rob:   anyway I will let you (0.2) go`
(6) NO.1.10.american.are	

1. mutual passing up on the opportunity to take extended turn	`AR:    huhhh huh [hah hah hahhah`
	`Mich:           [hihh hah huh huh`
	`       [hih [huh .hhh`

2. recognisable move to topical closure (appraisal)	`AR:    [and [we probably are`
3. mutual passing up on the opportunity to take extended turn	`Mich: ah huh`
4. repeat of (2)	`AR:    [we pr[ o ]bab[ly] are`
5. mutual passing up on the opportunity to take extended turn	`Mich: [.hhh [huh] [hh]`
6. next move on some new topic/sequence	`AR:    that's lovely michelle` `thankyou for calling`
(7) PF.Carl1.15	
1. mutual passing up on the opportunity to take extended turn	`Fwkr: yea::h`
2. recognisable move to topical closure (appraisal)	`Fwkr: it might do` `          (1.2)`
3. mutual passing up on the opportunity to take extended turn	
4. repeat of (2)	`Fwkr: it might do`

5. mutual passing up on the opportunity to take extended turn	`          (1.2)`
	`Fwkr: right`
	`          (0.3)`

6. next move on some new topic/sequence	`Fwkr: what else have we got in here`

Figure 1: Schematic representation of three sequences involving doubles

| Holt.Nov2002.2.2	
1. mutual passing up on the opportunity to take extended turn	```A: hah hah hah hah hhh```
2. recognisable move to topical closure (appraisal)	```A: it's cool```
3. mutual passing up on the opportunity to take extended turn	``` (.)``` ```A: hhh```
4. repeat of (2)	
5. mutual passing up on the opportunity to take extended turn	```A: it's cool``` ``` (.)```
6. next move on some new topic/sequence	```A: so: you're uh (.) you're all done``` ``` and dusted```
NO.1.22.sister.shame	
1. mutual passing up on the opportunity to take extended turn	```AR: a::::hh::::::``` ```Cla: huh hih [heh huh [heh```
2. recognisable move to topical closure (appraisal)	```AR: [I just think [it's a``` ``` shame```
3. mutual passing up on the opportunity to take extended turn	
4. repeat of (2)	```AR: it's a shame```
5. mutual passing up on the opportunity to take extended turn	
6. next move on some new topic/sequence	```AR: but anyway stay on the line```
SN-4.9	

1. mutual passing up on the opportunity to take extended turn	``` (0.5)```
	```Mark: but um```
	``` (1.2)```

2. recognisable move to topical closure (appraisal)	```Kar: c'est la vie```
3. mutual passing up on the opportunity to take extended turn	
4. repeat of (2)	```Kar: c'est la vie```
5. mutual passing up on the opportunity to take extended turn	```Mark: eyeh``` ``` (1.2)```
6. next move on some new topic/sequence	```Mark: that's about it hell I haven't``` ``` been doing anything```

Figure 2: Schematic representation of three sequences involving doubles
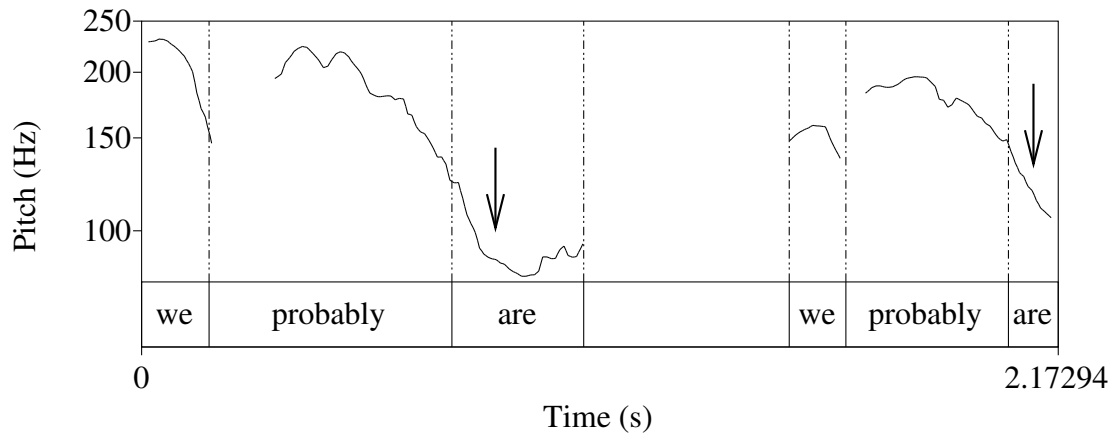
(a) Falling main pitch prominence
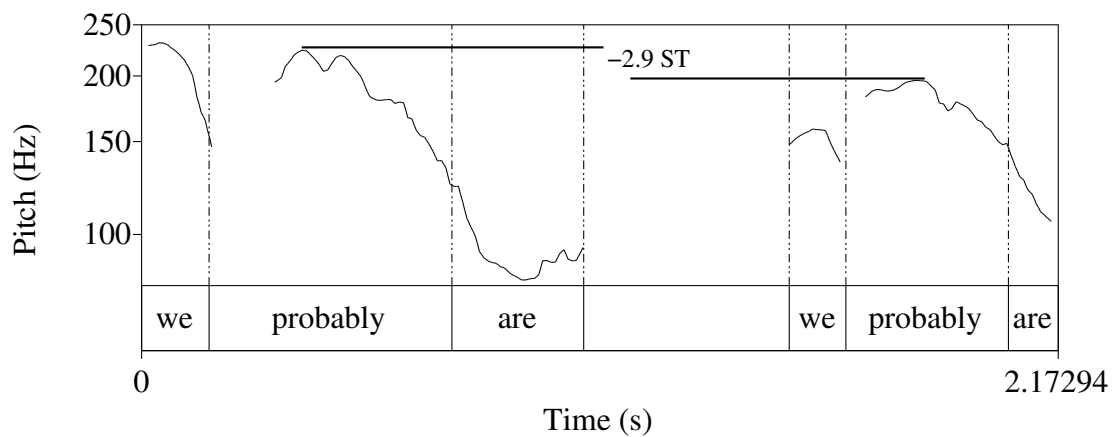
(b) Lower overall pitch height in the second part
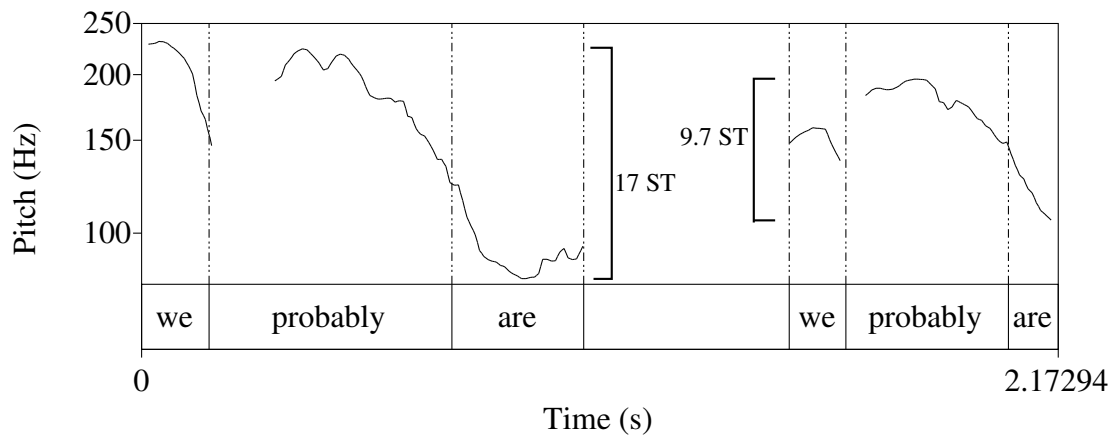
(c) Compressed pitch range in the second part

Figure 3: Labelled F0 traces of the double in Fragment 6, with features in the captions marked

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Fragment	Highest pitch in second part relative to first	Pitch range First part	Second part
5	-2.3	7.5	5.5
6	-2.9	17.0	9.7
7	-1.8	14.0	9.6
8	-1.7	9.5	8.0
9	-1.8	16.9	6.3
10	-6.1	N/A (overlap)	

Table 1: Pitch data for Fragments 5 to 10 (all values are in semitones)
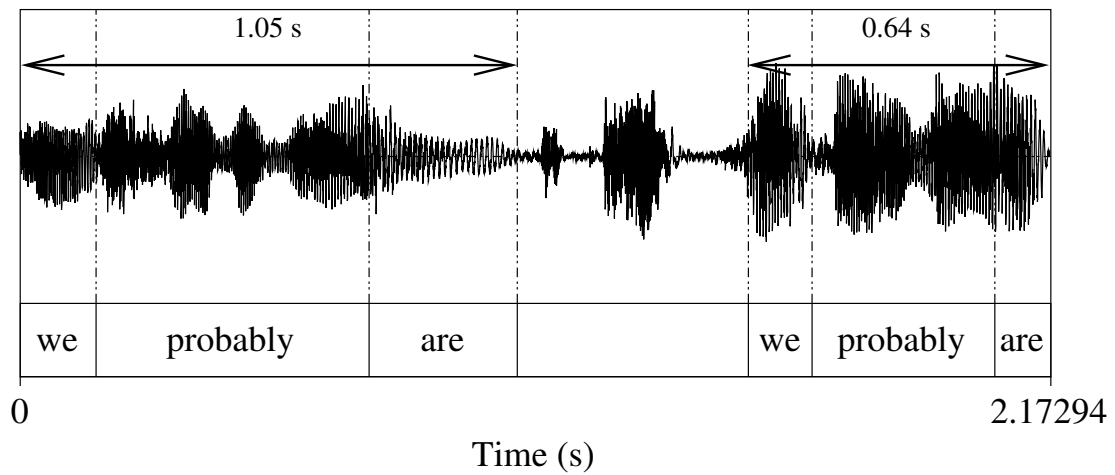
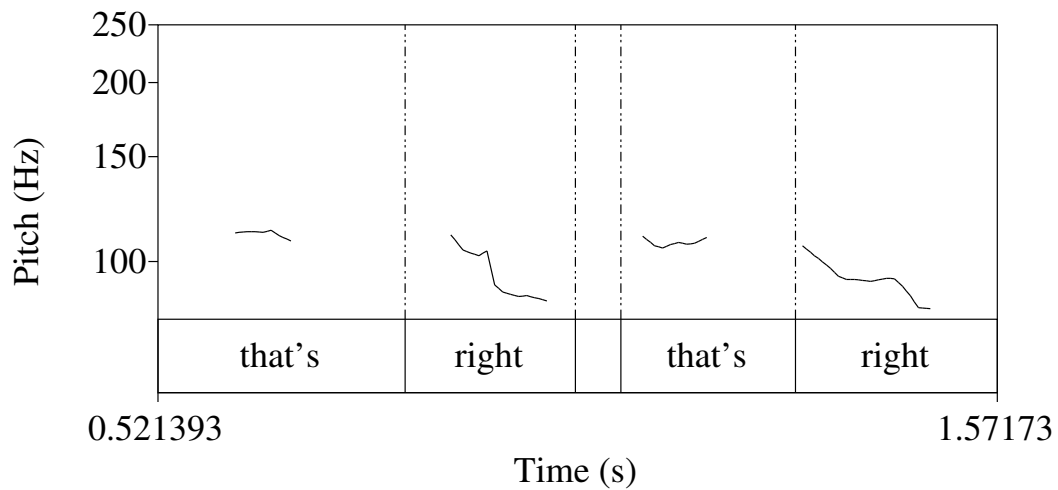**Figure 4:** Labelled speech pressure waveform of the double in Fragment 6

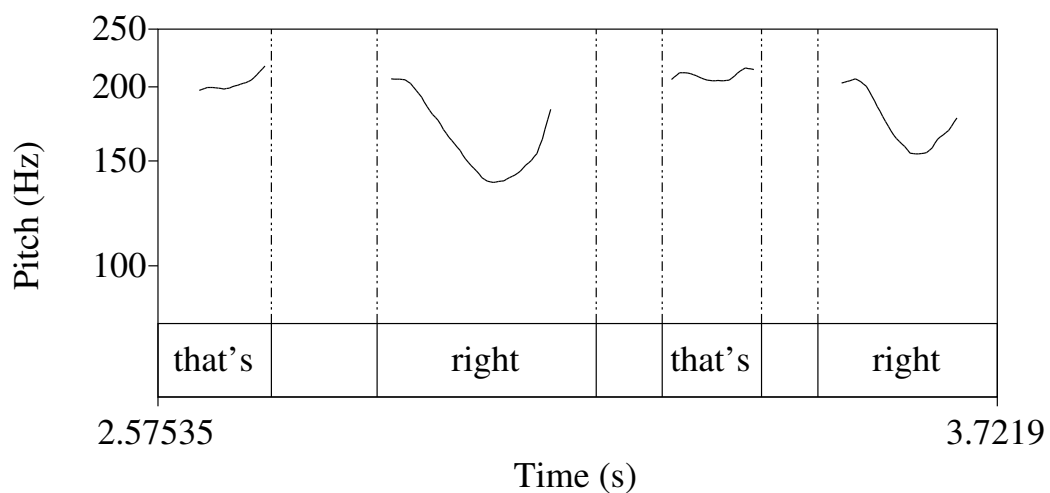**Figure 5:** Labelled F0 trace of the repetition in Fragment 11

Figure 6: Labelled F0 trace of the repetition in Fragment 12