



Other-Initiated Repair in Japanese: Accomplishing Mutual Understanding in Conversation

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博士論文

**Other-Initiated Repair in Japanese:
Accomplishing Mutual Understanding in Conversation**

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**Other-Initiated Repair in Japanese:
Accomplishing Mutual Understanding in Conversation**

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論文要旨

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専攻 グローバル文化専攻外国語教育コンテンツ論

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論文題目

Other-Initiated Repair in Japanese: Accomplishing Mutual Understanding in Conversation

(日本語会話に見られる「他者開始修復」：会話における相互理解の達成)

論文要旨

本研究は、日本人が会話において相互理解を達成する手続きを、「他者開始修復」という会話現象をてがかりに解明する。会話の進行には、会話参加者がお互いの発話をその都度理解することが前提となる。通常であれば、ある発話に対して、相応の応答が返されたことをもって、応答者が先の発話を問題なく理解していることが確認される。一方、聞き手が発話の聞き取りや理解にかんしてなんらかの問題を見出した時、その場で他者開始修復が発動される。本研究は、他者開始修復が会話参加者間の相互理解を促す仕組みを明らかにするために、会話分析の手法を用いて、以下の3つの問いに答える。

- (1) 日本語会話において、他者開始修復がどのように組織化され、運用されているのか。
- (2) 修復と日本語の文法的特徴との間になんらかのつながりがあるか。
- (3) 修復の遂行に、会話参加者の知識状態が関与するのか。

本論文第1章では、他者開始修復とはどのようなものを説明し、この会話現象を会話参加者間の相互理解の達成とのかかわりで研究することの意義と重要性を述べた。

第2章では、本研究が依拠する会話分析の理念、データ分析法の特徴と利点を述べた。また、本研究で使用する会話データの性質や収録方法についてまとめた。

日本語での他者開始修復が、「聞き返し」という現象として主に日本語教育の分野で研究されてきた一方で、英語母語話者間の会話に出現する他者開始修復についてはすでにある程度の研究成果が蓄積されている。第3章では、それらの先行研究を参照しつつ、会話における

修復の基本的な組織化について概説した。また、比較言語学的な視点からの研究や、言語教育の分野での関連研究をも概観した。

第4章から第7章までが本研究の中核となる。まず第4章では、多くの会話事例から、日本語母語話者が行う他者開始修復を類型化し、修復を開始する7つの形式を特定した。それに先がけて、一つ一つの事例について、どのように聞き取りや理解の問題が発生しており、それが他者開始修復によってどのように解決されているのかを詳細に分析・記述した。さらに、英語母語話者が行う他者開始修復との基本的な仕組みの類似性も確認した。

第5章では、日本語の文法的特性の一つである「文法項の省略」と他者開始修復との密接なつながりを論じた。一般に、主語や目的語などの文法項が省略されていても、その発話は問題なく理解されうると考えられているが、実際の会話では、省略された発話要素を補うよう話し手に求めるための特別な修復開始方法があることが明らかになった。また、修復開始と、それに応じて欠けた発話要素が充足されるという一連の手続きを通して、ある発話が、会話の当事者たちにとって、欠けた要素があるがゆえに問題のある発話として認定され対処されるプロセスについても述べた。

他者開始修復は、基本的には発話の聞き取りや理解の問題を解決するために遂行されるものであるが、一方で、修復の開始によって、今話されている事柄について聞き手がどのような知識状態にあるのかが他者にも明らかになる。当該の事柄について知らないために修復が開始される場合もあれば、そのことをよく知っているからこそ聞き返す場合もある。後者の典型が「言い間違いの指摘」である。第6章では、ある俳優の名前について言い間違いが指摘された会話事例をとりあげ、通常の手続きで開始された修復連鎖が、通常の範囲を超えた長さに拡張され、その中で言い間違いを指摘した者と指摘された者が、どちらが「より知る者」、「より熱心なファン」なのかをめぐって交渉する様子を詳しく検討した。

最終章では、本研究による知見をまとめて確認するとともに、修復を開始するという行為が、会話中での人々の相互理解の達成にどのように寄与しているのかを論じた。発話の聞き手にとっては、他者開始修復は、発話の理解の不成立を最小限にとどめ、早いうちに問題を取り除くための手段となる。一方話し手にとっても、聞き手からの他者開始修復は、聞き手の理解具合に応じて自身の発話を再構成し、聞き手のよりよい理解を促すためのてがかりとなる。他者開始修復と会話における相互理解の達成についての本研究は、人間の言語使用、相互行為の遂行、コミュニケーションについての我々の知識と理解を深める、意義深い研究であると考えられる。

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Accomplishing understanding in conversation

This study concerns how the Japanese establish mutual understanding in conversation. In daily life, we communicate with others through conversation, or more broadly, interaction. Effective communication is considered to lead to mutual understanding between interactants. But the meaning of “mutual understanding” still remains rather vague. In a vernacular sense, it means, for example, that a particular occasion of interaction becomes a shared experience for those involved, in that they have common ideas about what happened on this occasion. It may also refer to the fact that some sort of consensus or agreement on a matter is made. Building up and maintaining a harmonious social relationship among people may also be seen as mutual understanding. Understanding in these general senses results from the accumulation of successful understanding at a more local level, that is, understanding of a single utterance produced during conversation.

Figure 1 One-way communication model

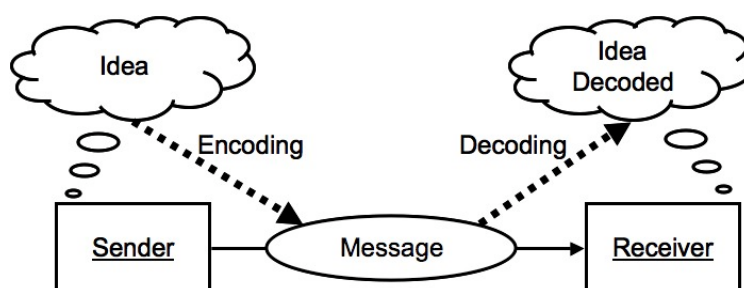


Figure 1 represents the most standard communication model (based on Takeuchi, 1973:110). The SENDER on the left side first forms in his mind some idea to be expressed and conveyed. He then ENCODEs the idea into a verbal or non-verbal MESSAGE. The message is transmitted to the RECEIVER on the right side. The receiver DECODEs the message and obtains the IDEA DECODED. Such a one-way

view of communication seems to assume that the idea the receiver decodes from the message is the same as the original idea the sender has in his mind. In other words, the ideal state of communication is that the sender's "intention" to convey something is correctly understood by the receiver.

But does such an assumption hold in real-life conversation? If so, how does the sender know that the receiver has comprehended what he meant to convey, despite the fact that they cannot look into each other's mind?

In this regard, the bidirectional nature of conversation nicely provides a means of verifying that the speaker has been understood by the recipient. Conversation is forged by a succession of utterances, an utterance by one speaker being built on its just-prior utterance by the other. When the recipient hears and understands what the speaker says, he shows so by producing a next utterance. The speaker, in return, observes from the next utterance how the recipient has understood his prior utterance. As long as his interlocutor returns a response somehow appropriate to his prior utterance, the speaker can believe that what he has just said has been understood without any problem.

However, we human beings are not at all perfect as users of language. When we speak, we easily experience various kinds of speech errors and difficulties. Our tongues may slip; our speech may become garbled; a proper expression does not come out easily. Similarly, as recipients of talk, we often fail to catch words that someone has uttered; we may even completely misunderstand what someone has said. Such problems embody the potential risk of disturbing the smooth flow of conversation and blocking our mutual understanding. What is more, they may occur at any time during conversation and they are almost impossible to prevent in advance. It is necessary for us, then, to deal with such problems when they happen. The set of interactional practices we deploy for this purpose in conversation is known as "repair" (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977).

1.2. Other-initiated repair

According Schegloff, et al. (*ibid.*), conversational repair consists of two kinds. One is mainly operated by a speaker on their own utterance, when he or she realizes the necessity of correcting or modifying a trouble source without it being pointed out by a recipient. This type of repair is termed "self-initiated repair". "Other-initiated repair",

on the other hand, is something that a recipient employs when he or she encounters problems in hearing or understanding what a speaker has just said. The latter is a more interactive task and requires more collaboration between both parties than the former, as the existence of the problem is made public by the recipient. The issue of the recipient's comprehension, thus, becomes an overt concern for the conversationalists.

Extract (1-1) exemplifies the actual occurrence of other-initiated repair in Japanese conversation.¹ This brief exchange is taken from a conversation between sisters-in-law in their twenties who visit each other on a regular basis. Y has expressed her wish to visit K on the following day, and checks at line 466 the time when some member of K's family (the referent is not identifiable even from the preceding talk) will come back home. In uttering the question, she first says *kyō* 'today', which turns out to be *ashita* 'tomorrow'. But Y is apparently not aware of her mistake: it is K's other-initiated repair at lines 468, 470 and 472 that eventually succeed in eliciting the correct expression from Y.

(1-1) Shakujii05:17:466-474:468 [Today-Tomorrow]

- 466Y dō darō ne, kyō kaettekun no wa ne:: yoru hachiji ka kuji?
how COP(PRES) FP today come-back N TOP FP night eight or nine
'What do you think, is it at eight or nine in the evening that ((he)) is coming back today?'
- 467 (0.2)
- 468K-> e?
'Huh?'
- 469Y hachiji ka kuji dak [ke (>kyō<)]
eight-o'clock or nine-o'clock COP Q today
'At eight or nine, am I [correct? (>today<)]'
- 470K-> [kyō:?=]
'[Today?='
- 471Y =uun ashita=
'=No tomorrow='
- 472K-> =ashita?=
'=Tomorrow?='
- 473Y =n[:
'=Mm [hm'
- 474K [so, ashita wa sō.
so tomorrow TOP so
'[((That's)) correct, tomorrow ((will be)) like that.'

¹ For transcription conventions, see section 2.3 and the appendixes.

This phenomenon has also been called a “request for clarification” and a “corrective recast”, and has long been studied in Applied Linguistics (Ozaki 1993; Lyster and Ranta 1997; Long, Inagaki, and Ortega 1998; Lyster 1998; Hauser 2003). It is frequently observed in the context of native-nonnative interaction. Native speakers correct nonnative speakers’ insufficient speech through the deployment of corrective recasts. Nonnative speakers, on the other hand, mobilize requests for clarification as a strategy for making up for their limited language resources and lack of abilities. Many studies have investigated phonological and lexical variations of request for clarification, the speakers’ intentions behind them, the types of troubles they resolve, and their frequency and distribution, all with the aim of applying the findings to language teaching and learning (see Section 3.5).

As is shown in extract (1-1), the same phenomenon occurs in interaction between fully competent native speakers, so it obviously plays an important role in the development of mutual understanding between participants in conversation. However, it has received little academic attention even in Japanese studies of communication.

In the English-speaking world, on the other hand, a growing body of research has been conducted on this theme, mainly in the field of Conversation Analysis. By observing various kinds of natural talk-in-interaction between native speakers of English, Schegloff, et al. (*ibid.*) noticed that what comes after a request for clarification does not necessarily involve a correction of obvious “errors.” They thus proposed to name it “repair” rather than “correction”. Through an extensive analysis of a large amount of conversational data, they also discussed the holistic organization of repair as an important apparatus for dealing with various problems in the production and the reception of talk in the course of interaction. Since then, repair has been considered as one of the key practices with which people, whether they are native or nonnative speakers, perform orderly interaction and undertake interactional tasks in everyday situations (see Chapter 3).

1.3. The aim of the study

The aim of the study is to investigate the kinds of interactional practices native speakers of Japanese employ in order to accomplish mutual intersubjectivity in situations when understanding of an utterance is at risk. As stated above, so long as the

recipient responds to an utterance appropriately, his or her comprehension is unlikely to be overtly questioned. By deploying other-initiated repair, however, the recipient claims that the immediate production of an appropriate next utterance is suspended due to some trouble in hearing and/or understanding of the prior utterance. Other-initiated repair thus flags possible failure of mutual understanding.

The study further sets three sub-goals:

- (1) To identify ways in which other-initiated repair is organized and carried out in Japanese,
- (2) To explore possible associations between the organization of repair and certain grammatical practices in Japanese
- (3) To consider the relevance of the participants' state of knowledge to the employment of other-initiated repair.

The study takes Conversation Analysis as its research framework. One advantage of this approach is that it enables the analyst to demonstrate the dynamic ways in which interactants make sense of each other's talk by means of repair. It is their own concern in the first place, not that of the researcher, as to how repair is initiated, what kind of trouble is at issue, how the trouble can be resolved and whether they actually manage to accomplish mutual understanding through repair operation. Conversation Analysis provides strict disciplines toward the investigation of human interaction and therefore constitutes a rigid and practical methodological framework for scrutinizing spontaneous talk-in-interaction.

Those who are engaged in conversation do not normally pay much attention to the trivial problems that they experience as they talk, and nor do they remember how they resolved them. For capturing precisely moments of such minor events, the study audio- and video-recorded everyday conversations that happened naturally in various settings of the participants' daily lives. The data corpus consists of conversation between friends and family members, chats over lunch and during a drive around a city, business calls between a newspaper agency and its customers, and group discussion.

1.4. Organization of the chapters

The remainder of the dissertation is organized as follows.

Chapters 2 and 3 provide background for the study. Chapter 2 introduces Conversation Analysis as the basis for the study and explains its vigorousness as a research method for investigating conversational interaction. Brief descriptions of the data to be examined are also given. Those who are not familiar with Japanese language are strongly recommended to read the rough sketch of Japanese conversational grammar in the chapter before moving to subsequent sections of the dissertation. Chapter 3 overviews what repair is and how it is organized, reviewing the previous literature on repair in English and cross-linguistic studies of the phenomenon.

Chapters 4 to 6 represent the main body of the research. Chapter 4 identifies and categorizes various practices for the other-initiation of repair in Japanese, based on the previous literature about English repair reviewed in Chapter 3. Mere categorization of phonological and lexical variations of repair initiation, however, is not the purpose of the chapter. Rather, detailed examinations of each instance reveal the dynamics of the ways conversationalists collaboratively achieve mutual understanding. It is then argued that other-initiated repair in English and Japanese share strong similarities in their basic organizations.

In contrast to Chapter 4, Chapter 5 addresses the issue of the close connection between repair and Japanese grammar, focusing on what I term “repair on unexpressed utterance elements”. One characteristic of conversational Japanese is the prevalence of so-called “argument ellipsis”, that is, unexpressed core arguments of a sentence such as subject and object. Speakers frequently leave certain syntactic elements unexpressed, and recipients, generally speaking, have no difficulties in understanding such elliptic utterances. But such ellipsis does disrupt recipients’ comprehension in some cases, and a particular type of repair is routinely employed. By comparing two ways in which both an overtly-stated and an unexpressed constituent of an utterance is highlighted as a source of trouble, we uncover the very process through which participants assign the trouble-some character to an elliptical utterance otherwise seen as unproblematic.

Chapter 6 sheds light on another interactional job done by repair in coping with troubles in hearing and understanding talk; namely, showing the participants’ state of knowledge about the matter at hand. A lack of knowledge may trigger the initiation of

repair in some cases, and in others, the recipient of some instance of talk may initiate repair in order to claim that he or she is more “knowledgeable” than the speaker. The representative of the latter is so-called “correction of the other’s speech.” In this chapter, we conduct a single case analysis on an episode where the name of an actor gets corrected by the recipient of the talk. This repair results in a prolonged negotiation as to whose version is actually correct and which person is more entitled to be an “avid fan” of the actor.

Finally, we summarize our findings and discuss their relevance and implications to the understanding of human communication in Chapter 7.

Chapter 2

Methodology

2.1. Introduction

This chapter provides the methodological background to the present study. As outlined in the previous chapter, the study takes Conversation Analysis (henceforward CA) as its research framework. Section 2.2 serves as an introduction to CA, reviewing the basic philosophy and research procedures of the field (Cf. Psathas 1995; ten Have 2007; Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008). Then, in 2.3, the conversational data set that forms the basis of the investigation is explained. For readers who are not familiar with the Japanese language, section 2.4 provides a brief description of conversational Japanese grammar.

2.2. Conversation Analysis: The study of talk-in-interaction

2.2.1. *The basic philosophy of Conversation Analysis*

An American sociologist Harvey Sacks, the founder of CA, started to pay attention to ordinary conversation as a sociological research object in the 1960s. He was interested in how ordinary people make sense of what each other do in everyday life, and the conversations that they conducted provided him with rich materials to examine. The development of tape-recorders in particular made possible the repeated observation of such talk (Cf. Sacks 1992).

As Sacks pointed out, there is “orderliness” in conversation, or more formally talk-in-interaction. This means that people regularly do similar things in certain situations; that people expect that others also behave ‘as ordinary people do’; and that when something unordinary happens, people notice the irregularity and try to make sense of it. Let us consider a simple example. In Japan, we regularly answer the phone with *moshimoshi* ‘Hello’. By saying that, we are telling the person at the other end of the line that we are ready to talk (Cf. Schegloff 1986; Hopper 1992). Imagine, then, that you make a phone call, someone picks up the phone, and yet no word is heard. You would probably feel weird, and search for

possible and rational accounts for that: for example, the person is eating something.² Answering the phone with *moshimoshi* is a recurrent practice in telephone openings in Japanese, and its absence becomes a noticeable and meaningful event.

CA aims at discovering a wide range of orderliness in talk-in-interaction and to give formal descriptions of the rules, practices and devices with which people within the interaction produce such orderliness. As every single occasion of interaction is unique, the participants themselves monitor and interpret what others say and do, and decide how to respond to it. Ways in which they do things in interaction exhibit their orientations to what is ‘normal’ and what is not.

Since Sacks started his work nearly half a century ago, CA has uncovered a wide variety of practices that people mobilize for doing talk-in-interaction, such as the turn-taking organization (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974), the sequence organization (Schegloff and Sacks 1973; Schegloff 2007), and repair. These findings in CA are significant in the sense that they constitute, at least in part, orderliness in human interaction. However, more importantly, they provide researchers with vigorous

² Such a situation can occur in the actual world. A case from my data set is shown below.

TJG:07-21

((B is calling A. A’s mother first answered the phone. A then came to get the phone.))

- 01A:→ mohimohi
‘Hello ((sounds mouth full))’
02B:=> moshimoshi. na- moshikashite gohan tabe te ta::?
‘Hello. Wha- are you having dinner or something?’
03A: uun
‘No’
04 (0.5)
05B: so(hh)- sō ja nai no. hh hh
‘No(hh)- Isn’t that so? hh hh’
06 → (2.2)
07B: ano saa(h)?
‘Y’know what?’
08 → (0.8)
09A:→ n
‘Hm hm’
10B:=> (.) hh mo(h)- moshimoshi::
‘(.) hh he(h)- Hello:’
11A:→ mohimohi
‘Hello ((sounds mouth full))’
12B:=> na(h)- hhh (.) do shi ta no?
‘Wha(h)- hhh (.) what’s the matter?’
13 → (1.5)
14B:=> daijōbu? hhh
‘Are you okay? hhh’

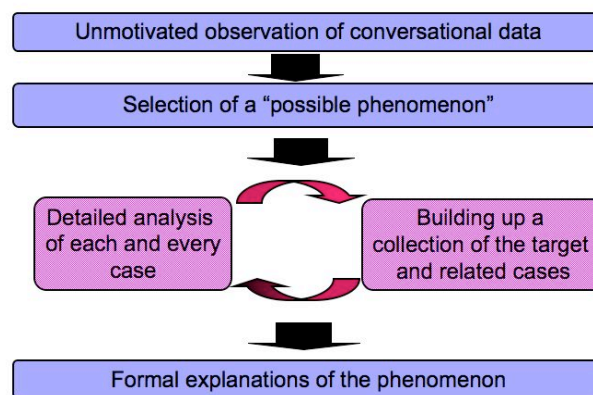
A’s *mohimohi* at lines 1 and 11, together with non-uptake and delayed, minimal responses (marked with single arrows) occasion B’s orientation to the orderliness of the telephone opening (lines 2, 10, 12, and 14).

perspectives and tools for examining complicated naturally-occurring interaction. In the next section, I will sketch out the standard procedures of conversation analytic research, which have also guided the data analysis of the current study.

2.2.2. Analytical procedures of Conversation Analysis

Conversation analytic investigations most typically follow the process illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2 Data analysis procedure



In every step of the procedures, observation and analysis of actual conversation play a crucial role. In observing conversation technically, researchers need to be aware that they should go along with the participants' viewpoints. As Schegloff and Sacks (*ibid.*) nicely put it, the question "why that now?" is key for helping the participants to interpret what goes on at any moment in conversation. Researchers must similarly pay attention to "why that now?" when examining a conversational object, that is, its sequential position, the turn-construction, and the action(s) implemented through it.

A related principle is to avoid bringing into the analysis information that the other participants do not have access and refraining from using that as an explanatory factor. This refers to, most typically, the future course of conversation, and the participants' state of mind or "intentions".

The research chiefly consists of building up a collection of instances of the target phenomenon, and conducting a detailed emic analysis on each and every case in the collection at the same time. This allows researchers to apprehend both the "context-free" and "context-sensitive" natures of the phenomenon (Sacks, et al. 1974:699; Heritage 1984a).

The collection might include exceptional cases. Outside CA, small exceptions are often disregarded as incidental and thus less meaningful. In CA research, however, such “deviant cases” receive special attention, for they in fact deepen researchers’ understanding of the phenomenon, rather than countering it. Even when something irregular happens, the participants’ treatment of the irregularity exhibits their orientation to the regularity that is broken there due to its interactional contingencies. In other words, deviancy can be accounted for in relation to the regularity.

A similar principle can be found in CA’s strong opposition to the quantification of conversational phenomena. Attention to the frequency of the occurrence of a particular object in conversation, and/or to statistical significance of it, may be able to show a general tendency, but it risks excluding context-sensitive characteristics of the interaction from consideration (Schegloff 1993).

How, then, can researchers justify their claims? The standard way in CA is to show extracts of the actual occurrence of the target phenomenon. Readers of CA papers are required to assess the validity of the author’s claims with reference to the presented extracts, and to see if the descriptions of the phenomenon are strong enough to explain both core and deviant cases appropriately and sufficiently.

2.3. The data in the current study

The primary data for the present study are naturally occurring interactions in Japanese. All the English instances in the following chapters are taken from widely available recordings and transcriptions, mainly from previously published CA work. The source of each fragment will be noted.

The Japanese database comprises the following seven sets of audio-recording.³ They were recorded with Mini Disc recorders and external microphones, except the Shakuji and the Yama corpora which were recorded on cassette tapes. The recordings were also digitalised afterwards.

Mundane telephone conversations:

Shakuji: 32 telephone conversations (approximately 1 hour 45 minutes) recorded in a three generation home in the suburbs of Tokyo. The participants consist of an extended family, and their

³ I express my gratitude to Hiroko Tanaka, Mihoko Fukushima and Aug Nishizaka for making the Shakuji, the Yakiniku, the TB, the TJG and the TW corpora available to me. The excerpted data, however, have been re-transcribed by the author, and any transcriptional shortcomings belong to the author.

relatives and friends.

TB: Approximately 8 minutes of conversation between male friends in their early twenties.

TJG: Approximately 30 minutes of conversation between female friends in their early twenties.

TW: Approximately 13 minutes of conversation between sisters in their thirties.

Mundane face-to-face interactions:

Tokyo Lunch (TL): Approximately 70 minutes of conversation at a reunion of four female college friends in their late twenties, in a restaurant in Tokyo.

Kyoto Drive (KD): Approximately 80 minutes of conversation during a drive around Kyoto. The participants were three males and one female who are former college friends.

English Teachers (ETs): Approximately 90 minutes of conversation between four Japanese teachers of English in their thirties and forties who are about to finish a 6-month training course in the UK. A daughter of a colleague of one participant in her twenties also takes part.

Yama: Approximately 2 hours of conversation between a family and their guests at a New Year dinner.

Yakiniku: Approximately 1 hour of conversation during a Yakiniku (Korean barbeque) dinner between four colleagues and an ex-colleague in a company near Tokyo.

Business calls:

Newspaper Delivery Agent (NDA): 148 telephone calls (approximately 3 hours) to and from a newspaper agent in the Kansai area. Most of the calls are between a receptionist in the agency and customers or business partners, and occasionally the call is transferred to other members of the staff.

Group discussion⁴:

Focus Group Interview (FGI): 4 focus group interview sessions (approximately 2 hours), with six interviewees each and a single professional moderator who had 18 years of experience with FGI moderation. The purpose of the interview is to investigate current cell-phone use and the needs of customers in order to develop new cell-phone software. The interviewees are all

⁴ As for the data-recording procedures of the group discussion data sets, see Mizukami, et al. (2007) and Suzuki, et al. (2009).

women in their 30s and frequent users of cell-phones.

The participants are from various parts of Japan. Most of them speak either the Tokyo dialect, which is also referred as *hyojun-go* ‘the standard language’ or *kyotsu-go* ‘the common language’, or the Kansai dialect which is considered to be another ‘major’ dialect in Japan. Little will be mentioned in the main body of analysis on any variation of the dialects that the participants use unless it becomes relevant to the matters under discussion: for example, when some dialectal lexical item causes trouble in understanding by its recipient who speaks another dialect.⁵ Similarly, the analysis may appear to lack attention to the wide range of other social identities of the participants, such as age, gender, social class, power relationships, and so on. This is, however, not saying that CA pays no attention to those social variables. For one thing, instead of introducing those categories exogenous to interaction for explicating a phenomenon observable in data, CA attends to the organization of the interaction itself, and the organization of the talk just preceding the phenomenon in particular, as a most ‘proximate context’ by reference to which any bit of talk and other conduct should be produced and understood, both by participants and analysts (Cf. discussions concerning the notion of ‘context’, Goodwin and Duranti 1992; Schegloff 1992a; also Heritage *ibid.*:242, and 280-290). For another, CA views participants of talk-in-interaction as active and knowledgeable agents, rather than the mere bearers of extrinsic social variables. That is to say, the interactants actively display, both in explicit and implicit manners, what kind of identity categories they orient to as relevant and, more importantly, such categories become “procedurally consequential for the particular aspect of the talk” (Schegloff *ibid.*:196) at any given moment. It is, then, one of CA’s interests to identify the procedural practices that participants mobilise for invoking within the talk particular identity categories relevant to and consequential for the ongoing course of interaction (e.g., Egbert 2004). Nevertheless, since they are beyond the scope of the current study, those issues shall receive minimal treatment in the following chapters.

An apparent disadvantage of the data is its lack of visual documentation. The bodily conduct such as a gaze and body movement of the participants, together with any visible features of the surroundings

⁵ A problem lies in identifying one’s dialect, or the “speech community” (Hymes 1967/1972; Gumperz 1982) that the person belongs to. The language each participant speaks is a mixture of more than one dialect fostered through the individual’s history. Even speakers who might preserve a ‘pure’ dialect would certainly modify their speech with reference to other participants and/or the nature of the setting. In fact, there is no situation in my data set where the interaction breaks down due to the difference of the participants’ dialects.

are important resources for both forming and interpreting talk-in-interaction, particularly in face-to-face settings. Without a doubt such bodily conduct can trigger, if not ‘initiate’, repair; for example, a quizzical or an ‘I-don’t-understand-you’ look which shows up on the face of a recipient may occasion repair by the speaker. Although the importance of visual cues is fully appreciated, given the limitations of the data available, the analysis of the present research is restricted to the linguistic and other conduct observable, i.e. audible conduct, in the data.

The data are transcribed in Japanese, following the conventions developed by Gail Jefferson and commonly used in conversation analytic work (Cf. Sacks, et al. *ibid.*: 731-734; Atkinson and Heritage 1984:ix-xvi; Ochs, Schegloff, and Thompson 1996:461-465), with some modification regarding Japanese standard orthography. For the benefit of English-speaking readers, however, the original Japanese tiers in the extracts presented throughout the subsequent chapters have been re-written with the English alphabet and the additional five letters, *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, and *ū*, which represent the normatively prolonged vowels in contrast to the non-standard sound stretch marked by colons (a:, e:, and so on.). The Japanese tiers are followed by a word-by-word translation or grammatical descriptions in the second tier, and a rough English gloss in the third tier. Translating one language into another always involves various difficulties, and consequently the English gloss may lack fluency or naturalness. In addition, the grammatical differences between English and Japanese described in 2.4 will be consequential to some of the ensuing arguments. The reader is thus strongly advised to inspect the original Japanese tier as well as the English gloss. For the transcription notations used in the first and the third tiers and the abbreviations in the second tier, please refer to the appendix.

2.4. Japanese conversational grammar

This section provides background information on conversational grammar in Japanese, which I hope will help non-Japanese readers to better understand the transcripts and discussions in the following chapters. It should be pointed out in advance that the three characteristics of Japanese ‘grammar’ introduced below concern the grammar for spoken varieties of Japanese: in some respects they differ from the grammar for written varieties.

The first important characteristic of conversational Japanese is its word order. In contrast to English, which has a rigid Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) structure, the standard word order in Japanese is

(2-1) Shakuji26:2:27

M = [↑kono hito ga] ne:, (0.3) sono sōdangakari [na n da yo].
this person NOM FP uh consultant COP N COP FP
[Subject] [Complement] [Predicate (Copula)]
‘=↑This person is, y’know, (0.3) uh the consultant.’

(2-2) Shakujii32:41:1174

M n, sore ga tottemo oishikat ta.
mm-hm that NOM really yummy PAST
[Subject] [Predicate (Adjective)]
'Mm hm, that one was really yummy.'

(2-3) KD02:43:1194

Y famiresu ↑ga ↓aru.

Family-restaurant NOM exist

[Subject] [Predicate (Intransitive Verb)]

‘There’s a family restaurant. (Lit., A family restaurant exists.)’

(2-4) KD03:42:1168

Y =da(hah) mi(h)nna(h) hunna(h)ji ko(h)to(h) ɣu huh .hh .hh

everybody same thing say

[Subject] [Object] [Predicate (Transitive Verb)]

‘=Da(hah) e(h)verybo(h)dy says the sa(h)me thi(h)ng(h) huh .hh .hh’

Apart from the predicate which tends to be placed in the sentence-final position, other syntactic constituents of a sentence can be arrayed in a relatively flexible order. For instance, (2-5) shows a “scrambled” sentence (Tsujimura 1996:185-186), with the OSV word order:

⁶ This predicate-final structure of the syntax has been revealed to play a significant role in the projectability of the unfolding turn, and in the turn-taking organization in Japanese (Tanaka 1999a; 2000a)

Verbs in Japanese do not exhibit agreement with the subject, that is, there is no marking on the verb for the person or number of the subject.

(2-5) TL02:7:188

E >[yubiwa monogatari]< [atashi] ēgo de [yon da no].
 The-Lord-of-the-Rings I English in read PAST FP
 [Object] [Subject] [Predicate]
 ‘>The Lord of the Rings< I read ((it)) in English.’

Some constituents may even be “dislocated” (*ibid.*:206) after the predicate, as a “post-predicate addition”.⁸ Extracts (2-6), (2-7), and (2-8) represent post-predicate adverbials, post-predicate subjects, and post-predicate objects, respectively.

(2-6) KD01:11:306

K un [i↑ke ↓ga] [aru n yo] [kono saki ni].
 yeah pond NOM exist N FP this ahead at
 [Subject] [Predicate] [Post-Pred. Adverbial]
 ‘Yeah there’s a ↑pond, right ahead of us.’

(2-7) KD03:31:866

E tsumami mo naku [sake] [nomu n yo], [mukō no hito (tte)].
 nibbles even without alcohol drink N FP over-there of person QUOT
 [Object] [Predicate] [Post-Pred. Subject]

⁸ Despite the frequent deployment of post-predicate extensions in naturally-occurring conversation, participants nonetheless orient to the predicate as an indication that the current turn is about to reach completion, and therefore that speaker transition relevant place will arrive soon (Tanaka 1999a:115-122). For instance, the second speaker may start talking on the production of the predicate in the current speaker’s turn, resulting in overlap with the current speaker’s post-predicate extension, as is demonstrated in (a).

(a) [Tanaka 1999a:117 Ex (57)]

C =onnaji yo [eri mo
 some FP collar too
 [Predicate] [Post-Pred.]
 ‘=((It’s)) the same, [the collar too]’
 A -> [a! honto::
 ‘[Oh! really?’

Speakers may also show their orientation toward the predicate as a turn-final element, minimising any prosodic discontinuity between the predicate and the post-predicate elements by means of latching and/or sound stretch, as in (b).

(b) [Tanaka 1999a:120 Ex (63)]

A -> ichiban saisho no darō::?= [ano shi]gatsu no=
 first-one of COP(PRES) uhm April of
 [Predicate] [Post-Predicate]
 ‘The first one, isn’t it::t?=[Uhm ((the one)) in April]’
 S [u:::n.]
 ‘[Yeah.]’

‘((They)) drink even without nibbles, y’know, people over there ((in England)).’

(2-8) Shakuji26:9:226

H ore mi ta n da mon, sono shorui mo.
 I see PAST N COP FP that document too
 [Subject] [Predicate] [Post-Pred. Object]
 ‘I saw, y’know, that document too.’

This relatively flexible word order becomes possible, at least partially, because some constituents are marked by case particles. The nominative case particle *ga* marks a subject, as in (2-9), whereas the accusative case particle *o* marks a direct object, as in (2-10). The dative case particle *ni* is also used in (2-10) for marking an indirect object.

(2-9) KD02:43:1194

Y famiresu ↑ga ↓aru.
 Family-restaurant NOM exist
 [Subject] [Predicate]
 ‘There’s a family restaurant. (Lit., A family restaurant exists.)’

(2-10) Shakuji04:1:21/23

O sono hito no:, and buressuretto to:, yubiwa o:,
 that person of uh bracelet and ring ACC
 [Direct Object]
 >ano higashiguchi no onēsan ni< tanon da no:.
 uh ((name)) of big-sister LOC ask PAST FP
 [Indirect Object] [Predicate]
 ‘((I)) handed that person’s:, uh bracelet and, the ring, >uh to Higashiguchi’s big sister<.’

As is evident in (2-9) and (2-10), those particles are placed *after* the nominals whose grammatical cases they mark. Indeed, other kinds of grammatical properties of sentential constituents are also marked with postpositioned particles and other elements.⁹ Therefore, the second important characteristic of Japanese is that it is a “postpositional language”, in contrast to English which is predominantly a “prepositional language”. Several more examples of the postpositional marking of

⁹ It has been revealed that in talk-in-interaction postpositional particles/elements can be placed in turn-initial position without any preceding nominal, for the purpose of accomplishing specific kinds of sequential and interactional work (See Hayashi 2001, 2002:Ch.6; Tanaka 2001a for details).

grammatical properties are presented below. One type is adverbial particles that attach some semantic meaning, such as ‘also’, ‘only’, ‘no more than’, etc., to their preceding nominal.

(2-11) Shakuji26:9:226

H ore mi ta n da mon, sono shorui mo.
 I see PAST N COP FP that document too
 ‘I saw, y’know, that document **too**.’

(2-12) TL02:16:448

S ya atashi hitokuchi shika *ta(h)be(h)(te(h) nai(hh))*
 no I one-mouthful no-more-than eat NEG
 ‘No I *a(h)te(hh)* **no more than** a mouthful.’

Another type of postpositional particle is conjunctive particles which are positioned at the end of a clause, and link that clause to a prior or to a subsequent one.¹⁰

(2-13) Yakiniku01-04:9:246

Y konomae ikō to omot ta kedo ike naku te: ,
 recently go(HOR) QUOT think PAST although can-go NEG and
 [Subordinate Clause] [Main Clause]
 ‘**Although** ((I)) was planning to go a couple of days ago, ((I)) couldn’t, and,’

(2-14) KD03:46:1299

E ichi nen buri. <<kyonen kaet ta kara. <<un
 one year after-absence last-year go-back PAST because yeah
 [Main Clause] [Subordinate Clause]
 ‘((It’s been)) a year. <<‘**Cause** ((I)) went back ((home)) last year. <<Yeah.’

The complementiser/quotation marker *to* (and its variations) is also postpositional. Consequently, it signals the *end* of ‘reported speech’, in contrast to its English equivalent ‘that’ which marks its beginning (Cf. Holt 1996, 2000; Buttny 1998; Holt and Clift 2007).¹¹

¹⁰ Mori (1999:Ch.3) reports the equivocality in the linking direction of connective particles in conversational material, and its role as a resource for accomplishing social interactional work.

¹¹ The postpositional character of the *to* is particularly relevant to the study of repair organization in Japanese, for the format *X te yū ka Y* ‘*X* or I shall rather say *Y*’ or ‘*X*, I mean *Y*’ is frequently mobilised for correction/modification, replacing *X* with *Y*. More detailed analysis will be presented in section 3.0.

(2-15) TL03:15:421/423

I atashi sore mo nanka monorēru ka nanka da to omotte ta.
 I that too like monorail or something COP QUOT think PAST
 [Reported Speech]
 ‘I thought **that** that one was also like a monorail or something like that.’

The third characteristic of conversational Japanese is the prevalence of so-called “ellipsis”, “zero-anaphora”, or “pro-drop”, that is, unexpressed core arguments of a sentence such as subject and object (Shibatani 1990:360-367; Tsujimura 1996:212-215; Ono and Thompson 1997; Hayashi, Mori and Takagi 2002:96-7, Nariyama 2003).¹² Speakers frequently leave some syntactic elements unexpressed, as demonstrated in (2-16) and (2-17). These are examples of unexpressed subjects and unexpressed objects, respectively, and the elliptical references are marked with ‘Ø’ in the English gloss.

(2-16) Shakujii07:2:45

F =(ki)tte morat ta no, kaminoke.
 cut receive-the-favour PAST FP hair
 ‘=Did Ø ((=you)) had ((it)) cut, ((your)) hair.’

(2-17) TL03:2:19-24:24

E -> a demo ne, kyonen at ta ↓yo: atashi.
 oh but FP last-year meet PAST FP I
 ‘Oh but, y’know, I met Ø ((=him)) la:st year.’

There are several linguistic devices with reference to which such elliptical reference can be correctly understood or ‘recovered’ (Nariyama 2003). One of them is the types of the utterances in which elliptical references occur. For example, an unexpressed subject in a question, like the one in (2-16) above, is typically understood to refer to its recipient. Similarly, when a speaker asserts someone’s state of mind, it is normally taken as the speaker’s own thought that is stated (*ibid.*:138-151; Kamio 1994).¹³

¹² As some researchers warn (Schegloff 1996a:106-111; Ono and Thompson 1997; Hayashi, et al. 2002), the terms “ellipsis”, “zero-anaphora” and “pro-drop” may be misleading: they imply that some element which *should* be there is missing. It seems to be the case that “[i]n Japanese conversation, unexpressed referents are massively *not* treated as ‘absent’ or ‘omitted’” (Hayashi, et al. *ibid.*:96, emphasis original). Nonetheless, on some occasions, these unexpressed references do cause problems in talk, and there are certain repair practices for dealing with just such problems. This issue will be further discussed in chapter 5.

¹³ When someone else’s state of mind is expressed, it is normatively accompanied by some uncertainty marker.

(2-18) Shakujii08:1:8-10:9/10

H nobu san irassha^oi masu deshō [ka^o.
 ((name)) TITLE be(POL) POL COP(PRES) Q
 ‘Is Nobu-san ^othe[re^o.’

Y -> [a, ima de, sochira ni
 oh now depart there to

-> mukatteru to **omou** n desu keredo:.
 be-heading QUOT think N COP but
 ‘[Oh, Ø ((=I)) **think** that ((he))’s just l-, is now heading toward there.’

Honorific markings on the predicate are another type of the clues for reference tracking, providing some information about missing constituents (Nariyama *op. cit.*:123-138). Extract (2-19), in which a newsagent receptionist (A) is informed by a business partner (P) about a new customer’s contract, provides an extreme instance. Even though P’s utterance is cut off in mid-turn, the honorific prefix *go* attached to the verb *aisatsu ni ((iku))* ‘((go and)) greet’ renders, at least partially, the utterance understandable as that the agent should go and see the customer (note that the recipient shows her understanding even without waiting for the utterance’s completion).

(2-19) NDA01-42:3:72-74

P -> =chotto:: ippen **go**aisatuni-
 a-little once ((go-))to-greet
 ‘=For a short time, once ((go and)) greet Ø- ((=the customer))’
 (0.3)

A a, ha:i wakari mashi ta:.
 oh yes understand POL PAST
 ‘Oh, yes okay.’

Among many more others, the most important resource for identifying unexpressed reference is its proximately preceding talk (*ibid.*:267-290). In (2-20) and (2-21), a person is referred to by their proper

Shakujii05:7:170

Y ichiō dakara yappari kō shiryō toshite nokoshi **tai** n **ja nai**?
 by-and-large because likewise like-this reference as keep-the-record want N COP NEG
 ‘By and large, because it’s like, Ø ((=the doctor)) wants to keep the record as reference, ((I)) guess?’

This utterance is a response to a complaint by co-participant having been told to take her baby to the hospital in six months for another medical check, even though the baby has no serious illness. The unexpressed subject for the desiderative auxiliary suffix *-tai* ‘want to’ can be appropriately understood as some third party, indeed as the doctor, partially because the statement is framed by an uncertainty marker *ja nai*? ‘((I)) guess?’

name at a point in the talk (*takano kun* at line 19 in (2-20) and *kao chan* at line 38 in (2-21)), and in subsequent talk some references to them are left unexpressed.¹⁴

(2-20) TL03:2:19-24:24

19S => takano [kun dake: waken nai yo ne. <shōsoku [ga>.
 ((name)) TITLE only know NEG FP FP tidings NOM
 ‘Takano-[kun is the only one that ((we)) haven’t heard from, isn’t he? <((No)) word[s>.’
 20E [°mu: _° |
 21J [°n:°
 ‘[°Mm hm°’
 22I hah hah=
 23S =°nh huh huh°=
 24E -> a demo ne, kyonen at ta ↓yo: atashi.
 oh but FP last-year meet PAST FP I
 ‘Oh but, y’know, I met Ø ((=him)) la:st year.’

(2-21) Shakujii09:02-03:37-49

37 (0.7)
 38Y => kao chan wa:?
 ((name)) TITLE TOP
 ‘((What is)) Kao-chan (=S’s baby daughter) ((doing))?’
 39S n? kao chan okiteru:.
 huh ((name)) TITLE awake
 ‘Huh? Kao-chan is awake.’
 40 (0.7)
 41Y -> mō demo neru no kana:.
 soon but sleep N Q
 ‘Is Ø ((=she)) going to bed soon, though, I reckon?’
 42 (0.3)
 43S -> iya, kuruma n naka de zutto nete ta kara ne:,=
 no car of inside in all-the-time sleep PAST because FP
 ‘No, ’cause Ø ((=she)) had been sleeping in the car all the way home, y’know,=’
 44Y =n:
 ‘=Mm hm’
 45S -> ↓n:, ima okichat ta n da ne [>kekkyoku<.
 mm-hm now wake-up PAST N COP FP after-all
 ‘↓Mm hm, an’ Ø ((=she)) has just woken up [>after all<.’

¹⁴ Although this is yet speculative at this stage, it is quite possible to say that an explicit reference to someone or something is a “locally initial reference form” whereas an elliptical reference is a “locally subsequent reference form” (Schegloff 1996b; although he uses those terms for person reference only, I use them here for any sort of reference). In this regard, the use of the proper name at line 39 in (2-21) is noticeable, because here the “locally initial reference form” is employed in the “locally subsequent reference position”. Some special work is being accomplished by such ‘mismatch’, and what is being done is to be worked out on case-by-case basis (*ibid.*:451-458).

46Y [sok ka:
 ‘[I see:]’
 47S °n°=
 ‘°Mm hm°=
 48Y -> =ja mata yoasobisun no kane:=
 then again stay-late-at-night N Q
 ‘=Then Ø ((=she)) will stay up and play at night again, I wonder=’
 49S =ɛsō ja na[:iɛ
 so COP NEG
 ‘=ɛThat’s what I figu[ref’

There might be other kinds of ‘considerations’ for unexpressed references: an explicit reference might be avoided out of politeness, or an unexpressed reference is tactically selected to indicate the unimportance of the referred person/object, and so on. In any case, the majority of elliptical references seem to cause little problem for their recipients.

For further information on Japanese grammar from the perspective of linguistics, the reader is referred to Kuno (1973), Shibatani (1990), Tsujimura (1996) and Martin (1988/2004).

Chapter 3

What is Repair?: The Basics of the Repair Organization

3.1. Introduction

This section overviews the development of research on repair in Conversation Analysis (CA) over the past three decades. One of the most important contributions of CA to the study of human interaction is the discovery of the mechanism of “repair”; the systematically organized set of practices with which participants can and do deal with troubles in speaking, hearing, and understanding in talk-in-interaction (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977). In everyday life interactants encounter a wide range of problems or difficulties in producing and understanding talk during the course of interaction, from problems in remembering a word when needed, articulation difficulties, to transient troubles in hearing due to some ambient noise, and various other kinds of misunderstanding. It is the repair mechanism that allows the interaction to keep going without any breakdown even in the face of such problems. To be sure, similar phenomena had already been pointed out by researchers in linguistics and other fields under the vernacular rubric of “correction (of errors)” (Corder 1967: 165 and 167-8; Baars 1980: 313; Culter 1980; Hotopf 1980: 105; Lackner 1980; Laver 1980: 303-4; Nooteboom 1980; James 1998: Ch. 8) even prior to the establishment of CA. But the significance of the CA approach lies in its endeavour to integrate seemingly very different occurrences of the phenomena in actual interactional materials into a single organization of repair. As a consequence, the organization has been described as having both “context-free” and “context-sensitive” characteristics (Cf. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974:699), with a potential to be compatible with any sort of prospective problems in naturally-occurring situations. Moreover, the repair organization is situated as one of the generic organizations for conversation as well as the turn-taking organization and sequence organization. While talk-in-interaction is generally well regulated according to those organizations, the organizations also provide organizational resources for managing certain kinds of problems that may nonetheless emerge on the surface of interaction. For these reasons, even though the current study focuses on one particular type of repair, namely, other-initiated repair, this is best understood with reference to other types of repair and the repair organization as a whole, and to other conversational organizations as well.

First, the organization of repair in English described in Schegloff, et al. (1977) and the subsequent work by Schegloff (1979, 1987a, 1988a, 1991a, 1992b, 1997a, 1997b, 2000a, 2001a,¹⁵ 2007) is overviewed in sections 3.2 to 3.4. In section 3.5, cross-linguistic research on which the above-mentioned work has had a great impact is briefly reviewed, with a particular emphasis on its application to Japanese conversational data. And finally, some implications of the previous literature upon the undertaking of the current study will be expressed in 3.6.

3.2. Conversational repair

Jefferson (1974) conducted one of the earliest explorations of the repair phenomenon in CA which provided empirical evidence that error correction could be an interactional resource. She starts by examining the alternative pronunciation of ‘the’, i.e., ‘thee’ ([ði(j)]) and ‘thuh’ ([ðə]), in natural speech. Grammatically, a vowel-begun word is preceded by ‘thee’ and a consonant-begun word by ‘thuh’. It is normatively ‘accurate’, then, that when an ‘uh’ is interjected between ‘the’ and a noun, the pronunciation of the particle is ‘thee’ rather than ‘thuh’, regardless of what noun follows.

(3-1) Jefferson 1974:183

Pat: This is Pat thee uh f-fellow from down at thee eh drum corps.

However, there are still some occurrences of ‘thuh’ followed by ‘uh’, as illustrated in (3-2).

(3-2) Jefferson 1974:184; also 188-194

(1) Wiggins: ...so, and, uh, I turned, onto thuh- uh left lane...

(2) Skolnik: Well I was borrowing thuh- uh, [motorcycle.

Judge: [What?

Skolnik: I was borrowing the motorcycle it wasn't mine. Becuz my car wasn't working...

(3) Parnelli: I told that to thuh- uh- officer.

¹⁵ Some of the findings that are to be sketched in this chapter are currently available only in Professor Schegloff's lectures. Such materials were obtained when I attended the lectures that he gave in the Linguistics Society of America, Linguistic Institute at University of California, Santa Barbara, USA, in summer 2001.

Jefferson argues that such ‘thuh- + uh’ format is not an ungrammatical occurrence but actually one form of ‘error correction format’. The general ‘error correction format’ takes the [word 1 + hesitation + word 2] form, and word 1 (error) and word 2 (correction) commonly have a contrastive relationship, as in (3-3).

(3-3) Jefferson 1974:185

Wiggins: I wz- made my left, uh my right signal...
[word 1] [hesitation] [word 2]

The ‘thuh- uh’ constitutes the minimal form of the error correction format, where some word (word 1) is projected by the production of ‘thuh’ and then cancelled and corrected to another word (word 2) just prior to its delivery. In the three instances above, the cancelled words may well be guessable as ‘right’, ‘car’, and ‘cop’, respectively. By the use of the ‘thuh- uh’ format, those speakers display that they are correcting an error that they almost, but in fact did not, produce.¹⁶

While the corrections from ‘right’ to ‘left’ in (1) and from ‘car’ to ‘motorcycle’ in (2) appear to deal with straightforward speech errors, the one from ‘cop’ to ‘officer’ in (3) concerns an ‘interactional’ error, i.e., a mistake occurs in speaker’s attempt to speak appropriately to some co-participant(s) and/or within some situation. Extract (3-4) provides a more obvious version of (3), taken from the conversation in the same situation as (3), that is, in the courtroom.

(3-4) Jefferson 1974:193

Bassett: En I didn’t read that ((description of violation the officer
-> wrote on the ticket)). When the ku- offi[cer came up I s-
Judge: [‘Red traffic signal
approximately thirty feet east of the crosswalk, when signal
changed tuh red.’

Bassett produces just enough error ‘ku-’ to convey her habitual terminology ‘cop’ and then replaced it with ‘officer’ out of consideration of the situation and/or the co-participant(s). The whole error

¹⁶ Jefferson further argues that the ‘thee uh’ as in (3-2) is also a form of ‘error avoidance format’ which is generally formatted as ‘uh + []’. It is a device for avoiding a foreseen error or inappropriateness and conveying that the speaker is ‘thinking about how to put it’. And its subsequent word can be heard as a solution of the problem (Jefferson 1974:194-196).

correction process displays her identity as a ‘regular person’ in a courtroom, and also shows her consideration of the appropriateness of her language. A similar operation is implemented in (3) as well, by the deployment of a more subtle device ‘thuh- uh’ which invokes the ‘cop’/‘officer’ alternation without a vocalised error. Thus, the error correction format can be an interactional resource for negotiating and reformulating a current set of identities.

Even if there are some earlier works like Jefferson (1974), it is Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977: henceforward SJS) that is to be taken as the first systematic study of repair in CA. It is this paper that proposes the use of the term “repair” instead of “correction”, for the occurrence of repair is “neither contingent upon error, nor limited to replacement” (SJS:363).¹⁷ Some hearable error might be left unrepaired, as the grammatically incorrect plural ‘fragrances’ in (3-5); no hearable error, mistake, or fault might be found in an instance of repair, as in (3-6) where the ‘bell’ is replaced with the ‘doorbell’; and, some other operation than correction or replacement can be done by repair, such as a word search in (3-7).

(3-5) SJS:363 Ex (6)

Avon Lady: And for ninety-nine cents uh especially in, Rapture, and the Au
-> Coeur which is the newest fragrances, uh that is a very good value.
Customer: Uh huh

(3-6) SJS:363 Ex (4)

Ken: Sure enough ten minutes later the bell r- the doorbell rang...

(3-7) SJS:363 Ex (1)

Clacia: B’t, a-another one theh wentuh school with me wa:s a girl na:med
-> uh, (0.7) °W’t th’ hell wz er name.° Karen. Right. Karen.

The term “repair” thus covers a wide range of things that need fixing with regard to various problems in producing, hearing and understanding the talk, of which “correction” is one particular sub-type.

¹⁷ The same authors also use the term “repair” for referring to various practices by which turn-taking problems, and overlap management in particular, are handled (Sacks, et al. 1974:723-4; Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008:57- 59). The current study does not include those practices as repair, because they are not fully described yet. Still, it is worth noting that ‘regular’ kind of repair frequently occurs as “post-resolution” of overlap talk (Schegloff 2000b:36-41).

Accordingly, what the repair addresses, -- what gets fixed by the repair -- is referred to not as an “error” but as the “repairable” or the “trouble-source”.¹⁸ Any bit of talk may turn out to be a trouble-source at any moment.¹⁹

It should be pointed out, however, that not all corrections are counted as “repair”. For instance, what Jefferson (1987) terms “embedded corrections” are corrections implemented without stopping the ongoing action/activity to deal with a problem, thus without relying on the means of repair.

(3-8) Jefferson 1987:93 Ex (14a)

Ken: Well- if you’re gonna race, the police have said this to us.
Roger: That makes it even better. The challenge of running from the cops!
Ken: The cops say if you wanna race, uh go out at four or five in the morning on the freeway...

Ken initially uses the word ‘the police’. Its recipient Roger refers to the same referent differently: with the alternative item ‘the cops’. The first speaker then picks it up and uses the alternative reference himself. Here, substitution from ‘the police’ to ‘the cops’ is proposed by the second speaker and accepted by the first speaker.²⁰ Nonetheless the substitution is embedded into the ongoing talk so that the talk in progress continues without a disturbance. As Schegloff puts it, “embedded corrections” and “let it go” practices involve “ways of dealing with problematic talk without the apparatus of ‘repair’” (1992b:1329, footnote 17).

By the same token, corrections being done in response to a question or a request for

¹⁸ Those two terms are commonly used interchangeably. But see footnote 41 below.

¹⁹ The trouble-source becomes visible only when some repair is operated on it. There is no way, for the participants as well as the analysts, to tell what will turn out to be the trouble-source in advance; the very process of repair provides its recipients with a resource for locating it.

²⁰ Of course, such proposal of an embedded correction may be rejected by the initial speaker. In the following exchange, an alternative word ‘night’ to the initial ‘eve’ is offered and rejected.

Jefferson 1987:94 Ex (17)

Adele: Do you think they might go tomorrow,
Milly: Oh I don’t think so,
Adele: Oh dear. They’re [()
Milly: [No I don’t think until after uh
(0.2)
Milly: after New Years now cause uh, New Y- New Years is
-> tomorrow eve [isn’t it.
Adele: -> [It’s tomorrow night uh huh,
Milly: -> Yeah tomorrow eve,
(1.5)
Milly: No. .hhh [Well-
Adele: [(I’m just) going to go to the neighbours...

confirmation/correction which do not address problems in the production, reception, or comprehension of talk are not to be taken as repair. In (3-9), for example, the question at line 3 is not triggered by I's failure to catch or to grasp the talk at line 1. Rather, I is trying to establish to whom he is talking, by providing a candidate answer and/or the name of the person he wants to reach. The recipient is requested to give as its response either a confirmation or a correction, that is, his correct identity. The correction at line 4 then, is not repair but a sequentially appropriate next to that request for confirmation/correction for his candidate identification of his co-conversationalist.

(3-9) Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008:63 Ex (24)²¹

- 1 S: Mister Samson's house? c'n [I help you?]
 2 I: [H e l l o :]
 3 I: -> Mister Samson?
 4 S: -> It's not M'st Samson it's his assist'nt can I help you.

In contrast to (3-8) and (3-9), repair does stop some unit-in-progress, such as a word, turn-construction unit, turn, action, activity, and sequence, before its possible completion in order to deal with troubles in speaking, hearing, or understanding the talk. It is an action disjunctive from its surrounding talk, and recognisably so by means of "repair initiation", which marks the possible disjunction with the immediately preceding talk. A "repair outcome" follows the repair initiation, which is either a solution or an abandonment of the problem. Those two parts, repair initiation and repair outcome, compose a single repair activity, or more precisely a repair segment. The repair segment recognisably ends when the previously on-going talk is resumed, regardless of whether the repair succeeds or fails. Since repair stops whatever unit is in progress and defers the next item due in that unit, it can supersede any other actions. It is reported to be the only action known so far that has this property (Schegloff 2000a:208).

Relevant to the repair-initiation/outcome distinction, there is the issue of who initiates repair and who does the repair itself. Both can be done either by the speaker of the trouble-source (self) or by any other party (other). Consequently, there are four types of repair: self-initiated self-repair, other-initiated self-repair, self-initiated other-repair, and other-initiated other-repair.

²¹ Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008:63) actually introduce this episode as an instance of what they term "second position repair". For the reason stated in the text above, I disagree with their view of it being repair.

Self-initiated self-repair is both initiated and carried out by the speaker of the trouble-source. In (3-10), when N comes to a possible completion point of her turn at the production of ‘this year’, (s)he neither stops talking nor goes on to forward the talk. Instead, (s)he initiates repair with ‘I mean’ and replaces the ‘this year’ with ‘this quarter’. The ‘TS’, ‘I’ and ‘R’ designate the ‘trouble-source turn’, ‘repair initiation’ and ‘repair (outcome)’, respectively.

(3-10) SJS:364 Ex (10)

N: TS -> She was givin me a:ll the people that were go:ne this year
 I/R-> I mean this quarter y'[know
 J: [Yeah

Self-repair can also issue from other-initiation. In (3-11), Roger claims a possible problem in Dan’s prior answer and therefore initiates repair with ‘He is?’. In the face of this other-initiation of repair, Dan, the speaker of the trouble-source turn, corrects himself in the following turn.

(3-11) SJS:364 Ex (12)

Ken: Is Al here today?
 Dan: TS -> Yeah.
 (2.0)
 Roger: I -> He is? hh eh heh
 Dan: R -> Well he was.

Some other party than the one who claims to have a trouble can carry out repair and provide a solution to the trouble. In (3-12), B is having trouble in remembering a person’s name, and it is A who provides a candidate solution (‘Dan Watts.’) to the word-search. The repair is thus initiated by the trouble-source speaker and solved by the other speaker.

(3-12) SJS:364 Ex (13)

B: TS/I-> He had dis uh Mistuh W- whatever k- I can’t think of his first
 TS/I-> name, Watts on, the one thet wrote [that piece,
 A: R -> [Dan Watts.

Extract (3-13) instantiates the last of four, other-initiated other-repair. A initially describes the activity of playing basketball in a group as ‘playing around’. B then teasingly ‘corrects’ A by replacing

the ‘playing around’ with ‘fooling around’. Here, the repair is both initiated and executed by the speaker other than that of the trouble-source (notice also that there is another instance of other-initiated self-repair through lines 3-4).

(3-13) SJS:365 Ex (14)

B: Where didju play ba:sk[etbaw.
A: [(The) gy:m.
B: In the gy:m?
A: Yea:h. Like grou(h)p therapy. Yuh know=
B: =[Oh:::
A: =[half the group that we had la:s’ term wz there en we jus’
TS -> playing arou:nd.
B: I/R-> Uh- fooling around.
A: Eh- yeah...

The issue as to who initiates repair is closely related to another organizational issue of where repair is initiated. Repair does not occur at a random place with reference to its trouble-source. Self-initiated repairs are regularly initiated either within the same “turn-constructual unit (TCU)” (Schegloff 1996a) as the trouble-source turn, at a transition space just after that TCU, or in third turn/position. By contrast, virtually all other-initiation of repair occur in the turn following the trouble-source turn. Although a vast majority of repair-initiation occurs in those four positions, there is one more position, the “fourth position”, that is also structurally available for detecting and handling the trouble which has eluded repair in the preceding four repair initiation opportunities (Schegloff 1992b). Repairs in each of those positions have different practices for dealing with problems and a different trajectory upon the course of the talk. In the following section, we will review the technologies distinctively associated with each repair initiation position.

3.3. Distribution of repair

The concept of repair distribution is initially introduced in SJS. More detailed explications of repairs in each position are developed in the succeeding work by Schegloff (for an overview of repair organization, Schegloff 2001a; for same-turn repair, Schegloff 1979; for repair in next turn, Schegloff 1997a, 2000a, 2001a, 2004, 2007:100-106 and 149-155; for third turn repair, Schegloff 1997b; for third

MOM: TS/I/R-> ↑What is thuh [m:- in thuh wo:rld's 'uh matter with=
 ???: [(sniff))
 MOM: =[you? I don't read her ma:il:
 ???: [mt
 WES: Oh you don't?

(3-16) Schegloff, lecture, 2001a

CUR: No in a little snowmobile that's a little bit too fast.
 GAR: No well that's nothin. They're duhposetuh go a hunnerd 'n twunny
 a hunnerd 'n [twunny five miles 'n hour. (),
 CAR: [°(Scuze me),
 CUR: TS/I/R-> That's still That's too fas[t.
 GAR: [That['s too fast.
 MIK: [Ain' no way I'd get
 in[na snowmobile going that fast.
 GAR: [They ain't nothin underneath yuh.

(3-17) Schegloff 1979:264 Ex (5)

Agnes: Chop [it.
 Martha:TS/I/R-> [Tell me, uh what- d'you need a hot sauce?
 (0.5)
 Agnes: t'hhh a Taco sauce.

(3-18) SJS:364 Ex (13)

Reproduction of (3-12)

B: TS/I-> He had dis uh Mistuh W- whatever k- I can't think of his first
 TS/I-> name, Watts on, the one thet wrote [that piece,
 A: R -> [Dan Watts.

In English, three types of speech perturbation, i.e., cut-offs, sound-stretches, and 'uh's, are commonly mobilised as repair initiators. They all disrupt the progressivity of the turn-in-progress, that is, the natural flow of the talk toward the next sound/word/element due. Notice, however, that the repair initiator does not necessarily lead to the actual repair: repair initiation can be cancelled without any special indication. Notice, also, that the repair initiator itself does not reveal what the repairable is, though the type of initiator used may provide an initial sense of where the repairable is. Cut-offs mark the repairable as something that has already been said. Sound-stretches and 'uh's, in contrast, indicate

that the repairable is underway.²²

The repairs themselves occur almost always in the same turn as the trouble-source and the repair initiation, and therefore are provided by the speaker of the trouble-source turn. One exception is such cases as (3-18), where the repair is initiated by the trouble-source speaker and the solution is offered by another speaker in the following turn. In fact, such exceptional cases seem to converge into one type of repair operation, namely, the “word-search”. Each of the other four extracts represents different types of operations: (3-14) for “replacement”, (3-15) for “insertion”, (3-16) for “deletion”, and (3-17) for “re-organization of elements”, respectively.²³ Whereas those operations share some features as same-turn repair, they also have a set of practices distinguishable from each other.²⁴ The majority of

²² However, the postpositional and prepositional characters of repair initiators are not inevitable. A word search initiated by sound-stretch and/or ‘uh’ might be recast and solved by another operation so as to avoid the production of the ‘missing’ element (“repair conversion” in Schegloff 1979: 273).

Schegloff 1979: 273 Ex (13)

Merle: So how's Michelle.
 (1.0)
Robin: They brought her ho:me.
 (0.7)
Robin: -> She hadda wait up the:re fo:r- u- she:'s been there since
 eight uh' clock this morning'n at six thirty she called me...

Here, Robin starts searching for or calculating some time duration pre-indicated by the sound-stretch on ‘the:re fo:r-’ and then abandons the search to reformulate it with time boundaries.

²³ There are also “multi-layer repairs”, one repair operation being a vehicle through which another operation gets done (Schegloff 2001a). Thus, in the following exchange, Bee’s initial utterance appears to involve the replacements of ‘He doesn’t-’ with ‘he put-’ and further with ‘they put’. But when the replaced ‘He doesn’t’ is reintroduced in the subsequent talk, it becomes clear that there has been an insertion of ‘en he put- they put us in this gigantic lectchuh hall’ as well as the replacements. Furthermore, the insertion in fact serves as a way of re-ordering of the elements of the telling so that the upshot of ‘he doesn’t speak- (0.2) very lou:d anyway.’ gets greater.

Schegloff, lecture, 2001a

Bee: -> =Oh he- he's too much. He doesn't- en he put- they put us
 -> in this gigantic lectchuh hall.
Ava: Mmm.
Bee: -> Tch! An::! (0.2) He doesn't speak- (0.2) very lou:d anyway.=
Ava: =Mm hm,

²⁴ Only one piece of evidence should suffice here to illustrate the point. In replacements, there are two ways to locate the repairable: by “framing” and by “co-class member replacement”. Recall (3-14) where the ‘c’d we-’ is replaced with ‘c’d I’. That the repair addresses the ‘we’ rather than other words in the turn as the repairable is detectable partially because the preceding word ‘c’d’ is repeated as a frame (pre-framing), and partially because ‘we’ and ‘I’ constitute co-class members of a “first person reference” class. Contrastively, in deletions, what gets deleted becomes obvious when some prior or subsequent item(s) is repeated as a frame, for example, ‘That’s’ in (3-16). Moreover, the repair seems to be initiated in the very repairable, that is to say, the word-to-be-deleted (‘still’ in (3-16)). Also, the collection of deletion instances suggests a possible regularity in what is deleted: they are some “relational terms” which mark the relation of one thing, event, or utterance to another, such as ‘still’, ‘also’, ‘just’ and ‘very’ (Schegloff

such practices are yet to be investigated and described.

3.3.2. *Transition space repair*

The “transition space” (or “transition-relevance place” in Sacks, et al. 1974) refers to the space where an ongoing turn’s talk comes to possible completion and a transition from one speaker to another occurs. The term may imply that speaker transition is relevant, but nonetheless the current speaker can continue to talk further. Transition space repairs are those initiated at the transition space following the turn which contains the trouble-source. It is the speakers of the trouble-source who initiate this type of repair. Extracts (3-19) and (3-20) are typical.

(3-19) SJS:366 Ex (18)

L: TS1-> An’ ‘en bud all of the doors ‘n things were taped up=
L: R1/TS2-> =I mean y’know they put up y’know that kinda paper ‘r stuff,
L: R2 -> the brown paper.

(3-20) SJS:376 Ex (60)

A: TS -> That sto:re, has terra cotta floors. ((pause))
A: I/R-> Not terra cotta. Terrazzo.

The forms of repair initiation are different from those of same-turn repair, for different sorts of problems have to be dealt with in initiating repair in this particular position. For one thing, at the completion of the trouble-source turn, there is no talk-in-progress available to be perturbed as a repair initiator. For another, due to the nature of the transition space, other speakers may start up. The important tasks of the initiation of the transition space repairs are, then, to keep talking on the one hand, and to indicate explicitly that repair is underway on the other, since it is regularly the case that the one who is hearably doing repair survives the overlap or the speaker competition. Most commonly used forms are ‘I mean’ in (3-19), ‘actually’²⁵ or other replacement markers like the ‘not’ in (3-20), and

2001a).

²⁵ According to Clift (2001:266-270), TCU-initial ‘actually’ in the context of informings proposes that what follows constitutes a revision of the speaker’s own prior turn.

Clift 2001:266-267 Part of Ex (21)

L .hhh How’s your han::d?
(.)

preceding turn, but do not do repair itself. It is regularly left to the speaker of the trouble-source turn to actually do the repair.²⁸ Consequently, the repair initiation and the repair constitute a single “adjacency pair” or sequence²⁹ (Schegloff and Sacks 1973; Schegloff 2007; see also Jefferson 1972), each of whose components is delivered by different speakers in adjacent turns.³⁰ Schematically:³¹

A:	Trouble-source
B:	NTRI (First pair part of an adjacency pair)
A:	Repair (Second pair part of an adjacency pair)

Schegloff (2001a) provides a catalogue of various NTRIs in English. They are generally divided into two types: “request type” by which the person initiating repair asks to be given the repair on some repairable, and “offer type” by which the person initiating repair proposes a candidate repair and asks for confirmation/correction of it. The former includes “unspecified interrogatives”, “category-constrained interrogatives”, “positioned interrogatives”, and “utterance-targeted interrogatives”. The latter consists of “repeats” and “candidate understandings”. Instances of each are provided below.

Unspecified interrogatives (open class repair initiators)

Question formats like ‘Huh?’, ‘What?’, ‘Sorry?’, ‘Pardon?’ constitute “unspecified

NTRIs: some other actions than initiating repair can be accomplished by the deployment of NTRI practices, while the action of initiating repair can be produced by a practice which is not ordinarily counted as NTRIs. Such “boundary cases of other-initiated repair” are explored in Schegloff (*op. cit.*).

²⁸ Of course, as (3-13) above demonstrates, the other parties than the trouble-source speakers can and may do repair by themselves. However, the occurrence of other-repair is highly restricted in social interaction, and in fact organizationally “dispreferred”. This issue will be a central theme of section 3.4 below.

²⁹ Notice, contrastively, that trouble-source and repair initiation *do not* constitute an adjacency pair. The relationship between them is best described as “retro-sequence” (Schegloff 2007:217-9).

³⁰ The repair sequence may be further expanded with repair success marker ‘oh’ (Heritage 1984b:315-20) and/or “diagnosis” (Egbert 2004:1475-8) issued by the recipient of the repair.

³¹ It should be emphasised that the trouble-source turn is organizationally *not* a part of repair sequence. Please refer to Schegloff and Sacks (1973), and Schegloff (2007) for the basic characteristics of “adjacency pair” and “sequence”.

interrogatives” in Schegloff’s term, or what Drew (1997) terms “open class repair initiators”. They indicate that the deliverer is having trouble in hearing or understanding what the other has just said, as in (3-21).

(3-21) Schegloff, lecture, 2001a

Debbie: Ma:ll ya shoudn't be defensive I mean theres been pa:rtie:s
like here comere here do this or whatever: an
[.hhh
Shelley: TS-> [you were at the halloween thing.
Debbie:NTRI-> huh?
Shelley: R -> the halloween p[arty
Debbie: [ri:ght.

They are ‘unspecified’ or ‘open’ because “they offer no explicit account of the nature of the trouble which the speaker might be having; nor do they give any indication of specifically what it is in, or about, the prior turn that is causing difficulty” (Drew *ibid.*:73). All they indicate is that the speaker is claiming to have found some trouble in the just-prior turn. It is, then, left to its recipient who is the speaker of the trouble-source turn to re-analyse their own prior turn, identify the possible trouble-source in it, and provide a possible remedy for it.³² A repair outcome turn, normally the one after the repair initiation turn, exhibits such re-analysis of the trouble-source turn by its speaker.³³

It may be generally the case that unspecified interrogatives, and other NTRIs as well, do not specify the *nature* or *type* of the troubles that their deliverers claim to be having (Cf. Schegloff 1987a:216-217; 1991a:168). Nonetheless, Drew (*op. cit.*) investigates the sequences prior to, or leading up to, the employment of open class repair initiators, and identifies two sequential environments in which they recurrently occur. One is as a response to an abrupt topic shift and the other as a response to a sequentially inapposite, or even disaffiliative, talk by other speaker. Extracts (3-22) and (3-23) illustrate those two environments, respectively.

³² Such an expression as ‘I can’t hear you’ can also do the same job, though it is not an interrogative. It should be pointed out, however, that the claim of not having heard the other is not to be treated straightforwardly that its deliverer did not in fact hear them. Indeed, one of the earliest enterprises by Sacks, the founder of CA, was a concern with how the ‘I can’t hear you’ statement in the opening of a telephone call to a suicide prevention centre served as a way of the caller’s avoiding to give his name to the call taker (Sacks 1992:vol.1:3-11, lecture 1, Fall 1964).

³³ Schegloff (2002) examines two cases in which ‘overwrought’ or ‘complex’ utterances get simplified as a repair outcome.

(3-22) Drew 1997:75 Ex (9)

Lesley: Righto then Patrick .hhh (.) An' then p'raps we could arrange something .hhh that be lovely.
 Partick: That'd be lovely.
 Lesley: [How are you keeing.
 Patrick: Oh I'm very [well thanks?
 Lesley: [.hhhhhh Are you- are you keeping yourself busy,
 Patrick: Ooo y(h)e[s m(h)y(h)y goodness. [().
 Lesley: [.hhh [Yes I kno:w hhuh heh=
 Patrick: =([]
 Lesley: TS -> [.hhh Gordon's at Newcastle no:w,
 (0.7)
 Patrick:NTRI-> Sorry?
 Lesley: R -> .hh .tlk Gordon is at New[castle.
 Partick: [Is he, Ye-:s,

(3-23) Drew 1997:88 Ex (18)

Margy: W'l haftuh do tha[t more o[:ften.
 Emma: [.hhhhh [Wul why don't we: uh-m:=why don't I take you'n Mo:m up there tuh: Coco's. someday fer lu:nch. We'll go, buzz up there tu[h,
 Margy: TS -> [Goo:d.
 Emma: NTRI-> Ha:h?
 Margy: R -> That's a good deal. .hh- .hh:
 Emma: =En I'll take you both [up
 Margy: [No:::: we'll all go Dutch.

Notice that these trouble-source turns are not necessarily topically disjunctive or sequentially apposite from their speakers' point of view. In (3-22), the lack of any topic shift marker may give the sense of the abruptness to Leslie's trouble-source turn which apparently changes the topic away from Patrick's news. Nonetheless, taking its sequential positioning into consideration, it constitutes a reciprocal provision of news from her part in an exchange of news which she initiates as a prelude to closing the call (in Leslie's first turn). In the case of (3-23), Emma's turn preceding the trouble-source-to-be can be heard both as a suggestion to get together for lunch and as an invitation to pay Margy and Mom's lunch. 'Goo:d' might be appropriate to a proposal, but not to an invitation. The trouble-sources in both extracts are, thus, treated as topically disjunctive or sequentially inappropriate by their recipient by the very deployment of the open class repair initiators.

Category-constrained interrogatives

The next type of repair initiators consists of question words such as ‘who?’, ‘where?’, and ‘when?’, which identify the same category of referent in the prior turn as trouble-source. In (3-24), the NTRI employed by Ava ‘Who_i’ specifies the prior person reference ‘Sibbie’s sistuh’ as the trouble-source that the repair is addressed to.

(3-24) Schegloff, lecture, 2001a

Bee: TS -> Oh Sibbie’s sistuh hadda ba:by bo:wy.
Ava: NTRI-> Who?
Bee: R -> Sibbie’s sister.
Ava: Oh really?
Bee: Myeah,
Ava: [°(That’s nice.)/[°(Sibbie’s sistuh.)
Bee: [She had it yesterday. Ten:: pou:nds.

Positioned interrogatives

Category-constrained interrogatives are sometimes accompanied by a repeat of one or two word before or/and after the trouble-source in the prior turn. Those additional framing items help its recipients to position what the repair initiator exactly targets in the prior turn. In the following exchange, Mom expresses disapproval of her fourteen-year-old daughter Virginia hanging around her elder sister’s friends. Virginia, as a response, claims that people at her age are ‘gwaffs’. If Mom subsequently employed a mere ‘what?’ as a NTRI, it would have been heard as an unspecified interrogative, leaving the trouble-source unnamed. Here, with the help of the pre-framing ‘they’re’, the trouble-source is identified exactly as the following item, ‘gwaffs’.

(3-25) Schegloff, lecture, 2001a

MOM: .hh WELL THAT’S SOMPTIN ELSE (0.2) I DON’T THINK THAT YOU SHOULD
BE GOING TO THE PARTIES THAT BETH GOES TO SHE IS EIGHTEEN YEAHRS
OLD AND YOU ARE FOUHRTEE:N DAR[LIN
VIR: [I KNOW BUT ALL THE REST OF MY-
TS -> PEOPLE MY AGE ARE GWAFFS I promise they are si:[ck.
MOM: NTRI-> [they’re what?
VIR: R -> GWAFFS

(0.2)
 ??? : (°beth)/(°Gwaff)
 ??? : What's a Gwaff?
 (0.8)
 ??? : (°get more tea)/(°thank you)
 (0.5)
 VIR : Gwaff is jus someny who's really (0.5) (th)/(a) jis ehh (.)
 immatachu:r ya don't wanna hang around people like tha:t.

Utterance-targeted interrogatives

This type of NTRI seems to be deployed to deal with understanding problems rather than hearing problems of the prior talk. The speaker initiating repair may name the trouble-source and ask for the explication for that particular trouble-source with the 'what's X?' format ('trouble-source specified interrogatives').

(3-26) Schegloff, lecture, 2001a

Reproduction of (3-25)

MOM : .hh WELL THAT'S SOMPTHIN ELSE (0.2) I DON'T THINK THAT YOU SHOULD
 BE GOING TO THE PARTIES THAT BETH GOES TO SHE IS EIGHTEEN YEAHRS
OLD AND YOU ARE FOUHRTEE:N DAR[LIN
 VIR : [I KNOW BUT ALL THE REST OF MY-
 TS -> PEOPLE MY AGE ARE GWAFFS I promise they are si:[ck.
 MOM : [they're what?
 VIR : TS -> GWAFFS
 (0.2)
 ??? : (°beth)/(°Gwaff)
 ??? : NTRI-> What's a Gwaff?
 (0.8)
 ??? : (°get more tea)/(°thank you)
 (0.5)
 VIR : R -> Gwaff is jus someny who's really (0.5) (th)/(a) jis ehh (.)
 R -> immatachu:r ya don't wanna hang around people like tha:t.

The whole prior turn may be targeted for repair in a trouble-source unspecified way. The most commonly used is 'what do you mean (by that)', as in (3-27).

(3-27) Schegloff, lecture, 2001a

WES : TS -> Ya not worried 'bout em taking adva:ntage of you?

(1.0)
VIR: Wh[o
BE?: [HHhhe[h heh huh]
VIR: [NO:::~]
(2.0)
VIR: the only time anyb[ody took a-)
MOM: NTRI-> [whatya mean by tha:t=
BET: mm hm(h) huh
(0.2)
WES: R -> well they jus- they'll s[ay thi::n]gs n (0.9) they'll li::e to=
BET: [don a:sk]
WES: R -> =y' en you won't know when they're telling you the tru:th

Repeats

The NTRIs introduced so far are all “request type”. By contrast, repeats are one sort of “offer type”, in the sense that the speaker who initiates repair offers a candidate hearing of the prior (trouble-source) turn and asks for confirmation/correction for it. What is repeated may be just the trouble-source word, as in (3-28), or the whole prior turn, as in (3-29), with some modifications of reference and deixis due to the speaker-change.

(3-28) Schegloff, lecture, 2001a

VIR: TS -> =can I please get that dre:ss. Please Mom. Lemme g[et that=
MOM: NTRI-> [dress?
VIR: R -> [ya know hat- (dress?)=
MOM: [.hhh
MOM: OH VIRGINIA we been through this befo:re=
VIR: =.hh
MOM: You got enough summa dresses, now, I think you js wait'n get ih-
some[()]=
VIR: [huh]=
MOM: =of the fall stuff when it comes in

(3-29) Schegloff, lecture, 2001a

Ava: =[(°No).]
Bee: TS -> =[W h y] whhat'sa mattuh with y- Yih sou[nd HA:PPY,] hh
Ava: [Nothing.]
Ava: NTRI-> u- I sound ha:p[py?]
Bee: R -> [Yee]uh
(0.3)
Ava: TS -> No:,

Bee: NTRI-> Nno:?
 Ava: R -> No.
 (0.7)
 Bee: .hh You [sound sorta] cheer[ful?]
 Ava: [°(Anyway).] [.hh] How'v you bee:n.

Candidate understandings

The last type includes those other-initiated repairs that offer a candidate understanding of the prior trouble-source turn and seek for a confirmation or a correction from the trouble-source speaker. The candidate understandings may be delivered directly, as the first NTRI in (3-30), but more commonly they are framed by 'you mean'.

(3-30) Schegloff, lecture, 2001a

Bee: °hmhhh .hh So yih gonna be arou:n this weeken'z
 Ava: Uh::m. (0.3) Possibly.
 Bee: Uh it's a four day weeken- I have so much work t'do it isn' ffunn[y].
 Ava: TS -> [Well, tomorrow I haftuh go in.
 (0.2)
 Bee: NTRI-> Y'have cla:ss [tomorrow?
 Ava: [hhhh
 Ava: R/TS2-> ((breathily)) One cla:ss I have.=
 Bee: NTRI2-> =You mean:: Pace isn't clo:s[ed?
 Ava: R2 -> [No we have off
 R2 -> Monday [°(b't not) .hhh
 Bee: [Mm I have off ts- Monday too. hmfff

(3-31) Schegloff, lecture, 2001a

S: .hhhh Well where can I find something like that. Jess. I mean a good hat. yihknow I don't care paying ten dolla:rs er so °er even more.
 J?: [(pt)
 S: [Yihknow a good ha:t, [something that would look- something=
 J: [((sigh))
 S: =tha'I'd- u:[I'd have a variety 'a things ta loo:k at[:,
 J: [Why don't [Why
 TS -> don'tchoo: go into Westwoo:d, (0.4) and go to Bullocks.
 (1.2)
 S: NTRI-> Bullocks? ya mean that one right u:m (1.1) tch! (.) right by thee: u:m (.) whazit the plaza? theatre:.=
 J: R -> =Uh huh,

(0.4)
S: °(memf::)
J: °Yeah,
S: Why that Bullocks. Is there something about it?

Alternatively, the framing is done with the repeat of some items in the trouble-source turn. In the case of (3-32), the ‘ten dollars’ serves as such a framing, positioning the following candidate understanding (‘just to throw away?’) into the prior turn.

(3-32) Schegloff, lecture, 2001a

VIR: TS -> b’t- you know youhaf ta have enough mo:ne:y? I think ten dollars
ud be goo:d.
(0.7)
MOM: NTRI-> .hh ten dollars a wee::k?
VIR: mm hm
MOM: NTRI-> just to throw away?
(0.5)
VIR: R-> not to throw awa:y=to spe:n:

Perhaps “appendor questions” (Sacks 1992, vol.1:659-664; Schegloff 1996a:119-120, note 28) can be seen as a special type of “positioned candidate understanding”. They are designed syntactically to be latched onto the prior turn by a different speaker. The standard form of appendor questions in English is a prepositional phrase, i.e., preposition + noun phrase, with a question intonation.³⁴ For example, in (3-33), an appendor question ‘Across the street?’ is employed as an NTRI in such a way to be parasitic on the trouble-source turn and to disambiguate the reference ‘they’ in that turn (also see (3-32) above for another instance of appendor question ‘just to throw away?’).

(3-33) Schegloff 1996a:76 Ex (15a); also Sacks 1992, vol.1:661

Roger: She’s workin?
(0.4)
Ther: (Yeah. She just started a job.)
Roger: So we lack feminine attendance.
Ther: ((clears throat)) Does seem so.(Unless) we can get some more in.
Ken: But the girls- any girl that comes in hasta take all those tests

³⁴ The initial discussions on appendor questions by Sacks (1992, vol.1:659-664) and Schegloff (1996a:119-120, note 28) concern the relevance of their unique syntactic design to turn-taking and turn-construction.

and stuff don't they?
 (0.6)
 Ther: (Won't be for several weeks now)
 Roger: TS -> They make miserable coffee.
 Ken: hhhh hhh
 Ther: NTRI-> Across the street?
 Roger: R -> Yeh
 Ken: Miserable food hhhh
 (0.4)
 Ken: hhhh So what 'djudo East-er-over Easter Vacation?

These categories of NTRIs are ordered and arrayed on a scale in accordance with the relative strength of their capacity to locate the repairable that they are targeting, from the weakest “unspecified interrogatives” to the strongest “candidate understandings”.³⁵ There seems to be a general preference for stronger over weaker initiators.³⁶ Extract (3-34) provides one piece of evidence, in which the weaker one (repeat) gets self-interrupted and replaced with a stronger one (candidate understanding) in the following extract.

(3-34) SJS:369 footnote 15, Ex (a)

B: How long y'gonna be here?
 A: Uh- not too long. Uh just til uh Monday.
 B: -> Til- oh yih mean like a week f'm tomorrow.
 A: Yah.

Another piece of evidence comes from instances of “doubles” and “multiples”. The former is the cases where two repair initiators are deployed in the same turn without a silence between them (e.g., repeat + candidate understanding in (3-31)). The latter includes instances in which more than one repair sequence, that is, the set of repair-initiation and repair-solution, occur one after another for a single repairable (e.g., positioned interrogative repair sequence → utterance-targetted repair sequence in (3-25) and (3-26)). In both environments, it is normative that some weaker initiator is selected first, and the subsequent one is stronger than the one before it (SJS:369, footnote 15; Schegloff 2001a).

³⁵ In another sense, unspecified interrogatives are the ‘most powerful’, for they require the least effort from their speakers for the deployment. In that case, candidate understandings become the weakest.

³⁶ Schegloff formulates it as a rule: “use the strongest one you can, unless ‘the strongest one you can’ would involve you attributing the speaker of the trouble-source something that is embarrassing or problematic or insane” (Schegloff 2001a).

Disagreement implicativeness of other-initiated repair

It has been reported that other-initiated repairs often serve as a pre-disagreement (SJS:379-380; Schegloff 2007:102-106 and 151-155). For instance, a disagreement with S's initial assessment is expressed eventually by its recipient A. But before that, A initiates repair on the same utterance which is subsequently disagreed with.

(3-35) Schegloff 2007:102 Ex (6.07); also p.154 Ex (7.40)

S: TS -> That's all. But you know what happened that night we went to camp.
TS -> Forget it. She wouldn't behave for anything.
A: NTRI-> W-when?
S: R -> When we went to camp.
A: => She behaved okay.
S: She did?
A: Yeah. She could've been a lot worse.

It is not surprising, then, that repair initiation by other party is itself treated as a disagreement, or at least as being disagreement-implicative. In the face of NTRIs, initial speakers may modify their prior utterance so as to avoid the arrival of disagreement that is seen to be implicated by the deployment of a repair initiator.

(3-36) Schegloff 2007:103 Ex (6.09)

Disp: TS -> Is she pregnant?
Call: NTRI-> Huh?
Disp: R -> She's not pregnant is she,
Call: I don't know.

Hearing an NTRI by the co-participant, the dispatcher of the call does not simply repeat his/her prior question: the question is reformulated with reversed yes/no polarity (Cf. Koshik 2002; Raymond 2003). The 'no' answer (i.e., disagreement) to the former then become an agreement to the latter. This is one of the ways for avoiding a prospective disagreement, and that disagreement is implicated by the deployment of the NTRI. Relevant issues are to be discussed further in 3.4.

Delayed next turn repair initiators

Virtually all the repair-initiations by others are in the turn after the trouble-source turn. But in certain environments, they may be ‘pushed out’ into some later position within that turn, or into some later turns³⁷. The “delayed NTRIs within the next turn” were first studied by Wong (2000) with native-nonnative conversation in English. According to her, nonnative speakers often produce a NTRI after ‘oh’ which normatively displays the recipient’s *receipt* of the prior talk (Heritage 1984b). Thus, the trouble-source-turn-to-be produced by the native speaker is at first responded to with ‘oh’ or with other receipt tokens by the nonnative recipient. The same turn is then reanalysed as troublesome and repair gets initiated on it. The process results in the delayed NTRIs within the next turn.

Motivated by Wong’s work, Schegloff (2000a) explores the same phenomena in native-speaker conversation. He identifies four environments where other-initiations of repair are displaced past next-turn position: “multiples” where the first initiator is positioned in next turn and subsequent ones are thus ‘dislocated’ to some later turns; “larger unit in progress”, like a story or a shopping list, where the repair initiation is ‘delayed’ until that unit (or an episode of the unit) is complete; “addressed other goes first” where unaddressed recipient who is about to initiate repair surrenders the next turn position to the addressed recipient in producing a required response; and “post-response” where the recipient of some talk first responds to it and then initiates repair on it or some component of it. There are also two environments in which other-initiations are delayed within next turn position: “post-trouble-source turn expansion” where the speaker of the trouble-source turn extends the turn with further on-topic/action-relevant talk; “pre-other-initiation talk in next turn” where the one who later initiates repair produces, often prematurely, a receipt token ‘oh’ or other kind of incipient compliant responses before the initiation of repair. Such delayed NTRIs can thus also be understood with reference to the repair organization itself, and other organizations of turns and turn-taking.

3.3.4. Third turn repair

Third turn repair is almost the same as transition space repair and thus has a similar technology to that of transition space repair described in 3.3.2, except for another speaker being intervening entirely

³⁷ Another exception is fourth position repair. Yet its status as other-initiated repair is still controversial. See footnote 41 below.

incidentally between the trouble-source turn and the repair turn. The interventions are regularly very brief, such as continuers like ‘Mm hmm’ in (3-37), minimal receipt tokens like ‘Oh yeah’ in (3-38), and responses that are sequentially implicated by the prior turn, for instance, a go-ahead response ‘what’s that’ to the story-preface ‘I read a very interesting story today’ in the case of (3-39) (the ‘NT’ indicates the intervening ‘next turn’).

(3-37) Schegloff 1997b:32 Ex (1)

B: TS-> hhh And he’s going to make his own paintings,
A: NT-> Mm hmm
B: R -> And- or I mean his own frames.
A: Yeah

(3-38) Schegloff 1997b:35 Ex (4)

Bee: Y’have any cla- y’have a class with Billy this term?
Ava: TS-> Yeah, he’s in my Abnormal class.
Bee: NT-> Oh yeah [how
Ava: R -> [Abnormal Psych.

(3-39) Schegloff 1997b:34 Ex (6)

Loise: TS-> I read a very interesting story today.
Mom: NT-> Uhm what’s that.
Loise: R -> W’ll not today, maybe yesterday, aw who knows when hu- it’s called Dragon Stew.

More importantly, all of these interventions from another speaker do not contribute to the status of the following turn as repair. They do not raise problems about the preceding turn; they constitute a sequentially appropriate next that is based on the proper understanding of the preceding turn. Nonetheless the initial speaker goes back to that turn in order to initiate repair on it.³⁸

It is an observable fact that the repairables in third turn repairs are with great regularity in terminal positions in their home TCU. Consequently, the first opportunity for such repairables to be dealt with is at the transition space. At the same time, the transition space is also vulnerable to another speaker’s

³⁸ If, say, an intervening talk is hearably sceptical and the repair seems to be triggered by that intervening talk, the episode becomes an instance of third position repair rather than that of third turn repair (Cf. Schegloff 1997b:39, note 7). Third turn repair and third position repair are organizationally different from each other however similar they may look. For third position repair, see section 3.3.5 below.

starting up, which may turn out to be interpolated between the trouble-source turn and the repair turn. Third turn repairs are, thus, not engendered by virtue of the next, intervening, turn: they happen to be placed after it.

It should be pointed out, however, that even if transition space repair and third turn repair are akin to each other, they may nonetheless involve different interactional imports and contingencies. In third turn repair, what gets repaired is the turn with which its recipient has already claimed no problem. The subsequent repair can then imply that its recipient was not right to claim such a no-problem understanding of that turn. This implication actually comes to the surface of the interaction in (3-40).

(3-40) Schegloff 1997b:36-37 Ex (2)

Call: I never saw a single piece of action while I was there.
Brad: Mhmm,
Call: TS-> I was (manning the) civil affairs, and I had a very good time.
Brad: NT-> Mm hm
Call: R -> Nothing uh lewd in any- by way of a good time, I mean
Brad: => Yes, [I know whatchu mean
Call: [(Perfectly) honest good time.

The caller to a phone-in radio show first expresses his experience in the army as ‘I had a very good time’. And he clarifies it in the third turn, ‘Nothing uh lewd in any- by way of a good time, I mean’, though Brad the host of the show has already shown his understanding of the turn with a continuer. The repair may implicitly question the legitimacy of Brad’s claim of understanding. Brad’s response to the repair, ‘Yes, I know whatchu mean’, addresses just that implication.

3.3.5. *Third position repair*

Third position repair appears very similar to third turn repair, yet both should be differentiated organizationally. Let us begin with a typical case of third position repair, taken from an exchange between a press relations officer and a chief engineer in a Civil Defense headquarters in the USA.

(3-41) Schegloff 1992b:1303 Ex (4)

Annie: TS-> Which one::s are closed, an’ which ones are open.
Zebrach: NT-> Most of them. This, this, [this, this ((pointing))
Annie: R -> [I ‘on’t mean on the shelters,
I mean on the roads.

Zebrach: Oh!
 (8.0)
 Zebrach: Closed, those're the ones you wanna know about,
 Annie: Mm [hm
 Zebrach: [Broadway...

The engineer starts to provide a sequentially appropriate response to the officer's request for information. He does not seem to find any problem in understanding the prior request. However, when the officer hears that response, she hears in it a display of the engineer's misunderstanding of the request, a misunderstanding from her point of view. Thus she clarifies her initial request by the means of third position repair.

In talk-in-interaction, speakers ordinarily address themselves to prior talk, most commonly immediately preceding talk. In doing a sequentially relevant next action to the prior action, they inevitably reveal their understanding of the prior talk (Cf. next turn as "understanding-display" device in Sacks, et al., 1974:728-729). The displayed understanding may be regarded as problematic by its recipient, that is, by the speaker of the prior talk, the understanding of which has now been revealed.³⁹ Third position repair is one of the devices for misunderstood speakers to deal with such problematic understandings by their co-participants.⁴⁰

Thus, in third position repairs, the intervening talk by another speaker does contribute to their status as repair: the repair is initiated by virtue of something that the intervening speaker said and the

³⁹ As a consequence, the examination of third position repairs provides us with a research tool to investigate what sort of misunderstandings are handled by the participants themselves in actual interaction. Schegloff (1987a) reports two classes of misunderstanding sources: problematic reference and problematic sequential implicativeness. The latter involves four types: the serious/nonserious distinction, favored action interpretations, the constructive/composite distinction in the understanding of the utterances, and the "joke first" practice. These sources are endogenous to the organization of talk-in-interaction rather than based on social, cultural, and linguistic differentiation of the participants to which previous literature has given great attention.

Still, generally, there seems to be no systematic relationship between the forms of repair and the type of trouble-source that the repair is addressed to. Some exceptional trouble-type-sensitive forms of third position repairs are discussed in Schegloff (1991a).

⁴⁰ According to Schegloff (1992b:1331), there is a constraint on doing third position repair.

A speaker of some prior talk must understand some next turn after it – some recognizably "responsive" turn – well enough to appreciate, first, that it is based on a misunderstanding of that to which it meant to be responsive, and, second, what that misunderstanding is. Such a grasp of the "responsive" turn seems necessary for the prospective repairer to know how to design a relevant repair[.]

The alternative ways of dealing with that trouble are to "let it go" and to initiate repair on the prior (T2) with a NTRI (Cf. *Ibid.*:1328-1334).

(mis-)understanding revealed in the intervening speaker's talk. In spite of that, third position repairs are nonetheless self-initiated self-repair. Even though the repair is occasioned by the other's talk, it operates not on the other's turn but on the speaker's own misunderstood turn. In a way, the speaker re-does their own prior turn by means of third position repair. Notice also that third position repair does not necessarily have to be positioned in the third consecutive *turn* from the trouble-source turn. It comes after the turn built to be next to some prior turn whatever length of talk may be interpolated between the "prior" and the "next" turns, and thereby is given the name of "third *position* repair". The descriptions of third position repair so far can be schematised as follows:

- A: T1 (Trouble-source-to-be)
 (Some intervening talk can occur between T1 and T2)
 B: T2 (Meant-to-be-sequentially-appropriate next to T1)
 A: Third position repair on T1

Third position repair segments are made up of four parts, though not always all of them are needed. The first component is a repair initiator, the most typical are single or multiplied 'no's and 'oh's. The second component is an agreement/acceptance of the response. This component is present only when the trouble-source turn has been treated and responded to by its recipient as a complaint, as is the case in (3-42). The therapist's characterisation of one teenager member of his group therapy session in T1 is understood as a criticism and defended by another member in T2. The therapist agrees with or accepts the defence, though immediately proceeding to reject the understanding of T1 as a criticism.

(3-42) Schegloff 1992b:1307 Ex (9)

- Dan: T1-> ...See Al tends, it seems, to pull in one or two individuals on
 T1-> his side (there). This is part of his power drive, see. He's gotta
 T1-> pull in, he can't quite do it on his own. Yet.
 Al: W'l-
 Roger: T2-> Well so do I.
 Dan: R -> Yeah. [I'm not criticizing. I mean we'll just uh=
 Roger: [Oh you wanna talk about him.
 Dan: =look, let's just talk.
 Roger: Alright.

The following component is, then, a rejection of the problematic understanding that has prompted that repair. Two common forms are provided by (3-41) and (3-42) above: ‘I don’t mean *X*’ and ‘I’m not *Xing*’. The final component is repair proper, often framed with ‘I mean’.

3.3.6. *Fourth position repair*

If third position repair is a device for dealing with problematic understandings of some turn by the misunderstood speaker in a post-next-turn position, fourth position repair can be considered as a counter device available to the *misunderstanding* speaker, in other words, the recipient of the misunderstood turn.⁴¹ In fact, (3-42) has already provided an instance of fourth position repair as well as that of third position repair. The same episode is reproduced below (the ‘3PR’ and ‘4PR’ designate third and fourth position repairs, respectively).

(3-43) Schegloff 1992b:1307 Ex (9)

Reproduction of (3-42).

Dan: T1 -> ...See Al tends, it seems, to pull in one or two individuals on
T1 -> his side (there). This is part of his power drive, see. He’s gotta
T1 -> pull in, he can’t quite do it on his own. Yet.
Al: W’l-
Roger: T2 -> Well so do I.
Dan: 3PR-> Yeah. [I’m not criticizing. I mean we’ll just uh=
Roger: 4PR-> [Oh you wanna talk about him.
Dan: =look, let’s just talk.
Roger: Alright.

In fourth position repairs, the recipient of some talk (T1) provides the sequentially relevant next (T2) to that turn without any claim of trouble with it. Then the initial speaker goes on to produce more talk predicated on the preceding sequence of T1 and T2. When the recipient hears that talk, they ‘realize’

⁴¹ Whether fourth position repair is to be seen as self-initiated repair or as other-initiated repair is a controversial issue, depending on the issue of where to locate the repairable/trouble-source. As will become obvious later, the actual operation of fourth position repair is upon the initial turn of the recipient of the misunderstood turn, thus, upon T2. What gets fixed (the repairable) is T2 and thereby it is self-initiated self-repair by the speaker of T2. On the other hand, the source of the trouble in the literal sense seems to lie on the ambiguity of T1. And if the ‘trouble-source’ should be understood as T1, the repair is other-initiated because the repair executor is the *recipient* of the trouble-source turn. The latter interpretation also seems compatible with such cases as (3-43) where third and fourth position repairs deal with the same single trouble.

that their prior response in T2 was based on a misunderstanding of T1. On this sequential occasion,⁴² fourth position repair allows the recipient of T1 to retrieve the T2 position so that they can re-do a response to T1 ‘for the first time’. Similarly, in (3-44), Mother’s ‘Do you know who’s going to that meeting?’ in T1 is initially understood and responded to by Russ as a “pre-announcement” which signals that she is about to tell him who is going (Cf. Schegloff 2007:37-44). That his understanding was in fact wrong becomes evident by Mother’s subsequent response ‘I don’t know.’ in T3.⁴³ So Russ implements fourth position repair with another response to T1 which is now reanalyzed as a request for

⁴² Similarly to third position repair, it is in fourth *position*, not necessarily in fourth consecutive turn, that fourth position repair should be initiated.

⁴³ Notice, however, that Mother in T3 does not overtly claim to have a trouble with the prior T2. She could alternatively have done so, for example, by the deployment of a NTRI. My own database provides a case in which the repair initiation with a NTRI gets solved with a fourth position repair format.

TL01:30-31:845-861:850

845 (10.4)
846S T1-> °o: mō°, ((sniff)) kyōto it ta n da yo ne.
EXC already ((place)) go PAST N COP FP FP
“°He:y ((you)) already, ((sniff)) went to Kyoto, didn’t you.°”
alternatively, “°He:y ((I)) already, ((sniff)) went to Kyoto, y’know.°”
847 (0.4)
848E T2-> itsu:?
‘Whe:n?’
849 (.)
850S NTRI-> a?=
‘Ah?=
851E R-> =a: a[tashi, ga::.
oh I NOM
‘=Oh:, ((you mean)) me[:.]’
852S [hhohh (i(h)nku(h)ru[hhh
853I [°hehuh°
854 (.)
855S [huh huh
856E [°fgomen [gomenf°.
‘°fSorry [sorryf°.’
857I [(neari[:zu) ja [nakutte(eh) [huh huh huh huhn]=
((unclear)) COP NEG
‘[((It))’s [not [((neari:zu)) [huh huh huh huh]=’
858S [heh hehh | |
859E? [.shhhhhh | |
860S [(te(h)hi(h) yo(h) ne(h))]=
((unclear)) FP FP
‘[((It’s)) (te(h)hi(h)), ri(h)ght(h)?]=’
861E R-> =watashi, ↑un, it ta yo::?
I yeah go PAST FP
‘=I, ↑yeah, went ((there)), y’kno::w?’

The grammatical composition of Satomi’s utterance, the unexpressed reference of the agent and the use of the final particles *yo ne* in particular, allows two alternative interpretations: an announcement and a question. Erika’s response is built on the former understanding, a topicalisation *itsu:?* ‘Whe:n?’, which meets a NTRI by Satomi in the following turn. Instead of following the usual procedure for repair initiated in next turn, Erika goes back to Satomi’s initial utterance to locate the source of the trouble in that turn. Thus, an interesting intersection of next turn repair initiation and fourth position repair is demonstrated in this episode.

information as to who is coming to that meeting. Indeed, T2 and T4 show “two different analyses by a same recipient of a same utterance in the same context” (Schegloff 1988: 57).

(3-44) Schegloff 1992b:1323 Ex (22); also Schegloff 1988:57 Ex (1)

Mother: 'z everybody (0.2) [washed for dinner?

Gary: [Yah.

Mother: Daddy 'n I have t- both go in different directions, en I wanna talk t'you about where I'm going (t'night).

Russ: Mm hm

Gary: I know where yer goin,

Mother: Where.

Russ: To the uh (eight grade)=

Mother: =Yeah. Right.

Mother: T1-> Do you know who's going to that meeting?

Russ: T2-> Who.

Mother: T3-> I don't know.

Russ: R -> Oh:: Prob'ly Missiz McOwen ('n detsa) en prob'ly Missiz Cadry
and some of the teachers.
(0.4)

Russ: And the coun[sellers

Mother: [Missiz Cadry went to the- I'll tell you...

Extracts (3-43) and (3-44) represent two common compositions of fourth position repair. One is 'oh' + 'you mean *X*?' by which the repairer re-characterises the initially misunderstood turn as an attempt to retrieve a responsive position to that turn. The other is 'oh' + a new response to re-understood version of the turn.

As a summary, the schema representing the occasioning of fourth position repair is exhibited below.

A: T1 (Trouble-source-to-be)

B: T2 (Sequentially relevant next to T1)

A: T3 (Next action predicated on the exchange-so far, which triggers

B to realize that T2 was based on a misunderstanding of T1)

B: Fourth position repair on T2 (re-doing of T2)

3.3.7. *Repair initiation opportunity space*

These repair initiation positions listed in this section were ‘discovered’ through the examination of actual occurrences of repair in them. We may now consider them not as positions in which repair *does* get initiated but as the ones in which repair *can* get initiated, in other words, as “repair initiation opportunity positions” (SJS:374-375; Schegloff 1992b:1326-1337). And the positions listed above altogether constitute a “repair initiation opportunity space” for a single repairable, disregarding whether or not they are activated. Almost all potential repairables (i.e., any turn’s talk) are either passed through this repair space as non-problematic or handled within this space if regarded as troublesome (see Schegloff *ibid.*:1336 Ex (27) for a case where a repairable has survived through the repair space and causes a breakdown in the intersubjectivity between the participants).

3.4. Preference for self-correction (self-repair) over other-correction (other-repair)

From their arguments of the repair-initiation/-outcome distinction, the self/other distinction, and the repair initiation opportunity space, SJS (375-381) notice that there is a strongly skewed preponderance of self- over other-repair in conversation; in other words, a preference for self-correction/-repair over other-correction/-repair.⁴⁴ The preference is empirically shown to be reflected both in the structural distribution of repair summarised in the previous section and in the organization of talk.

First of all, as we have seen, opportunities for self-initiation of repair come before those for other-initiation. Thus, same-turn and transition space repair positions are available for the speaker of a repairable before its recipients can address the same problem in the next turn. Furthermore, if same-turn or transition space repair positions are taken up in order to deal with a trouble-source, the repair is overwhelmingly solved within that turn without the contribution by other speakers.

Secondly, while self-initiation of repair yields self-repair, other-initiation also massively results in self-repair. Recall that the NTRIs are techniques only for locating the trouble-source that they are targeting to. It is left to the speaker of the trouble-source turn to implement the repair itself. The occurrence of other-repair is highly restricted.

⁴⁴ They also briefly mention the existence of another, distinctive, preference of self-initiation over other-initiation of repair (SJS:375).

Thirdly, when other-repairs do occur in conversation, they are frequently modulated in form.⁴⁵ They may be downgraded on a ‘confidence/certainty’ scale by the deployment of various uncertainty markers, one of which is ‘I think’ in (3-45). Or they may be presented as a joke, that is to say, as not seriously-proposed correction, as in (3-46).

(3-45) SJS:378 Ex (64)

Ben: TS-> Lissena pigeons.
(0.7)
Ellen: [Coo-coo::: coo:::
Bill: OR-> [Quail, I think.
Ben: Oh yeh?
(1.5)
Ben: No that's not quail, that's a pigeon,

(3-46) SJS:378 Ex (67)

L: Holiday, quote unquote, huh huh
Lo: Hn hn [hn
C: [A(hh)re you ki(hh)ding?
(2.0)
L: (Memorial Day's a non-work day.)
J: That's- that's right.=
Lo: =huh huh!
J: TS-> Stay home and pine around work.
Lo: huh huh huh huh huh huh uh huh.
L: OR-> Not about work, about money,
Lo: huh huh huh!

3.5. The application of CA work on English repair to cross-linguistic research

Due to its foundation in the United States, conversation analytic research has been undertaken predominantly with English conversational materials. This is also the case with studies on repair (Heritage 1984b:315-323; Sacks 1992; Couper-Kuhlen 1992; Fox and Jasperson 1995; Clift 2001:273-278; Moore and Maynard 2002; Curl 2004, 2005; Lerner 2004; Lerner and Kitzinger 2007;

⁴⁵ Contrastively, unmodulated other-corrections seem to occur in a certain sequential position: as a response to a request for confirmation/correction (SJS: 378-379). The question at line 3 in (3-9) which provides candidate recognition of the call-taker and candidate understanding NTRIs described in 3.3.3 are two typical types of request for confirmation/correction. The correction triggered by the former is not an instance of repair (see the discussion in Section 3.2), and the one occasioned by the latter is actually self-repair, rather than other-correction.

Koshik 2005; Waring 2005; Robinson 2006; Sidnell 2007; Wilkinson 2007; Wootton 2007; Svennevig 2008; in addition to the literature mentioned above). On the other hand, the pioneering SJS paper and subsequent work by Schegloff have also encouraged cross-linguistic investigations as to whether or not repair conduct is similarly observable in other languages and, if so, how it is organized with reference to the host languages (for example, Moerman 1977, 1988 on Thai; Kim 1993, 2001 on Korean; Egbert 1996, 1997a, 2004, Uhmann 2001 on German; see also Schegloff 1987b:209-214 for his own account that repair provides one linkage between the micro- and macro-analysis of language use). The application of their work to Japanese talk-in-interaction, however, has yet been little attempted, with the exceptions of Fox, Hayashi and Jaspersen (1996), Hayashi (1994, 2009), Kushida (2009), Nishizaka (2007), Suzuki (2005, 2008, 2010), and Rosenthal (2008).

Starting from syntactic differences between English and Japanese, particularly differences in word order and in prepositional and postpositional orientations (see section 2.4 above), Fox, et al. (1996) investigate whether those differences affect the ways in which same-turn self-repair is organized in each language. They identify three major differences in this particular type of repair which arise, at least in part, from the syntactic divergence across the languages: (i) the way in which verbal morphemes are repaired; (ii) procedures for delaying next item due; and (iii) the scope of recycling, that is to say, how far speakers go back to restart the talk whose component is to be repaired. Furthermore, they argue that repair, in return, can provide a means to expand the limits of syntactic resources available to speakers in both languages. They show evidential cases in which “reprojection”, i.e., two different syntactic trajectories within a single turn-constructional unit, is achieved through the deployment of same-turn self-repair. As represented by their work on the co-organization of syntactic practices and repair, such attempts to apply CA basics cross-linguistically have contributed to the broader research domain of “grammar and interaction” (Ochs, Schegloff and Thompson 1996; for studies of Japanese along this line, see Mori 1993, 1994, 1999, 2008; Hayashi 1994, 1997, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2009; Hayashi and Mori 1998; Hayashi, Mori and Takagi 2002; Lerner and Takagi 1999; Nishizaka, 1999, 2007, 2008; Nishizaka, Kushida and Kumagai 2008; Takagi 1999, 2001; Tanaka 1999a, 1999b, 2000a, 2000b, 2001a, 2001b, 2002, 2005, 2008; Tanaka and Fukushima 2002; Morita 2005; Kushida 2006, 2008).

SJS and Schegloff’s work have had a great impact on the field of language acquisition research as well. The earliest papers in the field that refer to SJS and thus install the term and/or the concept of

“repair” from it are, as far as I can trace, Keenan and Schieffelin (1976). Since then, the use of the term and the application of SJS’s point of view toward the phenomenon seem to have been recognized (Gaskill 1980; Schwartz 1980; Drew 1981; Varonis and Gass 1985; Brinton, Fujiki, Loeb and Winker 1986; McHoul 1990; Wong 2000; Kurhila 2001, 2006; Hauser 2003; Macbeth 2004; Lee 2007).⁴⁶ Indeed, some repair-related studies in Japanese have also emerged from the need of teaching and learning Japanese as a second language (Hosoda 2002 and Yoshinaga (Ohira) 2002, for example, apply CA methods to Japanese NS-NNS interaction; see also Mori 2003; Mori and Ohta 2008).

There had been research currents within applied linguistics which provided for the instalment of the term “repair” from CA. Starting with Corder (1967), studies that paid attention to errors in learner’s output as informative formed an area called “error analysis” (James 1998). Also, learners’ attempts to correct, modify, or adjust their own speech are investigated to identify means (or strategies) of compensating for the lack of competence available to them. At the same time, various kinds of “corrective feedback/recast” given to learners by others were reported to be one important form of input with which the learners improve their performance (Day, Chenoweth, Chun, and Luppescu 1984; Ozaki 1993; Lyster and Ranta 1997; Long, Inagaki, and Ortega 1998; Lyster 1998; Hauser 2003).

One of the criticisms toward this tradition is that it views yet-competent learners as *the* source of communication problems as opposed to the adults or native speakers who take care of them (Wagner 1996; Firth and Wagner 1997). In other words, it presumes a rigid connection between the activity of repair/correction and the categories of “yet-incompetent learner” and “competent user” of a language. As evident from SJS, conversation among adults or native speakers is not at all “faultless” (*ibid.*:294) and the establishment of mutual understanding involves much more interactive processes regardless of the situation. As a consequence, repair does not necessarily provide a criterion to determine the identities and categories of participants. Both Hosoda’s (2002: Ch. 4) and Yoshinaga(Ohira)’s (2002: Ch. 6) studies on repair occurring in conversation between learners and native speakers of Japanese are undertaken along that line, with their interests in the issue of when and where “native-ness” and “nonnative-ness” become relevant under this particular type of interaction.

⁴⁶ Of course, the same term does not necessarily mean the same object. For example, some researchers use the term specifically to refer to learners’ correction of their own errors after they get some “corrective feedback/recasts” from their co-participants (e.g., Lyster and Ranta 1997; Lyster 1998; Hauser 2003). See also Tarone (1980:425-427) and Ellis (1994:257-264 and 583-586) for their own treatments of the term.

3.6. Concluding remark: the implications of past research on the current study

This chapter has given an overview as to what repair is all about and what has been said about it in CA. In a nutshell: (i) repair is a mechanism, and a social action as well, through which conversationalists deal with any troubles in speaking, hearing and understanding talk in interaction; (ii) The occurrence of repair neither requires the occurrence of an apparent error or mistake as a precondition for its exercise nor is it contingent upon it; (iii) A single repair episode or repair segment consists of two constituents, i.e., repair initiation and repair outcome; (iv) There are various types of repair in accordance with the agents and relative positioning of the two constituents vis-à-vis a trouble-source; (v) Each type of repair is internally organized with distinctive “technology” or sets of “practices”, while, (vi) they are systematised with each other, providing a possible repair opportunity space for any piece of talk as a potential trouble-source. The perspective proposed by the original work of SJS and Schegloff toward the phenomenon has been inspiring not only to researchers of English but also those of other languages, including Japanese, and of language acquisition.

From the literature reviewed above, I would like to draw three implications for the current study. First of all, we can now see that there is a particular research domain which is yet left untouched, that is, other-initiated repair performed by Japanese native speakers. It has never been argued holistically whether other-initiated repair in Japanese conversation is the same as that in English conversation and whether, and to what extent, the repair basics distilled from English talk-in-interaction can be applicable to Japanese data. Chapters 4 and 5 of this study particularly address that issue. In chapter 4, we will seek the applicability of English other-initiated repair organization to Japanese data, by examining a collection of actual occurrences of the phenomenon. Chapter 5 considers repair adaptable to the unique characteristics of Japanese grammar. By comprehensively uncovering their workings in conversation, we will propose to broaden the scope of repair itself.

The second point is that the systematics of repair described by SJS and Schegloff is, in a sense, very abstract and programmatic. This is because, I suppose, the main purpose of the papers was to introduce the most basic level of repair organization. What is especially absent in their papers is detailed descriptions of each instance cited, as to why a certain piece of talk becomes a trouble-source and is being repaired at a particular moment of interaction and what consequence the repair activity bears to the ongoing conversation and activity. Few works have ever shed light on this aspect, by deploying the

repair basics as one of the tools for digging into data (e.g., Schegloff 1987c:110-111; Drew 1997). Throughout the study, we will make an attempt to concern not only repair as our target but also broader environments in which the repair is embedded.

Finally, although studies from language acquisition have warned to make a general connection between repair activity and certain membership categories, some repair episodes do evoke particular identities of participants, viz., “the more knowledgeable” and “the less knowledgeable” parties toward a given matter. But such identities are not automatically, or a priori, attributed to participants. Rather, they are negotiated and established through the very process of the repair activity. Every move that participants take within the sequence, that is, how to notice and mention a trouble, how to initiate repair, how to respond to it, how to engage or disengage themselves from the activity, and so on, becomes a means for them to claim, negotiate, and achieve such identities. We will trace this dynamism step-by-step in chapter 6, using a single case where a repair sequence is largely expanded beyond its ‘standard’ length.

Chapter 4

Practices for Other-Initiation of Repair in Japanese

4.1. Introduction

When interactants come across auditory or comprehension problems with what their co-participants have just said during the course of interaction, what can they possibly do? One option is to take no notice of the problem, to simply ignore it and let the conversation advance. However, this embodies the potential risk of leading the conversation to a serious breakdown (Schegloff 1992b:1334-1337). Alternatively, participants may halt the conversation and try to solve the trouble. This disturbs the progressivity of the conversation in favour of making things right. The resolution of the trouble requires collaborative work between both the speaker and the recipient. Therefore, some procedural methods are indispensable for the latter course of action through which participants can achieve a smooth solution of the problem and a quick return to main activity at hand.

Chapters 4 and 5 explore a variety of such methods by which Japanese interactants cope with problems in hearing and understanding talk-in-interaction: that is, the methods for initiating repair on others' speech. The central aim of the current chapter in particular is to compile a catalogue of linguistic practices in Japanese which are largely dedicated to doing just such a job.⁴⁷ The process involves discerning other-initiated repair episodes in the data sets, examining them case-by-case, and grouping repair initiators according to their forms and characteristics of where and how they identify a source of trouble and what repair solution they seek. Since little has been investigated as to how Japanese speakers do repair initiation on others' talk, the findings in the literature on English (Sacks, *et al.* 1977; Schegloff 1997a, 2000a, 2001a; see Chapter 3) are adopted here as a model, with some modifications with respect to the host language Japanese.

Accordingly, the study guides us to consider two aspects of repair organization: its universality and particularity across the two languages. Any language-speaking society needs a backup system for failures of language performance. Repair as a social action is probably a universal phenomenon. On the

⁴⁷ Some practices discussed in this chapter may be utilized for other jobs than repair initiation (Cf. Schegloff 1997a). Such "boundary cases" (*ibid.*:502) are nonetheless not many in occurrence and beyond the scope of this thesis.

other hand, because repair itself is accomplished by means of language, it is inevitably influenced by the phonological, syntactic, and semantic resources made available by its host language. Repair can thus be one concrete intersection between “grammar” and “social interaction” (Cf. *Grammar and Interaction* edited by Ochs, Schegloff and Thompson [1996]). Examination of Japanese other-initiated repair instances reveals a bilateral relationship between them, as to how repair organization is sensitive to particulars in Japanese, and in return, how the exercise of some grammatical practices unique to Japanese banks upon repair as a backup device.

The secondary, but equally important, aim of the present chapter is to undertake detailed analyses regarding the issue of “sources of trouble” in interaction which are made visible through the prosecution of other-initiated repair. As early as Schegloff, *et al.* (1977), it is clearly stated that the occurrence of “repair” is independent from the occurrence of “error”. But a relevant question as to why a certain word/phrase/utterance comes to be a trouble-source at a particular moment of a particular interaction seems to be barely discussed. To be sure, many repairs do deal with relatively simple errors, mistakes or trouble-sources. Or so they appear. Still, we need to be open to the possibility that a trouble targeted by repair may disguise some other problem under the surface of the conversation. Indeed, as Heritage warns, “‘official’ treatments of talk occurring at the conversational surface are the *starting point* for interpretive and analytic work and cannot be treated simply as unproblematic representations of what the speaker’s understandings or intentions in the talk consisted of” (Heritage 1984a:262, emphasis original). For this reason, we will delve into some of the data fragments presented in this chapter to consider what is going on behind the scene of repair. Of course, building up a typology of conversational troubles is by no means my intention, for repair is a device flexible enough to cope with *any* kind of problem creeping into talk-in-interaction. Nonetheless, the analyses will be able to offer original perspectives and insights for research on conversational repair.

4.2. The organization of Japanese other-initiated repair: An overview

Before scrutinising individual repair initiators, I would like to make some general observations about how other-initiated repair is organized in Japanese. To anticipate the upshot, the organization of other-initiated repair in Japanese is strikingly similar to that in English briefly summarized in the previous chapter, despite the large amount of dissimilarity between these languages in terms of

linguistic – phonological, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic – aspects as well as their sociological and cultural backgrounds.⁴⁸ Let me adduce extract (4-1) as a specimen in which we can find three occurrences of the phenomenon (“TS”, “I”, “R”, “Resum” stand for “trouble-source”, “repair initiation”, “repair solution/outcome”, and “resumption of the main sequence”, respectively).

(4-1) Shakuji05:17:466-474:468 [Today-Tomorrow]

466Y	TS	dō darō ne, <u>kyō</u> kaettekun no wa ne:: yoru hachiji ka kuji? how COP(PRES) FP today come-back N TOP FP night eight or nine 'What do you think, is it at eight or nine in the evening that ((he ⁴⁹)) is coming back <u>today</u> ?' (0.2)
467		
468K	I1	e? 'Eh?' └─┘
469Y	R1	hachiji ka kuji dak [ke (>kyō<) eight-o'clock or nine-o'clock COP Q today 'At eight or nine, am I [correct? (>today<)]
470K	I2	[kyō:?=
471Y	R2	'[Toda:y?='
	(TS')	=uun ashita= '=No tomorrow='
472K	I3	=ashita?= '=Tomorrow?=' └─┘
473Y	R3	=n[: '=Mm [hm'
474K	Resum	[so, ashita wa sō. so tomorrow TOP so '[((That's)) correct, tomorrow ((will be)) like that.'

The first observation is that a single other-initiated repair episode consists of two constituents, that is, repair initiation (I) and repair outcome (R). Each constituent is distributed to different speakers at different turn spaces, the repair outcome turn immediately following the repair initiation turn. Thus, other-initiated repair constitutes a two-part sequence, or more precisely, an “adjacency pair” (Schegloff and Sacks 1973; Schegloff 2007).⁵⁰ One exception is, of course, the cases of other-initiated other-repair

⁴⁸ This might sound redundant to say, but I still want to emphasise that I had no a priori presumption or hypothesis of the similarity across these languages when I started the research. On the contrary, I reached this conclusion inductively based on the observations and analysis of actual repair occurrences.

⁴⁹ Due to the lack of the recording of just-preceding part of talk, to whom Y refers is unclear to the analyst.

⁵⁰ One of the important criteria that distinguish an adjacency pair from any adjacent two units is that its first pair part makes it “conditionally relevant” for some type-specific action(s) to happen next as its second pair part. When that second action does not happen, it is considered as “noticeable absence” or “relevant absence”, and some special treatment is undertaken (Schegloff 2007). The other-initiated repair sequence

where repair initiation and repair itself are simultaneously carried out by the same speaker⁵¹.

fulfils this criterion. I will provide only one piece of evidence.

Two of the participants in the following exchange, Kitayama and Erika, have a long-distance relationship. Kitayama had unexpectedly received a visit from Erika the night before, about which they have now been telling their close friends Yabe and Hasegawa. Yabe raises a question (lines 453-454) concerning a potential flaw in Erika's plan, even though this did not actually happen. Erika's answer to it (line 459) gets a repair initiated on it (line 461).

KD02:17-18:453-466 [Unexpected Visit]

- 453Y <demo:, (.) saa ano, (.) maji↑de↓:, baito ya nanka de rusu yat ta ra
but FP uh seriously part-time-job or something by absent COP PAST if
- 454 >dō suru tsumori ya[t-<
how do intend-to COP
'<But, (.) y'know uh, (.) ↑serious↓:y>, if ((he)) had not been at home for work or other reason, >what would
you have intended to [d-<'
- 455K [n nee
mm FP
- '[Good point'
456 (0.6)
- 457K sō omot [ta.
so think PAST
'That's what ((I)) though[t.'
- 458H [soo ya.=
so COP
'[They're right.='
- 459E =e, ↑dakara: atashi (tsureni) sore chekkushi ta in yan ka (tanni).
eh that's-why I in-advance/to-friend that check PAST N COP Q simply
'=Why, ↑that's wh:y I checked that (in advance/to a friend), ↓y'see, (simply).'
- 460 (0.2)
- 461Y-> yotē o?
schedule ACC
'((Checked his)) schedule?'
- 462 -> (1.1)
- 463H-> nani o chekkushi ta n?
what ACC check PAST FP
'What did ((you)) check?'
- 464 (0.8)
- 465K a: [a:a:a:
'Oh:oh:oh:oh:'
- 466E [(n) yotē o.
mm schedule ACC
'[Mm ((his)) schedule.'

What immediately follows the repair initiation turn is a silence (line 462). This silence is treated by participants not as a mere space at which no one is speaking but as the absence of a response which is conditionally made relevant by the prior turn. Thus, another speaker pursues the response by re-issuing a repair initiator targeting to the same trouble-source at line 463. This whole exchange will be re-examined later in chapter 5.

⁵¹ Here is an example. In response to Hasegawa's inquiry concerning a Japanese baseball player, Yabe refers to the player's former baseball team with its old name "Taiyo". It is immediately corrected to the current name "Yokohama" by Kitayama. The repair is thus initiated and completed at the same time by a single speaker.

KD02:5:124-130:126 [Taiyo]

- 124H e, ↑doko ni i ↓ta n mo[tomoto.
eh where at be PAST N originally
'Eh, ↑where did ((the baseball player)) belong ↓to o[riginally.'
- 125Y-> [taiyō [yo.
((baseball team)) FP

Nonetheless, such other-repair is extremely rare and repair outcome is usually provided by a party other than the deliverer of repair initiator, i.e., the trouble-source speaker.

The second observation is that a repair initiator normally locates a trouble-source in its just preceding turn. Initiators 1 and 3 above are the case in point: both are addressed to the whole or a part of their prior turns (lines 466 and 471, respectively) as repairable.⁵² When an initiator is “delayed” or dislocated from the next-turn position for some reason (Schegloff 2000a), as Initiator 2 instantiates, certain practices are mobilised for indicating explicitly where the trouble-source is to be located (in the case above, for example, the repetition of the *kyō* refers back to the latest turn in which the word occurred, that is, line 466).

The third observation concerns the emergence of talk from repair sequences. A repair episode is itself a closed sequence organized independently from a then-on-going sequence (thus named the “side sequence” by Jefferson [1972]).⁵³ The initiation of a repair sequence suspends the progressivity of a ‘main’ activity or sequence in progress in order to deal with an auditory or a comprehension trouble which emerges from what has just been said. The exit from the repair sequence is regularly displayed and accomplished by means of a recognisable resumption of the main thread of the talk. In the case of the extract above, the trouble-source turn happens to be the first pair part of a question–answer adjacency pair. The sequential relevancy that the first pair part has established for its response is sustained throughout the three sets of repair sequences until the second pair part (the confirmation) is eventually given at line 474.⁵⁴ Thus, the provision of the second pair part concomitantly marks the

126K=>	‘[Taiyo [y’know.’ [i yokohama. no ((baseball team))
127	‘[No Yokohama.’ (.)
128H	[°a↑:° ‘[°Oh↑:°
129Y	[>°ne:, yokohama [nat ta n ya na°<. FP ((baseball team)) become PAST N COP FP ‘[>°Right, ((to)) Yokohama [((the team)) changed ((the name)), right°<.’
130K	[°°n:°° ‘[°°Mm hm°°

⁵² Although the initiator 3 is in fact the third attempt in a series of repairs dealing with the trouble emerged from line 466, it nonetheless targets to its just-prior turn as outward trouble-source (thus marked as TS’).

⁵³ Of course, it is not to say that repair as action is independent from what is preceding, for it is with reference to what has just been said that the repair is initiated in the first place. In terms of sequence organization (Schegloff 2007), however, repair sequence and the ‘main’ sequence in which the repair sequence is embedded or inserted are developed separately, though the fact that repair sequence is inserted may change the subsequent trajectory of the main sequence.

⁵⁴ Notice the way in which the second pair part is designed: a turn-initial confirmation token *sō* ‘that’s

closure of repair sequence(s).⁵⁵

Finally, it should be noted that the occurrence of repair is not contingent upon the occurrence of perceivable error or mistake. While the second repairs in the extract deals with a somehow transparent “error” in producing *kyō* ‘today’ instead of *ashita* ‘tomorrow’, the already-repaired item *ashita* ‘tomorrow’ subsequently receives another repair initiation. By the same token, not every error which occurs in conversation is subject to repair.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the treatment of an ostensible target of repair might possibly turn out to be another sort of difficulty or problem that the deliverer of the repair initiator is trying to resolve.⁵⁷ Since any bit of talk in interaction cannot escape the potential possibility of being addressed as a trouble-source by the recipient, the source (or the cause) of the trouble should be figured out on a case-by-case basis by the participants as well as analysts.

At least in these aspects, then, the organization of other-initiated repair is “context-free” (Cf. Sacks,

correct’ is followed by a more elaborated version *ashita wa sō* ‘tomorrow will be like that’. The *sō* token has a potential ambiguity that it may well also be heard as a receipt of the just prior talk, that is, the preceding repair outcome. Incorporating the repaired item *ashita* ‘tomorrow’ in it, the subsequent elaboration expresses that it *is* a second pair part corresponding to the first pair part, rather than a receipt of the intervening repair.

⁵⁵ Although infrequent, the success of repair and the (potential) end of repair sequence may explicitly be announced by the deployment of a “repair success marker” (Cf. Heritage 1984b:315-320; Schegloff 1997a:519). Lines 17-18 and 20 in (4-25) below are most typical and clearest examples. Under what circumstances the success of repair is overtly declared still need to be investigated.

⁵⁶ In the following exchange, a business partner (P) is informing a receptionist in a newspaper delivery agency (A) new customer’s address. Unfamiliar with the area where the agency is located, P misreads the Chinese characters of the name of a street as *honchō dōri* instead of the correct *Hommachi dōri* (line 54). The recipient A, however, does not attend to the error/mistake, for example, by means of repair or an “embedded correction” (Jefferson 1987) in receipting the piece of information. Rather, she simply repeats the wrongly-said name (to make a note of it), and invites the caller to move on to provide a next piece of information, if relevant, with the turn-final *hai* ‘yes’.

NDA01-31:53-55

53P .hhh e:to ↑gojūsho no hō ↓ga:, e: ↑chūōku no
uhm address(POL) of direction NOM uh ((location)) of
‘.hhh Uhm ↑(((the customer’s)) address ↓i:s, eh: ↑Chuoku,’

54 -> <honchō dō[ri:]>
((street)) street
‘<Honcho> Stre[e:t:]’

55A-> [°honchō >dōri< hai°
((street)) street yes
‘[°Honcho >Street<, ygs°>’

⁵⁷ The classic example comes from one of the earliest enterprises by Sacks (Sacks 1992:vol.1:3-11, lecture 1, Fall 1964). He first observes that, in the opening of telephone calls to a suicide prevention centre, the greeting ‘This is Smith may I help you’ by a member of the staff routinely receives the caller’s self-identification in return. That is to say, the greeting expression is providing a slot for a caller’s name without asking for it. Sacks then notices that once one alternative response ‘I can’t hear you’ is employed, the slot where the returning name would go never occurs unless explicitly asked for. The ‘I can’t hear you’ is therefore one of the devices by which the caller can avoid giving his name yet not be seen as ignoring what they ‘properly’ ought to do.

et al. 1974:699) in the sense that it is invariant in spite of the divergence across the languages (Schegloff 1987b:209-214). The similarity goes further than that. As the rest of this chapter will reveal, the classification of English NTRIs proposed by Schegloff (2001a) is for the most part applicable to Japanese data. Of course, lexical items and grammatical practices which fall into each category are unique and sensitive to their host language of Japanese (Cf. “context-sensitivity” in Sacks, et al., *op. cit.*). Still the workings of each type of NTRIs do not seem to vary so much. For this reason, I exercise Schegloff’s classification (with slight modification) in order to group Japanese NTRIs. They are, “open class repair initiators” in Drew (1997)’s term, or what Schegloff (*op. cit.*) calls “unspecified interrogatives” (Section 4.3), “category-constrained interrogatives” (4.4), “positioned interrogatives” (4.5), “utterance-targeted interrogatives” (4.6), “repeats” (4.7), and “candidate understanding” (4.8).⁵⁸ Schegloff argues that those groups are, at least in English, arranged not at random but in this order. We will come back to the issue of their ordering in Japanese in Section 4.9.

4.3. Open class repair initiators

4.3.1. *Repair initiation and solution*

The first group of NTRI involves what Drew (1997) calls “open class repair initiators”, or “unspecified interrogatives” in Schegloff (2001a)’s term. Expressions such as ‘huh?’, ‘what?’, ‘pardon?’, ‘what’s that?’, ‘I can’t hear you’ in English are included in this type. They indicate that the deliverer of the repair initiator has some trouble with other speaker’s just-prior turn, and yet leave the issue what sort of troubles that the deliverers are having ‘open’.⁵⁹

Extracts (4-2) to (4-6) illustrate representatives of Japanese open class repair initiators (in the subsequent extracts, repair initiators under discussion are marked with “=>”).

⁵⁸ I have not found in my data sets what Lerner (2004) describes as stand-alone “increment initiators” which constitute another form of other-initiated repair. This, however, does not suggest that such practices are not available at all in Japanese. The expression *to yū to?* ‘which is/means?’, for example, seems, at least to my speculation, to be able to do a similar job, though strictly it is not an increment initiator by a single speaker.

⁵⁹ In this regard, Drew (1997) excludes ‘I can’t hear you’ from his definition of “open class repair initiator”, because it “give[s] an explicit account of at least the putative trouble which the speaker has, troubles such as having been unable to hear what was said, or not having understood (all or part of) what was said” (*ibid.*:73). Whether or not such expressions should be included in this category will not be further discussed here, since I have not yet come across Japanese equivalents, such as *kikoe nai yo* ‘((I)) can’t hear ((you))’ as a repair initiator in the data at hand.

(4-2) Shakuji26:1-2:26-37:31 [Mr. Kato]

Matsumoto is providing his brother-in-law Hitoshi about some information of a person in a public tax office to whom he is advising Hitoshi to make an inquiry regarding the lease of some land.

- 26H katō, >kono hito no nan<=
 ((name)) this person of what
 ‘Kato, >what of this person<=’
- 27M =↑kono hito ga ↓ne:, (0.3) sono sōdangakari na n da yo.
 this person NOM FP that consultant COP N COP FP
 ‘=↑This person is, ↓y’know, (0.3) that consultant, y’know.’
- 28 (0.4)
- 29H-> ((Complaining voice)) koko it ta n da °mon°.
 this-place go PAST N COP FP
 ‘((Complaining voice)) ((I)) went to this place °y’know°.’
- 30 (0.6)
- 31M=> ↑e?
 ‘↑Eh?’
- 32 (0.4)
- 33H-> ((Complaining voice)) koko it ta n °da mon°.
 this-place go PAST N COP FP
 ‘((Complaining voice)) ((I)) went to this place °y’(know)°.’
- 34 (0.4)
- 35M >demo sore katō san te yū hito ni kī ↑ta?<
 but that ((name)) TITLE QUOT say person to ask PAST
 ‘>But ((at)) that ((time)) did ((you)) ask this Mr. Kato person?<’
- 36 (0.7)
- 37H a <katō san tte yū hito ja nai kamoshirenai ↑na>.
 oh ((name)) TITLE QUOT say person COP NEG may FP
 ‘Oh <((it)) might not have been the one called Mr. Kato.>’

(4-3) Yakiniku01-04:2:27-43:35 [Pitch]

Participants are discussing about Naya’s brand-new mobile phone (“207”) which she bought recently.

(The “Pitch/PHS” is another type of mobile phone.)

- 27N atashi no tomodachi mo:,
 I of friend too
 ‘A friend of mine, too;,’
- 28 (0.4)
- 29N hotondo tada toka itte ta kara[:,
 almost free like say PAST because
 ‘said like ((her mobile phone was)) almost free, so[:,’
- 30Y [att,
 ‘[Oh,’
- 31 (0.7)
- 32Y tomodachi mo: nī maru nana ni shi te n ya.
 friend too two zero seven to do PAST N COP

33 ((Your)) friend also chose a 207.
 (1.2)
 34N-> [kanojo picchi yat ta. (.) motomo[to.
 she Pitch COP PAST originally
 ‘[Hers was a Pitch. (.) origina[lly.’
 35Y=> [nī m- [e?
 ‘[2 o- [Eh?’
 36N-> picchi.
 ‘Pitch.’
 37 (0.5)
 38Y a,
 ‘Oh,’
 39 (.)
 40N pī echi esu.
 ‘PHS.’
 41 (0.3)
 42Y kaikae wa saisho kara kangaete ta n da ja[a:..
 get-a-new-one TOP beginning from be-thinking PAST N COP then
 ‘((You)) were thinking about getting a new one from the beginning the[:n.’
 43N [°n:°
 ‘[°Mm hm°’

(4-4) TL01:112:3221-3230:3226 [Post Card]

Participants are joking about Izumi selecting weird and humorous post cards and sending them to Erika’s boyfriend, Kitayama-kun.

3221I =uh huh huh fitsumo henna hagaki >dashiteru< yanf=
 always weird post-card be-sending COP-NEG
 ‘=Uh huh huh f((I)) always >keep sending< ((him)) weird cards, remember?f=’
 3222S =°khh°=
 3223I =.hh[hh [kore wa: mitaina(ah)]
 this TOP ((something))-like
 ‘=.hh[hh [the ones ((that I feel)) like “This is it(ah)”]’
 3224E? [(°so ya [ne°
 so COP FP
 ‘[(°You’re [right°]’
 3225S-> [mo mukō mo make n] gurai °henna hagaki(h) [de(eh)°
 INT other-party also be-defeated NEG so-much-as weird post-card with
 ‘[The other party also ((sends you)) °the ca(h)rds] as weird° [as(hh) ((yours))’
 3226I=> [e?
 ‘[Eh?’
 3227 (0.5)
 3228S-> .h kitayama kun mo make n gu[rai henna hagaki de(eh)
 ((name)) TITLE also be-defeated NEG so-much-as weird post-card with
 ‘Kitayama-kun also ((sends you)) the cards as we[ird as(hh) ((yours))’
 3229I [ya: sō sō so(oh) hoh hoh [hoh
 yeah right right right

3230E 'Yea:h right right righ(hh)t hoh hoh [hoh'

[^omh huh^o

(4-5) Shakuji22:1:1-11:7 [Yoriko's Tummy]

Mother calls her married daughter, Yuko.

((Picking up the receiver))

01Y moshimoshi:
 ‘Hello:?’

02M moshimoshi:, ohayō=
 'Hello:, good morning='

[illegible]

04 (1.2)

05M-> dōo?
'How ((is everything))?'

06 (0.2)

07Y=> ↑n:?
 ‘↑Huh?’

08 (0.4)

```

09M->    yoriko chan genki?
          ((name)) TITLE    fine
          '((Is)) Yoriko-chan fine?'

```

10 (0.4)

11Y onaka kowashi ta:.
belly damage PAST
'((She)) got an upset tummy.'

(4-6) TL01:94-95:2707-2720:2716 [Disney Sea Guidebook]

The participants are planning to go to the Disney Sea (the extended zone of the Tokyo Disney Land that is newly opened) on the next day.

2707S (°°nan°°) [gozenchū ni iku mon ja nakat ta!
 like morning-time in go thing COPNEG PAST
 ‘(°°Like°°) [it was not something to go in the morning!’

2708I [maeuri o katte tara sok kara haireru [>tokoro ga aru toka<=
advance-ticket ACC buy if that-place from can-enter place NOM exist like
'If ((we)) get advance-tickets, >((we)) can start with [>certain attractions, like<='

2709J [°°Yeah°°] [°°un°°]

2710I =son[na no ga att- (.) nanka i- (0.3) °kī ta yōna kigasuru kedo°.
 such NNOM exist like hear PAST kind-of feel though
 ‘=su[ch attractions exi- (.) like i- (0.3) °((I)) kind of think that ((I))’ve heard.°’

2711S [°hehh°

2712J °°u:u:[u°°

^{◦◦}Mm mm [^{hm◦◦}
2713S [^{◦◦}a! sō (na n)◦◦
oh so COP FP
‘[^{◦◦}Oh (is it) so◦◦’
2714 (0.2)
2715J-> >nanka< kōryakubon o ka- (0.4)
like guidebook ACC buy
‘>Like< a guidebook ((marked as a direct object of a forthcoming verb)) bu- (0.4)’
2716I=> ^{◦◦}n?◦◦
^{◦◦}Huh?◦◦
2717J-> >kae ba yokat ta *ne*<.
buy if good PAST FP
‘>((we)) should have bought ((a guidebook)), *shouldn’t we?*<’
2718I [◦]n: n:◦
[◦]Mm hm◦
2719 (0.2)
2720S chizu wa aru yo.
map TOP exist FP
‘((I’ve)) got a map, y’know.’

The vast majority of Japanese open class repair initiators consist of *e?* ‘eh?’ (Hayashi 2009) as in (4-2) to (4-4), and *n?* ‘huh?’ as in (4-5) and (4-6). Less frequently used are *nani?* ‘what?’, *un?/hai?* ‘yeah?/yes?’, response particles such as *a?*, *ha?*, *he?*, and *hun?* (Tanaka 2002), and their phonological variations. Although they can also be deployed in combination with other types of NTRI in the same turn (such as *e, sochira t|te*: ‘Eh, by “that place” you mea:n ((what))’), we will only focus on the freestanding ones in this section.

Because their potential character as repair initiators is that they offer no specification of the possible trouble that their deliverer claims to be having with a prior turn, it is the recipient who should re-analyse their prior turn, identify the possible trouble-source in it, and provide a possible remedy for it. A repair outcome turn, normally the one next to the repair initiation turn, exhibits such a re-analysis of the trouble-source turn by its speaker. For example, in (4-2), the trouble-source speaker Hitoshi produces an identical utterance to the one that his co-participant claims to be problematic (line 33).

(4-2)'

29H-> ((Complaining voice)) koko it ta n da °mon°.
this-place go PAST N COP FP
‘((Complaining voice)) ((I) went to this place °y’know°.’
30 (0.6)
31M=> ↑e?

40N-> pī echi esu.
 ‘PHS.’

Satomi in (4-4) also employs a repeat of her trouble-source turn. Yet this repeating practice differs from that which Hitoshi and Naya employ: Satomi’s repeat works as a “frame” for highlighting the replacement of the seeming trouble-source *mukō* ‘the opposite side/other party’ with a more specific person reference *Kitayama-kun* (the “Sacks substitution” in Schegloff 1989).⁶⁰

(4-4)’

3225S-> [mo mukō mo make n] gurai °henna hagaki(h) [de(eh)°
 INT other-party also be-defeated NEG so-much-as weird post-card with
 ‘[The other party also ((sends you)) °the ca(h)rds] as weird° [as(hh) ((yours))]
 3226I=> [e?
 ‘[Eh?’
 3227 (0.5)
 3228S->.h kitayama kun mo make n gu[rai henna hagaki de(eh)
 ((name)) TITLE also be-defeated NEG so-much-as weird post-card with
 ‘Kitayama-kun also ((sends you)) the cards as we[ird as(hh) ((yours))]
 3229I [ya: sō sō so(oh) hoh hoh [hoh
 yeah right right right
 ‘[Yea:h right right righ(hh)t hoh hoh [hoh’

More drastic modification or elaboration of the trouble-source turn is made in (4-5). Mother’s first inquiry, which is constructed with a one-word question *dō?* ‘how ((is everything))?’, and comes after “summons-answer” and “greetings” in a telephone opening (Schegloff 1968, 1986) and 1.2 second silence. The question *do?* in this particular conversational position is equivalent to English ‘how are you’, only it might be seen to be too general and broad even as an elicitor of possible news. Faced with Daughter’s repair initiation, Mother specifies the object of the inquiry to her granddaughter Yoriko (line 9).

⁶⁰ The repair here may be triggered by the use of the deictic expression *mukō* ‘the opposite side/other party’ as a person reference. Or, it is because the trouble-source turn is launched in overlap with two other speakers (the supporting evidence for this interpretation is that the recipient of the repair Izumi starts to respond, with the combined agreement token and repair successful marker *ya*: (‘yeah’ + ‘oh’), at the point where the original trouble-source turn was clear of the overlap). Or, it might also be because of the volume and the clarity of the talk at the turn diminishing toward the end, or for all of these reasons. The point is that the *mukō* may not be the potential trouble-source to which the NTRI *e?* is addressed. Indeed, Schegloff (1989) propounds Sacks’s observation concerning the “Sacks substitution” as follows: “in the environment of repair, pro-terms regularly get replaced by the full-forms to which they referred, *even when those pro-terms were not, or were not clearly, the source of the trouble*” (*ibid.*:148-9, emphasis added).

(4-5)'

05M-> dōo?
'How ((is everything))?'
06 (0.2)
07Y=> ↑n:?
'↑Huh?'
08 (0.4)
09M-> yoriko chan genki?
((name)) TITLE fine
'((Is)) Yoriko-chan fine?'

Finally in (4-6), as it happens that the trouble-source turn is incomplete, being cut off in the middle of a word, the speaker Juri simply completes the turn as a possible repair outcome. In this case, then, the open class repair initiator is considered an invitation to complete the just-prior turn which was previously left unfinished.⁶¹

(4-6)'

2715J-> >nanka< kōryakubon o ka- (0.4)
like guidebook ACC buy
'>Like< a guidebook ((marked as a direct object of a forthcoming verb)) bu- (0.4)'
2716I=> °°n?°°
'°°Huh?°°'
2717J-> >kae ba yokat ta *ne*<.
buy if good PAST FP
'>((we)) should have bought ((a guidebook)), *shouldn't we?*<'

As these instances illustrate, open class repair initiators engender various types of repair solution, depending on the trouble-source speaker's re-analysis of their own prior turn. The possible repair outcome proposed by the trouble-source speaker is, of course, not always successful. We have already seen the case in which the repair executor subsequently provides another repair solution (the substitution of the *picchi* 'Pitch' by the *pī echi esu* 'PHS' in (4-3)). While this is done voluntarily by the repair executor, it is also possible for the deliverer of repair initiator to launch another repair sequence, as in the following exchange.

⁶¹ Lines 2715 and 2717 form a perfectly grammatical sentence together (apart from the cut-off *ka-*, the first sound of the verb *kau* 'buy' which is fully vocalised in the subsequent turn). The English gloss does not capture the sense because of the word-order difference between the two languages.

(4-7) Shakuji05:17:466-474:468 [Today-Tomorrow]

Reproduction of (4-1)

- 466Y-> dō darō ne, kyō kaettekun no wa ne:: yoru hachiji ka kuji?
how COP(PRES)FP today come-back N TOP FP night eight-o'clock or nine
'What do you think, is it at eight or nine in the evening that ((he)) is coming back today?'
- 467 (0.2)
- 468K=> e?
'Eh?'
- 469Y-> hachiji ka kuji dak [ke (>kyō<)
eight-o'clock or nine-o'clock COP Q today
'At eight or nine, am I [correct? (>today<)']
- 470K=> [kyō:?=
'[Today?='
- 471Y-> =uun ashita=
'=No tomorrow='
- 472K=> =ashita?=
'=Tomorrow?='
- 473Y-> =n[:
'=Mm [hm'
- 474K [so, ashita wa sō.
so tomorrow TOP so
'[((That's)) correct, tomorrow ((will be)) like that.'

Kyoko first employs an open class repair initiator (line 468) working on the just-prior turn in which a question is produced. The time reference *hachiji ka kuji* 'at eight or nine' which is identified as a possible repairable and repeated by Yuko, however, turns out to be unsatisfactory when Kyoko initiates another repair by deploying the alternative trouble-source specifying repair initiator *kyō:?* 'Today?'. This time Kyoko offers a successful repair solution, and after yet another repair sequence (request-for-confirmation and confirmation), the chain of repair sequences comes to end. This exchange is an instance in which some problematic talk is dealt with through "multiple" initiations of repair (Schegloff 2000a:212-3).⁶²

With reference to the success or failure of the repair solution, it should be pointed out that there are some striking cases in which a repair sequence is initiated by an open class repair initiator, and nevertheless no repair seems to be, at least explicitly, done. Extract (4-8) provides the clearest case. Siblings-in-law, Yuko and Shin, are talking on a phone about Yuko's husband who just gave Shin a lift

⁶² See also Schegloff (2000a: 237-8, note 5) for the similar, yet distinctive, occurrences of more than one repair initiators on a single trouble-source turn.

to his house and is now heading to his friend's place. They conclude the discussion by saying that he must have arrived there by then because *chikai: mon ne:, sok [kara ↑ne.* '(((the friend's place)) is *nea:r, right?* from your place, ↑right?' (line 33) and by making an agreement with this assertion (line 34). Then Yuko launches a completely new topic: *kao chan wa:?* '(((What is)) Kao-chan, i.e., Shin's baby daughter, ((doing)))?' at line 38 ("itemised news enquiries" in Button and Casey 1985).

- (4-8) Shakuji09:02-03:33-43:39 [Kao-chan]
- 33Y *chikai: mon ne:, sok [kara ↑ne.*
near as FP your-place from FP
'Cause (((his friend's house)) is *nea:r, right?* from you[r place, ↑right?'
- 34S [sō (da) ne
so COP FP
'That's right.'
- 35Y n[:
'Mm [hm'
- 36S [n :
'[Mm hm'
- 37 (0.7)
- 38Y-> kao chan wa:?
((name)) TITLE TOP
'(((What is)) Kao-chan ((doing)))?'
- 39S=> n? kao chan okiteru:..
huh ((name)) TITLE awake
'Huh? Kao-chan is awake.'
- 40 (0.7)
- 41Y mō demo neru no kana:..
soon but sleep N Q
'Is ((she)) going to bed soon, though, I reckon?'
- 42 (0.3)
- 43S iya, kuruma n naka de zutto nete ta kara ne: ,=
no car of inside in all-the-time sleep PAST because FP
'No, 'cause ((she'd)) been sleeping in the car all the way home, y'know,='
- 44Y =n :
'='Mm hm'

It is quite noticeable that Shin provides an 'appropriate' response to the question immediately after producing an open class repair initiator (line 39). A similar case is found in (4-9). This time the open class repair initiator produced at line 337 does provide for a space in which repair could have been done,

342 (0.4)
 343N [ehahh waratteshimai ma(su)
 can't-help-laughing POL
 'ehahh ((I)) can't help laughing'
 344Y [°°n: _°°
 [°°Mm hm _°°
 345 (1.2)
 346Y mukashi no okashi no kan toka: ↓ano, (0.3) kyarameru:- (.)
 past of sweets of can such-as uh toffee
 347 mangaka kai ta kyarakutā no: kobako toka mo:, kekkōna takane
 illustrator draw PAST character of small-box like too quite high-price
 348 shiteru n su yo ima:.
 be N COP(POL)FP now
 'Such as old cans of sweets and ↓uh (0.3) toffee:- (.) small boxes on which some characters are drawn by
 illustrators too, are really ((being sold)) at quite high price no:w.'

These two instances evidently indicate that even though open class repair initiators are putatively associated with an auditory problem, this is not always the case. The deliverer of the repair initiator, at least in these cases, can perform a sequentially relevant next action to the turn, which they have once claimed to carry a possible repairable, without waiting for a repair outcome. So what are they targeting as a trouble-source by these apparently unnecessary repair initiators? A possible account emerges from their sequential environment: that is, both cases involve a topic shift introduced by the very turn which later turns out to be claimed to have a possible trouble-source. Furthermore, the new topic appears to be quite disjunctive from the preceding talk, introduced in a rather abrupt manner. In the former, (4-8), the topic-initiation question has no preface for changing topic such as *tokorode* ‘by the way’, and also is constructed in a [topic + topic marker *wa*?] format which offers a topic and yet does not provide any clue of what about the topic the question is asking for (Cf. Takagi 2001: Chap. 6). In (4-9), the turn in question does have a sort of topic-shift preface *ne*. Nonetheless, according to Tanaka (2000b), the *ne* in the turn-initial position is a more general device for summoning or attention-getting of the recipients and does not particularly mark a topic-shift. Neither is it clear who (either Yoshida or another participant Naya) is being summoned by it until at least the next lexical item *kottōichi* ‘antique markets’ is articulated. Moreover, even though the topic initiation of *kottōichi* ‘antique market’ here is designed in such a way as to refer to some earlier mention of the word (notice that it is accompanied by the quotation marker *tte*), the referred-to bit of talk seems far away from the proximately preceding

exchange.⁶⁴ The topic is quite disjunctive from what has recently been talked about. Thus, the repair initiators targeting those topic-initiation turns seem to be addressed not to particular items or the construction of the trouble-source turns, but to the rather abrupt shift in topic caused by them. This, of course, is not to say that any open class repair initiator is dealing with that kind of problem; nor that any open class repair initiator dealing with that problem gets no repair afterwards. The suggestion here is that, as Drew (1997) claims with English instances, open class repair initiators can and do manage particular sequential problems as repairable. This is also compatible with Schegloff's observation (1979: 270-272) that first sentences in topic-initial turns or in topic shift position are frequently subject to repair, either self-initiated or other-initiated. We shall examine in the following subsection the capability of open class repair initiators for dealing with the problems associated with sequence organization. In the meantime, we will continue the discussion of "repair abandonment" (Cf. Schegloff 2000a: 208), i.e., no apparent repair being done in the face of repair initiation.

Repair abandonment seems to be a collaborative achievement by the deliverer of the repair initiator, the speaker of the trouble-source and other co-participants. The deliverer of a repair initiator may not provide enough space for the trouble-source speaker to perform repair, as in (4-8) above. In the case of (4-9), while the trouble-source speaker withholds the production of a repair outcome, the deliverer of a repair initiator does not insist and pursue the repair further. Similarly in (4-10), the speaker of the repair initiator officially discards both the repair initiation that he implemented himself and the sequential relevancy of the trouble-source turn in favour of initiating a completely new sequence. This telephone conversation was initially between Yuko and a friend of her husband having drinks with him at a pub who was asked to tell her that he did not need dinner. The extract starts when the friend (T) gives the phone to the husband, Nobu, who has already been informed through the friend that the dinner is beef patties.

(4-10) Shakuji13:5:119-131:127 [Unyanya]

119T =a, chotto matte kudasai?
 oh a-little wait POL(IMP)
 '="Oh, wait a second, please?"
 120 (1.2)

⁶⁴ In fact, the extracted part occurs approximately 7 minutes after the beginning of the recording, during which no mention of the *kottōichi* 'antique markets' nor any related topics are found.

121N fmoshimoshi:??
'fHello:??'
122Y ui=
'Ui='
123N =uhh↓hh
124 (0.5)
125Y-> [unyanya
126N [.hhh
127 => e?
'Eh?'
128 -> (1.0)
129N-> hambāgu?
'beef patties?'
130Y un
'Yeah'
131N kui te(h): na(h):=
eat want-to FP
'((I)) Wanna(h): ea(h):t ((them))='
132Y =>↑mh huh huh<

In response to the summons by drunken Nobu, Yuko returns a whimsical answer *ui*. Then she adds a nonsense and more playful response *unyanya* at line 125. In contrast to the first one to which he reacts with laughter, Nobu takes the second one seriously and produces an open class repair initiator. Nevertheless, Yuko does not make any attempt to repair the possible trouble-source turn, perhaps because of the tongue-in-cheek nature of the utterance. Eventually Nobu abandons the repair sequence that he initiated, and at the same time abandons the production of any sequentially-relevant response to the turn that he identified as a repairable, by introducing a new topic about the dinner menu (line 129).

Extract (4-11) gives another example of repair abandonment, but the case is slightly different in character. What matters here is the issue as to who initiates repair, whose turn gets repair initiated on it, and to whom that trouble-source turn is originally addressed. This issue is particularly relevant to repair organization in multi-party conversation. The extract is taken from a chat over lunch among four female friends. They have just got their main dishes, and Erika makes a comment about her choice (i.e., pasta) being too heavy for her. Izumi teasingly explains that it is because Erika ate a cake on the way to the restaurant. Erika defends herself with another reason: attending a wedding ceremony afterwards and probably having a big meal there as well (lines 2040-2051).

(4-11) TL01:71-72:2040-2068:2055 [Heavy Pasta]

2040E =[n:, [↑kēki tabe [ta no mo aru n da kedo:,
Mm-hm cake eat PAST N also exist N COP but
‘=[Mm hm, [↑eating a cake [was one reason bu:t,’

2041S [((Sniff)) [°huh°

2042E atashi hora:, (0.3) kyō no yūgata kek↑kon↓shiki aru ja:[n.
I remember today of evening wedding-ceremony exist COP-NEG
‘I, remembe:r? (0.3) will attend to a wedding ceremony this evening, won’t [I?’

2043S [°huh [huh°

2044I [a: [so da,
oh so COP

‘[Oh: [that’s right,’

2045E [(u↑ka-)=

‘[(S↑o-)=’

2046S =*e*eh [hehh

2047I [on, [so da, sore so↑re:, [sēbushi ta (yo/no).
yeah so COP that that save-((energy)) PAST FP
‘[Yeah, [that’s right, ((for)) that ((reason)) th↑at ((reason)), [(she)) saved ((her energy)).’

2048E [<<watashi no kek[kon↓shiki ja nai yo ɿ
I of wedding-ceremony COP NEG FP
‘[<<((It))’s not my own we[dding ↓ceremony, y’know ɿ’

2049J °n(h)°=

2050I =[fsēbushifteru ↓n da tte.
be-saveing-((energy)) N COP QUOT
‘=[((She says)) that f((she)) is savingf ((her energy for it)).’

2051S =[nk ka:
yeah Q
‘=[Yeah ri:ght’

2052 (.)

2053S-> motto karui no ga aru toko °ike ba yokat° ta ne.
more light N NOM exist place go if good PAST FP
‘((We)) °should’ve chosen° a place which has small portion dishes, shouldn’t ((we))?’

2054E °n:°=
‘°Mm hm°=’

2055I=> =n?
‘=Huh?’

2056 (.)

2057E-> ↑n: i ↓yo >i yo daijo[bu<.
yeah good FP good FP no-problem
‘↑No: it’s ↓alright it’s >alright, just fi[ne<.’

2058S-> [tampin ga nai n da mon ne:.
separate-item NOM not-exist N COP as FP
‘[’Cause ((this place)) does not have single items, does it?’

2059I-> na: sō [da ne:.
oh so COP FP
‘Moh: that’s t[rue:.’

2060E [°sō (ne)°
so FP

The possible trouble turn that Izumi targets by deploying an open class repair initiator (line 2055) is Satomi’s just prior remark at line 2053.⁶⁵ This remark is, however, obviously addressed to Erika who was making a negative comment about her own choice of the dish. And the addressed recipient has already returned a minimal agreement even before the repair initiator is produced. In the face of this repair initiation by the non-addressed recipient of the trouble-source turn, the addressed recipient, Erika, gives a more effective response, namely, a reassurance, toward the trouble-source turn.⁶⁶ The speaker of the trouble-source turn, Satomi, also provides the justification of her prior remark. The deliverer of the repair initiator articulates presumably the first sound of an agreement token *m*, which instantly turns into a “change-of-state” token and/or “repair success marker” (Heritage 1984a: 315-320; Tanaka 2002) *a*: ‘oh:’. In addition, the following agreement *sō da ne*: ‘that’s true:’ is hearably addressed both to the trouble-source turn and to the justification supplied after the repair initiation at the same time. That is, the repair initiation by a non-addressed recipient of the trouble-source turn here does not engender an apparent repair outcome as such. Nonetheless, the repair initiation is not simply ignored, but carefully incorporated into the action sequence between legitimate speaker and recipient of the trouble-source turn.

In sum, due to their character of not specifying the troubles that they indicate the prior turns have, open class repair initiators are mobilised for handling a wide range of troubles in talk. In the face of these, the recipients, i.e., the trouble-source speaker, have to reanalyze their prior turn, identify the source of the trouble, and provide the presumably most appropriate repair solution from their perspective. Repair initiation may also be abandoned in cases where the trouble-source turns are considered not subject to serious repair by both the deliverer and the recipient of the NTRI.

In the following subsection, we will focus on a particular type of trouble which is regularly addressed to by open class repair initiations: the trouble associated with sequence organization.

⁶⁵ The repair initiator is produced almost simultaneously with the just prior agreement token by Erika, and therefore recognisable as being directed to Satomi’s, not to Erika’s, turn.

⁶⁶ Satomi’s utterance in the trouble-source turn is an affiliative remark to Erika’s negative assessment of her own choice. It might as well be taken as apologetic, since Satomi is the one who chose the venue for this occasion (Cf. Sacks 1992: vol.2:296-8, Feb 19, 1971; Clift 2002). While the minimal agreement shows that Erika initially grasps the turn as the former, the subsequent reassurance occasioned by the repair initiation displays her reanalysis of it as the latter.

4.3.2. Open class repair initiators and sequence organization

Drew (1997) reports that some, though not all, of the open class repair initiators in English occur in environments where their deliverers seem to have problems in grasping not so much what the other said, as why they said it. Because any talk-in-interaction is produced and interpreted with reference to what has been said up to the point as a most proximate context, an utterance ill-fitted to the context gives a puzzle of “why that now” (Cf. Schegloff and Sacks 1973) to its recipient. Thus troubles may neither emerge from the construction of the target turns nor from the selection of particular lexical items within the turns, but from the relevance of the turns to their prior talk in terms of sequence organization. Two kinds of sequential environment are involved: 1) those in which the trouble-source turn does not appear to connect referentially with its prior turn and hence from the recipient’s perspective seems to be topically disconnected with what was being talked about; and 2) those in which the trouble-source turn is somehow inapposite or inappropriate as a response to the prior turn. This seems to be the case in Japanese data as well, as investigated in the present subsection.

We have already seen the first sequential environment, in (4-8) and (4-9) above, where open class repair initiators are employed to deal with an abrupt topic shift initiated by the trouble-source turn. A more obvious case is given here as (4-12). Previously the participants have been talking about a bridge/road on the sea called *Umi-hotaru* which had been built recently near Tokyo. When Juri finishes her story of how she was told about the bridge from somebody else (line 483), one of the participants, Satomi, suddenly displays that she noticed something (line 490).⁶⁷

- (4-12) TL03:17-18:483-546 [Blouse]
 483J [°so yu no ga aru rashī°.
 so say thing NOM exist I-hear
 ‘[°There’s that kind of thing (=a bridge), I heard°.’
 484I? [((Sniff))
 485 (0.6)
 486I kokoni i temo shira(h) na(h)i shhih hih hih
 here live though know NEG

⁶⁷ The utterance of a “noticing marker” does not necessarily mark the exact moment at which the cognitive shift in speaker’s mind occurs (Heritage 1998: 328, note 2). In this respect, it is worth pointing out that Satomi’s utterance of °aa!° ‘°Ooh!°’ at 490 is in close vicinity to the conclusion of the story-then-in-progress at line 483 °so yu no ga aru rashī° ‘°There’s that kind of thing (=a bridge), I heard°. Even the manifestation of speaker’s cognitive shifts is not independent of its surrounding interactional environments.

‘Though ((I)) live here ((in Tokyo)), ((I)) do(h)n’t kno(h)w ((about it)) shhih hih hih’
 487 (.)
 488I [.hhh
 489J? [°n:°=
 ‘[°Mm hm°=
 490S-> =°aa!°
 ‘=°Ooh!°’
 491 (0.7)
 492J=> °°e, n, [na- na-°°
 ‘°°Eh, mm, [wha- wha-°°’
 493S [(°°bacchiri°°)
 ‘[(°°Perfect°°)’
 494I=> °n?°
 ‘°Huh?°’
 495S kore, (.) dokode kat ta?
 this where buy PAST
 ‘This ((shirt)), (.) where did ((you)) get?’
 496 (0.2)
 497J (°°ahh kore komusa(h)°°)=
 oh this ((name of a shop))
 ‘(°°Ohh this ((is from)) Comme Ca(h)°°)’
 498S =↑yah hoh [ihih
 ‘=↑A(h)s I th(h)ought[(hoh)’
 499I=> [e?
 ‘[Eh?’
 500J [°nhuhun°
 501I=> en- (.) [nani nani
 FP what what
 ‘Ehn- (.) [what? what?’
 502S [((Three claps)) .hh fe sore [shiro [motte(h)(ru)ɸ
 I(compressed) that white have
 ‘[((Three claps)) .hh I’ve got [that white [o(h)(ne)ɸ.’
 503? [((Sniff)) |
 504BG [(°°binda°°)
 505 (0.3)
 506S [°↑hah°
 507J-> [°a(h)!, (ɸsō ya nenɸ)°
 oh so COP FP
 ‘[°O(h)h! (ɸthat’s rightɸ)°’
 508I [komusa:?
 ‘[Comme Ca:?’
 509S .hh °°↓hēhhh°°
 510J °a, un, komu[sa.°
 oh yeah ((name))
 ‘°Oh, yeah, Comme [Ca.°’
 511S [ɸkoreɸ,
 ‘[ɸThat oneɸ,’
 512 (.)

513I-> [↑a::↓:
 ‘[↑Ah::↓h’
 514S [onna^ji yatsu motteru: [n.
 same one have FP
 ‘[(I)]’ve got the same o:ne, [y]’know.’
 515J [°ahh°=
 516E =a sō na no:?
 oh so COP FP
 ‘=Oh is that so?’

((21 lines omitted: Satomi is explaining what her blouse looks like, and how she came to notice that

Juri’s is the same as hers.))

538S-> .hhh °heh° .hh °↑mā: issho ya:, [<<gomenne(hh)°
 EXC same COP I’m-sorry
 ‘.hhh °heh° .hh °↑oh my, ((it))’s the sa:me, [<<I’m so(hh)rry°’
 539? [°°n:↓n°°
 ‘°°Mm ↓hm°°’
 540 (0.2)
 541J [nhhh
 542I [n↑hu[n
 543S-> [°↓hanashi no tochu(hh) (de)°
 talk of middle in
 ‘[°↓In the mi(hh)dle of talk°’
 544E [ɛiya iya iyaɛ=
 ‘[ɛNo no noɛ=’
 545I [nhun
 546S =.hhh °a: bikkurishi ta°.
 wow be-surprised PAST
 ‘=.hhh °wow: ((it)) was surprising°.’

The multiple deployments of open class repair initiators at lines 492, 494, 499 and 501 clearly indicate that the others do not quite follow the abrupt change of the course of the talk caused by Satomi’s production of the noticing marker. All the three recipients eventually come to their realization of what Satomi noticed (that she has the same blouse as the one Juri is currently wearing), yet each at a different point: Juri is the first person who grasps what is going on, when she produces the ‘realization’ marker *a(h)!* at line 507, for she is an addressed recipient of Satomi’s noticing-related talk (from 495-502). Meanwhile, Izumi makes several attempts to cut into the exchange getting established between Satomi and Juri exclusively. The first open class repair initiator by her *n?* at lines 494 is directed to Satomi’s noticing marker which has not been elaborated yet. The following *e?* at 499 and *en-* (.) [*nani nani* at 501 are rather targeted to Juri’s response to Satomi’s inquiry (495 and 497), partially because of the softness

of the speech,⁶⁸ and also because of the unclarity of the topical context in which the question and answer are embedded. Since the inquirer Satomi has successfully registered the answer at line 498, Satomi and Juri are likely to start developing talk between themselves, leaving other participants behind (Cf. “schisming” Sacks, *et al.* 1974; Egbert 1997b). These two open class repair initiators are thus employed to stop the progressivity of the schismatic talk that is highly projectable.⁶⁹ They are not taken up, however: Satomi simply moves on to put an account for the earlier noticing and inquiry. Instead of responding to it, Izumi tries to go back to Juri’s response by the deployment of a repeat as a (delayed) NTRI at 508.⁷⁰ The construction of Juri’s confirmation turn, an *a*-preface and a repetition accompanying a confirmation token, is designed not only to confirm what is being questioned, but also to redirect her initial answer at line 497 to Izumi who has now been re-selected as an addressed recipient,⁷¹ therefore included as a legitimate recipient of the on-going talk. Thereupon Izumi produces an emphatic realization marker, with which she displays that the puzzle has now been solved. Throughout these lines Erika remains silent, by the end of which she is the only one who has not recognisably taken part in the talk along this topical line. When Satomi reiterates that she has the same blouse as Juri’s at lines 511 and 514, addressed to Izumi and Erika who were excluded as recipients of the first mention (line 502), Erika finally has a chance to display that she sees the thread of the talk. She responds to the reiteration as if she has heard it for the first time. In this episode, again, the open class repair initiators at lines 492 and 494 are directed to the topical disconnection that the repairable turn in which a noticing marker is issued results in. The ones at 499 and 501 deal with the same problem remaining yet unsolved, though their apparent target line is not the topic-initial turn.⁷²

⁶⁸ Satomi and Juri are sitting next to each other, and apparently Satomi has no trouble in hearing Juri’s response. It may be less catchable to Izumi and Erika who are on the other side of the table.

⁶⁹ In this regard, the timing of the production of the former initiator *e?* at line 499 is quite suggestive. As Izumi is not the addressed recipient of Juri’s response, she does not claim the difficulty immediately after the completion of Juri’s turn (“addressed other goes first” in Schegloff 2000a). Neither does she wait, on the other hand, until Satomi’s third-position registration of the response is complete, by which point some other new action would have been made relevant. The moment of the initiator’s production reflects Izumi’s active participation as an unaddressed, yet ratified, recipient (Cf. Goffman, 1981: 131-137).

⁷⁰ This indicates that Izumi does not see herself as a ratified recipient of Satomi’s account.

⁷¹ Heritage (1998) characterises ‘oh’-prefacing of a response (‘oh’ being the closest equivalent to Japanese *a*) as indicating that “a question has occasioned a *marked shift of attention*” (*ibid*: 294, emphasis original). I apply his use of the term “shift of attention” to the case at hand as a ‘shift of attention to a different recipient’.

⁷² The analysis of this episode suggests that NTRIs can also be a device for controlling one’s status as a recipient, more generally “participation framework” issues, in multi-party conversation (Egbert 1997a; see also Goffman 1981).

These three cases of topical disconnection ((4-8), (4-9) and (4-12)) are rather transparent. In the third case, in particular, that the new topic is introduced abruptly and disjunctively from the on-going topic is oriented to by the topic initiator herself. Notice that later in this exchange (lines 538 and 543) Satomi officially apologises that she has interrupted the then-in-progress talk about the bridge/road. Contrastively, in (4-13), the apparent topic shift may be quite sequentially coherent from the perspective of its speaker. This exchange is taken from a telephone conversation between siblings in which Fumiya asks for Yuko's husband (line 07).

(4-13) Shakujii 19:1-2:7-25:19 [Fumiya & Yuko]

- 07F >↑nīchan in no kyo<.
big-brother be-(home) FP today
'>Is ↑Big Brother home today<.'
- 08Y kyō: nonderu:=
today being-drinking
'Today (he's gone out for) a drink='
- 09F =no(h)nde(h)n no?=
being-drinking FP
'=((Gone out for)) a d(h)ri(h)nk?='
- 10Y =ɛn:ɛ=
'=ɛMm hmɛ='
- 11F =shōgane: na:(hh) (0.2) °ɛa hontoɛ°, [jā: >ī ya<.=
hopeless FP oh really then good FP
'=((He's)) so hopeless, isn't he:(hh) (0.2) °foh reallyɛ°, [>that's alright< the:n.=
- 12Y [°°n°°
'[°°Mm hm°°
- 13 =n:, demo sonnani ne osokunara nai to wa yutte ta kedo ne.=
mm-hm but ((not))-very-much FP get-late NEG QUOT TOP say PAST but FP
'=Mm hm, but ((he)) said that he wouldn't be very late though, y'see.='
- 14F =>a sō na no<.
oh so COP FP
'=>Oh is it so<.'
- 15 (.)
- 16Y un
'Yeah'
- 17F ho:n[↓to.
'Rea:[↓lly.'
- 18Y-> [mō ie na n desho?
already home COP N COP(PRES)
'[((You)) are already at home, aren't you?'
- 19F=> e? ie.
'Eh? At home.'
- 20 (0.3)
- 21Y n: [jā ichiō: [>kaettekī tara<.=

mm-hm then once return when
 ‘Mm hm [then once: [>((he)) returns<=’
 22F [n [>°a so°< =>so da ne<.
 mm-hm oh so so COP FP
 ‘[Mm hm [>°Oh yeh°< =>that sounds fine<.’
 23 (0.4)
 24F [n, wakat ta [soja ne::, [↓hai
 mm-hm understand PAST then FP yes
 ‘[Mm hm, okay [then bye::, [↓yes’
 25Y [n, [(>dewa mata< ne::), [hai
 mm-hm then again FP yes
 ‘[Mm hm, [(>then see you later<), [yes’
 ((Hanging up))

Up to line 17, they have been talking about the availability of the person requested. Then, at line 18, Yuko suddenly asks for confirmation as to whether Fumiya is home at that moment. Despite showing a momentary difficulty, Fumiya tentatively proffers a confirmation. It turns out at line 21 that the sudden inquiry about him is in fact a sequentially relevant action to the on-going activity, namely a “pre-offer” (Schegloff 2007) for passing Fumiya’s message to the husband when he returns home (even though the offer is understood by Fumiya before it is fully articulated). This instance suggests that an apparently abrupt shift in topic may not necessarily be disjunctive from the preceding talk from the perspective of the speaker. Nonetheless, it is treated as such by the recipient by means of an open class repair initiator.

Let us now turn our attention to the second type of sequential environment in which Drew (*ibid.*) reveals open class repair initiators are recurrently employed: that is, “an apparently inapposite, or even disaffiliative, response by the other speaker” (p. 69). Extract (4-14) nicely demonstrates what an ‘apparently inapposite response’ is like. After a long silence, Satomi proffers a new topic in the form of an inquiry to Erika (Cf. Button and Casey 1985), which turns out to be answered quite differently by its recipient. The grammatical composition of Satomi’s question at line 846, the ellipsis of the subject reference and the combination of the final particles *yo* and *ne*, allows another interpretation of the utterance as informing that she herself visited Kyoto recently, and it is this interpretation that Erika initially takes (line 848).

(4-14) TL01:30-31:845-861:850 [Went to Kyoto]
 845 (10.4)
 846S-> °o: mō°, ((sniff)) kyōto it ta n da yo ne.

EXC already ((place)) go PAST N COP FP FP
 ‘°He:y ((you)) already, ((sniff)) went to Kyoto, didn’t you/ He:y ((I)) already, ((sniff)) went to Kyoto,
 y’know°’
 847 (0.4)
 848E-> itsu:?
 ‘Whe:n?’
 849 (.)
 850S=> a?=
 ‘Ah?°’
 851E-> =a: a[tashi, ga:(ahah).
 oh I NOM
 ‘=Oh:, ((you mean)) me[:(ihih).’
 852S [hhohh (i(h)nku(h)ru[hhh)
 853I [°hehuh°
 854 (.)
 855S [huh huh
 856E [°fgomen [gomenf°.
 [°fSorry [sorryf°.’
 857I [(neari[:zu) ja [nakutte(eh) [huh huh huh huhn]=
 ((unclear)) COP NEG
 ‘[(It’s)s [not [() [huh huh huh huh]=’
 858S [heh hehh | | |
 859E? [.shhhhhhhh | | |
 860S [(te(h)hi(h) yo(h) ne(h))]=
 ((unclear)) FP FP
 ‘[(It’s)s ((h) (h)), ri(h)ght(h)?]=’
 861E-> =watashi, ↑un, it ta yo::?
 I yeah go PAST FP
 ‘=I, ↑yeah, went ((there)), y’kno::w?’

As mentioned in the previous chapter, this exchange illustrates that a problem raised by the deployment of a NTRI is solved with a “fourth position repair” procedure (Schegloff 1988; 1992b). By hearing the open class repair initiator, Erika ‘realises’ that she has inappositely responded to the initial utterance by Satomi. Instead of simply repeating or reformulating the repairable turn, she re-examines it with respect to Satomi’s prior turn, that is, how ill-fitted her turn was as a response to its prior (line 851).⁷³ The open class repair initiator is, then, directed to the turn which appears to be an inapposite next to the prior turn-but-one. This ‘inappositeness’ is, of course, from the perspective of the deliverer of the repair initiator. At the moment of its production, the repairable turn was quite apt from the speaker’s

⁷³ Nonetheless, this is not an instance of fourth position repair. Unlike the canonical process of fourth position repair, the trouble of misunderstanding comes up on the conversational surface as early as in “third position” rather than in “fourth position”.

34 ‘((Complaining voice)) ((I)) went to this place °y’(know).’
 (0.4)
 35M >demo sore katō san te yū hito ni kī ↑ta?<
 but that ((name)) TITLE QUOT say person to ask PAST
 ‘>But ((at)) that ((time)) did ((you)) ask this Mr. Kato person?<’
 36 (0.7)
 37H a <katō san tte yū hito ja nai kamoshirenai ↑na>.
 oh ((name)) TITLE QUOT say person COP NEG may FP
 ‘Oh <((it)) might not have been the one called Mr. Kato.>’

Hitoshi's remark serves as a rejection of the advice, that is to say, a dispreferred action to it (Pomerantz 1984a). Although slightly delayed (line 28), the action is done straightforwardly, without any hesitation. With the contribution of the particle *mon*⁷⁵ and other prosodic delivery of the turn, it is hearable as a rather strong rejection, and also a complaint about the recipient making such an unhelpful suggestion. Even if confronted with a NTRI, Hitoshi repeats identically the repairable turn, by means of which he insists that his initial response was not at all incorrect or inapposite.

Similarly, (4-16) provides two instances of open class repair initiators which seem to be associated with the disalignment between the conversationalists. A mother visits her married daughter, only to find that the daughter is out visiting her friend. So Mother (M) calls Daughter (D) at the friend's house in order to ask:

(4-16) Shakujii01:2:27-63:36 & 58 [Mum & Daughter]

27 (1.8)

28M-> ↑modoru?
'↑Coming back ((home))?'

29 (0.4)

30D mada.
'((Not)) yet.'

31 (0.4)

32M ↓ma:(h)da(hhm) [mk- =mk-
'↓((Not)) ye:(h)t(hhm) [mk- =mk-'

33D [muri.=
'[Impossible.='

34M huh huh huh- ↑hhh ↓huh huh hah hah hah
35 .hh mada muri:~? hih ↓hih [(hih)
yet impossible
'hh ((Not)) possible yet? hih ↓hih [(hih)'

⁷⁵ The conjunctive particle *mon* (literally ‘because’) ending a sentence of explanation supplies “a feeling of protest or complaint” (Martin 1988/2004:971).

36D-> [o_{dan}ŋgo dake o_{itette} yof, °huh huh huh°
sweets just leave(IMP) FP
‘[Just lleave the sweets ((you brought))ŋ, °huh huh huh°’

37M=> ↑e?=
‘↑Eh?=?’

38D-> =o(h)da[n(h)(go(h) [da(h)ke)
sweets just
‘=The s(h)w[ee(h)(ts(h) [o(h)nly)’

39M [mh hun .hh [okāsan ga ori mashi ta node.
mother NOM be POL PAST so
‘[M hun .hh [((Your)) mother((-in-law)) was at home.’

40D un
‘Yeah’

41 (0.9)

42M-> <nanji koro:> kaeru no?
what-time about return FP
‘<About what time> ((are you)) coming back?’

43 (0.4)

44D ↓n:: ↑mō chotto kakan na.
well more a-little take((-time)) FP
‘↓Well ↑it’s gonna take a bit more.’

45 (0.3)

46M mō chotto tte (.) [ichiji↑kan gurai?=
more a-little QUOT an-hour about
‘By a bit more, ((you mean)) (.) [about an ↑hour?=?’

47D [mhan

48D =ŋyugataŋ ah heh heh [heh [yūgata he-]
evening evening
‘=ŋ((In the)) eveningŋ ah heh heh [heh [evening he-]’

49M [e: [gata: ?]=
[E:ve[ni:ng?]=

50M =((4 beat-rhythm))huh huh ↑huh hah hah hah ha .h [hh (iho-)
‘=((4 beat-rhythm))huh huh ↑huh hah hah hah ha .h [hh (iho-)’

51D [ime ne=
now FP
‘[Now, y’know=?’

52 =>ne↑chatten da<.
be-sleeping COP
‘=>((my baby)) is s↑leeping<.’

53 (0.7)

54D chotto okose nai shi ne.
a-little can-wake NEG also FP
‘And ((I)) can’t wake ((her)) up, y’know.’

55 (0.7)

56M-> nan(ji/ni) goro ni naru?
what-time about at become
‘About what time it will be?’

57 (0.5)

58D=> ↑n?
 ‘↑Huh?’
 59 (0.5)
 60M [°nanji goro n-°
 ‘[°About what time-°’
 61D-> [>dakara kondo:<,iku yo.
 because another-time visit FP
 ‘>((I)) told you, ((at)) another ti:me<, ((I))’ll visit ((you)).’
 62 (0.7)
 63D kocchi kara.=
 this-place from
 ‘I ((will)).=’
 64M =n_
 ‘=Mm hm_’

The first open class repair initiator (line 37) occurs in the context of Daughter providing a negative answer to Mother’s initial inquiry/request. The initial answer at line 30 is rather shorter and flatter than the way in which a dispreferred action is normatively delivered (Pomerantz *ibid.*). It is even upgraded (line 33) in reply to Mother’s repeat (Cf. Section 4.7 below). The daughter’s disaffiliative stance does not change either in the face of Mother’s disapprobatory laughter and a further repetition of the answers, demanding only the sweets Mother has brought (line 36). Thereupon the open class repair initiator is employed. In overlap with the repeat of the repairable turn, Mother shows a minimal acknowledgement and immediately moves to announce that Daughter’s mother-in-law was at home.⁷⁶

While Mother tries to persuade Daughter to return home immediately through the deployment of a number of questions and repair initiators, Daughter continues to turn down Mother’s unexpressed request. From Mother’s perspective, Daughter’s constant performance of the dispreferred actions is a strong indication of the lack of alignment to Mother. Mother’s several attempts to ask the same sort of question (lines 28, 42, and 56), in return, could well be seen as persistent from Daughter’s viewpoint. When a question is asked in the third round at line 56, Daughter returns an open class repair initiator. The question is a reformulation of the one that has already been answered (lines 42-54), which consequently has the effect of dismissing the given answer as insufficient or acceptable (notice also that there is no uptake for the accounts Daughter has provided, which results in the silences at lines 53 and 55). That the question is considered redundant from the perspective of Daughter is further displayed in

⁷⁶ It is not clear how this announcement is connected to the just prior talk. The inbreath after the turn-initial acknowledgement token suggests that the following part is rather to be a distinctive topic from the previous one, even though it is not developed further.

her answer at line 61. For one, the turn-initial connective *dakara* ‘((I)) told you; literally, because’ in the context of disagreement marks “supplementary talk in which the speakers rephrase their opinion ... in an attempt to clarify what they said earlier and to pursue the recipient’s affirmative response” (Mori 1999:168). That is, whatever follows is to be seen as a second saying of what has been stated. Moreover, in what follows Daughter does not provide the sought-after information, namely, the time of her return. Instead, she proposes that she will visit Mother some other time. This retrospectively shows that she has been implying that she is not going to see Mother today, by giving the answers *mada*. ‘((Not)) yet.’ (line 30), *muri*. ‘Impossible.’ (43), ↓*n*:: ↑*mō chotto kakan na*. ‘↓Well ↑it’s gonna take a bit more.’ (44) and *fyugata ah heh heh heh yūgata he-* ‘£((In the)) evening£ ah heh heh heh evening he-’ (48) to Mother’s earlier inquiries. Placed prior to the answer at line 61, the open class repair initiator is thus a more implicit attempt to claim the redundancy, and therefore the inaptness, of the question, given that the same inquiry has been answered, particularly in a disaffiliative manner.

All the instances in this subsection illustrate the open class repair initiators operating upon the turns which, in one way or another, appear ‘ill-fitted’ or ‘inapposite’ to their prior talk in terms of the sequence/action organization in interaction.⁷⁷ Yet again, open class repair initiator itself does not

⁷⁷ It is worth pointing out here that open class repair initiators seem to be able to deal with troubles associated with turn-taking organization as well, especially in the circumstances of face-to-face multi-party conversation. I will present here only two possible instances, both in English and Japanese. Further analysis of more cases is needed with the aid of visual documentation.

The English extract comes from Lerner (2003:186), which is used there as a piece of evidence concerning the insufficiency of post-positioned address terms for establishing reciprocity. Engaged in dinner activity, Michael does not pay enough attention to Vivian complaining that he has snatched the chicken piece she was going take, until his name is issued. Lerner explains that “his sudden gaze shift, which begins on the second syllable of his name, and the intonational contour of the repair initiator at line 3 suggest that he now recognizes that he has been addressed but does not grasp just what action has been addressed to him” (*ibid.*).

(a) Lerner 2003:186 Ex (7)

1 Vivian->	<u>I</u> wz gunnuh t <u>a</u> ke that <u>Michael</u> ,
2	(0.3)
3 Michael=>	Wha[:t?
4 Vivian	[<u>A</u> h wz gunna t <u>a</u> ke [that little pe]e-
5 Michael	[Oh <u>h</u> e : r e]

The open class repair initiator ‘Wha:t?’ is issued by an recipient selected as next speaker, whose reciprocity was not secured until the end of the trouble-source turn.

The Japanese instance demonstrates that another sort of turn-taking problem, i.e., overlap (Sacks, *et al.* 1974; Schegloff 2000b), is addressed to with, and settled through an open class repair initiator (for similar cases in English, see Schegloff, *ibid.*: 36-41). Togashi and Ishigaki have just arrived at the restaurant where their colleagues are having dinner. Ishigaki make a ‘howareyou’ sort of inquiry to Fumi at the same time she does so to Togashi (lines 103-104).

potentially specify the type of the trouble its deliverer is claiming to have in hearing or understanding the prior talk. Whatever the source of trouble is, it only provides the trouble-source speaker with a possible opportunity to reconsider and redo their prior action. Whether or not the prior action is redone differently, or even withdrawn, as a result of repair initiation is, after all, the repair completor's own choice.

4.4. Category-constrained interrogatives

The next type of repair initiators consists of question words such as *nani* 'what',⁷⁸ *dare* 'who' which identify the same category of referent in the prior turn as problematic. Two *dares* 'who' in (4-19)

(b) Yakiniku05-06:3-4:103-109:106 [T & I's Arrival]

- 103I-> [dō desu] ka:]
 how COP(POL) Q
 'How is it going?'
- 104F-> [togashi] san] genki?
 ((name)) TITLE fine
 '[Togashi-san,] how are you?'
- 105 (0.2)
- 106F=> [°u↑n?°
 '°↑Yeah?°'
- 107I [igirisu [wa.
 England TOP
 '[In Engla[nd.'
- 108T-> [(°genki°) <<hisashiburi jan [donna mon?
 fine long-time-no-see COP-NEG how thing
 '[(°(I'm)) fine°) <<((we)) haven't seen each other for ages, have ((we))?' [how are things?'
- 109I [n:
 '[Mm hm'

As the producers of the welfare inquiries which open up new sequences, Fumi and Ishigaki are equally legitimate self-selected speakers. And Fumi survives the overlap longer than her competitor. Nonetheless, she steps aside and abandons her inquiry in favour of the other by means of the open class repair initiator (line 106). As it happens that the other speaker is not available to do repair, for he is also continuing to add an increment to the prior question simultaneously with Fumi's NTRI. Togashi, to whom Fumi's initial inquiry was addressed, neatly puts those two threads together by answering the inquiry on the one hand, and making a reciprocal inquiry, on the other, which also serves as a repair solution on behalf of the trouble-source speaker Ishigaki.

⁷⁸ The same form of interrogative can also be an open class repair initiator or an utterance-targeted interrogative, and consequently its recipient, as well as analysts, has to work out on a case-by-case basis to which type each instance of *nani* belongs. For example, in the case of (4-20), the *nani* sounds more like a category-constrained interrogative than the other types because, for one, it is placed after a sequentially relevant response to the repairable turn, and for another, the repairable turn contains an apparently problematic object reference whose category fits to that of *nani*. See below for more detailed analysis of the extract.

identify as repairable the person reference (*ano hito* ‘that person’/*Matsuda-san* ‘Mr. Matsuda’), and so does the *nani* ‘what’ in (4-20) the object reference (*are* ‘that’) in their just-prior turns. Demonstratives such as *ano hito* ‘that person’ and *are* ‘that’ are normatively deployed in the subsequent position after the same referent has already been introduced (Cf. “locally initial reference” and “locally subsequent reference” in Schegloff 1996b). The two demonstratives in the extracts, however, are used in initial positions, that is, as being introduced in the talk for the first time. It is, in fact, a common practice in colloquial Japanese that a demonstrative pronoun *are* ‘that one’ (whose possessive form is *ano* as in *ano hito* ‘that person’) is used as a “place holder” in order either to delay or displace the production of the next item due (Fox, *et al.* 1996: 205-6; Hayashi 2002: 157-164; Hosoda 2002: 169-201). Usually, the actual reference that is substituted by *are* is specified by the same speaker, either immediately, as in (4-17), or in the vicinity of the syntactic completion of the ongoing TCU, as in (4-18).

(4-17) Fox, *et al.* 1996: 205 Ex (47)

M .hh maa sonna::: are ga::: (1.5) u:: meedosan ga iru yoona:
 well like that NOM uhm maid NOM exist such
 ie ya nai kara.
 family COP NEG because
 ‘... because, like, we are not the sort of family to have that, (1.5) uhm a maid.’

(4-18) Fox, *et al.* 1996: 205 Ex (48)

Y demo sono maeni WA:: (0.6) ano::: (0.5) are ga at ta n desu yo.
 but it before TOP um that NOM exist PAST N COP(POL) FP
 ano:: (1.0) e:::to ne. warito ano (1.0) nante yuun desu ka (1.0)
 um well FP sort-of um what say COP(POL) Q
ongaku BANgumi toka.
 music programme etc.
 ‘But before it, (0.6) um::: (0.5) that existed (=there was that). Um:: (1.0) we:::ll. Sort of um (1.0) what should I say
 (1.0) music programme and so on.’

In (4-19) and (4-20), by contrast, speakers do not proceed to provide the items delayed (or displaced) by the demonstratives, nor do they show any indication of word-search for the items in progress. The recipients thereupon claim difficulty in understanding the allusive referents by the use of category-constrained interrogatives.

recipient succeeds in receipting the name of the referent through the second repair, she eventually gives up recalling/recognising the person (line 922).

In (4-20), the same sort of trouble emerges from the employment of an allusive demonstrative *are* in a “locally initial position”.

(4-20) Shakujii 15:4-5:104-118:110 [Mr. Kamiya]

C asks M to pass a message to M’s son, which contains the information about ‘Mr. Kamiya’. C has just finished giving M that person’s telephone number.

- 104C =kamiya kiichi san [tte yū no ↑ne.
 ((name)) TITLE QUOT say FP FP
 ‘=Mr. K*ī*ichi K*ā*miya [is his name, y’know.’
- 105M [>kamiya kiichi sa[n ↑ne.< [n=
 ((name)) TITLE FP mm
 ‘[>Mr. K*ī*ichi K*ā*miya, [right?< [Mm hm’
- 106C [↑n:, [↓n=
 ‘[Mm hm, [Mm hm’
- 107 =.hh[h soide ne:, [.hh=
 and FP
 ‘.hh[h And:, [.hh=’
- 108M [°ha↓ha° [>un<
 [°Ah huh° [>Yeh<’
- 109C-> =ano:: a↑re mo oshiete a:geyō ↓ka.
 uh that too tell give Q
 ‘=Uh:: shall I tell you ↑that ↓too.’
- 110M=> n: nani?=
 ‘Mm hm what?=?’
- 111C-> =*an* jūsho.
 ‘=*Uh* ((his)) address.’
- 112 (.)
- 113M jūsho, un=
 ‘((His)) address, yeah=’
- 114C =o[n
 ‘=Ye[h’
- 115M [°(sō) ne i[chiō ne!°
 so FP just-in-case FP
 [°(Oka)y ju[st in case.°’
- 116C [.hhhh
- 117 ciba ken ne?
 ((location)) FP
 ‘Chiba-ken, okay?’

Line 110 in (4-20) actually resembles what is called “other-initiation of repair delayed within next turn”

(Schegloff 2000a:230-3): the recipient first responds to the action that is implemented by the trouble-source turn, i.e., a “go-ahead” to a “pre-informing”, which is followed, within the same turn, by a NTRI *nani* ‘what?’ for clarifying the object reference. The instances that Schegloff (*ibid.*) cites of NTRIs delayed within next turn involve an environment in which the recipient of the trouble-source turn starts to respond prematurely and then re-analyses and revises it within the same turn space. The current extract is not the same sort, however. In the just preceding part, Chiyo has been giving Mizue the name and the telephone number of Mr. Kamiya’s. In this context, what the trouble-source turn is doing must be understood as the continuation of this activity that they are engaged in (notice that the object that *are* refers to is marked as a non-first item in a row by the adverbial particle *mo* ‘too’), no matter what information is about to be passed on. In a sense, what kind of information is to come does not really matter in order for Mizue to issue a go-ahead signal in reply to the pre-informing. Thus *after* the go-ahead response, she requests clarification of the unspecified reference by means of a category-constrained interrogative. The source of the trouble therefore lies in the equivocality of the reference *are*, which does not cause the recipient to fail to grasp the action that is carried out through the repairable turn.⁷⁹

Compared with open class repair initiators, category-constrained interrogatives more specifically indicate what the possible repairable with the prior turn is. The nature of the trouble may still vary: it can be an auditory difficulty, as the second *dare?* in (4-19), or a recognition problem.⁸⁰ One source of trouble which is unique to Japanese and is often addressed by a category-constrained interrogative is the deployment of demonstrative *are* ‘that one’ (and its variants *ano hito* ‘that person’ and *asoko* ‘that place’) for delaying or displacing the provision of the actual reference. It is a frequently used practice in Japanese conversation, and does not normally become a problem, since the referent gets specified by the speaker within the same turn space.⁸¹ When the reference is left unspecified and causes a

⁷⁹ One might argue that the *n: nani?* ‘Mm mh what?’ as a whole constitutes a go-ahead response, rather than a compliant response + NTRI. Nonetheless, at least the recipient seems to treat it as the latter, since she delays the provision of the information until the problematic reference is cleared through another round of repair sequence (lines 113-114).

⁸⁰ Sacks and Schegloff (1979) argue that there are two preferences in terms of person references in English. The first, “minimization”, involves use of a single reference form rather than a combination of more than one. The second, “recipient design”, involves a preference for “recognitionals”, among which the most common form is a referred-to person’s first name. A person reference form which is selected by the speaker as a recognitional-to-its-recipient may turn out not to be recognisable from the recipient’s point of view.

⁸¹ Alternatively, as Hayashi (2002: 162-168) shows, the recipient may guess and provide the item which is referred to by *are* in the form of collaborative completion.

comprehension problem, it is category-constrained interrogative's job to initiate repair addressed to this particular grammatical issue.

4.5. Positioned interrogatives

Category-constrained interrogatives examined in the previous section themselves may cause trouble in identifying a repairable within the prior turn, as (4-21) shows.

(4-21) Heritage 1984b: 316-317 Ex (45)

- B-> If Percy goes with- Nixon I'd sure like that.
A=> Who?
B-> Percy.
(.)
B-> That young fella thet uh- his daughter was murdered,
(1.0)
B [(And-)
A [OH YEA:::h.
A YEAH.
B They, said sump'n about his goin tuhgethah uh-on th'ticket so,

The repair initiator 'who?' locates a trouble-source in a person reference. There are two candidates, Percy and Nixon, in the target turn, though those two are not equal in terms of recognizability. In addition, it does not discriminate between the type of the trouble as either a hearing problem, or a recognition problem. The trouble-source speaker first repeats one of the candidates, the one delivered with a stress on it in the prior turn, assuming that the trouble is rather a hearing problem. No immediate uptake from the deliverer of the initiator further prompts the speaker to add some elaboration of the referred-to person, which is more aimed at a recognition problem.

Contrastively, positioned interrogatives clear themselves of, at least, the first sort of confusion. For they can nail down more decisively which bit of talk within the repairable turn is problematic, by taking the form of the combination of a category-constrained question word and a repeat of a word or two before and/or after the trouble-source in the repairable turn.

In (4-22), a repair occurs in the talk concerning Yoshida's hobby of collecting antique artifacts which were originally considered rubbish and are nowadays priced at, say, 3,000 pounds sterling (about 4,000 dollars). The word *jitensha-sōgyō* 'precarious, day-by-day management of a firm; literally,

bicycle-operation’ used during the course of the telling by Yoshida (line 381) is identifiable as a repairable targeted by the subsequent repair precisely because the repair is initiated with a positioned interrogative *nani sōgyō?* ‘what *sōgyō*?’.

(4-22) Yakiniku01-04:13-14:369-403:381 [Jitensha-sogyo]

369F ↑hitozaisan ↓jan sore motte tara:.

considerable-fortune COP-NEG that have if

‘Wouldn’t it be a considerable ↑fortune ↓if ((you)) have such ((antique artifacts)).’

370 (0.3)

371Y *ma zaisan* te sore de hora, (0.3) ie ga tatsu toka
well fortune QUOT that with as-you-can-imagine house NOM be-built or

372 sonnan ja nai kedo:,

that-sort-of-thing COP NEG but

‘*Well, fortune ((as you may call it))* it’s not like, with such an artifact, as you can imagine, (0.3) a house can be built or anything like that, though,’

373 (0.2)

374F sō da kedo, [a, .hh

so COP but oh

‘You might be right, but, [oh, .hh’

375Y [ma, >toriaezu-<

well for-the-time-being

‘[Well, >for the time being-<’

376 (0.4)

377F °u: [n°

‘°Ye[a:h°’

378Y [nante yu no tōzano zētaku wa dekiru tte kanji ya ne:.

what say FP temporary luxury TOP can-do QUOT sense COP FP

‘[What to say, ((I)) can temporarily live in luxury or something like that, y’know.’

379 (0.2)

380F [°a:°

‘[°Oh:°’

381Y-> [>ore< sonnan: (0.2) >sonnan nai mon< <<jitensha↑sō[↓gyō:, shiteru kara:,

I that-much that-much not-exist FP day-by-day-management do because

‘[>I< don’t have ((fortune)) that (0.2) >that much< <<((I))’m living, on *jitensha*-↑*sō*[↓*gyō* ((=a day-by-day)) basis, so:,’

382F [°°n°°

‘[°°Mm hm°°’

383 (0.2)

384N? °n:°

‘°Mm hm°’

385Y °↑n_°

‘°↑Mm hm_°’

386 (0.4)

387F=> nani sōgyō?

‘What *sōgyō*?’

388 (0.2)
 389Y-> ji(t/d)enshasōgyō °t↓te yū°
 day-by-day-management QUOT say
 ‘Ji(t/d)ensha-sōgyō, °(I) ↓say°’
 390 (0.2)
 391F [nani u-
 ‘[What u-’
 392Y [u-
 393 (0.3)
 394Y jitenshasōgyō ↓tte mō ↑shikin ga nakute:,
 day-by-day-management QUOT ((not))-any-more funds NOM not-exist(CONT)
 ‘*Jitensha-sōgyō* ↓means ↑((you)) haven’t got ((extra)) funds at all and,’
 395 (0.4)
 396F (°↓on°)=
 ‘(°↓Yeah°)=’
 397Y =utte katte sono ba: shinogi ↓no: u- shōbai °tte yū ka°
 sell(CONT) buy(CONT) that occasion survival of business QUOT say or
 398 so yu kanji ya kara:.
 so say sense COP because
 ‘=by selling and buying ((you)) run a day-by-day u- business °or like° that sort of situation, so:.’
 399 (0.2)
 400F °↓n:°=
 ‘°↓Mm:°=’
 401N =[°n°
 ‘=[°Mm°’
 402Y =[sonnani u- (0.2) [>↑kane ta↑mara ↓hen (°nam°)<.
 that-much money be-saved NEG FP
 ‘=[That much u- (0.2) [>↑money cannot be ↑sa↓ved, (°y’know°)<.’
 403? [°n°
 ‘[°Mm hm°’

If a mere *nani*? ‘what?’ was used at line 387, it would have been ambiguous as to whether it was an open class repair initiator or a category-constrained interrogative. And if it were the latter, it would have been unclear as to which referent is to be picked out as a repairable. The repeated *sōgyō* thus serves as a frame to position the trouble-source to its just-prior lexical item, *jitensha* ‘bicycle’. The trouble-source speaker Yoshida not only repeats the repairable at line 389, but also starts to give a more elaborated explication of the word (line 392 being plausibly a first syllable of *utte* ‘buying’, which reappears later at line 397), because of the lack of immediate uptake by Fumi. As it happens it is overlapped with Fumi’s deployment of another repair initiator *nani u-* ‘what u-’, Yoshida re-starts the explication at lines 394-398, which is eventually converted into the reiteration of his earlier remark that he does not have much fortune/savings (line 402).

Jitensha-sōgyō is a metaphorical expression, comparing the state of a firm running its business precariously, on a day-by-day basis, to the instability of a bicycle. Due to its idiomatic character, it is little wonder that the word is unknown to the recipient. This, however, does not seem to be the only reason for repair being initiated on it. To understand the word is particularly critical at this moment to Fumi, as the addressed recipient, in order to produce a sequentially appropriate next response to Yoshida.

To begin with, there has been some sort of discordance between Fumi and Yoshida with reference to their assessments of the value of antiques. Fumi initially uses the word *hitozaisan* ‘a considerable fortune/property’ (line 369) to express her astonishment at the price Yoshida has announced. Yoshida then recalibrates and respecifies what the word *zaisan* ‘fortune/property’ implies, such that not as much as a house can be built (line 372). The respecification is met with a “weakened and/or qualified agreement assertion” (Pomerantz 1984a: 70-77) *sō da kedo*, ‘You might be right, but,’ which in effect leads to a disagreement, even though the actual disagreement is never provided as the speaker Fumi self-interrupts it by using a sharp *a*, *hh* ‘*oh*, *hh*’. Yoshida, who has already started to talk (line 375) and then withholds it until Fumi invites him to continue rather than herself going on (°*u:n*° ‘°Yea:h°’ at line 377), finishes his prior recalibration by saying that the *zaisan* made by such antiques is normally no more than that allowing the owner to spend a little luxurious time (lines 375 and 378). He further pleads at line 381 that he is personally not that rich (notice that Fumi’s response to his preceding recalibration is only a weak vocalization of her change of state, °*a:°* ‘°Oh:°’), and rushes in to add that he is doing *jitenshā-sōgyō*. Now, the logical linkage between the two parts of this line is ambivalent, partially because the post-positioned causative connective *kara* has a potential equivocality in that it can mark both a retrospective and a prospective linkage of units (Mori 1999:44-45). That is to say, it can be either a) “I am not that rich *because* I am doing *jitenshā-sōgyō*”, or, b) “I am not that rich, *in fact*, I am doing *jitenshā-sōgyō*, *so*”, and some more talk may follow. Accordingly, whether the turn is complete or not is equally unclear.⁸²

⁸² The prosodic delivery of the connective, a stretch of the final vowel and continuous intonation (compare it, for example, with the one with falling intonation at line 398), does not help to clear the equivocality. On the contrary, as Mori (1999: 181-187) argues, this very prosodic manipulation is a practice for equivocating the finality of the current talk. It often yields a three-part structure of [an initial main clause + supportive subordinate clause marked by *-kara* + a second main clause], in which the *kara*-attached component works as a “pivot” (Schegloff 1979: 275-276).

- (4-23) Shakujii21:23-24:648-686:676 [Nursery]
- 648M =n:, soshitara mō ne: atashi uchi ni ite, [.hhh=
mm-hm in-that-case at-once FP I home at stay(CONT)
'=Mm hm, when I quit the job, at once, y'know, I'll stay at home and, [.hhh=
- 649G [n:
'[Mm hm]
- 650M =>yūko< chan ga hoikujo ↑ni: [akachan o- .hhh [azuketeitte,
((name)) TITLE NOM nursery in baby ACC leave(CONT)
'=>Yuko-<chan will ((have a job)), leaving [the baby .hhh [in nursery and,
- 651G [n: n: [so da ↑ne
mm mm so COP FP
'[Mm hm [That will work]
- 652G n=
'Mm hm=
- 653M =soshite atashi ga yūgata gu↑rai ↓mukaeni itte age[ru toka ne,
and-then I NOM evening around pick-her-up go give or FP
'=And then I will go pick her up in the even[ing, or something like that, y'know]
- 654G [so da ne:
so COP FP
'[That will work]
- 655M sonna fū ni shiteike ba ↑ne,
that fashion in try-to-do if FP
'If((we)) try to do in that way, y'know,
- 656G (ī [ne:)
good FP
'(Sounds [good])
- 657M [kondo >yūko< chan no hō ga zettai: kasegi wa °i wake da kara°.
at-that-time ((name)) TITLE of direction ACC definitely earnings TOP good reason COP because
'[Cause compared with me, >Yuko<chan will definitely make °better money°.'
- 658G n: [n: n:
'Mm [mm hm]
- 659M [°wakai kara°.
young because
'[°Cause ((she's)) young°.'
- 660G n: [n: n:
'Mm [mm hm]
- 661M [nne:?
'[Right?]
- 662 (0.4)
- 663M n:
'Mm hm'
- 664G-> dakedo ne: ,=
but FP
'But ((the problem is)), y'know,=
- 665M =n
'=Mm hm'
- 666 (0.3)
- 667G-> ↓ano: u↑chi: (0.2) dōkyoshi tari:, (1.1) <obāchan ga [ne> ,

uh home live-together or grandma ACC FP
 ‘↓uh: ((if at)) ↑home: (0.2) ((a grandma)) lives together or., (1.1) <a grandma [y’know,>’
 668M [n:
 ‘[Mm hm’
 669 (0.8)
 670G→ shigoto motte nai to ne,=
 job have NEG if FP
 ‘if ((she)) doesn’t have a job, y’know=’
 671M =fun
 ‘=Yeah’
 672G→ hoikujo- (0.4) ma >iwayuru< (0.5) kōritsu no ↑ne,=
 nursery well so-called public of FP
 ‘nursery- (0.4) well >so-called< (0.5) public ones, y’know,=’
 673M =n:=
 ‘=Mm hm=’
 674G→ =hoikujo <↑chot↓to:>, (0.6) tanominikui n ja nai?
 nursery a-little difficult-to-apply N COP NEG
 ‘isn’t it <↑a little ↓bit>, (0.6) difficult to apply to nursery?’
 675 (0.8)
 676M=> >nani< obāchan ga nani? <<a! uchi ni irut (↑ta/↑to)=
 what grandma NOM what oh home at stay if
 ‘>What< a grandma does what? <<oh! ↑if ((she)) stays at home?=>’
 677G→ =sō
 ‘=Exactly’
 678 (.)
 679M a(h)! (0.2) so[o ka.
 oh so Q
 ‘O(h)h! (0.2) is it [so.’
 680G [obāchan ga [ne ()
 grandma NOM FP
 ‘[A grandma [y’know ()’
 681M [(>hoshite< e: e: yu-)
 and-then yes yes tell-
 ‘[(>And then< yes yes te-)’
 682 g- sō sō sō=
 ‘g- right right right=’
 683G =un=
 ‘=Yeah=’
 684M =sore wa: >yuwareru wa ↑ne<.=
 that TOP be-told FP FP
 ‘=>((We’ll)) be told< tha:t, won’t we.=’
 685G =koko demo sō da mon.
 here even so COP because
 ‘=’Cause even here the situation’s the same.’
 686M °a: sō deshō ↑ne:, ↓n:°
 oh so COP(PRES) FP mm-hm
 ‘°Oh: it must be, right? ↓Mm hm:°’

Our target is a single turn stretching through five (transcript) lines, which is built up bit-by-bit with some intra-turn silences. To trace its temporal development, we will parse the turn into the following six parts or units.⁸³

- (a) 664G dakedo ne:,
but FP
'But ((the problem is)), y'know,'
- (b) 666/67 (0.3) ↓ano: u↑chi: (0.2) dōkyoshi tari: ,
uh home live-together or
'(0.3) ↓uh: ((if at)) ↑home: (0.2) ((a grandma)) lives together or, '
- (c) 667 (1.1) <obāchan ga [ne],
grandma ACC FP
'(1.1) <a grandma [y'know,>'
- (d) 669/70 (0.8) shigoto motte nai to ne,=
job have NEG if FP
'if ((she)) doesn't have a job, y'know='
- (e) 672 hoikujo- (0.4) ma >iwayuru< (0.5) kōritsu no ↑ne,=
nursery well so-called public of FP
'nursery- (0.4) well >so-called< (0.5) public ones, y'know,='
- (f) 674 =hoikujo <↑cho↑to: >, (0.6) tanominikui n ja nai?
nursery a-little difficult-to-apply N COP NEG
'=isn't it <↑a little ↓bit>, (0.6) difficult to apply to nursery?'

⁸³ The "units" here does not mean "turn-constructual units (TCUs)" (Sacks, et al. 1974:702-703; Schegloff 1996a). In definition, TCUs "can constitute possibly complete turns; on their possible completion, transition to a next speaker becomes relevant (although not necessarily accomplished)" (Schegloff, *ibid.*:55, emphasis omitted), which is obviously not the case with units (a) to (e) except (f). Still, each chunk is recognisable (to the recipient as well as to analysts) as a sort of unit by the employment of intra-turn silences and/or the turn-internally positioned 'final' particle *ne* (R. Suzuki 1990:317-318; Tanaka 2000b:1152-1158). To cite Tanaka, turn-internal *ne* "can occur numerous times to mark successive increments of talk before turn-completion" (*ibid.*:1153) and "marks a possible 'acknowledgement-relevance place': i.e. a point where a recipient may proffer an acknowledgement" (*ibid.*:1155) during the course of a turn.

The turn starts in (a) with a turn-initial contrastive connective *dakedo* ‘but’ which is commonly used for introducing “an exception, a limitation, or a disregarded, conflicting perspective to the prior turn” (Mori 1999:107),⁸⁴ in other words, for adumbrating some counterpositional talk to come. In addition, the ‘final’ particle *ne* invites the recipient’s acknowledgement (R. Suzuki 1990:317-318; Tanaka 2000b: 1152-1158) which is, in effect, to be considered as a go-ahead signal to issue the projected counterpositional talk.

When a sought-for acknowledgement is provided by the recipient, the speaker goes on to produce the next unit, (b). The unit is first prefaced by a display of difficulty in constructing what she is going to say (Nishizaka 1999). The next item *u↑chi*: ‘home’ with no case marking attached to it creates an ambiguity in its meaning: it can be ‘in a house’, or ‘at my/your home’, or even ‘I’ as the agent of a forthcoming verb. The following *dōkyoshi tari*: ‘live together, or’ disambiguates the meaning of the *u↑chi*: as ‘((somebody)) lives together in ((the same)) house’. At the same time, the connective *tari* ‘or’ projects another appositional verb phrase.

The talk in (c), resumed after a 1.1 silence, is pivotal in character. On the one hand, it may be a self-reparative provision of the previously-unexpressed agent of the prior verb phrase *dōkyo shi tari*: ‘live together’.⁸⁵ On the other hand, it may as well be seen as a start of another appositional verb phrase due to come next. This unit thus bridges the two verb phrases, one preceding and another succeeding, which share the single grammatical subject *obāchan ga* ‘a grandmother’.

Indeed, the incipient verb phrase *shigoto motte nai to* ‘if ((she)) does not have a job’ is delivered in the next unit (d). Moreover, the conjunctive *to* ‘if’ at the end of the unit converts the whole preceding talk through (b) to (d) into a conditional clause, and it further projects a ‘main’ component to follow.

The initial item of the following unit (e), that is, the *hoikujo* ‘nursery’, seems to be a beginning of the main component. It however gets cut off, and a specification or a clarification of the type of the nurseries that the speaker is talking about is inserted. Then the word *hoikujo* ‘nursery’ is recycled in (f) to mark a restart of the main component, and the whole turn comes to the first syntactic completion point upon the employment of the *ja nai?* which is roughly equivalent to English ‘isn’t it X?’.

⁸⁴ Mori’s characterisation cited here actually concerns another contrastive connective *demo* in prefacing a disagreement (Mori 1999: 94-107). Nonetheless, the two connectives seem to have a considerable similarity in their working (Cf. *ibid.*:31).

⁸⁵ The reduced speed around this bit of talk (marked by “< >”) makes it possible to hear it as a redoing of the prior talk.

Now we can see that the extended single turn is constructed incrementally, with a display of the speaker's cautiousness in the insertion of silences and self-repair. This incremental deployment of units of talk,⁸⁶ however, ironically results in the rambling trajectory of the turn which is later claimed to be problematic by its recipient. It is difficult to locate where exactly the recipient lost the thread of the talk, for she apparently succeeds to issue an acknowledgement token to almost every unit during the course of the turn (lines 665, 668, 671, and 673). All we can know from the positioned interrogative at line 676 is that she displays a need to recover the part of the talk which should be grammatically framed by the repeated *obāchan ga*. As you may recall, the *obāchan ga* in (c) serves as a pivot connected to both (b) and (d). Consequently, the potential target as a repairable is both of them (and perhaps the following (e) and (f) as well). The supporting evidence comes from the candidate repair outcome that she proffers subsequently before the trouble-source speaker provides one: *a! uchi ni irut* (↑*ta*/↑*to*) 'oh! ↑if ((she)) stays at home?'. It is not an identical repeat of either of the target units. It is, however, in a sense a rephrase of *both* of them, for the *uchi ni iru* 'staying at home' can be taken both as 'living together' and 'staying at home unemployed in the daytime'. Thus she neatly integrates (or re-interprets) both the units together into a single repair solution. This instance suggests that positioned interrogatives can point to more than one word or even more than one unit of talk as a single repairable.

One common feature in (4-22) and (4-23) above, though not pertinent to all positioned interrogatives, is that the repair is initiated at a position away from the talk to which the repair initiator is directly targeted (Schegloff 2000a). In (4-22), the recipient of the trouble-source turn regards the turn yet to be completed when the speaker sees it otherwise. As a result, the speaker and another recipient have a chance to produce some talk before the addressed recipient initiates repair. In (4-23), the talk which is located as a repairable is uttered at an early stage of an extendedly (and ramblingly) developing turn. Nonetheless, the recipient waits for the arrival of its grammatical completion. This results in the initiation of the repair at some distance from the part of the trouble-source turn to which the repair initiator is addressed.⁸⁷ When repair initiation is 'delayed' or 'dislocated' from the turn next to the

⁸⁶ Such incremental deployment of several units of talk itself is a very common practice in Japanese conversation (Tanaka 1999a; 2000a) and does not normally cause an understanding problem on the recipient's side. See, for example, that Mizue's preceding turn in the same extract (lines 648-657) is perfectly understandable to its recipient, though it is extended over five transcript lines.

⁸⁷ It should nonetheless be emphasised that, in the two cases examined here, the actual position in which repair is initiated is still *next turn position*, that is, the earliest opportunity possible, to each prosecutor of the repair initiation.

trouble-source turn (or the source of the trouble in that turn) for interactional reasons, the repair initiator is commonly accompanied by a quotation of trouble-source in order to specify where to locate the trouble (*ibid.*: 222-224). A positioned interrogative is another practice useful under such a circumstance, through which both the retrieval of trouble-source and the initiation of repair are achieved at the same time.

4.6. Utterance-targeted interrogatives

4.6.1. Trouble-source specified

A trouble-source specified interrogative locates an exact trouble-source and asks what the trouble-source means/meant. In Japanese, the most common form for this type of repair initiator is the combination of a direct quotation of a trouble-source and a quotation marker, *X tte* ‘X, y’mean’ (and its formal variants, *X tte yū to*, and *X to ī masu to*). In more general environments, the format is normatively followed by some *Y* component and together they comprise a single sentential unit *X tte Y* ‘X is/means Y’ sentence.⁸⁸ As a repair practice, the single “sentence” is completed by two different speakers: the first part of the format, *X tte*, is issued by one speaker as a repair initiator, and the provision of the *Y* component which is the repair outcome is left to another speaker, i.e., the speaker of the trouble-source. Extracts (4-24) and (4-25) illustrate this.

In (4-24), the caller, Hagino, asks for the call-taker’s husband (line 8). The call-taker Yuko’s

⁸⁸ Recall that, in (4-22) above, Yoshida employs this sentence-format for explaining what the *jitensha-sōgyō* is/means.

Yakiniku01-04:14:394-498:394 [Jitensha-sogyo] the partial reproduction of (4-22)

394Y->	jitenshasōgyō	↓tte	mō	↑shikin ga nakute:,
	X	tte	Y	
	day-by-day-management	QUOT	((not))-any-more	funds NOM not-exist(CONT)
	‘Jitensha-sōgyō ↓ means ↑((you)) haven’t got ((extra)) funds at all a:nd,’			
395	(0.4)			
396F	(°↓on°)=			
	‘(°↓Yeah°)=’			
397Y	=utte	katte	sono ba: shinogi ↓no: u- shōbai °tte yū ka°	
	sell(CONT)	buy(CONT)	that occasion survival	of business QUOT say or
398	so yu kanji ya kara:.			
	so say sense COP	because		
	‘=by selling and buying ((you)) run a day-by-da:y u- business °or like° that sort of situation, so:.’			

(4-24) Shakuji08:2:1-2:8-16:11 [Sochira]
08H ↑nobuya san irassya^{oo}i masu deshō [ka^{oo}.
((name)) TITLE be-present(POL) POL COP(PRES) Q
‘↑Is Nobuya-san^{oo}the[re^{oo}.’
09Y-> [a, ima (de-/ne) sochira ni
oh now leave FP that-place to
10 -> mukatt<teru to omou n desu keredo:.>=
be-headed QUOT think N COP(POL) but
‘[Oh, ((he))’s just (le-) on the way there <that’s what ((I)) figure:>.’
11H=> =e, sochira t↓te:
eh that-place QUOT
‘=Eh, “there”, y’↓mean’
12 (0.8)
13Y-> ano:, ie ni:.
uh house to
‘Uh:, to the ho:use.’
14 (0.3)
15H u[chi desu ka:?=
my-house COP(POL) Q
‘My [house is i:?’
16Y-> [>hagino kun no<.
((name)) TITLE of
‘[>Yours<.’
17Y =ee .hh ano::[: ↑shin o ne:?
yes uh ((name)) ACC FP
‘=That’s correct .hh uh::[: ↑Shin ((marked as the object of a forthcoming verb)), y’know?’
18H [(kēsu >kattekuru<)
‘[((Unclear))’
19 (.)
20H un=
‘Yeah=’

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- 21Y =okutte:, de::: (0.3) >fumi kun to:<,<=
 give-a-lift(CONT) and ((name)) TITLE with
 ‘=dropping ((Shin on the way)), a:::nd (0.3) >together with Fumi-kun<,<=’
- 22H =n=
 ‘=Mm mh=’
- 23Y =↓ano:: socchi no hō ↓ni.
 uh that-place of direction to
 ‘=↓uh:: ((he’s heading)) to that ((=your)) direc↓tion.’
- 24H ↑a: sō ↑na n desu ka.
 oh so COP N COP(POL) Q
 ‘↑Oh: is ↑that so.’
- 25Y e:to ne, de ta no ga ne, kujiha:n: gurai dat ta ka[na?
 uhm FP leave PAST matter NOM FP, half-past-nine about COP PAST FP
 ‘U:hm, ((the time he)) left was, about half past nine:, I gu[ess.’
- 26H [°a: njaa ku-↓ru-°
 oh then come
 ‘[°Oh: then ((he’s)) co-mi-°’
- 27H a, uchi kuru ttsutte mashi ta?=
 oh my-home come QUOT-say POL PAST
 ‘Oh, did ((he)) say ((he)) was coming to my house?=-’
- 28Y =ee
 ‘=Yeah’
- 29H a, honto↓ni=
 ‘Oh, rea↓lly=’
- 30Y =ano: uetto tori ni:.=
 uh wet-suit pick-up for
 ‘=uh: for picking up a wet suit.=’
- 31H =*a:(h)* >so so<, sono koto fde ima f de(h)nwa(h)shi(h) ta(h) n da(hh).=
 oh so so that matter for now phone PAST N COP
 ‘=*Oh:(h) >rih’ righ’<, that’s fwhat ((I’m))f pho(h)ni(h)ng fo(h)r no(hh)w.=*’
- 32Y =ah-hah .hhh

Constructionally, the repair outcome at line 13 is well fitted to the format that the repair initiator takes, in which the trouble-source is rephrased as a non-pro-term expression.

[e, sochira t↓te:] [ano:, ie ni:.]
 X tte Y
 ‘[=Eh, “there” ↓means] [uh:, to the ho:use.]’

However, the repair outcome turns out to be insufficient, because the *ie* ‘house’ is still ambiguous between referring to a house in general or to the recipient’s house specifically. The problem is subsequently addressed by both the recipient (line 15) and the speaker (line 16) of the trouble-source at the same time (the practice that Hagio deploys is a “candidate understanding”. See section 4.8 below).

Behind the recipient's failure to grasp *sochira* and *ie* as referentials lies an inconsistency between the participants in terms of their knowledge and/or assumptions concerning Nobuya's visit to Hagio. Apparently Yuko knows the destination of her husband, and by using the *sochira* and *ie* as referentials for 'your place/house', she displays her assumption that her husband and Hagio had a prearrangement. The fact is that, as is evident from his responses (in particular, news/information receipts at lines 24 and 29), the visit is not pre-arranged and thus unexpected for Hagio (indeed, the purpose of this call was to arrange one, as stated at line 31). The encoding of deictic expressions and demonstratives has been reported to be highly dependent on the physical context of the speech event, that is, who the participants are, what the relationship between them is, when and where the conversation occurs, etc (Levinson 1983:54-96). To put it differently, the speaker's selection of a demonstrative can be an index of their knowledge, assumptions and understanding about the world, including about the state of knowledge of their recipient. The referential expressions based on a wrong assumption in this exchange are found to be difficult to understand by the recipient.

The same repair initiator *Xtte* also occurs in (4-25). Having been informed that the recorder had been set up for the study of language use, participants come to mention their mixed dialects (lines 01-09). At line 10, Erika makes a remark concerning the geographical divergence of the participants, which strays somehow from the current topic of their dialects despite a topical connection proposed by the deployment of the turn-initial *kekkyoku* 'after all'. She then depicts the divergence by using an obscure expression, *baraketeru* 'being scattered'. While two recipients respond to it with minimal, almost pro forma, agreement tokens (lines 12 and 13),⁹⁰ the third recipient, Izumi, requests a specification or clarification of the expression at line 14.

- (4-25) TD01:01:10-30:17 & 20 [Being Scattered]
 01S kansaiben majit[te(eh) heh
 Kansai-dialect be-mixed
 'Kansai dialect cree(h)[ps ((into my speech)) heh'
 02I [ah heh hehɿ
 03I [sō sō=

⁹⁰ Particularly puzzling is Juri's subsequent response to the repair at line 20. It sounds as if she has not understood what Erika said earlier but she now 'gets it'. We cannot determine whether she has withheld revelation of a problem at line 13 even though she indeed had one, or she realises that she misunderstood Erika by hearing the repair, or she had no problem with the trouble-source and nonetheless shows an appreciation of the repair attempt.

04J [sshuh
 05S =.hh nantoka [ya ne: [toka itte(h)ru [mo(h)n.
 such-and-such COP FP QUOT say FP
 ‘=.hh ((I)) would ((automatically)) say “((Kanzai-dialectal expression)) this is such and such, [isn’t it?”
 [or so(h)mething like [tha(h)t.’
 06I [.hhhh |
 07J [°fnande!f° |
 ‘[°fWhy!f°’
 08E? [°°n! n:°°=
 ‘[°°M! Mm:°°=
 09J? =(hhh)=
 10E-> =kekkyoku baraketeru yo ne: minna ne:.
 after-all be-scattered FP FP all FP
 ‘=After all ((we)) are scattered, aren’t ((we)), a:ll ((of us)).’
 11 (0.2)
 12S n:=
 ‘Mm hm=
 13J =n: [:
 ‘=Mm hm[:’
 14I=> [baraketeru tte:?
 be-scattered QUOT
 ‘[“Being scattered”, y’mea:n ((what))?’
 15 (0.4)
 16E-> ano:u- >datte<, bunpushiteru jan. atashi ga tōhoku [de,
 uh because be-distributed COP-NEG I NOM ((area)) and
 ‘Uh:m->’cause<, ((we)) are distributed ((into different areas)), aren’t ((we)). I’m ((from)) Tohoku, [and’
 17I-> [↑a:↓:=
 ‘[↑O:↓h=
 18 -> =>sō yū< i↓mi ne:.
 so say meaning FP
 ‘=>that’s< what you ↓meant, ri:ght.’
 19 (0.2)
 20J-> [↑a : [a : a [:
 ‘[↑Oo[:h[:’
 21S [so so[o s o : , [↓sō da ne,
 so so so so COP FP
 ‘[Righ’ ri[gh’ ri:ght, [↓that’s right, isn’t it,’
 22I [(mā ne/n: n:) |
 well FP mm-hm
 ‘[(Well yeah/Mm: hm:)]’
 23E-> [>baraketeru< tte ka,=
 be-scattered QUOT or
 ‘[>Being scattered< or ((I)) shall rather say=
 24I-> =sō da ne [atashi [chūkyō da shi] mi[ta(ah) hah hah]
 so COP FP I ((area)) COP and like
 ‘=That’s right [I’m ((from)) [Chukyo and] the [lik(eh) hah hah]’
 25E-> [fbunpuɸ[shiteru (mon).] |

	be-distributed	FP	
	‘[fBeing disf[tributed (really).]’		
26S	[k ō k ō] kō [na no yo.		
	this-way this-way this-way	COP FP FP	
	‘[Here, here] and there [it’s ((like this)).’		
27J		[mo no su go]ku=	
	‘[Extreme]ly=’		
28	=kirēni wakarete[ru ne.		
	beautifully be-separated	FP	
	‘=beautifully separa[ted, aren’t ((we)).’		
29S	[honto [da ne:.		
	true COP FP		
	‘[That’s [true:.’		
30I		[u:n	
	‘[Yeah’		

Notice first that the repair outcome (line 16) is prefaced by a *ano:u-* ‘Uh:m-’. This is the case with most repair outcomes whose initiations are done by utterance-targeted interrogatives (*ano:* at line 13 in (4-24) and *e:to::* at 11 in (4-26)) but hardly with the ones initiated by other types of initiators⁹¹. In linguistics, such non-lexical tokens have been named “fillers”, which are realizations of the speakers’ mental hesitation, uncertainty or indecisiveness (Sadanobu and Takubo 1995; see also Cook 1993 for a different characterisation of the tokens as “affect markers”). Contrastively, Nishizaka (1999) argues from the perspective of CA that *ano* is systematically employed, regardless of a speaker’s actual state of mind, to display his/her difficulty in formulating an utterance in terms of “recipient design” (Cf. Sacks, et al., 1974:727). *Ano* claims that speaker has uncertainty as to whether or not an ensuing utterance is appropriately designed or constructed for its particular recipient(s) of the moment, and more importantly, it demonstrates to the recipients that despite the difficulty the speaker is “having a crack” at what they are trying to achieve.⁹²

The general principle of recipient design operates over many aspects of talk-in-interaction. Selecting a word or a formulation among other possibilities is one of them (for instance, see “location

⁹¹ It is of course not to say that it never occurs in the latter circumstances. In (4-20) above, for example, the repair solution at line 111 is prefaced by a compressed version of *ano*. Nonetheless, as discussed in the text, the *ano*-prefix is particularly suitable for the repair solutions that are made relevant by utterance-targeted interrogatives.

⁹² Nishizaka states the point as follows: “to employ a particular marker [of uncertainty] is not only to display [that there is] a ‘problem’ but also to give a solution toward the problem” (Nishizaka, 1999:89; translation by author).

formulation selection” in Schegloff 1972; “person reference selection” in Sacks and Schegloff 1979).⁹³ That is to say, the expressions *sochira* ‘that place’ in (4-24) and *baraketeru* ‘being scattered’ in (4-25) are chosen and employed as the most appropriate and/or understandable to their recipients in the first place. However, the repair initiators make official the ‘inefficiency’ of the selected expressions in these particular contexts, requiring the expressions to be rephrased or explained. The trouble-source speakers then must search for a better alternative than their initial ‘best’ option in order to make the recipients understand. One tack is to indicate, by deploying a turn-initial *ano*, that the ensuring rephrase/explanation is just an attempt and it may still not be sufficient to the recipient (thus “uncertain with its appropriateness in terms of recipient design”). Relevantly, the marker also implies that the speaker is ready to go on to a second repair attempt if the first one should fail. Indeed, the trouble-source speakers in both cases do supply more than one repair solution: in the former case, *>hagino kun no<* ‘>Yours<’ at line 16; in the latter, illustrating the geographical divergence by naming locations from which the participants came, *atashi ga tōhoku de* ‘I’m ((from)) Tohoku, and’ (line 16).

The turn-initial *ano:u-* ‘Uh:m-’ at line 16 thus suggests the speaker’s tentativeness toward the effectiveness of the ensuring repair. On the other hand, what actually follows seems to be designed in a contradictory manner. The immediately following item *datte* ‘because’ is a connective which is regularly used as a prefix to a self-justification of the speaker’s earlier opinion in the face of a disagreement from a co-participant (Mori 1999:168-175), rather than to a mere clarification or rephrasing of it. The cut-off on *ano:u-* and the compression of the connective (represented by “> <”) manifest an instant shift in turn design from a clarification to a self-justification. Furthermore, similar to the instances that Mori (*ibid.*) presents, the material introduced by the *datte* (i.e., *bunpushiteru* ‘being distributed’) is accompanied by a tag-question-like expression *jan* ‘isn’t it’, which has the effect of making “challengeable information nonchallengeable” (Kawanishi 1994:102). In short, the turn is (re-)designed more as a self-justification than a simple repair solution.

As stated earlier, such a self-justification is produced to convince the recipient who has expressed a disagreement with the speaker in the preceding talk. Thus, the repair initiator *baraketeru tte:?* “‘Being scattered”, y’mea:n ((what))?” here is treated as a possible disagreement. Even though repair initiation

⁹³ Of course, recipient design is not the only factor relevant to word selection. Word selection is accomplished comprehensively with other sorts of considerations as well, such as sequential organization of talk, topic or activity of the moment, membership composition of the occasion, common and shared knowledge of the world (Schegloff, 1972), and poetic effect (Jefferson 1996).

which a customer/caller asks to stop delivering the paper and the magazine she is subscribing *tsugi kara* ‘from next time’ (line 6). That expression gets repair initiated by the agent.

(4-26) NDA01-45:1:1-14:8-9 [From Next Time]

((Ring))

01A hai, X shimbun desu.

288I [u::n
‘[Yea::h’
289 (0.4)
290E [on↑da ri[↓ku no yats ro[: , rokusatsu [de↓sho↑o?
((novelist)) of thing 6 6-volumes COP(PRES)
‘[On↑da Ri[↓ku’s novel si[: , six volumes, [↓ri↑ght?’
291S=> [shiki (.) [(°tte nan°) | |
((title)) QUOT what
‘[Shiki (.) [(°what’s ((that))°)’
292I-> [°hon- hon° [u::n
book book yeah
‘[(°(It’s)) a novel- novel° [Yea::h’
293 (0.4)
294E de sono hokani:, e:to:: (0.6) nashiki kaho no nisa[tsu °↓deshō?°
and that in-addition uhm ((novelist)) of 2-volumes COP(PRES)
‘And in addition to the:m, u:hm:: (0.6) two Nashiki Kaho’s boo[k:s, °↓right?°’
295I [u::n
‘[Yea::h’
296 (0.3)
297E °°ato- ato na:::°°
and and FP
‘°°Wha- what else, let me se:::°°’
298I <ato:::, nanka[: , zasshi (de:)
and like magazine of
‘<A::nd>, something li::[ke, a magazine (about)’
299E [>ato are da<, ano yubiwamonogatari.
and that COP uh Lord-of-the-Rings
‘[>And that one<, uh the Lord of the Rings.’

S briefly pauses after the repetition of the trouble-source (which may well be because of the overlap), and then goes on to add to it a quotation marker and an interrogative. This potentially provides the trouble-source speaker with two possible opportunities to do repair, one after the repetition and the other after the interrogative, although in this case the trouble-source speaker is not available due to the overlapping talk. See (4-30) below in which Togashi the trouble-source speaker at 1362 gives a confirmation token at the point when the repetition of the repairable *yobitsukerare ta* ‘got called for’ is almost complete and finds himself overlapping with the quotation marker which immediately follows the repeated item.

The quotation marker (or complementiser) *to* is normatively post-positional that it is positioned after some other item(s) within the same turn and converts the just-preceding item(s) into a reported speech or a quotations. When employed turn-/TCU-initially, that is, when no talk precedes them within the turn, it can modify or reroute the trajectories of the actions that prior turns have implemented and/or projected (Tanaka 2001a). The process described above is one concrete example of rerouting a turn trajectory. Extract (4-36) in 4.7 also illustrates a similar process of conversion by means of a postpositional case particle *ni* rather than of a quotation marker (Cf. Hayashi 2002:Chapter 6).

- yes ((bland of paper)) COP(POL)
 ‘Yes, this is X paper.’
- 02C a .h suimasen, ano:::, kawanishi to i masu ga[:,
 oh excuse-me uh ((name)) QUOT say POL but
 ‘Oh .h excuse me, uh:::, my name is Kawanishi, a:[nd,’
- 03A [hai
 ‘[Yes’
- 04C ano, X uikurī to[: , ato taimu katte↑ru n desu keredo[mo: ,=
 uh ((name of paper)) and also ((magazine)) be-subscribing N COP(POL) but
 ‘Uh, I’m ↑subscribing the X Weekly a:[nd, the Time at the moment, b[ut: ,’
- 05A [°hai° [hai
 ‘[°Yes° [Yes’
- 06C-> =ano: , ↑tsugi ↓kara mō::, tomete hoshī n desu kedo[mo,
 uh next-time from any-more stop want N COP(POL) but
 ‘=Uh:, from ↑next time any more::, I’d like to stop ((them)) bu[t,’
- 07A [a! .hh=
 ‘[Oh! .hh=’
- 08 => =wakarimashi ta, ↑e:to- (.)
 understand PAST uhm
 ‘=((I)) understood, ↑uh:m- (.)’
- 09 => ↑tsugi kara to:: >i masu to<, °itsu: ka[ra::°
 next from QUOT say POL if when from
 ‘↑from next ↓time >y’mean<, °fro:m whe[::n°
- 10 [((Noise))
- 11C-> e:to::[:
 ‘Let me: see::[:’
- 12A-> [mō tsugi no gō ↓kara[:] de, [>yoroshī desu-<]
 already next of issue from by okay COP(POL)
 ‘[From the very next i↓ssue[:], is that [>okay to-<]’
- 13C-> [hai] [d e : :] kekkō desu::.
 yes by fine COP(POL)
 ‘[Yes] [tha::t]’s fine.’
- 14A ha:i. .hhh ↑e:to ano::, gojūsho onegaishi masu::.
 yes uhm uh your-address please POL
 ‘Right. .hhh ↑Uh:m uh::, let me have your address, please.’

It should be noticed that the repair initiation appears “delayed” within the next turn to the trouble-source turn, for the request gets responded to first (*a! .hh wakarimashi ta* ‘Oh! .hh ((I)) understood’). As Schegloff (2000a:220) mentions, this is rather the canonical ordering in the institutional service calls: the request (or more broadly “reason-for-call”) phase is completed first, and then the interrogative series starts in order to elicit information necessary to deal with the base request (Cf. Zimmerman 1992 for the structure of emergency calls in English). Here, the phase shift is marked by a pitch raise and the ↑e:to ‘↑uh:m’ produced between the response to the request and the repair initiator. Delayed as the repair

initiation may appear, then, this is the most proximate place to the trouble-source turn where the agent is allowed to address this sort of ambiguity in the caller's request⁹⁵ (notice that another interrogative is initiated at line 14, again with the marker of the phase shift, an inbreath and a high-pitched ↑*e:to* '↑Uh:m'. Among other 'routine' interrogatives, the repair initiation is treated as having the highest priority within the series of the interrogative to be asked first).

The interrogative word followed by a quotation of the trouble-source specifies a certain type of item, namely, a time reference, to be provided as a repair solution. This particular item is required here perhaps because both the paper and the magazine mentioned are not issued daily. A prolonged *e:to:::* at the beginning of the repair-solution turn suggests that the speaker has started to search for an exact (calender) date. Thereupon the deliverer of the repair initiator deploys another tack in providing a candidate answer to the question specifying the time with reference to their next issue dates.

In the next extract, a repairable is pointed to not by a direct quote but by a demonstrative *sore* 'that'. Participants are talking about a colleague, Yamamoto-san, who is a newlywed. In response to Fumi's remark at line 225, *Yamamoto san ki tari shite* 'Yamamoto-san might come ((to the company's event)), I wonder,' Ishigaki denies the possibility with an account that she must be too busy with her new life, while Yoshida offers another account that she lives far away in Yokohama (lines 225-233). Yoshida's account at line 228 (and its re-doing at line 236 as well) is not officially dealt with by any of the participants. Nonetheless, it may well touch off the subsequent recollection of Yamamoto-san's current address which is launched by Ishigaki and collaboratively finished by Togashi (lines 235-241).

(4-27) Yakiniku07-12:8-9:225-251:246 [Kambe-cho]

225F Yamamoto san ki tari shite.
 ((name)) TITLE come if do(CONT)
 'Yamamoto-san might come, I wonder.'

226 (0.8)

227I [iya, iya, [(yama)moto san <ko ↑nai deshō> ima chōdo=
 no no ((name)) TITLE come NEG COP(PRES) now just
 '[No, no, [(Yama)moto-san <w↑on't come I guess> (('cause)) right now=']

228Y [°mō°, [Yokohama da shi na:..
 already ((place)) COP because FP
 '[°Already°, [((She's moved to)) Yokohama, so:.'

⁹⁵ Certain kinds of problem, an auditory problem for example, would still have been addressed earlier than the production of a response to the request, since without clearing them up, the response could not have been provided in the first place.

- 229I =runrun °tte yū toki yan° na:[:.
 MIM(merrily) QUOT say period COP FP
 ‘=°it’s the time° ((for her to feel)) so happy and merry, ri[:ght?’
- 230F [sok ka
 ‘[I see.’
- 231 (.)
- 232I i:↓ma runrun shi na[kat tara do↑o ↑sun nen anda:n.
 now MIM(merrily) do NEG if how do FP you
 ‘↑What’s gonna ↑happen if ((she)) di[dn’t feel like that at the moment, y’see.’
- 233F [°°n↑: ?°°
 ‘[°°M↑m: ?°°’
- 234 (1.6)
- 235I °°n: :°° nan tta [ke na:
 mm-hm what be-said FP FP
 ‘°°Mm hm°° what was ((it)) called, [I wo:nder’
- 236Y [tōi mo:n.
 far because
 ‘[’Cause ((it’s)) too far.’
- 237I higashi ku- (0.3) nanto[ka chō:
 ((place)) what’s-the-name street
 ‘Higashi-ku- (0.3) what’s-the-[name-street’
- 238N [°°n, ↓n°°
 ‘[°°Mm ↓hm°°’
- 239 (0.2)
- 240T °kambe [chō°
 ‘°Kambe-[cho°’
- 241I [a kam:be chō da(hh)
 ah ((place)) COP
 ‘[Ah ((it))’s Kam:be-cho(hh)’
- 242 (0.3)
- 243F yamamoto [san dokoni sunden no i[ma.
 ((name)) TITLE where live FP now
 ‘Where [does Yamamoto-san live at the mo[ment.’
- 244I-> [°°n°° [((lightheartedly)) kambe chō:
 ‘[°°Mm hm°° [((lightheartedly)) Kambe-cho:’
- 245 (0.2)
- 246F=> doko? sore.
 ‘Where ((is)) that?’
- 247 (.)
- 248N-> yo[koha°↓ma:[:°
 ‘Yo[koha°↓ma:[:°’
- 249I-> [yokohama |
 ‘[Yokohama’
- 250F [°↑fu: :n°
 ‘[°↑Ri::ght°’
- 251I n:
 ‘Mm hm’

Among the participants Fumi is the only person who does not know where Yamamoto-san has moved. It is therefore quite possible that she is not certain whether or not the street Kambe-cho named by Ishigaki and Tohashi is Yamamoto-san's current address. By constructing a question as *yamamoto san dokoni sunden no ima* 'Where does Yamamoto-san live at the moment' (line 243), she brings up the topic as if it has never been mentioned (she apparently did not hear Yoshida in overlap who has already given the answer to her question earlier at line 228). And by asking the question, she demands a recognizable formulation of the place (Cf. "recognitionals" in Sacks and Schegloff 1979). However, the formulation selected by Ishigaki, that is, the repetition of the name of the street, is too specified, or at too fine a level of "granularity" (Schegloff 2000c; see also 1972), for the inquirer to recognize, given that she is not familiar with that area. It seems that Ishigaki the respondent has chosen the 'wrong' one deliberately as a sort of jest, which is also indicated in the joking prosodic quality of the utterance and an extra stretch of the last syllable of the word. Rather than responding to the joke aspect, Fumi treats it seriously by initiating repair on it, through which she makes an attempt to gain another, more recognisable, formulation. Because the trouble-source formulation is selected inappropriately in terms of recipient-design in the first place, it is quite logical that this repair outcome is not prefixed by any hesitation marker *ano* and the like. All the repair executor does simply is to provide a more appropriate one, Yokohama (line 249).

As the extracts in this subsection reveal, trouble-source specified interrogatives are particularly (but not exclusively) associated with troubles in word-selection. They locate words or phrases used in prior turns as an obstacle to understanding what has been said and ask to refine them. The repairables are presented as problematic for these particular recipients to interpret: in other words, problematic in terms of recipient design. The trouble-source speakers have several options in order to provide repair outcomes: they may simply replace the repairable with another word or expression; they may give a dictionary definition of the repairable phrase; they may explain what that phrase was supposed to mean within that local context; they may give concrete examples of the expressed matter so that the recipient can see the sense of the trouble-source; and they can try more than one tactic, one after another. Put differently, there can be a negotiation between both parties until the trouble-source recipient reaches better understanding (the *sochira* episode in (4-24) above is a particularly good example of the participants' negotiation). And one way for trouble-source speakers to present themselves with the possibility of negotiation of meaning is to employ a turn-initial hesitation marker which prefaces the

main body of the repair outcome to follow.

4.6.2. Trouble-source unspecified

Trouble-source unspecified interrogatives are not directed to particular words or phrases in prior utterances. Rather, they bring into question the meaning of their target utterances as a whole. The most typical formula for this type of NTRI is *dō yū imi/dō yū koto* ‘what does that mean’.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Certain ‘why’ interrogatives may fall into this group, especially when they ask for account for the actions that are carried out through prior (trouble-source) turns. In the following extract, while S is telling a story of being on a gondola in Venice, a waiter (W) delivers the participants their puddings. S and J are still engaged in the talk on the current topic, when E makes I a request to remove E’s pudding to I’s quarter of the table (line 4062). To that, I returns a ‘why’ interrogative to ask for the reason for the request (line 4063).

TL01:141:4057-4073:4063 [Puddings]

- 4057W kurImuburyure ni nari masu ne.
crème-brulee to be POL FP
‘((This)) is the crème brulee, okay?’
- 4058S tanoshisō de: <<utatte te,=
look-funny and be-singing and
‘((That gondolier)) looked funny and <<singing, and,=’
- 4059W =apu[rikotto no (kaezae) [ni nari masu ne.
apricot of ((unclear)) to be POL FP
‘=((This)) is the ap[ricot (kaezae), [okay?’
- 4060E [°hoi°
|
‘[°Here you go° ((passes the crème brulee to another participant))’
- 4061S [°uchira chotto demo ugoite okora[rete:,°
we a-little even move(CONT)be-scolded(CONT)
‘[°We were scolded just with a little move, [and,°’
- 4062E-> [°Izumi no tokoro ni oite!° |
(name) of place at put(IMP)
‘[°Izumi, put ((my pudding)) at your space!°’
- 4063I=> [°>nande?<
‘[°>Why?<’
- 4064 (0.5)
- 4065E->°a[tashi hora, ira [nai°
I remember need NEG
‘°I, [remember? don’t ne[ed ((it))°’
- 4067J? [°°aho*:°°
‘[°°Idio*:t*°°’
- 4068? [°ne(hhn)°
FP
‘[°Isn’t it(hhn)?°’
- 4069S [°(ko(h)i) mitaina hi[(to).°
((unclear)) look-like person
‘[°((He looked)) like a ((unclear)) per[(son).°’
- 4070E [a, [ko- kore o sa:,
oh thi- this ACC FP
‘[Oh, [thi- this, y’know,’
- 4071I [minna ira nai n da

In the following exchange at a restaurant, Hasegawa shows impatience with a waitress who does not immediately respond to his summons (line 403). A friend of his, Kitayama, mildly reproaches him for his attitude (line 406).

(4-28) KD03:15:401-414:408 [Call for Waitress]

- 401H ((To a waitress at a distance)) suimase::n.
 ‘((To a waitress at distant)) Excuse me::.’
- 402 (1.1)
- 403H-> ((Complaining voice)) °kite hen°
 come NEG
 ‘((Complaining voice)) °((She’s)) not coming°’
- 404Y >(sum)masen<
 ‘>(Ex)cuse me<’
- 405 (1.1)
- 406K-> sono hen ↑o, (0.6) >↓kaizenshita hō ga ī desu (°kedo ne°).<
 that part ACC improve direction NOM good COP(POL) but FP
 ‘That ↑part ((of your nature)), (0.6) >↓((you))’d better improve, (°y’know°).<’
- 407 (0.2)
- 408H=> do yu koto?=
 how manner thing
 ‘What does that mean?=”
- 409K-> =matsu to yū koto o [oboe na.
 wait QUOT say thing ACC learn must
 ‘=((You))’ve got to learn to be pati[ent.]’
- 410WS [(omatase)[itashi ↑mashi [taa::.
 make-you-wait POL PAST
 ‘[(Are you)[ready for or[der?’
- 411Y [(n ni-) | [(ni-)
- 412H [°h a h a n , [kibishī na°.
 severe FP

sore::.

all need NEG N COP that

‘[You guys all don’t need that.]’

4072 ->(0.7: E moves her pudding at the centre of the table.)

4073I a: a=

‘Oh: oh=’

4074E->=so, mannaka ni, (0.3) °okō to omotte°.

so centre at place QUOT think

‘=Yeah, at the centre ((of the table)), (0.3) °((I)) was gonna place ((it))°.’

The repair initiator does not reveal any problem in construing linguistically what has been said. Rather, it is questioning a motivation behind the action, a request in this case, implemented through those words. And the response to the question may condition the implementation of the second pair part, that is, whether the initial action should be granted or rejected (though, in this episode, E accomplishes the requested task by herself at lines 4072 and 4074).

413 ‘[°hahan, (((that’s)) severe°.’
 (0.4)
 414Y jaa, kono setto hitotsu kudasa:i.
 then this set one give-me(POL)
 ‘Uh, I’ll have this set course, please.’

Notice that in the remark by Kitagawa (line 406), Hasegawa’s hastiness is not directly expressed: it is only alluded to by a demonstrative *sono hen* ‘that part ((of your nature))’. Notice also that the remark is framed as a formal speech style by the deployment of the polite form of copula *desu*, in contrast with the participants’ regular use of an informal speech style. Temporary shifts in speech level are reported to perform various interactional jobs at each moment of the occurrence (Mimaki 1997). One of the jobs, particularly done by a shift from neutral to formal levels, is to mark specific sorts of action, such as commenting on the character/ability of the hearer, blaming, opposing, or refusing the hearer.⁹⁷ Thus, with the two tactics of the allusion and the speech level shift, Kitayama’s remark is constructed in such a way as to present itself clearly enough to be inferred as a sort of criticism, yet not to specify the object of the criticism. The repair initiator *do yu koto?* ‘What does that mean?’ which is addressed to the allusive utterance as a whole then requests a more accessible statement, that is, a more explicit version of the criticism. The following repair outcome does disambiguate the problem by spelling out that it is the issue of patience that he was talking about. Also, the predicate of the sentence is suppressed and returned to the original neutral speech level by the use of a dialectal form *na* for *nakya* or *nakerebanaranai* ‘have got to’ in standard Japanese,⁹⁸ in comparison with the initially-used *shita hō ga ī desu kedo ne* ‘((you)) had better do ((something)), y’know’. Still, the repair outcome maintains a certain degree of mitigation of the criticism. Whereas the verb in the original version *kaizensuru* ‘to improve ((to the better quality))’ entails a shortcoming in Hasegawa’s character, the subsequent one *oboeru* ‘to learn ((a virtue))’ does not necessarily imply it. The repair outcome is delivered in the disguise of advice rather than a bold criticism.

⁹⁷ Mimaki (1997) explains such speech-level shifts with reference to “politeness”. Shifts from neutral to formal, according to her explications, have an effect of emphasising temporarily the psychological distance between the speaker and the hearer and thus often occur with certain types of so-called “face-threatening acts” (Brown and Levinson 1987).

⁹⁸ From the transcript only, the *oboe na* might as well be interpreted as an imperative verb form of the verb *oboeru* ‘to learn’ in standard Japanese. But the reading is ruled out due to its intonation contour. The pitch falls slightly at the production of the *na* whereas for the imperative form, the pitch would remain as high as that of the preceding verb stem.

Another example of *dō yū koto* ‘what does that mean’ comes from the same conversation as (4-27) but from a different speaker. This time it is not a criticism but a tease that is a subject of repair. Yabe has been disapproving of a certain aspect of people’s behaviour in Tokyo where they willingly queue and wait for hours to try out famous restaurants. He concludes his point by saying *mat↑te ↓hodo taberu mon nanka <nai> desu yo °ne!°* ‘There isn’t much food worth ↑queuing ↓for, is °there°’ (line 1314). While Kitayama gives an agreement (lines 1316 and 1319), Hasegawa makes fun of Yabe by contrasting the impatient remark with his actual patience of having been single for long time until he met his current girlfriend with whom he has just started a serious relationship (line 1321).

(4-29) KD02:47-48:1314-1340:1324, 1326, 1333 & 1336 [Y’s Girlfriend]

1314Y *mat↑te ↓hodo taberu mon nanka <nai> desu yo °ne!°.*
wait degree eat thing like not-exist COP(POL) FP FP
‘There isn’t much food worth ↑queuing ↓for, is °there°.’

1315 (0.7)

1316K °°ne°°

FP

‘°°There isn’t, is there°°’

1317Y ↓*nakanaka ne!* .

((not-))easily FP

‘↓Not so much, is there.’

1318 (1.0)

1319K *makudo de jūbun ya.*

McDonalds with sufficient COP

‘McDonalds is sufficient enough.’

1320Y [*°hhhhuh°*]

1321H-> [*yabe >kun< no:, yabe kun no ima no kanojo* [*°(wa yat ta n) desu ka°.*
((name)) TITLE of ((name)) TITLE of now of girlfriend TOP do PAST N COP(POL) Q

‘[((For)) your., ((for)) your current girlfriend, [*°did ((you)) do ((wait against your words))°.*’

1322E

[*°°hohoh°°*]

1323 (.)

1324Y=> [*>fdo yu ko-, doko-f<*

how manner thing how

‘[>fWhat’z that me-, what-f<’

1325H-> [*((breathy)) <mat temo °kau> (.) tte yū°.*

wait even-if buy QUOT say

‘[((Breathy)) <((You)) waited °to get ((her))> (.) ((I))’d say°.’

1326Y=> [*>fdo(h) yu [koto do(h) yu koto.f<=*

how manner thing how manner thing

‘>fWha(h)t’z that [mean wha(h)t’z that mean.f<=’

1327?

[*°°tuh tuh°°*]

1328H-> [=((breathy)) °mattette (yū ka)°

be-waiting say Q

‘=((Breathy)) °((You’ve)) been waiting (or ((I)) shall rather say)°’
 1329 (1.1)
 1330H-> [daibu- (0.2) dai[bu matteru yo ne.
 much much be-waiting FP FP
 ‘[For long- (0.2) for [long ((you’ve)) been waiting, haven’t ((you)).’
 1331Y-> [↑he! [°↓he-°
 ‘[↑Huh! [°↓huh-°’
 1332 (0.2)
 1333Y=> do yu koto:?
 how manner thing
 ‘What does that mean?’
 1334 (.)
 1335H-> >°°iya be[tuni.°°<
 no ((not-))particularly
 ‘>°°Noth[ing.°°<’
 1336Y=> [nan no(h) ko(h)to.
 what of thing
 ‘[What’re ((you)) ta(h)lking abo(h)ut.’
 1337 (0.2)
 1338E ((Sneeze))
 1339 (4.0)
 1340H °(n: ore mo) sasaki mitaini <↑chōjin> ↓ni nari tai wa.°
 mm I too ((name)) like superman to become want FP
 ‘°(Mm: ((I wish)) I had a <↑unperturbed mind ((about love affairs))> ↓like Sasaki.°’

The analogy that Hasegawa is proposing at line 1321 between waiting for food and waiting for a girlfriend is not quite understandable. This is partially because his utterance fades out after the mention of Yabe’s girlfriend, and also because the referent has no apparent connection to the prior topic of queuing for food. Yet, Yabe the addressed recipient does not claim an auditory problem. Instead, he requests clarification of the utterance with truncated trouble-source unspecified interrogatives. By selecting this type of initiator, he registers that the mention of his girlfriend is not out of blue but somehow relevant to the on-going sequence, though the relevance is not yet clear to him. The smiley voice attached to the initiator also implies that the deliverer at least recognizes that what the trouble-source turn is doing (treating a girlfriend as an object to “obtain”) is something of laughable sort. In overlap with the repair initiator, Hasegawa starts to “unpack” (Cf. Jefferson 1985) his prior utterance. First of all, it is delivered with breathiness, as if to convey a conspirational quality. It also mobilises the borrowing of the phrase that is used earlier: the construction of [the verb *mat* ‘wait’ + an adverbial particle *temo* ‘even though’ + another verb *kau* ‘buy/get’] refers to the similar phrase of [the *matte* ‘wait’ + an adverbial particle *hodo* ‘even’ + a verb *taberu* ‘eat’] which has appeared in Yabe’s

turn, with some modifications of the particle and the second verb according to the changes in the topical subject (from ‘food’ to ‘girlfriend’) and in the polarity of the statement (from negative to affirmative). Finally, the whole turn is converted into reported speech by the turn-final quotation marker *tte yū* ‘((I))’d say’.

This, however, meets another repair initiation, perhaps because of the use of the verb *kau* ‘buy/get’ which does not commonly take human beings as its object. The next attempt at repair by Hasegawa (line 1328) is left unfinished, which leads to a 1.1 second silence (line 1329). Thereupon both the participants are becoming increasingly more serious. On the trouble-speaker’s side, the breathy quality is dropped from the third attempt of repair (line 1330). The repair-initiator deliverer, on the other hand, changes to employ open class repair initiators (line 1331) rather than the utterance-targeted interrogatives he has been using. Open class repair initiators indicate the deliverer’s lesser grasp of the matter than any other initiators do, and therefore if more than one initiator is employed toward a single trouble-source, they normally precede others (see Section 4.9 for the ordering of repair initiators). The choice of the ‘weaker’ initiators here conveys that the preceding repair attempts only made the deliverer more confused and the repair sequence should be restarted ‘from scratch’. When the third repair attempt has failed to do the job, the trouble-source speaker abandons further effort to make things right, by saying *>°°iya betsumi.°°<* ‘>°°Nothing.°°<’. Accordingly, the recipient, after asserting one more time that he does not even have a clue as to what the other has been talking about (line 1336), withholds further pursuit of the matter. Then after a long silence of 4.0 seconds, Hasegawa selects another participant (Sasaki who is symbolised as E in the transcript) in order to move the conversation.

Because the repair sequence is abandoned before reaching a solution of the problem, the slot for Yabe to respond to the tease, either going along with it or making a ‘po-faced receipt’ of it (Drew 1987), never arrives. It is quite possible then that the persistence of repair initiation serves as an implicit protest by Yabe against talking about his relationship as an object of tease (Schegloff [1997a: 520-524] reports ‘what do you mean’s being used more as challenging than as repair initiators. Although the *dō yu koto* and the *nan no koto* here do not elicit self-defence by the trouble-source speaker as challenging commonly does, they make him withdraw the initial tease after all). Indeed, the last move by Yabe *nanno koto* ‘What’re ((you)) ta(h)lking abo(h)ut’ at line 1336 may be seen as a refusal to admit that his girlfriend has been the centre of the talk and to advance the talk along that topical line.

Although not in interrogative format, such expressions as *wakara nai* ‘((I)) don’t understand/((I))

don't get ((it))' also do the same action as *dō yū imi/dō yū koto* 'what does that mean?': that is, inviting the trouble-source speaker to specify, clarify or explicate the utterance that they have just produced. An example of *wakara nai* comes from the episode of the "got called for at an airport" story presented above. Earlier we examined the episode in terms of how the story was launched and how an ellipsis repair was initiated at a rather early stage of the course of the story. This time we will pay close attention to the end of the same story and the repairs initiated at that point. Here is the story reproduced:

(4-30) Yakiniku07-12:45-47:1330-1371:1360 [Ecuador Airport]

- 1330Y °ya° awabi z- no >sutēki<=
no abalone of steak
'°No° ((it's rather)) an abalone z- >steak<='
- 1331? =°°n°°
'=°°Mm°°'
- 1332 (0.2)
- 1333Y (>°mitaina yan°<)
something-like COP
'(>°something like that, y'see°<)'
- 1334T (are mo/a demo) tsūkan tōri (ni) £↑k ↑so ya na:.£=
that-one too oh but customs pass difficult seem COP FP
'(Those, too./Oh but ((they))) seem difficult to pass through £↑customs, ↑((I)) suppo:se.£='
- 1335Y =°↓n: [:°
'=°↓Mm h[m:°'
- 1336T-> [a i- (0.3) [so(h)re(h)de(h)omoi[>dashi ta=
oh that by remember PAST
'[Oh i- (0.3) [th(h)a(h)t(h)'s reminded [>me of='
- 1337Y? [°↓aa° |
'[°↓Right°'
- 1338Y [°°n°°
'[°°Mm°°'
- 1339T-> =nanka< mu*ka*tsuku hanashi o.
like humiliating story ACC
'=like<a h*u*miliating story.'
- 1340 (0.3)
- 1341F fu[m?
'Yea[h?'
- 1342Y [(°°watta n no°°)=
split N FP
'[(°°((It)) was split°°]='
- 1343T-> =e? iya ano:., [(0.4)] mae shi:- shucchō it ta toki ni:,
eh no uh before business-trip go PAST time at
'=Eh? no uh., [(0.4)] when I went on a busi:- business trip before, '
- 1344? [((Sniff))]
- 1345F n, [<doko ni?>

'Mm, [<where to?>'
 1346T-> [kanada kara:,
 '[From Canada:,'
 1347 (0.6)
 1348F n[:
 'Mm [hm'
 1349T [a:, a nanbē to samarino.
 oh oh South America and ((San Marino?))
 '[Oh:, oh South America and (San Marino).'
 1350F °n:°
 °Mm hm°
 1351 (0.2)
 1352T-> ↑kana↓da kara:,
 'From ↑Cana↓da:,'
 1353 (0.4)
 1354T-> tekisasu: no- toranjitto de,
 Texas of transit by
 'With a transit in- Texas, and'
 1355F fu[n
 'Yea[h'
 1356T-> [fe(h)kuadoru >tsui< ta ra iki:nari yobitsukerare ta to yūf.
 Ecuador arrive PAST when unexpectedly get-called-for PAST QUOT say
 '[fwhen ((I)) arrived in E(h)cuador, ((I)) got called for unexpectedly, that's the storyf.'
 1357 (0.5)
 1358F? °°n::_°°
 °°Mm::_°°
 1359 (0.5)
 1360F=> [yoku wakara na[:i.
 well understand NEG
 '[(I) don't ge[t ((it)).'
 1361N-> [°yobitsukera↓re [(ta)° tte?
 get-called-for PAST QUOT
 '[°“Get called for”, [y°mean ((what))?'
 1362T [°n:°
 '[°Mm hm°
 1363 (0.9)
 1364T-> >yō wa< ekuadoru toka ano hen tte no wa: >iwayuru< ↓ano, kusuri no
 point TOP Ecuador or that part QUOT N TOP so-called uh drug of
 1365 -> sa(h)nchi deshō?
 locality COP(PRES)
 '>The point is<, Ecuador and that area is a famous ↓uh, location for dru(h)gs, isn't it?'
 1366 (0.6)
 1367N <°a↑:[:::°>
 '<°O↑h[:::°>
 1368I [°a[oo:n°]
 '[°O[oo:n]°
 1369F [a:::]↓:
 '[Oh:::]↓:

1370 (0.8)
 1371N °°naruhodo ne↑::°°
 °°Now ((I)) see::°°

As mentioned earlier, the story is told along the route of the teller's outward journey (lines 1346, 1352, 1354), which projects the sense that the destination of the journey (though it may not be the goal of the business trip itself) is of some significance for the climax of the story. Thus, when the first component of line 1356 *e(h)kuadoru >tsui< ta ra* 'when ((I)) arrived in Ecuador,' is voiced, it strongly adumbrates the arrival of a big scene, if not a culmination, in a short time. That the line is indeed the punchline (and thus the climax) is further marked by the smiley voice and a laughter particle, and more importantly, by the turn-final quotation formula *to yū* 'that's it/that's the story'.

The location of Ecuador as the final destination of the journey has another sort of significance for the story climax. As the subsequent repair solution (lines 1364/65) proposes, its notoriety as a locality of illegal drugs is relevant to the issue as to how the story punchline *iki:nari yobitsukerare ta* '((I)) got called for unexpectedly' should be interpreted.

But if the punchline is proposed as a dramatised version of "being mistaken (or suspected) as a drug dealer/user", it rather contains a flaw. For one, the *yobitsukerare ta* 'got called for' is not really a common expression for that meaning compared with, say, *yobitomerare ta* 'got called a halt' or even *yobidasare ta* 'got subpoenaed ((by an authority))'. For another, the expression relies heavily on the success of the evocation of Ecuador's negative reputation.

Indeed, the story punchline is first met by a delay in uptake (Cf. Sacks 1974: 347-351). And subsequently, troubles in understanding the turn are claimed by two recipients at lines 1360 and 1361. At the surface level, each repair initiator identifies a different repairable: one picks up the *yobitsukerare ta* 'got called for' as a potential trouble-source by repeating it with a quotation marker (see section 4.6.1 above); the other, the trouble-source unspecified *yoku wakara na:i* '((I)) don't get ((it))', targets the whole story including the punchline as a repairable. Nevertheless, both are attending to the same sort of trouble, namely, the insufficiency of the story punchline as such, and also the relevance of the story to the preceding talk. The repair outcome clarifies the gist of the story climax by invoking the area's negative reputation for drugs. In particular, the word *kusuri* 'medicine/drug' makes reference to the prior mention of its synonyms *mayaku* 'drug' and *taima* 'marijuana' in the context of sending raw fish

abroad,⁹⁹ and thus establishes the topical connection between the story and what precedes to it.

In these three extracts, there are some indications as to what action the trouble-source turn is implementing: a criticism, a tease, and a story climax, respectively. Such a talk by its nature allows a certain degree of allusiveness, making the recipient to grasp by themselves the gist of it. However, the trouble-source unspecified interrogatives targeted them claim the turns' talk to be too vague even for these actions, and ask for a plainer and less convoluted version of them (Cf "overwrought utterances" in Schegloff 2002a). Here, what is located as the source of trouble by this type of repair initiator is not a particular word or phrase, nor a syntactic construction of the turn, but the inexplicitness or vagueness of the repairable turn.

⁹⁹ The part in question occurs approximately 20 seconds before the story preface is produced.

Yakiniku07-12:45:1300-1314:1312/14 [Exporting Raw Fish]

- 1300I <Namamono(oh)> tte sa:, =
perishables QUOT FP
'((Labelled as)) <pe(eh)rishables> y'know, ='
- 1301F =u:n=
'=Yeah='
- 1302I =<ro: fis>shu tte at tara sa:, >tsūkan [tō↑ra n ↓kamoshiran na:.< .shh=
raw fish QUOT exist if FP customs pass NEG probably FP
'if labelled as <raw fish>, y'know, >probably customs [officers would not pass ((it)), I
suppo:se.< .shh='
- 1303Y [°o:°
- 1304I >A↑kan akan ↓mō kusai kusai< nantsut[te.
no no INT smelly smelly QUOT-say-like
'>↑No no ((it)) ↓smells smells< they would s[ay.'
- 1305Y [Kara [tsuki wa dame [(desu ka).
shell attached TOP no-good COP(POL) Q
'[The ones with shells on are not okay [(either?)]
- 1306N? [*nhhh* |
- 1307I [won, =
- 1308I '[No, ='
=kara tsuki mo akan.
shell attached too no
'=not even with shells on.'
- 1309 (0.2)
- 1310I [o::n
'[Yea::h'
- 1311F [°mā:°, namamono da[kara:.
well perishable because
'[°We:ll°, because ((they're)) perishable an[yway:y.'
- 1312I-> [n::, na*ka*ni [mayau ka nanka:., =
mm-hm inside drug or something
'[Mm hm, inside ((the box)) [drugs or somethi:ng, ='
- 1313Y [oye:
- 1314I->=taima ka nanka kakushiton *chauka:* tte.
marijuana or something be-hidden I-suspect QUOT
'=marijuana or something might be concealed *I suspe:ct*, that's what they would say.'

4.7. Repeats

Repeating what other speaker has just said is another practice for initiating repair. In that, a repeated item (especially marked by a question intonation) is regarded as the repairable itself. Recall (4-7) reproduced below:

(4-31) Shakuji05:17:466-474:468 [Today-Tomorrow]

Reproduction of (4-1) and (4-7)

- 466Y-> dō darō ne, kyō kaettekun no wa ne:: yoru hachiji ka kuji?
 how COP(PRES) FP today come-back N TOP FP night eight or nine
 ‘What do you think, is it at eight or nine in the evening that ((he)) is coming back today?’
- 467 (0.2)
- 468K-> e?
 ‘Eh?’
- 469Y-> hachiji ka kuji dak [ke (>kyō<)
 eight-o’clock or nine-o’clock COP Q today
 ‘At eight or nine, am I [correct? (>today<)]’
- 470K=> [kyō]?=
 ‘[Today]?=’
- 471Y-> =uun ashita=
 ‘=No tomorrow=’
- 472K=> =ashita?=
 ‘=Tomorrow?=’
- 473Y-> =n[:
 ‘=Mm [hm’
- 474K [so, ashita wa sō.
 so tomorrow TOP so
 ‘[((That’s)) correct, tomorrow ((will be)) like that.’

As discussed earlier, an open class repair initiator does not identify which part of the prior turn’s talk is problematic. In the face of the one at line 468, therefore, the trouble-source speaker wrongly guesses that the temporal reference *hachiji ka kuji* ‘at eight or nine’ is a possible repairable. In pursuing the repair further, the repair-initiator deliverer selects another device, namely a repeat (with question intonation), which can underscore the exact trouble-source. In this way, she indicates that the repeated item *kyō* ‘today’ was the repairable that she had in mind from the beginning.

Repetition repair initiators (and “candidate understandings” in the next section) are distinctive in character from the ones we have examined so far in terms of what kind of response is being made

- 154A <i-[chi:ban: kane ga kakkara ↓nai (0.8) no ↑wa:]> ima no dankai da to:,
 best money NOM cost NEG thing TOP now of stage COP if
 ‘<The- [rou:te: that costs ((me)) least mo↓ney (0.8) ↑is:]> at this stage,’
- 155T [.suhhh
- 156A ↓ano: >na- nantoka kādo ↓o motteru kara:, <
 uh what’s-the-name card ACC have because
 ‘↓uh: >’cause ((I))’ve got a what’s-the-name ((travel)) ca:rd,<’
- 157T u:n
 ‘Yea:h’
- 158A a:↓no:, (0.3)
 ‘↓u:h:, (0.3)’
- 159? °°.hh°°
- 160 (0.8)
- 161A-> >ichiban ji- ano kane ga kakan °nai°. (0.3) hibiya sen de °iku no ga.°<
 best time uh money NOM cost NEG Hibiya Line by go thing NOM
 ‘>((this route)) costs ((me)) least ti- mo°ney°. (0.3) The route of taking Hibiya °Line°.<’
- 162 (.)
- 163T=> hibiya sen?
 ‘Hibiya Line?’
- 164 (0.3)
- 165A-> >hibiya °sen°. <
 ‘>Hibiya °Line°<’
- 166 (0.4)
- 167T=> <hi↑biya se↓n.>
 ‘<Hi↑biya Li↓ne.>’
- 168A-> hibiya [↓sen.
 ‘Hibiya [↓Line.’
- 169T [°°.hh°°
- 170T hibiya sen de iku: no wa:, (0.5) ↑e, (0.4) ↓a, >hai hai doko dakk
 Hibiya Line by go thing TOP eh oh yes yes where COP
- 171 <<e:to e:to eto: na↓n dak ke.[°°.h°°<
 uhm uhm uhm what COP Q
 ‘The route taki.ng Hibiya Line is:, (0.5) ↑eh, (0.4) ↓oh, >rih’ righ’ where was tha <<u:hm u:hm uhm:
 ↓what was ((the place)). [°°.h°°<’
- 172A [((Sing-a-song)) <nakame↓gu↑ro_>=
 ‘[((Sing-a-song)) <Nakame↓gu↑ro_>=’
- 173T =de norikaete(h),
 at change-trains
 ‘=At ((Nakameguro)) changing trains a(h)nd,’
- 174 (0.4)
- 175T [ka.]
 Q
 ‘[Is it.]’
- 176A [<ta]da:,> betsuni: >are de i yo<. <<tameikesannō de i yo.
 except ((not))-particlarly that by good FP ((location)) by good FP
 ‘[<Ex]ce:pt>, ((well)) I don’t mind >that ((plan)) is fine<. <<((Meeting up at)) Tameikesanno is fine
 ((to me)).’

The turn in which Atsushi undertakes the search (lines 152-161) comes to a recognizable completion syntactically and prosodically in the middle of line 161 (upon the production of *nai*), while it is not complete pragmatically, as the sought-for item is not provided yet. And the item is subsequently appended to the turn in the form of an “increment” (Schegloff 2001b; Couper-Kuhlen and Ono 2007; Ono and Couper-Kuhlen 2007) which is grammatically shaped as a component within the preceding part of utterance, only positioned to the end of it.

The sought-for item ‘Hibiya Line’ is subsequently indicated as troublesome by a repeat. To confirm the correctness of it, the trouble-source speaker repeats it rather than giving a confirmation token. Resaying in the same words what one said earlier is, at least in English, a way of claiming that it is precisely what they have performed on that earlier occasion, not responsive to some intervening talk (Schegloff 1996c: 200-201). In this particular environment of other-initiated repair, repeating a repairable as it was in the repair-solution position may not be a mere confirmation but a stronger claim that it is what he has said and there is nothing to be repaired on it.

This repair sequence is followed by another round of a repeat and a confirmation by repeat (lines 167 and 168). This time, the repair initiator is delivered with a downward intonation and in an emphasised (with the noticeable pitch move) and drawn-out (with the slowing down) manner. It is hearable as conveying that the speaker has not thought about that option and therefore he is now mulling this over and recollecting the route of the line (the recollection is subsequently vocalised through lines 170-175), rather than questioning the named item. The trouble-source speaker, nevertheless, takes it as another occasion to make a confirmation of the repeated item, with a stress on it in concordance with the emphasised production of the initiator.

In English, what gets repeated may be either a whole or a part of the prior utterance. In the Japanese data at hand, however, I have not found a single instance of a whole trouble-source turn being repeated, except in the cases where the trouble-source turn consists of one word or one phrase (as line 165 in (4-32) above). Instead, we have a distinction between the repetition of a predicate of a prior utterance and that of another constituent or constituents, for which different grammatical practices are used. When a constituent other than a predicate of a prior utterance (i.e., a noun phrase) is repeated, only a question intonation accompanies it, as (4-31) and (4-32) above have shown. On the other hand, the repetition of a predicate part is syntactically converted into an interrogative with the help of the final particle *no*, which in effect serves as a question marker. Extracts (4-33) to (4-35) illustrate the latter

pattern.

In the first two cases, repeats follow question and answer sequences. And the second pair parts (i.e., answers) are subject to repair.

(4-33) Shakuji02:1-2:28-33:25 [Husband & Wife]

A husband calls his wife to inform that he will be back home soon. The wife asks whether or not he needs to eat when he returns.

- 28W =de, shokuji wa?
and meal TOP
'=And, ((you need)) lunch?'
29H-> shokuji ira nai.
meal need NEG
'Lunch ((I)) don't need ((it)).'
30W=> ira nai **no**?=
need NEG FP
'((You)) don't need ((it))?'
31H-> =ai.
yes
'=No.'
32W hai↓hai <<g- kagi ga nai no?
yes key NOM not-exist FP
'Al↓right <<g- Don't ((you)) have the key?'
33H (kagi/nai) un.
key not-exist yes
'(Key/((I)) don't), no.'

(4-34) KD03:30:833-840:836 [Family Restaurants]

Participants are having lunch at a "family restaurant", which offers a wide range of dishes at a reasonable price with the claim that any age group can be satisfied.

- 833H >konna< famiresu wa >nai no<.
like-this family-restaurant TOP not-exist FP
'Are there family restaurants >like this< ((in England)).'
834 (0.4: cling)
835E-> nai.=
not-exist
'Nope. (lit. Not exist.)=
836Y=> =a↑ru ↓de. <<°tt° nai **no**.<
exist COP not-exist FP
'=Of ↑course ↓there are. <<°tt° not exist?<
837E-> >°↑nai ↓nai ↓nai.°<
'>°↑No ↓no ↓no.°<
838 (0.8)

839K >(°fa(h)°)miresu tte< gainen ga nai [deshō.
family-restaurant QUOT concept NOM not-exist COP(PRES)
‘The concept of >(°fa(h)°)mily restaurants< does not exist ((in the first place)), [(I) assume.’
840Y [°↓a:°
[°↓Oh:°

In both cases, the predicate of the answer is repeated: *ira nai* ‘don’t need ((it))’ in the former and *nai* ‘not exist’ in the latter (indicated by squares). And both repeats syntactically take an interrogative form with a final particle *no* (bold-faced). In the former, the trouble-source speaker simply confirms the repeated statement by deploying a single confirmation token *ai*, literally ‘yes’, which can be used regardless of the affirmative or the negative polarity of the statement to be confirmed with it. In the latter, contrastively, the confirmation is more emphatically done with a multiple repetition of the repeated predicate. The initial question by H at line 833 is primarily addressed to E who has lived in England for some time. E and another recipient Y almost simultaneously provide answers which contradict each other. Moreover, both answerers convey the definiteness of their answers, though somewhat differently: E forms her answer with a simple and concise style. Y, on the other hand, indicates that the answer should be self-evident by the deployment of the dialectal final particle *de* (equivalent to the insistent final particles *yo* or *ze* in standard Japanese, according to Martin 1988/2004:922-923). Finding himself in conflict with E, Y immediately turns to her for confirmation of her answer (which is our target line), therefore treating her as a more knowledgeable about the matter at hand.

One more instance is presented below in which a repeat of a predicate part of a prior utterance is converted into a syntactic interrogative by the deployment of *no*. This time, it is not a second pair part which gets repeated but a first pair part, that is, a telling. Nobu calls back to Fujita and tells him that the reason why Fujita could not reach him earlier was because he “was sleeping” (lines 25-27).

(4-35) Shakuji07:2:25-31:29 [Was Sleeping]
25N .hh-.hh [m*ō* [mait ta yo, <<sakki >are da yo=
INT terrible PAST FP earlier that COP FP
‘.hh-.hh ((it was)) [*dreadfully* [terrible, y’know, <<earlier, >it was that<=
26F [°↓a:° [(°↑nan-°)
[°↓Oh:° [(°↑wha-°)
27N-> =denwa no toki, [netete ta] n ↓da ore<.
phone of time be-sleeping PAST N COP I
‘=when ((you)) called me, >I ↓was ↑sleeping<.’
28 (0.3)

- 29F=> >↑net ta no?<
 be-sleeping PAST FP
 ‘>↑Were ((you)) sleeping?<’
- 30N-> n:, nete ta tte >yū ka< yoko ni natte ta no.
 mm-hm be-sleeping PAST QUOT say Q lie-down PAST FP
 ‘Mm hm, >or ((I)) shall rather say< ((I)) was in bed than ((I)) was sleeping.’
- 31 <<mō n- tsu::ngoi shinisōni darukute. °.hh°
 INT extremely deadly feel-weary
 ‘<<’cause ((I felt)) so n- extre::mely deadly sick. °.hh°’

Encountering the high-pitched and compressed repeat by Fujita in line 29, Nobu first confirms it and then replaces the repeated verb *neru* ‘to sleep’ with *yoko ni naru* ‘to lie down’. Although both words stand for the same activity, they have different connotations: the former is a more general term, with a possible connotation of ‘a doze’ which may imply laziness, while the latter means ‘to sleep intentionally for a short period’ often because of sickness or tiredness. The prosodical delivery of the repair initiator serves as the manifestation of the deliverer’s surprise and/or disagreement with the idea of being in bed at an inappropriate time of the day, to which the recipient also orients in his subsequent reformulation of his prior utterance and in the following explicit mention of the sickness.

In sum, there are two different ways for repeats as repair initiators in Japanese, depending on which constituent of prior utterance gets repeated.¹⁰⁰ Thus:

¹⁰⁰ The difference between these two does not stand in a formal speech style, as both take the single [repetition + polite form copula *desu* + question marker *ka*] interrogative format. See the following exchange from a business call where the same *X desu ka* format is mobilised for the repetition of a lexical item *kijun chika* ‘the standard land value’ at line 15 and of a predicate part of the prior utterance *nokotte nai* ‘not being left’ at lines 23/24. The format is so conventionalised that the recipient can recognise that the turn is about to be complete and starts to issue a confirmation even in overlap with the *desu ka* part (Cf. Jefferson 1984).

NDA01-17:1-2:6-27:15 & 23/4 [Kijun Chika]

- 06C .hhh ano chotto oukagaishi tai n desu ke[redomo,
 uh a-little ask(POL) want N COP(POL) but
 ‘.hhh Uh ((I)) want to ask ((you)) something sma[ll,’
- 07A [a hai
 oh yes
- 08C ‘[Oh okay’
 Y ↑shim↓bun de:,
 ((paper brand)) in
 ‘In Y ↑Newspa↓pe:r,’
- 09A hai
 ‘Yes’
- 10C e:tto kugatsu no ne:, °°↓etto°° <jū>gonichi kara >nijugonichi gurai
 uhm September of FP uhm 15th from 25th about
- 11 made no< aida ↑ni↓:,

Noun phrase	-> [repeat + question-intonation]
Predicate (verb phrase)	-> [repeat + final particle <i>no</i> (+ question-intonation)]

That these two types of utterance components have different grammatical properties is oriented to by the deliverers of repeats by the use of different practices for each repetition.

Finally, I would like to present a case which neatly illustrates a close association between repeats and trouble-source specified interrogatives. Recall that in trouble-source specified interrogatives in Japanese, the quotation of trouble-source occupies the turn-initial position, followed by a quotation

-
- to of duration in
 ‘uh::m the one issued in September, °° ↓uhm°° between around the <fif>teenth and >the
 twenty-fifth<,’
 12A ha:i
 ‘Ye:s’
 13C-> .h ano, [↑kijun chi↓ka] tte yū no o notteru: no ga at ta to
 uh standard land-value QUOT say thing ACC carry thing NOM exist PASTQUOT
 14 -> omou n desu ke[domo:],
 think N COP(POL) but
 ‘.h uh: ((I)) think there was the one which ha:d an article about the standard land values b[u:t,’
 15A=> [<kijun chi↓ka>] desu [ka?
 standard land-value COP(POL) Q
 ‘[<The standard land values>, is [it?’
 16C-> [hai
 ‘[Yes’
 17 (0.6)
 18A <°kijun: (0.3) ki-ju-n:°> °°chi-°° <<>Y< shimbun desu [↑ne↓:.
 standard standard land ((paper brand)) COP(POL) FP
 ‘<°The standa:rd (0.3) stan-da:rd°> °°land-°° <<((it’s in))>Y< Newspaper, [right?’
 19C [ha:i
 ‘[Ye:s’
 20 (0.3)
 21A <°chi::- (0.5) ka°>, .shhhh((noise))e::(.)tto! <*ku-ga-tsu* desu to
 land value uhm SeptemberCOP(POL)QUOT
 22 -> chott(.)to> kochira no ↑hō:: de wa ↑mō: [nokotte nai] [no ↑de↓:,
 a-little here of direction at TOP already remain NEG N COP(CONT)
 ‘°La:::nd (.) values°, .shhhh((noise)) we::ll <Sep-tem-ber’s ((papers))> are ↑alrea:dy gone and
 not left in our place [so:,’
 23C=> [a,=
 oh
 24 => = [nokotte nai] de[su ka::.
 remain NEG COP(POL) Q
 ‘[Oh, were ((they)) not le::ft.’
 25A-> [ee, shirabe yō ga ↓nai n de↑su:.
 yes check way NOM NEG N COP(POL)
 ‘[No, ((so)) there’s no way to check that.’
 26C a! sō desu [ka:.
 ‘Oh! is it [so:.’
 27A [ha::i.
 ‘[Ye::s’

marker (and an interrogative). The extract below demonstrates the process of a repeat converted into a question upon the non-uptake of the initial attempt (see also footnote 94). Through lines 1186-1220, the group of four participants schisms into two distinct conversations: one of them involves Hasegawa and Erika on the rear seat of a car talking about their philosophies of marriage. We focus only on the other one in which Yabe the driver and Kitayama next to him are discussing where to have lunch.

(4-36) KD02:43:1186-1205:1193/96 [Fukuoji]

- 1186K doko e mukau?
where to head
‘Where shall ((we)) head to?’
- 1187H n:
‘Mm hm’
- 1188 (0.5)
- 1189? [((Sniff sounding like a snore))
- 1190Y-> [Fukuō[ji].
(location))
‘[Fukuō[ji.’
- 1191E [°demo,°
‘[°But,°
- 1192 (0.2)
- 1193K=> [Fukuō[oji]?
‘Fukuō[oji?’
- 1194 [((Gear shift))
- 1195 -> (0.4)
- 1196K=> ni nan[ka at ta?
at what exist PAST
‘Is there [anything at ((that place))?’
- 1197E [futsūno hito ↓yori wa,=
ordinary person than TOP
‘(((my feeling for the matter may be)) stronger than ordinary people,=’
- 1198Y-> =famiresu ↑ga ↓aru.
family-restaurant NOM exist
‘=There’s a family ↑restau↓rant.’
- 1199 (0.5)
- 1200K °o↑ho[:n°
‘°O↑oh[:n°’
- 1201H [>iya ya:< a: >sonnan-< (.) nan- [saisho famiresu te=
no no uh like-that what start family-restaurant QUOT
‘[>No no< uh >like that-< (.) wha- [do not decide from the beginning=’
- 1202Y [°°datte:°°
‘[°°That’s because°°’
- 1203H =kime ta: akan de:?
decide if no-good FP
‘=((to go to)) a family restaurant, okay?’

1204Y ((Complaining voice)) da↑:t↓te: ichiban chikai toko soko shika
because best near place that only
1205 shi↑*ra n* ↓no ya mon.
know NEG NCOP FP
‘((Complaining voice)) Th↑at’s becau↓se: ((I)) don’t know any other nearest places than that ((restaurant)).’

The destination proposed by the driver receives a repeat at line 1193. However, perhaps because the trouble-source speaker is engaged in driving, the repair initiator is not immediately taken up by him. Instead of waiting for the provision of the repair outcome, the deliverer of the initiator reinitiates it, appending an interrogative in such a manner as to build it upon the preceding talk by employing turn-initially a postpositional case particle *ni* ‘at ((that place))’ (Hayashi 2004a; see also Tanaka 2001a for the similar working of the complementiser *tte*). As a postpositional particle, the *ni* normatively takes *before* it a noun phrase whose grammatical property as a sentential constituent the particle is marking:

Fukuoji ni nanka at ta?
((place)) at what exist PAST
‘Is there anything at Fukuoji?’

When such a postpositional is placed turn-initially, it establishes a grammatical link between what precedes and what follows, as if both components are parts of a single utterance.

1193K Fukuo[oji]?
‘Fukuo[oji?’
1194 [((Gear shift))
1195 (0.4)
1196K **ni** nan[ka at ta?
at what exist PAST
‘At ((that place)) is there [anything?’

This grammatical conversion of a repeat into an interrogative is often observable when the repeat gets no response to it, as in the extract at hand (line 1195). The technique is particularly useful for pursuing a further response, at the same time, covering up the silence not as an indication of a lack of response but as a pause occurring in the middle of a turn which is still under construction.

4.8. Candidate understandings

The last group of NTRIs to be considered is “candidate understanding” or “understanding check” (Heritage 1984b:318-320). This identifies a trouble in prior turn by proposing a candidate solution to that trouble and invites a trouble-source speaker to confirm or correct the candidate understanding of the prior turn’s talk. In the first example, Reiko calls Mizue to ask whether she is coming to visit her today (line 8). The recipient finds the elliptical reference of the subject in the question problematic. Thus she employs two repair initiators successively, an open class repair initiator at line 10 and a candidate understanding at line 12.

(4-37) Shakuji33:1:1-15:12 [Weekend Meeting Away]

((Picking up the receiver))

- 01M moshimoshi:
‘Hello.’
- 02R moshimo↓shi:
‘He↓llo.’
- 03M haihai
‘Yes’
- 04R a, (0.3) (musashino) [de(su)
oh ((name)) COP(POL)
‘Oh, (0.3) ((this is)) (Musashino) [spea(kin)’
- 05M [haihai [konni- ohayōgozaimasu.
yes hello good-morning(POL)
‘[Yes [hel- good morning.’
- 06R [ohayō.
‘[Momin.’
- 07 (0.4)
- 08R-> kyō wa ko nai n deshoo.
today TOP come NEG N COP(POL)
‘Not coming ((to my place)) today, right?’
- 09 (0.3)
- 10M=> ↑*n*?=
‘↑*Huh*?=?’
- 11R-> =isogashi mon nee.=
busy FP FP
‘=Must be busy, right?=?’
- 12M=> =atashi?=
I
‘=Me?=?’
- 13R-> =↓un.=
‘=↓Yeah.=’

- 14M =un atashi ne:[↑]e [korare nai no yo ne ano gas[↑]suku na ↓n yo.
yeah I FP can-come NEG FP FP FP uh weekend-meeting-away COP N FP
'=No ((I'm afraid)) I [cannot come, y'know, uh ((I)) have a weekend meeting away, y'see.'
15R [n
'[Mm hm']

An unexpressed subject in a question is normatively understood as referring to its recipient. In this particular episode, however, it becomes problematic since, as it turns out later in conversation, both parties know that somebody else is also visiting Reiko on that day. That is, there are potentially two candidates who are qualified to be the ‘missing’ subject of the inquiry. Furthermore, another sort of trouble arises from the negative construction of the interrogative. I have argued elsewhere (K. Suzuki 2003) that a negatively formulated interrogative is not an equal alternative to its corresponding positive in conversation, since the former is mostly employed under circumstances where its preceding talk provides grounds for the selection of the negative form.¹⁰¹ When no apparent grounds are found in the preceding talk, as is the case in this episode, the speaker and the recipient regularly work out, by means of repair or an extended sequence, ‘why’ the negative format is selected there and how that interrogative is sequentially relevant to the on-going talk. Notice that, in the face of the initial repair initiator, the trouble-source speaker voices her presumption of Mizue’s other commitment, which had led her to assume in the first place that Mizue might not be able to come. That is to say, she analyses her own prior

Shakujii02:1-2:28-33:25 [Husband & Wife] Partial reproduction of (4-33)

The repetitive repair initiator at line 30 takes a negative form in accordance with the negative construction of its target utterance, that is, the just-preceding negative response.

turn as problematic in this regard, rather than containing an elliptical reference. On the other hand, the deliverer of repair initiator displays that she has rather oriented to the latter problem, by providing a candidate understanding of the unexpressed constituent (both of the question and of the repair outcome). The second attempt to repair succeeds when it gets a subsequent confirmation. And Mizue proceeds to answer the initial question (line 14).

In the next episode, the deployment of the demonstrative *sore* ‘that’ at line 459 becomes a source of trouble. Two of the participants, Kitayama and Erika, are a long-distance couple. Kitayama unexpectedly received a visit from Erika on the night before, about which they have now been telling their close friends Yabe and Hasegawa. Yabe raises a question (lines 453-454) by pointing out that Erika could have missed Kitayama, even though the hazard did not actually happen. Kitayama and Hasegawa both register that they are also puzzled by the same point (lines 455/457 and 458, respectively).

(4-38) KD02:17-18:453-475:461 [Unexpected Visit]

Extended version of the extract cited in footnote 50.

- 453Y <demo:, (.) saa ano, (.) maji↑de↓:>, baito ya nanka de rusu yat ta ra
but FP uh seriously part-time-job or something by absent COP PAST if
- 454 >dō suru tsumori ya[t-<
how do intend-to COP
‘<But:, (.) y’know uh, (.) ↑serious↓:y>, if ((he)) had not been at home for work or other reason, >what would you have intended to [d-<’
- 455K [n nee
mm FP
‘[Good point’
- 456 (0.6)
- 457K sō omot [ta.
so think PAST
‘That’s what ((I)) thought[t.’
- 458H [soo ya.=
so COP
‘[They’re right.=’
- 459E-> =e, ↑dakara: atashi (tsureni) sore chekkushi ta ↓n yan ka (tanni).
eh that’s-why I in-advance/to-friend that check PAST NCOP Q simply
‘=Why, ↑that’s wh:y I checked that (in advance/to a friend), ↓y’see, (simply).’
- 460 (0.2)
- 461Y=> yotē o?
schedule ACC
‘((Checked his)) schedule?’
- 462 (1.1)

463H-> nani o chekkushi ta n?
 what ACC check PAST FP
 ‘What did ((you)) check?’

464 (0.8)

465K a:[a:a:a:
 ‘Oh:[oh:oh:oh:’

466E-> [(n) yotē o.
 mm schedule ACC
 ‘[Mm ((his)) schedule.’

467 (0.2)

468K sō ano re- (.) ↑denwa: ga: konngetsu atama ni at ta toki ni:,
 so uh ho- phone NOM this-month beginning at exist PAST time at
 ‘That’s right, uh ho- (.) ↑when ((I)) got a call ((from her)) at the beginning of this month,’

469 (0.6)

470K konshu- kongetsu sue no renkyū nikai aru kedo:, (0.2)
 this-week this-month end of holiday twice exist but

471 nani shiten non, [°tte kikarete:°,
 what be-doing FP QUOT be-asked(CONT)
 ‘this wee- at the end of this month there’re two national holidays but, (0.2) what are ((you)) gonna do,
 [°((that’s what I)) was asked, and,°’

472H [(°ima n toku e tokana.°)
 now of part get must
 ‘[(°((You))’ve got to learn this part°)’

473 (0.4)

474Y [heh heh heh [.ehhh

475K [mada doraibu iku(h) to(h) wa(h) [ki(h)tte(h) na(h)°kat ta(h) noni°.
 yet drive go QUOT TOP be-told NEG PAST even-if
 ‘[That ((we were)) go(h)ing for drive(h) [(I)) ha(h)dnh’t even b(h)een to(h)ld yet ((at that time)).’

In response to the implied critical remarks by the three participants, Erika delivers a self-defense at line 459. It is potentially addressed to Kitayama, another character in the reported event, since the turn construction *dakara ... shi ta n yan ka* ‘that’s why ((I)) did ((something)), y’see’ evokes a shared knowledge about the move that the speaker took in the event (And the recognition of it arrives in delayed fashion at line 465). However, a non-addressed recipient Yabe comes in first with a candidate understanding of a demonstrative *sore* ‘that’ used in the prior turn as the object of the verb *chekkushi ta* ‘checked ((something))’ (the direct object *o* marker is omitted in the trouble-source turn while it is retrieved in the repair initiator). The trouble-source speaker is still waiting for the addressed recipient to respond, which results in a 1.1 second silence at line 462. When another recipient Hasegawa pursues the repair further by means of a full-fledged interrogative (line 463), the trouble-source speaker turns her attention to giving a repair outcome (line 466). Meanwhile, the addressed recipient comes to a delayed recognition of the matter mentioned by Erika, and starts to detail it at line 468 onward.

Offering a candidate understanding inevitably implies a certain degree of the deliverer's knowledgeability about, and/or familiarity with, the source of trouble and the solution to it (Cf. Pomerantz 1988). Consequently, it involves a risk of being seen to do other-correction rather than initiating repair. To avoid such a risk, it is commonly delivered with question intonation, thus leaving the trouble-source speaker themselves to confirm or correct it. On occasions, some linguistic devices are also employed in addition to rising intonation, which conveys that the proffering of a candidate understanding is a mere proposal of an alternative possibility of the repairable rather than the correction of it. Extract (4-39) presents one of such devices, *X ja nakute?* '((is it)) not *X*?'. The formula is a derivative of the replacement format, *X ja nakute Y* 'not *X* but *Y*'¹⁰². When deployed as a repair initiator, the two variables are filled by a candidate understanding (*X* component) and a trouble-source (*Y* component), respectively, of which the latter is actually left unnamed. Since the grammatical operation of the format is the replacement of the *X* component with the *Y* component, the candidate understanding occupying the *X* position is proposed as a less probable alternative of the *Y* (the trouble-source). Let us consider the actual datum. In this piece of conversation, the name of an actor whom Satomi mentions as her favourite (line 1135) is challenged by Izumi.

- (4-39) TL03:39-40:1128-1156:1150 [Fujiki Naohito]
 1128S a:rashi mo sē↑kin ↓fan no hito ↓ga iru yo: [(nanka),
 I too recently fan of person NOM exist FP like
 'I: too ↑recently became a ↓fan of ↓somebody [(like),'
 1129I [ɛ↓u:nɛ]

¹⁰² Here is an instance in which the replacement format is mobilised for self-repair. The speaker at line 961 initially articulates the wrong word *iyahon* 'earphone' and replaces with the correct *intāhon* 'interphone'.

- TL01:34-36:955-962:961
 955E =honde:,
 '='And the:n,'
 956 (0.8)
 957E? pssss
 958 (0.3)
 959E akko hora:,
 that-place remember
 'at that place, remember?'
 960 (0.7)
 961E iriguchi n tokoro ni, (0.3) iyahon- °[iyahon ɛja nakuteɛ, intāhon
 entrance of place at earphone earphone COP NEG interphone
 962 na:i no ne.°
 not-exist FP FP
 'at the entrance, (0.3) there is no: earphone- °[not earphone, ɛbutɛ, interphone, y'know°.'

1130 ‘[f↓Mm hmʔ’
 1131S sugo:i, (.) mezu[rashiku.
 very-much unlikely
 ‘very much, (.) unlikely [to me.’
 1132I [fa sō:ʔ=
 ‘[fOh is it soʔ=’
 1133S =>yut tak ke.<
 say PAST Q
 ‘=>Did ((I)) tell ((you)).<’
 1134 (0.3)
 1135S-> nanka! (0.3) (°fuch-°) [fuji- (.) fujiki naoto tte yū hito.
 like ((actor)) QUOT say person
 Like! (0.3) ((an actor whose name is)) (°fuch-°) [Fuji- (.) Fujiki Naoto.
 1136J? [(°yo-°)
 1137 (0.4)
 1138J ↑a:[: : : ↓ : °°
 ‘↑Oh:[↓:°°’
 1139S [>shit↑teru? [(shi)tteru?<
 know know
 ‘[>↑Know of ((him))? [(Kno)w of ((him))]?<’
 1140 (.)
 1141I ne- e?
 ‘Ne- Eh?’
 1142 (0.4)
 1143S fuji[ki naoto tte yū
 ((actor)) QUOT say
 ‘((An actor)) called Fuji[ki Naoto’
 1144J [((Sing-song)) chotto shi:n[↑pa::i no hito [ya ne(eh).
 a-little worred of person COP FP
 ‘[The one famous for ((sing-song)) ((I’m)) little bit wo:[ried ((about you)) [isn’t he(eh).’
 1145I [un |
 ‘[Yah’
 1146S [n↑e:↓fu:]=
 1147I [fu- fu-]=
 1148I =[ye?
 ‘=[Eh?’
 1149J =[ahahh [.h
 1150I=> [<fuji-ki> naohito ja na[kut [(te?)
 COP NEG but
 ‘[Not <Fuji-ki> Naohito, [is [he?’
 1151S-> [°n-° [a naoto tte=
 mm oh ((name))QUOT
 ‘[°M-° [oh Naoto is=’
 1152J [°naohi-°
 1153S-> =yū [n dat te!=
 say N COP FP
 ‘=the right [name, so ((I)) heard!=’

1154I [nao-
 1155J =a! ↑so[o ↓na n da:.
 oh so COP N COP
 ‘=Oh! is [↑that ↓so:.’
 1156S [°un un un°
 ‘[°Yah yah yah°’

Juri at line 1138 shows immediate recognition of the person upon the first mention of his name, and also at line 1141 she demonstrates that she does recognise the actor by citing the song of the TV advertisement in which he appears. Izumi, on the other hand, displays a difficulty with hearing or understanding by means of a delayed open class repair initiator (line 1141). Even after she acknowledges who Satomi is talking about (the *un* ‘yah’ at line 1145 which is responsive to the repair outcome), she shows a sign of struggle with another open class repair initiator at line 1148 prefaced by a couple of attempts for repeating his name (line 1147). Finally at line 1150, she reveals what she is having the trouble with, namely, the name of the actor, rather than the recognition of the person. Thus, she suggests an alternative possibility of the repairable, framing it with the *X ja nakutte?* format and putting a stress on the first name which is the main repairable.

The proposal of possible repair here is rejected by the trouble-source speaker who persists with her version of the item. It turns out, however, that Izumi does not give up either. And consequently this engenders a rather long repair sequence in which both participants have a battle over the issue. This whole episode will be a central focus of Chapter 6.

Candidate understandings may take other formats which are analogous to positioned interrogatives, ellipsis repair and trouble-source specified interrogatives, except that each interrogative component is replaced by a candidate understanding. Thus, a positioned candidate understanding is framed by a repeat of a word or two before and/or after the trouble-source in the repairable turn, a candidate ellipsis understanding is accompanied by a case particle which marks the grammatical property of the candidate understanding within the trouble-source turn, and a trouble-source specified candidate understanding typically takes the format *X tte Y?* ‘*X*, *y*’ mean *Y?*’ in which *X* represents a trouble-source and *Y* a candidate understanding. Extracts (4-40) and (4-41) exemplify each of these.

Positioned candidate understandings

(4-40) Shakujii25:1-2:14-34:30 [At Twelve]

Yuko and Ui are making an arrangement to meet up at a convenience store Seven Eleven to go somewhere together.

- 14Y de::, (.) ohiru goro iku:?
and lunch-time around go
'A::nd, (.) shall ((we)) go ((there)) at around lunch ti:me?'
- 15U n, ↑dō suru:?
mm how do
'Mm, ↑what do ((we)) do?'
- 16 (0.7)
- 17U isshoe- (.) iku ↓ka:.
together go Q
'Shall ((we)) go- (.) togethe:r.'
- 18Y sō ↓ne:: (0.2) mata: ja sebunirebun toko de ii.
so FP again then ((convenience store)) place with good
'Sounds fi:ne. (0.2) ((Is that)) okay at Seven Eleven as u:sual, then?'
- 19 (.)
- 20U n, i yo i yo:?
mm good FP good FP
'Mm hm, ((that's)) fine ((that's)) fi:ne?'
- 21Y .hhh ↑nan- (0.2) <se↑bu:n i↓ma jūichiji> <<n- nanji da[:?
what ((store)) now 11-o'clock mm what-time COP
'hhh ↑What ti- (0.2) <at Se↑ve:n ↓((it's)) now eleven> <<wait- what time is i[:t?'
- 22U [ima ne:,=
now FP
- 23 =jūji yonjup↓pun.
10-o'clock 40-minute
'[Now, ten for↓ty.'
- 24Y >a juichiji mae ↓ka<.=
oh 11-o'clock before Q
'>Oh ((it's)) nearly eleven<.=
- 25U =u:n.
'=Ye:ah.'
- 26 (0.2)
- 27Y-> jā jū↑ni↓ji::: [ni,
then 12-o'clock at
'Then, at twel:::[ve,'
- 28U [°°.hh°°
- 29 (.)
- 30U=> jūni ji ni machiawase:?=
12-o'clock at meeting-up
'Meeting up at twel:ve?='
- 31Y-> =un. chōdo de i ka.
yeah just with good Q
'=Yeah. Let's say at twelve sharp.'

- 32U (u/a), ima neten no?
mm oh now be-sleeping FP
'(Mm/Oh), ((is your baby)) in bed now?'
- 33 (0.2)
- 34Y uun, <mō, ima wa genkide> asondeiru.
no already now TOP active be-playing
'No, <((she))'s already actively playing at the moment.'

The trouble-source turn at line 27 in which Yuko proposes the meeting time temporarily comes to a halt after a long stretch on the *jū↑ni↓ji::* 'twel::ve' and a contrastive staccato on the particle *ni* 'at'. Having indicated that she is ready to speak as early as in overlap with the *ni*, Ui takes over the words that Yuko has just articulated and adds to it her candidate understanding of the possible course that the unfinished trouble-source turn would have taken.

Trouble-source specified candidate understandings

(4-41) Shakujii01:2:42-64:46 [Mum & Daughter]

Partial reproduction of (4-16).

A mother is giving her married daughter implicit, yet unmistakeable, pressure to come back home immediately by putting to her a series of questions. Here is reproduced only the second and the third rounds of the interrogative series, in which the mother demands the approximate time of the daughter's return (line 42).

- 42M <nanji koro:> kaeru no?
what-time about return FP
'<About what time> ((are you)) coming back?'
- 43 (0.4)
- 44D-> ↓n:: ↑mō chotto kakan na.
well more a-little take((-time)) FP
'↓ Well ↑it's gonna take a bit more.'
- 45 (0.3)
- 46M=> mō chotto tte (.) [ichiiji↑kan gurai?=
more a-little QUOT an-hour about
'By a bit more, ((you mean)) (.) [about an ↑hour?='
- 47D [mhan
- 48D-> =ɸyugataɸ ah heh heh [heh [yūgata he-]
evening evening
'=ɸ((In the)) eveningɸ ah heh heh [heh [evening he-]'
- 49M [e: [gata:??]=
[E:ve[ni:ng?]=
- 50M =((4 beat-rhythm)) huh huh ↑huh hah hah hah hah ha .h [hh (iho-)
'=((4 beat-rhythm)) huh huh ↑huh hah hah hah hah ha .h [hh (iho-)'

51D		[ime ne= now FP
	‘[Now, y’know=’	
52	=>ne↑chatten <u>da</u> <. be-sleeping COP	
	‘=>((my baby)) <u>is</u> s↑leeping<.’	
53	(0.7)	
54D	chotto okose nai shi ne. a-little can-wake NEG also FP	
	‘And ((I)) can’t wake ((her)) up, y’know.’	
55	(0.7)	
56M->	nan(ji/ni) goro ni naru? what-time about at become	
	‘About what time it will be?’	
57	(0.5)	
58D	↑n? ‘↑Huh?’	
59	(0.5)	
60M	[°nanji goro n-° ‘[°About what time-°’	
61D	[>dakara <u>kondo</u> :<, <u>ikuyo</u> . because another-time visit FP	
	‘[>((I)) told you, ((at)) <u>another</u> ti:me<, ((I))’ll <u>visit</u> ((you)).’	
62	(0.7)	
63D	kocchi kara.= this-place from	
	‘I ((will)).=’	
64M	=n_ ‘=Mm hm_’	

Despite the mother’s demands, the daughter is evidently avoiding giving a concrete time indication. Instead, she puts forth a very rough estimate *mō chotto kakaru* ‘it’s gonna take a bit more’ (line 44). The mother shows her understanding of it as about an hour, mobilising the *Xtte Y?* ‘X, y’mean Y?’ format. It turns out that the mother’s understanding is too optimistic, for the daughter subsequently replaces it with the *yugata* ‘((sometime)) in the evening’ which is, presumably, far more than an hour. Even at this stage, the daughter does not proffer a concrete time of her return that the mother seeks. This eventually leads the mother to ask the same question all over again (line 56).

4.9. Types of repair initiator in Japanese: Summary

Table 1 shows a summary of repair initiation practices in Japanese that have been discussed.

Table 1 Repair initiators in Japanese

Instances of repair initiators (RI) in Japanese	Format and trouble-source	Trouble-source specification	English equivalents (Schegloff, et al. 1977; Schegloff 2001a)
<i>e?, n?, nani?, hai?, a?, ha?, he?, hun?</i>	<u>Trouble-source:</u> This RI signals that there is some trouble in the prior turn, but does not specify the exact location nor the trouble's nature. It does not necessarily have to be a hearing problem (Cf. Drew 1997).	Weakest ▲	"Hm?", "Huh?", "What?" (Schegloff, et al. 1977), "Pardon?", "Sorry?", "What's that?" (Drew 1997), "I can't hear you." (Sacks 1992)
<i>dare?, itsu?, doko?</i>	<u>Format:</u> interrogative (+ rising intonation) <u>Trouble-source:</u> The interrogative indicates the same category of referent in the prior turn as problematic.	┆	'Who?', 'When?', 'Where?'
<i>nani sōgyō? obāchan ga nani?</i>	<u>Format:</u> Partial repeat + interrogative <u>Trouble-source:</u> The interrogative indicates the same category of referent in the prior turn as problematic, together with the repeated item serving as a "frame".	┆	"All the what?", "Met whom?"
<i>sochira tte: doko? sore</i>	<u>Format:</u> Partial repeat/pronoun + quotation marker <i>tte</i> (+ interrogative) <u>Trouble-source:</u> This RI identifies the repeated item as problematic and asks for its meaning.	┆	"What's a Gwaff?" (Schegloff 2001a)
<i>do yu koto? yoku wakara nai</i>	<u>Trouble-source:</u> This RI identifies the entire prior turn as problematic and asks for its meaning.	┆	"Whatya mean by that?" (Schegloff 2001a)
Noun phrase: <i>kyō?, Hibiya sen?</i> Verb phrase: <i>itta no? net ta no?</i>	<u>Format:</u> Full or partial repeat (+ final particle <i>no</i> for verb phrases) <u>Trouble-source:</u> This RI indicates the repeated part is problematic.	┆	Noun phrase: "One ten?", "Nothe::n" Verb phrase: "He is?", "Do I?"
<i>fujiki naohito ja naku tte? mō chotto tte ichi jikan kurai?</i>	<u>Format:</u> 1) <i>X ja nai?</i> 2) Partial repeat + quotation marker <i>tte</i> + candidate understanding <u>Trouble-source:</u> This RI specifies the trouble item(s) in the prior turn and offers the recipient's understanding of it.	▼ Strongest	" <u>Y</u> 'mean homosexual?"

Before closing the chapter, I would like to remark on an issue concerning the speaker's selection of one type of repair initiator among others at a particular moment in interaction. Schegloff (2001a) argues that the groups of English repair initiators are arrayed on a scale in the ordering of "unspecified interrogative", "category-constrained interrogative", "positioned interrogative", "utterance-targeted interrogative", "repeat", and "candidate understanding", the "unspecified interrogative" being the weakest and the "candidate understanding" the strongest in terms of the degree that they claim the speaker's grasp on the trouble-source and of the degree of guidance they give the trouble-source speaker about what the trouble-source is.¹⁰³ Supportive evidence for this ordering is that there is the fact observable in a large volume of data that weaker ones get self-interrupted in mid-production and replaced by stronger ones, not the other way around. Also, when more than one other-initiated repair sequence is needed, the repair initiators are selected in order of increasing strength (SJS 1977:369). Together with this scale of NTRIs, Schegloff (*op. cit.*) proposes a general rule for repair-initiator selection: "use the strongest one you can, unless 'the strongest one you can' would involve you attributing the speaker of the trouble-source something that is embarrassing or problematic or insane".

As for Japanese NTRIs, I cannot justify at this stage the applicability of Schegloff's whole argument because of the limited amount of data at hand. It seems at least likely enough that the "open class repair initiator" is on the one end of the scale, for they are in fact far frequently employed than other initiators and there are a number of cases found even in the limited amount of data where an open class repair initiator precedes other initiator(s) either within the same turn or within a single repair episode. It is also plausible that the "candidate understanding" which claims the deliverer's greatest grasp of the trouble-source utterance should be positioned at the other end of the scale. The relative ordering of the other types of initiators remains unclear, particularly with the close association between the "repeat" and the "trouble-source specified interrogative" discussed in 4.7 (thus, in table 1, a broken arrow is used). The test as to whether or not Schegloff's proposal of this issue as a whole is applicable to Japanese data, therefore, will be left for further investigation.

¹⁰³ Schegloff (2001a) also presents a contrasting view of the scale proposed by Sacks, in which the "unspecified interrogative" is the most powerful since it requires the least understanding of the trouble-source for the deliverer to deploy it.

4.10. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, we have inspected item-by-item a list of major practices for other-initiation of repair in Japanese. It was revealed first that the overall organization and the operation of other-initiated repair is “context-free” in the sense that they do not differ very much across two host languages, English and Japanese. Such features in other-initiated repair organization as the division of labor of initiating and prosecuting repair by two speakers, the sequential formulation of a repair activity, the entry into a repair sequence from the main thread of the talk of the moment and the return to the main activity, the relationships among trouble-source, repair initiator and repair outcome, and the categorization of repair initiators, all point to the convergence between the two languages.¹⁰⁴

At the same time, all the Japanese instances examined in this chapter have exhibited that repair organization is also sensitive to the grammatical particulars of the host language. This reflects the view emerging from conversation analytic work that “grammar” and “social interaction” co-organize each other (Schegloff, *et al.* 1996). For one, grammar is one of the resources for doing social interactional work. Particular lexical items and expressions, such as interrogative words, response particles, case particles, the post-positional quotation marker *tte*, and the *X ja nakute Y* ‘not *X* but *Y*’ formula, which are available for general use in the grammar system of Japanese are selected and pressed into service for doing the social action of repair initiation. In return, grammar is, to some extent, shaped by social interaction which is a primal locus of language use. In the real world, even highly conventionalised grammatical practices that mark the uniqueness of Japanese conversational interaction, such as the deployment of allusive demonstratives, the high frequency of ellipsis and its reference-tracking procedures, the incremental or the rambling construction of a single extended turn, entail potential risk of failure. Indeed, we have observed some actual episodes in which these grammatical practices do cause understanding problems for the recipients and repair is called upon to deal with the situation. Thus, any grammatical practice can exert the utmost effectiveness because there is a back-up device, namely repair. For these aspects, repair is one concrete junction between grammar and interaction.

One of the goals of the chapter has been to provide a list of NTRIs in Japanese. The list formed in the current chapter is by no means complete. It indeed marks just the beginning of an exploration of

¹⁰⁴ Egbert (1996) also reports the similar organizational convergence between other-initiated repair in German and that in English.

repair organization in Japanese conversation. For, as the analyses of the extracts in this chapter have illustrated, there exists a deeper and more interesting interactional world behind the scene of a single repair execution. The list of NTRIs only offers us a set of fundamental tools with which we can gain a better access to, and a better understanding of, Japanese talk-in-interaction.

Chapter 5

Repair and Grammar: Repair on Unexpressed Utterance Elements

5.1. Introduction

It was argued in the previous chapter that the organization of other-initiated repair in Japanese and that in English have remarkable similarities. On the other hand, it was also suggested that some grammatical particularities of the Japanese language can influence certain aspects of the repair organization, such as two forms of repeat (Section 4.7), and a repeat converted into interrogative form (Extract 4-36).

This chapter discusses further the issue of an interconnection between repair and grammar, focusing on what I term “repair on unexpressed utterance elements”.

As explained in Section 2.4, one of the noticeable characteristics of Japanese conversational grammar is its high ellipticity. Unexpressed arguments and references are so common that they can be regarded as a conventionalised practice. A variety of linguistic and other resources are available for disambiguating the unexpressed elements (Shibatani 1990:360-367; Nariyama 2003), so that even such an elliptical utterance as lines 1259/1261 in (5-1) can be understood unproblematically (unexpressed elements are marked with ‘Ø’).

(5-1) TL01:45:1255-1265:1259/1261 [Unexpected Encounter]

- 1255I un, sore↑de:↓u goji gurai ni mo ne, kaereru toka sō yu(hh) yo(h)ona(h)=
 yeah and-then five-o'clock around at already FP go-back-home QUOT so say in-a-manner
 ‘Yeah, and ((that work place was like we)) could go home at as early as around five or in tha(hh)t ki(h)nd
 o(h)f=’
- 1256I =[.hh kan[ji no-
 feeling of
 ‘=[.hh atmos[phe=’
- 1257S =[n : [so yat ta yo [naa
 mm-hm so COP PAST FP FP
 ‘=[Mm hm [That’s what ((I heard)), ((I)) remember’
- 1258I [no- nonbiri dat ta n da kedo[:,
 peaceful COP PAST N COP but
 ‘[Pe- peaceful ((atmosphere)) it was, bu: [t,’
- 1259S-> [ip[pen=
 ‘[On[ce=’
- 1260J [°°n°°
 ‘[°°Mm hm°°’
- 1261S-> =gūzen at ta n:, >°yut ta kke°<. [<<yu tta?

	by-chance meet PAST FP/thing	tell PAST FP	tell PAST
	‘=Ø bumped into Ø, >°did Ø tell Ø about that, ((I)) wonder°<. [<<Did Ø tell Ø?’		
1262I		[((swallow))) <u>a sō sō</u> =	
	‘(((Swallow)) <u>Oh righ’ right</u> ’=		
1263I	=sō da yo [n e : ,	[u : [n,	[bikkurishi ta yo: [nanka,
	so COP FP FP	yeah	be-surprised PAST FP like
	‘=((we)) did, [didn’t ((we:)), [yea[h, [((I)) was so surprised, [((it’s)) like,’		
1264E	[°den[sha n na[ka de°.		
	train of inside at		
	‘[°On [a trai[n.°’		
1265S	[°uhuh°	[(tsuba [nonde)	[heh heh
		spit swallow	
	‘[°Uhuh° [(((You’re)) swallo[wing] [heh heh’		

Izumi is describing a peaceful atmosphere at her former work place that she reluctantly left by the order of the company. One of the recipients, Satomi, shows a familiarity with the matter in her receipt of the talk (*so yat ta yo naa*, roughly glossed as ‘That’s what ((I heard)), ((I)) remember’ at line 1257; more specifically, it means ‘That’s what you, rather than anybody else, told me’).¹⁰⁵ At the point when Izumi is about to move to describe her current work place in comparison with the former one (which is set up by the connective particle *kedo*, ‘but’, at line 1258), Satomi cuts in to say that somebody bumped into somebody else once, or that two persons bumped into each other. This report is further turned into a quotation followed by two successive questions, one a self-question¹⁰⁶ and the other a full-fledged one (the arrowed lines).

Here, I will just present the recovered version of the utterance, instead of detailing a procedure for encoding the unexpressed referents in it. It goes like this: ‘Once I bumped into Izumi (or, Izumi and I bumped into each other), did I tell about that to you, Erika and Juri, I wonder. Did I tell you, Erika and Juri? (or, Izumi, did you tell them?)’. This utterance serves as an account for Satomi’s earlier response which has revealed her knowledge of the matter that Izumi is describing. None of the recipients claim the utterance troublesome: Izumi (lines 1262 and 1263) and Erika (1264) demonstrate that they do know the event which Satomi has just

¹⁰⁵ If the recipient had heard the matter from somebody else as second-hand knowledge, the hearsay term *mitai* would have been used.

- a) sō dat ta ne.
so COP PAST FP ‘That’s what you told me.’
- b) sō mitai da ne.
so seem COP FP ‘That’s what somebody told me. (Lit. It seems so.)’

¹⁰⁶ The final particle *kke* ‘((I)) recall/((I)) wonder’ in the former is regularly used ‘in thinking back, recollecting to oneself, or questioning oneself about some situation to be recalled’ (Martin 1988/2004:937).

mentioned.¹⁰⁷

Although tracking unexpressed references involves a very complex process with a variety of resources available, such as linguistic and interactional devices, cultural common sense, and shared knowledge between participants, Japanese-speaking interactants routinely achieve this with little delay or difficulty. Indeed, as Hayashi, *et al.* (2002) put it, “[i]n Japanese conversation, unexpressed referents are massively *not* treated as ‘absent’ or ‘omitted’” (p. 96, emphasis original). Nonetheless, the fact that there are conventionalised practices and routines does not guarantee the success of the practices on every occasion. In case participants should fail to identify zero-references, the interactional practice of “repair on unexpressed utterance elements” is at hand.

In the sections to follow, we first approach this subject from its basic format and operation as a Next Turn Repair Initiator, in contrast with a similar form of initiator. We then seek the consequences of the repair in actual occurrences, reflecting why a particular elliptical element is treated as troublesome on each occasion. Finally, some general notions of the intersection between grammar and repair are argued.

5.2. Repair on unexpressed utterance elements: Its basic format and operations

As discussed in Section 4.4, a stand-alone interrogative can serve as a “category-constrained” repair initiator, which identifies the same category of referent in the prior turn as problematic. In (5-2) for example, *dare(?)* ‘who(?)’ at lines 910 and 912 point to the person references in the respective just-prior turns as repairable (*ano hito* ‘that person’ and (*Masu*)*da-san* ‘Mr. (Masu)da’, respectively). In response to each, a repair solution is formatted either as a repetition of the reference (line 913), or as a substitution of the deictic reference with a non-deictic one (line 911).

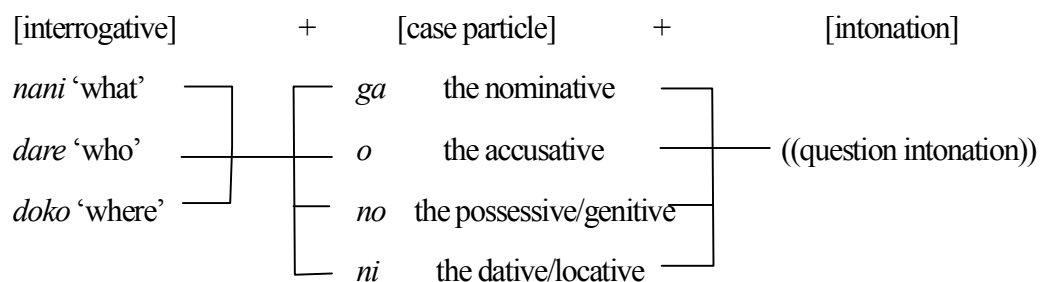
(5-2) Shakuji32:32-33:906-922:910 & 912 [Mr. Matsuda]

Partial reproduction of (4-19): O is telling M about her new working place. She lists her colleagues at the office whom she assumes M might know, and ‘Mr. Matsuda’ is one of them.

¹⁰⁷ At this point, the third recipient Juri does not show whether she knows what others are talking about or not. About two minutes later in the talk, however, she states that she heard the whole story the year before.

[illegible]

There is another type of repair initiator that appears similar to the stand-alone interrogative. This repair initiator takes the form of a combination of an interrogative (*nani* ‘what’, *dare* ‘who’, and *doko* ‘where’)¹⁰⁸ and a case particle (the nominative *ga*, the accusative *no*, the possessive/genitive *no*, and the dative/locative *ni*),¹⁰⁹ often deployed with question intonation:



¹⁰⁸ The interrogative *itsu* ‘when’ can go with only a limited number of case particles. *Dō yatte* ‘how’ and *naze* ‘why’ are not normatively accompanied by a case particle.

¹⁰⁹ Other case particles such as *de* (the locative), *to* ('together with'), *kara* ('from/by'), *made* ('up to/ until'), and *e* ('to'), can also constitute ellipsis repair initiators, though they are less frequent. Refer to Martin (1988/2004:38-50) for a full list of case particles and their functions.

Extract (5-3) should give us a rough idea of what this repair initiator looks like:

(5-3)

(a)

M: soide: kī ta n da kara.
and-then ask PAST N COP because
'=A:nd ((Ø)) made an inquiry, so.'

H:=> dare ga.
who NOM
'Who ((did)).'

M: ka:nazawa san ga.
(name) TITLE NOM
'Mr. Ka:nazawa.'

(b)

Y: ato ne:, (1.3) ato, mada: iku desho.
and-then FP also still go/eat COP(PRES)
'And then, let me see, (1.3) also, ((you))'d order more, wouldn't ((you)).'

I:=> >nani ↓o<.
what ACC
'>((Order)) ↓what<.'

T: iya toria[ezu (sore de.)]¹¹⁰
no for-the-present that by
'No for the time [being (that's ((enough))).'

(c)

T: mae shi:- shucchō it ta toki ni:,
before business-trip go PAST time at
'When I went on a busi:- business trip before,'

F:=> n, <doko ni?>
'Mm, <where to?>'

T: a:, a nanbē to samarino.
oh oh South America and ((San Marino?))
'Oh:, oh South America and (San Marino).'

Alternatively, the interrogative part may be occupied by a candidate understanding:

¹¹⁰ As examined later, a repair solution to the repair initiator >nani ↓o<. ('>((Order)) ↓what<.') is not given after all, for someone else (T) has answered the initial question directed to I.

(d)

N: matteru no kana:.
 be-waiting N Q
 ‘((Ø))’s waiting ((for Ø)), ((I)) wonder.’

Y:=> ishigaki san o?
 ((name)) TITLE ACC
 ‘((Waiting)) for Igarashi-san?’

N °↓n:°
 ‘°↓Mm hm°’

These repair formats are highly elliptical themselves, and need to be understood with reference to the just-prior utterance.

One noticeable differences between these RIs and category-constrained interrogatives is that the “trouble-source” that the former seems to be addressed to cannot be found in the preceding turn.¹¹¹ Rather,

¹¹¹ There is only one case in my data in which this type of NTRI is used to address a trouble caused by the deployment of an unspecified demonstrative *are*, as discussed earlier.

Shakujii33:5-6:136-143:138 [Omaeda’s]

136R-> °°ano-°° ↑sorede ne are [kiteru yo:?
 uh and-then FP that arrive FP
 ‘°°Uh-°° ↑and then, that thing has arrived ((for you)).’

137M [°n-°
 ‘[°Mm-°’

138M=> nani ga?
 what NOM
 ‘What ((has arrived))?’

139 (0.3)

140M a! ōmaeda no:?
 oh ((name/place)) of
 ‘Oh! Omaeda’s?’

141 (.)

142R un=
 ‘Yeah=’

143M =a!, (0.2) ↑ima ↓ne hanashite ta no:.
 oh now FP be-talking PAST FP
 ‘=Oh!, (0.2) ↑((we)) were just ↓talking ((about it)) now:.’

Line 136 is the first mention of *are*, whatever it refers to. When left unspecified, the *are* evokes some mutual knowledge between the speaker and the recipient concerning the object in question (and the present tense of the verb *kiteru* ‘has come/arrived’ rather than the past tense *kita* ‘came/arrived’ further implies that the object is being expected by, and is going to be handed to, the recipient). Although the recipient displays at line 138 a momentary difficulty in recognizing what the speaker is talking about, she seems to come up with a solution by herself, without the help of the trouble-source speaker (140).

An observable difference between this instance (and a similar case in extract (4-38) in section 4.8) and other *ares* that are targeted by category-constrained interrogatives (extracts (4-19) and (4-20) in 4.4 above) is that the former does not have an explicit particle marking of its grammatical role within its host turn.

136R’ °°ano-°° ↑sorede ne are ((ga)) [kiteru yo:?

this repair initiator alerts a recipient that some constituent of the prior turn is absent or missing and asks the speaker of the turn to supplement it.¹¹² Which constituent is claimed as missing is indicated partially by the category-constraining interrogative, and more importantly, by the type of case particle accompanying the interrogative. For example, the initiator *dare ga*, ‘who’ + the nominative case particle, in (5-3a) flags the missing constituent as a person reference and as the subject of the prior utterance. Thus, the addition of a case particle tells a trouble-source speaker exactly what utterance element its recipient is seeking. The provision of the sought-for element in the case of the interrogative format, and confirmation/disconfirmation in the case of the candidate understanding format, become repair solution, as shown in the last line in each data piece in (5-3).

I propose to name this type of repair initiation “repair on unexpressed utterance elements”. In the next section, we further examine the cases in more detailed ways in order to consider what interactional jobs are done through the deployment of a repair of this type.

5.3. Repair on unexpressed utterance elements in its conversational contexts

Extracts (5-4) to (5-7) constitute a fuller version of (5-3) above. Extract (5-4) is a subsequent part of (4-2),

uh and-then FP that NOM arrive FP
 ‘°°Uh-°° ↑and then, that thing has arrived ((for you)).’

It is not uncommon to find certain case particles and topic particles, including *ga* (the nominative; subject marker) and *o* (the accusative; direct object marker), being dropped in spoken Japanese (Shibatani 1990:367-369; Tsujimura 1996: 135-136; Martin 2004[1988]:50-52). Whether or not this is consequential to the subsequent retrieval of the dropped particle in the repair initiator in the next position is yet to be studied.¹¹² In this regard, the missing constituent (i.e., the repairable) is *positioned* within the prior turn, even though it is not actually there.

SJS (1977:369, footnote 15) present some English repair initiators which locate as repairables referents which were not actual components of the prior turn, though they are not strictly instances of ellipsis.

a) SJS 1977: 369, Footnote 15 Ex (c)

Ben -> They gotta- a garage sale.
 Ellen => Where.
 Ben On Third Avenoo.

b) SJS 1977: 369, Footnote 15 Ex (d)

Ava -> I wanted t’know if ya got a uhm whatchamacallit uhm
 -> p(hh)ark(hh)ing place this morning.
 Bee A parking place.
 Ava Mm hm
 Bee => Where.
 Ava Oh hh just anyplace heh heh I was just kidding ya.

which was examined in the previous chapter, where Hitoshi shows great reluctance in accepting Matsumoto's advice to call a tax officer for a consultation on the lease of some land.

(5-4) Shakujii26:8:201-223:216 [Advice to Call a Tax Officer]

- 201M ikkai kiitemi tara dō?
once try-to-ask if what-do-you-think
'Why ((don't you)) have a try to ask ((the officer)) once?'
- 202 (0.8)
- 203H *n:°:::°*
'*Mm:°:::°*'
- 204 (yap)pari mentomukatte ↑kīta hō ga ↑ī ↑na:.
after-all face-to-face ask direction NOM good FP
'(After) all it's ↑better to ↑ask ((him)) face-to-face, ↑((I)) reckon.'
- 205 (0.9)
- 206H °n° <denwa ja na:.>
mm phone by FP
'°Mm° ((it's no good)) <by phone, ((I)) reckon.>'
- 207 (0.4)
- 208H >↑denwa de mo ī no are<[, [(↓chō no)
phone by too good FP that ((unclear))
'>Is ((it)) okay ((to make an inquiry)) by ↑phone<[, [(↓chō no)'
209M [n [: >denwa de mo< ī ↓no.
mm-hm phone by too good FP
'[Mm [hm it's okay >by phone<.'
- 210 (0.5)
- 211H kaitearu?
be-written
'Is ((that)) documented?'
- 212M n- (.) n' iiya, an datte:, g- denwashi ta n ↓da mon °jinzū- jijitsu°.
no uh because call PAST N COP because fact
'Y- yno, uh ((but)) g- ((Ø)) made a call, °inf- in fact°.'
- 213H a: soko e ka.=
oh that-place to Q
'Oh to that place.='
- 214M-> =n sō. (.) soide: [kī ta n da kara.
mm-hm so and-then ask PAST N COP because
'=Mm hm that's right. (.) And [((Ø)) made an inquiry, so.'
- 215H [°°n°°
'[°°Mm hm°°'
- 216H=> dare ga.
who NOM
'Who ((did)).'
- 217 (0.2)
- 218M ka:nazawa san ga.
((name)) TITLE NOM
'Mr. Ka:nazawa.'

219 (.)
 220H a ↑denwa de kī ta n [daro?
 oh phone by ask PAST N COP(PRES)
 ‘Oh it was by ↑phone that ((he)) asked, [wasn’t it?’
 221M [so so so [so so
 ‘[Yeah yeah yeah [yeah yeah’
 222H [((Complaining voice)) °n° den↑wa ja
 mm phone by
 223 dame da ↓yo jissai ittemi nakya ↑na:.
 no-good COPFP actually try-to-visit should FP
 ‘[((Complaining voice)) °Mm° by ↑phone is no good, ↓right, ((we))’ve actually got to try to visit ((him)),
 ↑I believe.’
 224M °↓n:°
 ‘↓Mm.’

The most natural or reasonable interpretation of the unexpressed subject at line 214 (and the preceding line 212 as well) would be the speaker: ‘*I* made a call and made an inquiry’. Still, Hitoshi calls upon a repair, and it then turns out that it was somebody else that made the inquiry. One focus of their dispute throughout the conversation is the reliability of the information they currently have about the matter-at-hand and who obtained it from whom in the first place. Hitoshi emphasizes the importance of first-hand knowledge obtained face-to-face from reliable sources (a tax officer and official documents), while Matsumoto’s knowledge turns out later to have been largely transmitted from Mr. Kanazawa. Thus, the issue as to who made the earlier inquiry actually matters to Hitoshi to think out Matsumoto’s claim and advice. We do not know why Matsumoto uses an ellipsis here for referring to a person other than himself: he might have simply forgotten to mention Mr. Kanazawa; he might have decided that he did not have to name the person; or he might have hidden the name on purpose. Whatever Matsumoto’s actual intention is, the use of an elliptic reference is regarded to be problematic by Hitoshi. The repair initiator *dare ga* ‘who ((did))’ is used to disambiguate the unexpressed actor in the trouble-source turn.

Extract (5-5) demonstrates another combination of an interrogative word and a case particle: *nani* ‘what’ accompanied by the accusative *o*, which locates the missing trouble-source as the object of the verb *iku* ‘go/eat/order’ at line 27.

(5-5) Yakiniku05-06:1-2:25-34:30 [Order More]

Conversation over dinner at a *yakiniku* (Korean grill) restaurant. Yoshida is giving the waitress (W) an order for several dishes and two bottles of beer on behalf of Ishigaki and Togashi who have just caught up with the

25W bin bīru nihon de yo[roshī desu ka.
bottle beer two with okay COP(POL) Q
'Two bottled beers, is [that all?'

26Y [bin bīru nihon:.
'[Bottled beers, two:.'

27Y-> [ato ne:, (1.3) ato, mada: iku desho.
and-then FP also still go/eat COP(PRES)
'[And then, let me see, (1.3) also, ((you))'d order more, wouldn't ((you)).'

28N? [((Coughs))

29N? ((Cough))

30I=> >nani ↓o<.
what ACC
'>((Order)) ↓what<.'

31 (0.3)

32T iya toria[ezu (sore de.)
no for-the-present that by
'No for the time [being (that's ((enough)).)'

33I [ma, ī [yo ī yo ī yo
well okay FP okay FP okay FP
'[Well, ((tha's)) ok[ay okay okay'

34Y [nja< sore de. hai, (dōzo).
then that by yes go-ahead
'>Then< that's all. Yes, (go ahead).'

Secondly, the verb *iku* in the question, whose primary meaning is ‘to go ((somewhere))’, is used here colloquially to mean ‘to eat/order’. If the verb is accompanied by a direct object, the question means ‘you’d eat/order this dish as well, wouldn’t you’. It can also stand without a direct object, meaning ‘you’d eat/order more, wouldn’t you’, which, in effect, prompts the addressees to voice their own choices, if they have any.

¹¹³ Since this is a face-to-face interaction, some visual signs, which are not available to the researcher, might have been given to the incipient addressees.

addressed recipient. The other is to tell the trouble-source speaker that he has understood the prior utterance not as an invitation to voice his own choice, but as a request for confirmation of what Yoshida is about to order on his behalf.

The other addressee, Togashi, on the other hand, responds to it as an invitation (line 32). This makes Ishigaki reanalyze the question, and immediately he produces a revised version of his response which sides with the one Togashi has given. Upon the fulfilment of this confirmatory question and answer sequence, Yoshida returns to the suspended activity with the waitress and completes the order at line 34.

Two more instances should suffice in order to demonstrate the variety of workings of repair on unexpressed utterance elements. This time, the repair initiator is composed of the locative interrogative *doko* ‘where’ and the locative case particle *ni*. In (5-6), Togashi’s story is touched off by some previous talk about sending abroad raw seafood that was not fresh, and how it would cause a disaster at customs.

- (5-6) Yakiniku07-12:46:1330-1356:1345 [Ecuador Airport]
- 1330Y °ya° awabi z- no >sutēki<=
no abalone of steak
‘°No° ((it’s rather)) an abalone z- >steak<=’
- 1331? =°°n°°
‘=°°Mm°°’
- 1332 (0.2)
- 1333Y (>°mitaina yan°<)
something-like COP
‘(>°something like that, y’see°<’
- 1334T (are mo/a demo) tsūkan tōri (ni)£↑k ↑so ya na:..£=
that-one too oh but customs pass difficult seem COP FP
‘(Those, too/Oh but ((they))) seem difficult to pass through £↑customs, ↑((I)) suppo:se.£=’
- 1335Y =°↓n: [:°
‘=°↓Mm h[m:°’
- 1336T [a i- (0.3) [so(h)re(h)de(h)omoi[>dashi ta=
oh that by remember PAST
‘[Oh i- (0.3) [th(h)a(h)t(h)’s reminded [>me of=’
- 1337Y? [°↓aa° |
‘[°↓Oh°’
- 1338Y [°°n°°
‘[°°Mm°°’
- 1339T =nanka< mu*ka*tsuku hanashi o.
like humiliating story ACC
‘=like<a h*u*miliating story.’
- 1340 (0.3)
- 1341F fu[m?
‘Yea[h?’

1342Y [(°watta n no°°)=
 split N FP
 ‘[(°((It)) was split°°)’
 1343T-> =e? iya ano:, [(0.4)] mae shi:- shucchō it ta toki ni:,
 eh no uh before business-trip go PAST time at
 ‘=Eh? no uh:, [(0.4)] when I went on a busi:- business trip before,’
 1344? [((Sniff))]
 1345F=> n, [<doko ni?>
 ‘Mm, [<where to?>’
 1346T [kanada kara:,
 ‘[From Canada:,’
 1347 (0.6)
 1348F n[:
 ‘Mm [hm’
 1349T-> [a:, a nanbē to samarino.
 oh oh South America and ((San Marino?))
 ‘[Oh:, oh South America and (San Marino).’
 1350F °n:°
 ‘°Mm hm°’
 1351 (0.2)
 1352T ↑kana↓da kara:,
 ‘From ↑Cana↓da:,’
 1353 (0.4)
 1354T tekisasu: no- toranjitto de,
 Texas of transit by
 ‘With a transit in- Texas, and’
 1355F fu[n
 ‘Yea[h’
 1356T [fe(h)kuadoru >tsui< ta ra iki:nari yobitsukerare ta to yūf.
 Ecuador arrive PAST when unexpectedly get-called-for PAST QUOT say
 ‘[£when ((I)) arrived in E(h)cuador, ((I)) got called for unexpe:ctedly, that’s the story£.’

The entry into the story is marked by a classic example of a “story-preface” at lines 1336/1339 (Sacks 1974; Jefferson 1978: 220-228; Goodwin 1984; Schegloff 2007). As Sacks (*ibid.*: 340-344) observes, a story preface has a package of several components within a single utterance: such as “an offer to tell or a request for a chance to tell the ... story; an initial characterization of it; some reference to the time of the story events’ occurrence” (*ibid.*: 340). Consequently, it can achieve multiple tasks associated with the entry into a story. It provides information by which recipients can determine whether they know the story or not; it gives recipients a clue as to what sort of story is about to unfold and accordingly what sort of response will be sought upon the completion of the story; it may emphasise the freshness and the newness of the story by referring to the recent occurrence of the events. Above all, the most important interactional task is to ask the recipient for permission to precede into a story, that is, permission to hold the speakership longer than the

normative turn-taking allowance of “one turn at a time” (Cf. Sacks, *et al.* 1974). This means that once they have agreed to give such permission (as Fumi does at line 1341), recipients of a story withhold any substantial response until the end of the story. One exception that Sacks (*op. cit.*: 344-345) mentions is other-initiation of repair,¹¹⁴ which is what Fumi does in our target line (line 1345).

Fumi’s repair initiation operates on the first move of the story which provides some background information for temporalizing the event to be told as a climax of the story: *mae shi:- shucchō it ta toki ni*, ‘when I went on a busi:- business trip before’. After acknowledging the information provided so far with a brief receipt token *n* ‘mm’, Fumi does not let the story-teller simply go on. Instead, she asks him to specify the destination of the business trip not revealed in the prior turn, which would be another constituent of relevant background information, the location of the event. By asking for the location in the form of repair, Fumi seems to speculate that the information is *not* going to be given in the course of the story. However, in overlap with the repair initiation, the teller does start to name the places that he called at on the way to the location of the scene in the climax (Cf. “place-indexical connectors” in Sacks 1986: 131-134). Each of the simultaneous turns are attended to and addressed by their respective recipients: Fumi issues a go-ahead, abandoning her repair initiation (line 1348); Togashi the story-teller at line 1349 self-interrupts during the listing of the places with an indication of the shift of orientation *a*; *a* ‘oh:, oh’ and inserts the general area of the trip as a repair solution (notice that in formulating the locations the teller “pans out”, or makes a shift in “granularity” [Schegloff 2000c], which highlights the backgroundness of this component within the telling). Upon the provision of the receipt of the repair by Fumi (line 1350), the teller starts the listing afresh and this time he reaches the story climax.

The last case to examine in this section provides an instance of [candidate understanding + case particle] formats.

(5-7) Yakiniku01-04:20:569-588:580 [Toga-chan]

Two prospective participants of the occasion, Togashi and Ishigaki, have not yet turned up.

569Y °togashi san nanka hayaku ki ↑sō ↓na (mon ya kedo na:.)°
 ((name)) TITLE like early come be-likely-to COP thing COP but FP
 °‘A person like Togashi-san would have come ↑ear↓ly (I gue:ss.)’°

¹¹⁴ Nonetheless, Schegloff (2000a: 213-216) shows that other-initiation of repair still tends to be deferred from next-turn position relative to a trouble-source, and located by reference to episodes within the larger-unit-in-progress, in this case, a story.

570 (0.2)
 571N [↑n?
 ‘[↑Huh?’
 572Y [osssoi na: togashi- toga chan.
 late FP ((name)) ((name)) TITLE
 ‘[((He’s)) sso late, Togashi- Toga-chan.’
 573 (0.4)
 574Y *hhuh [to(h)*ga fchanf.
 ‘*hhuh [To(h)*ga-fchanf.’
 575F [nne:
 FP
 ‘[That’s right, isn’t it.’
 576 (0.5)
 577N-> [matteru no kana:..
 be-waiting N Q
 ‘[((He))’s waiting ((for Ø)), ((I)) wonder.’
 578F [((Mouth-full)) °osoi yo ne°.
 late FP FP
 ‘(((Mouth-full)) °Late, aren’t they°.’
 579 (2.0)
 580Y=> ishigaki san o?
 ((name)) TITLE ACC
 ‘((Waiting)) for Ishigaki-san?’
 581 (.)
 582N-> °↓n:°
 °↓Mm hm°
 583 (0.8)
 584F jiko toka ja nai yo ne:..
 accident something-like COP NEG FP FP
 ‘It’s not an accident or something like that, is it.’
 585 (0.2)
 586Y [to o↑mou n da ↓kedo:..
 QUOT think NCOP but
 ‘[((I)) don’t ↑think ↓so, but.’
 587N [(>°yappa°<) chigau to omou ↑kedo ↓na::[:?
 likewise different QUOT think bu FP
 ‘[(>°No°<) ((I)) don’t think it is likely, ↓thou::[:gh.’
 588F [(°°kka°°)
 ‘[(°°I see°°)’

At line 577, Naya makes a guess as to the reason for the delay of the two late-comers, in which both the subject and the object of the verb *matteru* ‘be waiting’ are unexpressed. The most reasonable interpretation of the subject is the same referent as in the just-preceding talk, i.e., Togashi, who is jokingly nicknamed Toga-chan by Yoshida. On the other hand, there is no grammatical clue to suggest what the missing object is, or indeed whether it is even a person or not. Since there are two people who have yet to turn up, it would also

seem reasonable to interpret the missing object as the other person, i.e., Ishigaki. However, Yoshida, one of the recipients of Naya's utterance, expressly brings up Ishigaki's name as a candidate for the unexpressed referent, even after the 2-second pause in line 579. Perhaps because it is designed as a self-question, no one takes up Naya's remark in the rather long silence. This silence also gives Naya an opportunity to provide the missing referent herself, in the case she knows in advance anything about the delay of the two: for example, "He is waiting for a business call to come". By initiating repair with this particular format, Yoshida shows that he has heard exactly what Naya has said though he did not respond immediately, and also invites her to "correct" him when she has any information unknown to him (Cf. "the correction-invitation device" in Sacks 1992, vol.1:21-25, Lecture 3, Fall 1964).

The analysis of the four cases in this section has illustrated that repair on unexpressed utterance elements is not being mobilized only for retrieving the missing element. It can emphasize that the missing information is of particular importance from the perspective of the recipient; it can convey a recipient's particular understanding of an ambiguous utterance; it can invite the speaker to provide a certain kind of information otherwise he or she may not give the information voluntarily.

It is obvious that a grammatically elliptic sentence is not always subject to repair on unexpressed utterance elements. Rather, an utterance is *treated as such* by the very use of this repair, that is to say, an utterance whose key element is missing from a recipient perspective.

5.4. Concluding remarks

The phenomenon of "ellipsis", "zero-anaphora", or "pro-drop" and its reference-tracking procedures in Japanese has attracted the interest of many linguists (Clancy 1992; Hinds 1984; Shibatani 1990: 360-367; Tsujimura 1996: 212-215; Ono and Thompson 1997; Hayashi, Mori and Takagi 2002: 96-7, Nariyama 2003). Yet little attention seems to have been paid to the fact that there is a backup device, namely, repair on unexpressed utterance elements, available to conversationalists in case the reference-tracking should go astray. Presumably one reason for the lack of academic attention is because this sort of repair involves an interactional process for establishing elliptical references in which both the speaker and the recipient of unexpressed references are allotted significant roles. It may also be that the *failure* or *inefficiency* of reference-tracking procedures that linguists seek is a prerequisite for the exercise of the repair. Yet, as we have seen, recipients in the real world do find some unexpressed references problematic. Repair on unexpressed

utterance elements provides a valuable device and resource for such recipients to achieve the grammatical practice of ellipsis in Japanese,¹¹⁵ as well as a variety of interactional jobs of the moment.

¹¹⁵ This sort of repair on unexpressed utterance elements may not be unique to Japanese. For example, Shibatani (1990:363-367) notes that Korean is one of the languages along with Japanese that have the highest frequency of ellipsis. Indeed, a similar instance of repair on ellipsis (more specifically, a “candidate understanding” type) in Korean is provided by Kim (1993; see also Kim 2001), though he does not identify it as such (the words enclosed by ‘#’ in the English gloss are originally zero-marked in the Korean lines).

Kim 1993:11 Ex (5)

- | | | |
|---|-----|---|
| 1 | H-> | ey. k//u-- kuntey ku-- ku mal -ul ku mal -ul (.) |
| | | yes that but that that phrase-ACC that phrase-ACC |
| 2 | -> | taykay--ku-- ihay -lul mos -ha-te -lakwu -yo, |
| | | usually that understanding-ACC not:able-do-RETRO-QUOT-POL |
| | | ‘Right. That- but that- I found #people# could not understand that phrase.’ |
| 3 | B | [uhhaha |
| 4 | C | [huhuhu |
| 5 | B=> | salam -tul-i yo? |
| | | people-PL-NOM-POL |
| | | ‘People #couldn’t understand it#?’ |
| 6 | H-> | yey. |
| | | ‘Yes’ |
| 7 | | (1.0) |
| 8 | H | ku selmyeng -ul ha-lla kulay -to... |
| | | that expression-ACC do-INTENT do:such-CONSESS |
| | | ‘Even though #I# tried to explain that...’ |

According to the English translation, the subject in the trouble-source turn is originally absent, whose candidate understanding “people” is provided and confirmed through a repair sequence at lines 5 and 6. It is also common in Japanese that such a generic referent is left unexpressed.

Chapter 6

A Prolonged Repair Sequence and Participants' "Knowledgeability"

6.1. Introduction

The collection of other-initiated repair in my dataset demonstrates that the vast majority of troubles involved there are solved, or are addressed but then abandoned, within three successive initiation–solution pairs. Recall, for example, extract (4-1) cited at the beginning of Chapter 1. A single slip of the tongue *kyō* ‘today’ is corrected into *ashita* ‘tomorrow’ through as many as three repair initiations, the first attempt failing, the second being successful and the third for confirmation. That at least one attempt fails in getting a proper solution is a typical pattern in a sequence with multiple repair attempts (Schegloff 2000a: 212-213).

(6-1) Shakuji05:17:466-474:468 [Today-Tomorrow]

“TS”, “I”, “R”, “Resum” stand for “trouble-source”, “repair initiation”, “repair solution/outcome”, and “resumption of the main sequence”, respectively.

466Y	TS	dō darō ne, <u>kyō</u> kaettekun no wa ne:: yoru hachiji ka kuji? how COP(PRES) FP today come-back N TOP FP night eight or nine ‘What do you think, is it at eight or nine in the evening that ((he)) is coming back <u>today</u> ?’
467		(0.2)
468K	I1	e? ‘Eh?’
469Y	R1	hachiji ka kuji dak [ke (>kyō<) eight-o’clock or nine-o’clock COP Q today ‘At eight or nine, am I [correct? (>today<)]
470K	I2	[kyō:?=
471Y	R2	‘[Today?]=’ =uun ashita= ‘=No tomorrow=’
472K	I3	=ashita?= ‘=Tomorrow?='
473Y	R3	=n[: ‘=Mm [hm’
474K	Resum	[so, ashita wa sō. so tomorrow TOP so ‘[((That’s)) correct, tomorrow ((will be)) like that.’

Schegloff (*ibid.*) himself alludes to the same tendency of “three attempts of repair initiation and no more” in English. In both languages, troubles in the process of producing and receiving talk tend to be resolved fairly quickly.

There is an interactional motivation for this relatively quick resolution of troubles. In dealing with a trouble, the interactants have to suspend whatever they are talking about and doing through the talk at that time. The progressivity of the ‘main’ activity of the moment is disrupted in favour of a ‘side’ (Jefferson 1972) activity of repair. Yet they preserve their orientations to the exact moment when the digression occurs, to which they do come back once the trouble has been solved. So, for instance, when repair is initiated on a first pair part of an adjacency pair, as in the extract above, its second pair part that has been due next is still expected to come after the repair activity. That is what Kyoko provides at line 474 on emerging from the repair sequence. Repair is treated as somehow subordinate to the main activity, and maintaining the progressivity of the main talk is the interactants’ primary concern (Schegloff 1979: 267-269).

Nonetheless, I have come across a particular case which seems to deviate from this tendency. Not only does the sequence involve more than three repair initiations by a single person on a single repairable, but it also continues even after the trouble has been settled, with the addition of some trouble-related talk. Two questions are immediately aroused. 1) How is the sequence organized so that it is able to get expanded beyond the normative length of three sets of initiation–repair pairs? And, 2) why do the participants choose to continue the repair activity instead of keeping it to its minimum length and returning to the ‘main’ activity? The first question addresses the structural aspects of the sequence, while the second concerns an action *other than* repairing a trouble-source that is implemented through the repair activity. We shall seek an answer to each question in 6.3 and 6.4 respectively.

The method employed in this chapter is a so-called “single-case analysis” (Schegloff 1987c: 101-103, in particular; Hayashi, *et al.* 2002: 115, footnote 2). In the previous two chapters, we have built up our arguments by using collections of data segments, drawing out orderliness across the cases. Single-case analyses, in contrast, are frequently conducted in order to examine deviant cases. Deviant cases are of importance because they show us interactional contexts in which normative practices are ostensibly distorted. This, however, does not mean that the participants ignore what they are expected to do. Rather, we often end up discovering that the normative practices are modified or cast aside because of certain interactional contingencies of the moment. The careful examination of deviant cases thus

helps us to see that any diversion from normativeness occurs for a cause, and that order is still being maintained. Single-case analyses are a useful means for that mode of analysis.

In examining the single episode of other-initiated repair, we make use of what we have found and established so far in Chapter 4. The findings in the previous chapter constitute some of the basic tools for digging into the case and uncovering how and why it is gone deviant. Our attempt in this chapter will thus serve as a sort of a model case for exploring the extended interactional environment of other-initiated repair.

6.2. The case in point

The fragment in point is taken from a chat over lunch between four female friends, Erika, Izumi, Juri, and Satomi. It goes along for about 1 minute 20 seconds, over 130 transcript lines. Prior to the excerpt, Erika's enthusiasm about having visited England to see her favourite football player evokes a response of great amazement from the others. Another participant, Satomi, then names her own favourite actor, whom she calls *Fujiki Naoto* (line 1135). Triggered by the mention of the name, a sort of dispute flares up regarding whether the actor's first name is *Naoto* or *Naohito* (both can be written with the same Kanji characters). The dispute starts as a 'regular' other-initiated repair (from line 1141 onwards) which then turns out to be an excessively long sequence. Here is the whole exchange.

(6-2) TL03:39-44:1128-1259 [The Case in Point]

- 1128S a:rashi mo sē↑kin ↓fan no hito ↓ga iru yo: [(nanka),
I too recently fan of person NOM exist FP like
'I: too ↑recently became a ↓fan of ↓somebo:dy [(like),'
1129I [ɛ↓u:nɛ
'[ɛ↓Mm hmɛ'
1130 (.)
1131S sugo:i, (.) mezu[rashiku.
very-much unlikely
'very mu:ch, (.) unlikely [to me.'
1132I [ɛa sō:ɛ=
'[ɛOh is it soɛ=
1133S =>yut tak ke.<
say PAST Q
'=>Did ((I)) tell ((you)).<
1134 (0.3)
1135S nanka! (0.3) (°fuch-°) [fuji- (.) fujiki naoto tte yū hito.

like ((actor)) QUOT say person
 ‘Like! (0.3) The person ((whose name is)) (°fuch-°) [Fuji- (.) Fujiki Naoto.’
 1136J? [(°yo-°)
 1137 (0.4)
 1138J ↑a:[: : : ↓ : °°
 ‘↑Oh:[↓:°°’
 1139S [>shit↑teru? [(shi)tteru?<
 know know
 ‘[>↑Know of ((him))? [(Kno)w of ((him))]?<’
 1140 (.)
 1141I ne- e?
 ‘Ne- Eh?’
 1142 (0.4)
 1143S fuji[ki naoto tte yū
 ((actor)) QUOT say
 ‘((An actor)) called Fuji[ki Naoto’
 1144J [((Sing-song)) chotto shi:n[↑pa::i [no hito [ya ne(eh).
 a-little worried of person COP FP
 ‘[The one famous for ((sing-song)) “((I’m)) little bit wo:[ried ((about you))” [isn’t [he(eh).’
 1145I [un | |
 ‘[Yah’
 1146S [°°huh°° [n↑e:↓fu:]=
 1147I [fu- fu-]=
 1148I =[ye?
 ‘=[Eh?’
 1149J =[ahahh [.h
 1150I [<fuji-ki> naohito ja na[kut [(te?)
 COP NEG but
 ‘[Not <Fuji-ki> Naohito, [is [he?’
 1151S [°n-° [a naoto tte=
 mm oh ((name))QUOT
 ‘[°M-° [oh Naoto is=
 1152J [°°naohi-°°
 1153S =yū [n dat te!=
 say N COP FP
 ‘=the right [name, so ((I)) heard!=’
 1154I [nao-
 1155J =a! (.) ↑so[o ↓na n da:..
 oh so COP N COP
 ‘=Oh! (.) is [↑that ↓so:.’
 1156S [°un un un°
 ‘[°Yah yah yah°’
 1157 (0.2)
 1158J °na(h)ohito da to [omotte[ta°.
 ((name)) COP QUOT think PAST
 ‘°((I)) thought ((he was)) [Na(h)ohi[to°.’
 1159S [nao- [naoto [°tte yutte ta<<(atakushi) mo=
 ((name))QUOT say PAST I too

[illegible]

1180 (0.3)
 1181S pēji mitai no: ni [((complainingly)) °naoto tte=
 page like thing on ((name)) QUOT
 ‘on a ((fan’s)) page or something like that [((complainingly)) °was written=
 1182I [°n:°
 ‘[°Mm:°
 1183S =kaite[at ta yōna kigasuru.°
 being-written PAST like feel
 ‘=the name Naoto [as far as ((I)) remember.°
 1184I [a honto:?
 ‘[Oh really:?’
 1185I nanka sa, i- ah hihntānetto kara [hag a[no:,
 like FP internet from uh
 ‘Y’know what? i- from the ah hihnternet [hag u[h:’
 1186S [°↑a?° [°naohito?°=
 ‘[°↑Oh?° [°Naohito?°=
 1187I =sha- (.) sha[shin o-
 picture ACC
 ‘=((I got his)) pi- (.) pi[cture-’
 1188S [↑naohito naohi↓to.
 ‘[((It’s)) ↑Naohito Naohi↓to.’
 1189 (.)
 1190S ↓are! atashi naoto [ttut ↑ta ima.
 hey I ((name)) QUOT-say PAST now
 ‘↓Hey! did I say Naoto [right now.’
 1191I [nao- <<u:n,=
 ‘[Nao- <<Yea:h,=
 1192I =nao[to tte yut ta[(ah) hah hah hah
 ((name)) QUOT say PAST
 ‘=((you)) said [Naoto [ah hah hah hah’
 1193E [he he he he [heheh
 1194J [°ahhh°
 1195 (.)
 1196I .hhh [£zutto-£ .h
 for-long
 ‘.hhh [£You’ve been-£ .h’
 1197S [↑nao↓to tte yomu yo ne=
 ((name)) QUOT read FP FP
 ‘((The Chinese characters)) are read as ↑Nao↓to, aren’t they,=
 1198S =[futsū.
 ‘=[normally.’
 1199I [£un sō [so, dakara:£ hah hah
 yeah so so that’s-why
 ‘[£Yeah that’s [right, that’s why:£ hah hah’
 1200S [da atashi mo sō omottete:,=
 that’s-why I also so think(CONT)
 ‘[That’s why I got ((it)) wrong, and:’
 1201I =£sō, [sō omotte ta ra=

so so think PAST and-then
 ‘=£Right, [that’s how ((I)) remembered too and then=
 1202S [↑hah hahn
 1203I =nao[hito tte naoshi£ <<*nhh* [de(h)sho(oh)?=
 ((name)) QUOT correct COP(PRES)
 ‘=[((somebody)) corrected ((me)) as Naohi£ <<*nhh* [I was ri(h)ght, wa(h)sn’t I?=
 1204S [£na o hi to na o hi ↓to [°omou°.£
 ((name)) ((name)) QUOT think
 ‘[£Naohito Naohi↓to [°((I)) think°.£’
 1205J [°a(hh)°
 ‘[°Oh(hh)°’
 1206I =£desho[(oh)£
 COP(PRES)
 ‘=£Wasn’t [I(hh)£’
 1207J [sok ka sok [ka.
 so Q so Q
 ‘[Right righ[t.’
 1208E [°°n!, n[:°°
 ‘[°°Mm!, mm[:°°’
 1209I [.hhh=
 1210S =°hhh [huh°
 1211I [°n:° shitteru yo?
 mm know FP
 ‘[°Mm:° ((I)) know of ((him)) y’see?’
 1212 (0.4)
 1213S [°un un° [((sniff))
 ‘[°Yeah yeah° [((sniff))’
 1214I [kat- da- [zuibun mae ni [sono intānetto kara=
 quite long-time-ago uhm internet from
 ‘[Kat- da- [long long time ago [uhm from the Internet=’
 1215S [(°n° ↑han↓ka:se-)
 ‘[(°Yeah° ↑han↓ka:se-’
 1216I =shashin tottekite: ano:,
 picture download(CONT) uh
 ‘=((I)) downloaded ((his)) picture a.nd uh:’
 1217 (0.3)
 1218I kabegami ni shitete:,=
 wallpaper as do(CONT)
 ‘put ((it)) on my PC screen, a.nd,=’
 1219I =[de sore[de:,
 ‘=[and th[e:n,’
 1220E [°o:° |
 ‘[°Wo:w°’
 1221S [shite ta n [ya*(ah) hahah*
 do PAST N FP
 ‘[Did ((you)) do [tha*(ah) hahah*’
 1222I [kono- kono hito(oh) hahh=
 this this person

1223I =hah [hah hah [hah hah
 1224S [heh hah [hah hah [hah
 1225J [.hhh [n, [saratto=
 mm casually
 ‘[.hhh [Mm, [rather casually=
 1226E [°oo[:°
 ‘[°Wowo[:w°
 1227S [.hhhh
 1228J =i[t ta ne(ehh) [°hehehh°
 say PAST FP
 ‘=((she)) made [a confession, di(hih)dn’t ((she)) [°hehehh°
 1229S [ɛ m ɔ [↓chō fan jan.ɛ [huh]=
 INT so fan COP(NEG)
 ‘[ɛ((You’re)) a so: [↓big fan ((of him)), aren’tchu.ɛ [huh]=
 1230I [°hah hah hah° [.hh]=
 1231S =[.hh huh huh huh [.hh [↑hah hah [.hh
 1232I =[↑hah ↓hah hah .hh da[ka(h)ra(ah) [.hhh [de nao==
 that’s-why and
 ‘=[↑hah ↓hah hah .hh Tha(h)t’s wh(ah) [.hhh [And Nao==
 1233I =naoto [naoto tte itte ta ↑ra, s-kaisha no hito ni=
 ((name)) ((name)) QUOT say PAST and-then company of person by
 ‘=((I kept)) calling ((him)) “Naoto, [Naoto”, and ↑so s-my colleague in the office=
 1234? [((Clap))
 1235I =na[↑ohi↓to da yo: to[ka itte so[re=
 ((name)) COP FP QUOT-like say that
 ‘=said like “((It))’s Na[↑ohi↓to, I tell [ya, ((are [you]))”=
 1236S [na o hi to na o hi [to to [omou.
 ((name)) ((name)) QUOT think
 ‘[Naohito Naohi[to ((I)) [think.’
 1237J [°n↓ :° |
 ‘[°Mm↓ :°
 1238E [°n :°
 ‘[°Mm :°
 1239I =hontoni su(h) [ki na no]=
 really like COP FP
 ‘=really his fa(h)[n like that?”=
 1240S [go(h)me(h)n]
 ‘[So(h)rr(h)y]
 1241I =mi(h)ta(h)i(h) [na(ah) [hah hah hah .hh=
 something-like-that
 ‘=so(h)methi(h)ng li(h)ke [tha(ah) [hah hah hah .hh=
 1242E [hahahah [hah hah hah hah
 1243S [°heh° .hh [.hh .hh .hhh
 1244I =i(h) [wa(h)re(h) [ta(ah) [.hhh [huhun
 be-told PAST
 ‘=((I)) [wa(h)s to(h)[ld(h) [hhh [huhun
 1245S [fa(h)tashi [mo to[modachi [ni- t-ɛ,=

1246J I too friend to
 1247S ‘[ɛI(h) [too once taught a fr̥iend of [mi- t-ɛ,=
 1248I [°tahh°
 1249 =((teasingly)) nao[hito da yo [doka it(=te)
 1250I ((name)) COP FP QUOT-like say
 1251S ‘=“((teasingly)) ((It))’s Nao[hito, I tell ya” [or some(thin)
 1252J [.hhh [ah huh hun
 1253I (.)
 1254E so(h)o [↑so ↓na n- [.hhh
 1255I so so COP N
 1256J ‘Ri(h)ght [↑that’s ↓righ- [hhh
 1257S [°n° naoto [tte omou yon [ne.
 1258I mm ((name)) QUOT think FP FP
 1259J ‘[°Mm° ((people)) easily think ((it)) as [Naoto, [do they.’
 1260S [n :
 1261I ‘[Mm[:’
 1262J [ɛn :ɛ=
 1263I ‘[ɛMm:ɛ=
 1264E =e sonna kakkoī ↓no.
 1265I eh that handsome FP
 1266J ‘=Eh, ((is he)) that handsome.’
 1267S kakkoī yo [<a-a, ano:::
 1268I handsome FP oh oh uh
 1269J ‘He is, [<<oh-oh, uh:::’
 1270S [kakkuī *yo::*
 1271I handsome FP
 1272J ‘[((He is)) handsome, *you’ll see::*’
 1273I (0.6)
 1274E kamera no: senden ima sh- (0.3) [shīemu deteru yo ne
 1275I camera of ad now commercial-film be-on FP FP
 1276J ‘((he)) is now on an ad sh- (0.3) [on a commercial of a camera, isn’t ((he))’
 1277S [°°n-°°
 1278I ‘[°°Mm-°°’

For the purpose of the discussion to follow, I propose to break up the extract into three phases: a) Phase 1: from the beginning to line 1162; b) Phase 2: from 1163 to 1210; c) Phase 3: from 1211 to 1253. From 1254 onward, the 'main' topical thread which has been suspended is resumed. The boundaries between the phases are somehow recognisable from the participants' own orientations toward them. Furthermore, distinctive repair-related actions are observed in each phase. The partition of the sequence as proposed above will thus be justified as the analysis proceeds. The following section (6.3) studies the three phases in turn in order to see the temporal development of the sequence.

6.3. The structure of the prolonged repair sequence

6.3.1. Phase 1: The ‘ordinary’ repair procedure

While it eventually turns out to be exceptionally long, the initial stage of the sequence unfolds similarly to that of ordinary other-initiated repair. The trouble-source is addressed and dealt with by means of its normative procedure. The initial stage, Phase 1, is reproduced below. Satomi is the trouble-source speaker, and Izumi the main repair-initiating party. Our focus here is the moves that those two participants take vis-à-vis the repair activity. Notice also the contrast between Izumi and another trouble-source recipient Juri who employs different tactics toward the trouble-source and the repair solution.

- (6-3) TL03:1128-1162 [Phase 1]
- 1128S a:rashi mo sē↑kin ↓fan no hito ↓ga iru yo: [(nanka),
I too recently fan of person NOM exist FP like
‘I: too ↑recently became a ↓fan of ↓somebody (like),’
- 1129I [ɛ↓u:nɛ
‘[ɛ↓Mm hmɛ’
- 1130 (.)
- 1131S sugo:i, (.) mezu[rashiku.
very-much unlikely
‘very much, (.) unlikely [to me.]’
- 1132I [ɛa sō:ɛ=
‘[ɛOh is it so?=
1133S =>yut tak ke.<
say PAST Q
‘=>Did ((I)) tell ((you)).<’
- 1134 (0.3)
- 1135S-> nanka! (0.3) (°fuch-°) [fuji- (.) fujiki naoto tte yū hito.
like ((actor)) QUOT say person
‘Like! (0.3) The person ((whose name is)) (°fuch-°) [Fuji- (.) Fujiki Naoto.]’
- 1136J? [(°yo-°)
- 1137 (0.4)
- 1138J ↑a:[: : : [↓ : °°
‘↑Oh:[↓:°°’
- 1139S [>shit↑teru? [(shi)tteru?<
know know
‘[>↑Know of ((him))? [(Kno)w of ((him))]?<’
- 1140 (.)
- 1141I=> ne- e?
‘Ne- Eh?’
- 1142 (0.4)

Preceded by two “pre-announcements” (Schegloff 1995:33-41; Terasaki 2004) at lines 1128/1131

and 1133¹¹⁶, the name of Satomi's favourite actor is announced at line 1135. Such a person reference normatively elicits a sign of recognition or non-recognition from its recipient. This is even so in the case at hand, given that the referent is supposed to be a celebrity, even though Satomi formatted the person reference as a "non-recognitional form" (Sacks and Schegloff 1979:17) by framing it with *X te yuu hito*, or 'the person called X'. Juri, on the one hand, gives a straightforward recognition at line 1138 ↑*a*:::↓.°° '↑Oh:::↓.°°', with no indication of trouble whatsoever (and later at 1144, invited by Satomi's question at 1139, she takes a step further to demonstrate that she recognises him by citing the commercial song he sings). Izumi, on the other hand, does not show either recognition or non-recognition. She initiates repair instead. Since the repair-initiation is behind Juri's sequentially appropriate response to the target turn (thus 'dislocated' from its normative next-turn position [Schegloff 2000a]) and the talk has already been advanced along Juri's line, Izumi uses a cut-off before uttering an open class repair initiator. Cuts-off such as this and the lines 1147/8 seem to be the manifestation of 'urgency', so to speak, and have a stronger pressure to intercept the talk which has been moving on. Indeed, Satomi turns to Izumi to give her a repair solution at line 1143.

The repetition of the trouble-source as a repair solution is registered by Izumi with a minimal receipt token *un* 'yah' (line 1145). The minimal receipt nicely conveys two contradictory messages, that she does identify the actor, and that nonetheless something else still troubles her in producing an overt recognition response. In the meantime, the conversation is again moving away between Juri and Satomi. Izumi thus cuts in with a multiple cut-off (lines 1147/8), and then proceeds to specify the nature of the trouble that she has by using a "candidate understanding" repair initiator (line 1150).

The candidate solution to the trouble-source offered by Izumi is explicitly disconfirmed by its original speaker. In disconfirming the offered solution, Satomi vindicates her own version by framing it, with the *X te yū n datte* 'it is called X, so I heard' format, as that somebody (or something) else has informed her so. The correctness of her version is further emphasized by the subsequent remark (lines 1159/61) that she once made the same mistake herself. There underlies a claim that she has gone through a similar experience and that is why she came to know the right answer.

The second repair proper (lines 1151/53) is receipted as new information by Juri (line 1155) with a *sō* token accompanied by a "change-of-state" token *a* (Heritage 1984b; Tanaka 2002) which, as *sō*

¹¹⁶ We will leave to section 6.4.1 detailed discussions on the relevance of those pre-announcements.

tokens normatively do, elicits a confirming response by the prior speaker. Regularly, it is the repair-initiating party who should receipt a repair outcome: in this case, Izumi. But here, another participant, Juri, does this action. This is rather striking because she showed no signs of trouble when the trouble-source was first mentioned. By deploying an *a+sō* token in this position, she retrospectively reveals that she was in fact aware of the trouble in the first place but did not attempt to initiate repair on it. Her subsequent remarks at lines 1158 and 1160, and the use of the past-tense verb *omotte ta* ‘I thought’ in the former, in particular, suggests that the past knowledge she had has now been corrected thanks to the repair. Her remarks thus serve as a repair success marker.

Although it seems complicated with some intervening exchanges, the sequence at this stage is fundamentally like that of ordinary other-initiated repair. The trouble is attended to through the first repair initiation and a solution to it (which turns out to be unsuccessful), the second initiation (more specific or ‘stronger’ than the first; see Section 4.9) and another solution, along with a repair success marker. What makes this sequence particularly distinctive from ordinary repair sequences is that the repair-initiating party Izumi has not issued a repair success marker. Indeed, as we shall see in the next subsection, she does not accept it yet. How can she then continue the repair activity when another recipient claims the repair being successful?

6.3.2. Phase 2: Repair persistence, repair resistance, and the solution

One piece of evidence that the 0.4 second pause at line 1162 (at the end of Phase 1) is a possible boundary of the repair sequence that has been underway is provided by Erika at line 1164. During Phase 1 she has not taken an active part in the talk. We now see that it was because of her lack of knowledge about the actor. Unfamiliar with him, she asks for more information. She places the question at the moment when she orients to the side sequence of repair being closed. However, in overlap with Erika’s question, Izumi produces an *a+sō* token with rising intonation which serves as an overt disagreement on the decision that Satomi has given. She in a sense remains behind in the middle of the repair sequence. So, there are potentially two competing directions of talk, one of which Satomi, the main addressee of both the turns, must choose to follow. To anticipate the upshot, she picks up Erika’s topical thread, but Izumi does not give up hers either. The talk eventually verges toward the place where Izumi tries to direct it. The main focus of Phase 2 is thus how Izumi manages to re-initiate a repair sequence on the repairable whose decisive solution has been confirmed by its speaker and receipted successful by

another recipient. We also examine how the trouble comes to its final solution in course of time.

(6-4) TL03:1162-1210 [Phase 2]

1163I-> [a ↑sō ↓na no:?=
oh so COP FP
‘[Oh is ↑it ((really)) ↓so:?=’

1164E [uta utai no hito?]=
song sing of person
‘[((Is he)) a singer?]=’

1165S =kakkuī nen.
handsome FP
‘=((He’s just)) handsome.’

1166 (.)

1167S °e!°=
‘°Eh!°=’

1168E =°hon[to°
‘=°Rea[lly°’

1169S [n::m haiyū: (0.2) to uta mo, uta:, uta- [n nanka:
mm-hm actor and song too sing sing mm like
‘[Mm::m ((he’s)) an actor (0.2) and also sings, song:, son- [mm like:’

1170E? [°°n°°
[°°Mm°°

1171I-> e:=
‘Eh:=’

1172S =manzai yatte ta kara °uta mo [utau?°
comedy play PAST because song too sing
‘=((he)) used to play comedy so °((he)) also [sings?°’

1173I [°n:°
[°Mm:°

1174 (0.5)

1175I=> e atashi ne, naoto da to omotte ta ra naohito tte
eh I FP ((name)) COP QUOT think PAST and-then ((name)) QUOT

1176 -> naosare ta kedo [na:.
be-corrected PAST but FP
‘Eh, I, y’know, thought ((he)) was Naoto and then was corrected as Naohito ((by somebody)),
[y’kno:w.’

1177E? [°°nn°°=

1178S-> =e! [, [(hunzoo) [fa:n,
eh but fan
‘=What! [, [(But) [fa:n,’

1179I-> [naohi[to da yo yappa[ri °tte°.
((name)) COP FP after-all QUOT
‘[((I was told)) “((He)) is Naohi[to definite[ly”.’

1180 (0.3)

1181S-> pēji mitai no: ni [((complainingly)) °naoto tte=
page like thing on ((name)) QUOT

‘on a ((fan’s)) page or something like that (((complainingly))) °was written=
 1182I [°n:°
 ‘[°Mm:°
 1183S-> =kaite[at ta yōna kigasuru.°
 being-written PAST like feel
 ‘=the name Naoto [as far as ((I)) remember.°’
 1184I-> [a honto:?
 ‘[Oh really:?’
 1185I-> nanka sa, i- ah hihntānetto kara [hag a[no:,
 like FP internet from uh
 ‘Y’know what? i- from the ah hihnternet [hag u[h:.’
 1186S=> [°↑a?° [°naohito?°=
 ‘[°↑Oh?° [°Naohito?°=
 1187I-> =sha- (.) sha[shin o-
 picture ACC
 ‘=((I got his)) pi- (.) pi[cture-’
 1188S=> [↑naohito naohi↓to.
 ‘[((It’s)) ↑Naohito Naohi↓to.’
 1189 (.)
 1190S ↓are! atashi naoto [ttut ↑ta ima.
 hey I ((name)) QUOT-say PAST now
 ‘↓Hey! did I say Naoto [right now.’
 1191I [nao- <<u:n,=
 ‘[Nao- <<Yea:h,=
 1192I =nao[to tte yut ta[(ah) hah hah hah
 ((name)) QUOT say PAST
 ‘=((you)) said [Naoto [ah hah hah hah’
 1193E [he he he he [heheh
 1194J [°ahhh°
 1195 (.)
 1196I .hhh [£zutto-£ .h
 for-long
 ‘.hhh [£You’ve been-£ .h’
 1197S [↑nao↓to tte yomu yo ne=
 ((name)) QUOT read FP FP
 ‘((The Chinese characters)) are read as ↑Nao↓to, aren’t they,=
 1198S =[futsū.
 ‘=[normally.’
 1199I [£un sō [so, dakara:£ hah hah
 yeah so so that’s-why
 ‘[£Yeah that’s [right, that’s why:£ hah hah’
 1200S [da atashi mo sō omottete:,=
 that’s-why I also so think(CONT)
 ‘[That’s why I got ((it)) wrong, and:’
 1201I =£sō, [sō omotte ta ra=
 so so think PAST and-then
 ‘=£Right, [that’s how ((I)) remembered too and then=
 1202S [↑hah hahn

1203I =nao[hito tte naoshiɸ <<*nhh* [de(h)sho(oh)?=
 ((name)) QUOT correct COP(PRES)
 ‘=[((somebody)) corrected ((me)) as Naohiɸ <<*nhh* [I was ri(h)ght, wa(h)sn’t I?=
 1204S [ɸna o hi to na o hi ↓to [°omou°.ɸ
 ((name)) ((name)) QUOT think
 ‘[ɸNaohito Naohi↓to [°((I)) think°.ɸ’
 1205J [°a(hh)°
 ‘[°Oh(hh)°’
 1206I =ɸdesho[(oh)ɸ
 COP(PRES)
 ‘=ɸWasn’t [I(hh)ɸ’
 1207J [sok ka sok [ka.
 so Q so Q
 ‘[Right righ[t.’
 1208E [°°n!, n[:°°
 ‘[°°Mm!, mm[:°°’
 1209I [.hhhh=
 1210S =°hhh [huh°

Although the exchange between Erika and Satomi from lines 1164 to 1172 also contains an interesting misunderstanding which is dealt with by repair, we are not scrutinizing it here. It should be enough to point out that between the overlapping talk by Erika and Izumi at lines 1163 and 1164, Satomi chooses the former to respond to. Thus, Izumi’s attempt to continue the repair activity has failed.

Izumi makes yet another attempt to stay on the repair activity at line 1171. This time, she cannot use a regular NTRI, for the object of the repair has become sequentially distant because of the exchange of Erika and Satomi. Instead, she employs an overt disagreement token *Eh*: (Hayashi 2009). Seizing a moment at which the ongoing talk of the other participants comes to end, she makes it clear what she has disagreed with (lines 1175, 76 and 1179). Thereupon, the repair is reinitiated.

How can we see the action Izumi implements here? I propose to name it “repair persistence”, a continuous attempt to operate repair on a trouble-source whose decisive solution has been offered by the trouble-source speaker. More concretely, I define it with reference to the following two features: (a) it occurs under the context in which the “strongest” repair initiator, a candidate understanding, has been declined as inappropriate by the trouble-source speaker; (b) it takes the form of a disagreement or challenge (Schegloff, *et al.* 1977) rather than other-initiation of repair.

Recall that Izumi uses a candidate understanding repair initiator at line 1150 in Phase 1, which is explicitly denied as incorrect by Satomi. Regular repair sequences are over at this moment. But what if the repair-initiating party has not been convinced? One thing that they can do is to persist repair further.

Because the “strongest” repair initiator has failed, a much stronger means, a disagreement or challenge, is called for. In this way, a repair sequence can be extended beyond its regular length.

In face to an overt challenge, the trouble-source speaker must either backdown to accept the correction or defend their version of the repairable. It is the latter that Satomi does at lines 1178, 1181, and 1183. I call such a defensive response to repair persistence “repair resistance”. From the trouble-source speaker’s point of view, she has already confirmed that her version is correct. By stating how she came across the ‘correct’ name of the actor in question, then, she implies the irrelevance of further repair initiation on the matter-at-hand.¹¹⁷

The occurrence of repair persistence-resistance pair, like any challenge-defense pair, has a risk to yield an endless argument. Indeed, Izumi starts to give another piece of evidence that warrants her stance at lines 1185/7. Her action of further persistence is not completed, fortunately, as Satomi cuts in the middle to show her sudden realisation that *Naohito*, Izumi’s version, is actually correct. So here at line 1188 the final repair solution is presented at last.

What follows (lines 1190 to 1210) is a so-called “post-trouble-resolution diagnosis” (Egbert 2004: 1475-1478):

After trouble resolution there is a position where interactants can—instead of continuing the suspended focus—engage in talk *about* the nature and source of the trouble (Schelogff, 1990-1993, 1995). These “diagnoses”—more informally referred to as “post mortems”—occur after trouble resolution and are used by participants to draw a connecting link between the trouble and some other feature involved in the interaction. (*Ibid.*: 1475, emphasis original)

Briefly, the following five things are accomplished through the diagnosis in this case.

Firstly, Satomi claims that she has been unconscious of insisting a wrong item though she knows the right one (lines 1190-1196). Thus, the innocent nature of the trouble is emphasised. Secondly, she also tries to establish a mutual consensus that the mistake is commonplace (lines 1197/8; notice, in

¹¹⁷ In fact, both repair persistence and repair resistance in this instance are accomplished through the citation of some supposedly reliable sources of the information. This point will be the main focus of the discussion in 6.4.3.

particular, the use of a tag-question-like form *yo ne*, ‘((they are)) ..., aren’t they’ and the word *futsu*, or ‘normally’). The point is confirmed by Izumi (lines 1199/1201/03). Thirdly, Izumi, in return, verifies her persistence of repair by repeatedly saying *deshoo*, ‘I was right, wasn’t I?’ (lines 1203 and 1206). Fourthly, the non-serious or laughable character of the extended repair sequence is mutually agreed upon by the deployment of laughter (Cf. Wilkinson 2007). This is particularly relevant here, as the confrontation between the trouble-source speaker and the repair-initiating party, which would be unrevealed in regular other-initiated repair, has become apparent through the repair persistence and resistance. Finally, the remaining participants, Juri and Erika, catch up with the settlement of the repair activity (lines 1205/7 and 1208).

To sum, Phase 2 is formed through three distinctive steps: the repair sequence is re-initiated and extended with repair persistence and repair resistance; the final solution to the trouble is provided; and the natures of both the trouble and the extended sequence are reviewed by the diagnosis. Therefore, the trouble is cleared up at the end of this phase.

6.3.3. Phase 3: The return to the repair activity with accusation and apology

It is regularly the case that, upon the solution of a trouble and the closure of repair sequence, the main activity that has been interrupted by the initiation of repair is immediately retrieved. However long the repair sequence may become, the participants can still remember in what sequential place the repair activity starts and pinpoint the exact location to go back. The same holds even in the case at hand, despite the fact that the sequence has been extended by the addition of Phase 2. Thus, at the beginning of Phase 3, Izumi answers the question that was asked by Satomi just before the first repair initiation.

1139S	>shit↑teru? (shi)tteru?<	[Question]
	know know	
	‘>↑Know of ((him))? (Kno)w of ((him))?’<	
		↓
1211I	°n:° shitteru yo?	[Answer]
	mm know FP	
	‘°Mm:° ((I)) know of ((him)) y’see?’	

At this point, it seems that the main thread of the talk is successfully resumed. In due course, however, the talk makes a digression and goes back to the trouble-related topic once again. Here is the reproduction of Phase 3.

- (6-5) TL03:1210-1253 [Phase 3]
- 1211I [°n:° shitteru yo?
mm know FP
‘[°Mm:° ((I)) know of ((him)) y’see?’
- 1212 (0.4)
- 1213S [°un un° [((sniff))
‘[°Yeah yeah° [((sniff))’
- 1214I [kat- da- [zuibun mae ni [sono intānetto kara=
quite long-time-ago uhm internet from
‘[Kat- da- [long long time ago [uhm from the Internet=’
- 1215S [(°n° ↑han↓ka:se-)
‘[(°Yeah° ↑han↓ka:se-’
- 1216I =shashin tottekite: ano:,
picture download(CONT) uh
‘=((I)) downloaded ((his)) picture a.nd uh:’
- 1217 (0.3)
- 1218I kabegami ni shitete:,=
wallpaper as do(CONT)
‘put ((it)) on my PC screen, a.nd,=’
- 1219I =[de sore[de:,
‘=[and th[e:n,’
- 1220E [°o:° |
‘[°Wo:w°’
- 1221S [shite ta n [ya*(ah) hahah*
do PAST N FP
‘[Did ((you)) do [tha*(ah) hahah*’
- 1222I [kono- kono hito(oh) hahh=
this this person
‘[“This- this gu(uh)y” hahh=’
- 1223I =hah [hah hah [hah hah
- 1224S [heh hah [hah hah [hah
- 1225J [.hhh [n, [saratto=
mm casually
‘[.hhh [Mm, [rather casually=’
- 1226E [°oo[:°
‘[°Wowo[:w°’
- 1227S [.hhhh
- 1228J =i[t ta ne(ehh) [°hehehh°°
say PAST FP
‘=((she)) made [a confession, di(hih)dn’t ((she)) [°hehehh°°’
- 1229S [ɛ m ō [↓chō fan jan.ɛ [huh]=

INT so fan COP(NEG)
 ‘[ɸ((You’re)) a so: [↓big fan ((of him)), aren’tchu.ɸ [huh]=’
 1230I [°hah hah hah° [.hh]=
 1231S =[.hh huh huh huh [.hh [↑hah hah [.hh
 1232I =[↑hah ↓hah hah .hh da[ka(h)ra(ah) [.hhh [de nao==
 that’s-why and
 ‘=[↑hah ↓hah hah .hh Tha[(h)t’s wh(ah) [.hhh [And Nao==’
 1233I =naoto [naoto tte itte ta ↑ra, s-kaisha no hito ni=
 ((name)) ((name)) QUOT say PAST and-then company of person by
 ‘=(I kept) calling ((him)) “Naoto, [Naoto], and ↑so s-my colleague in the office=’
 1234? [((Clap))
 1235I =na[↑ohi↓to da yo: to[ka itte so[re=
 ((name)) COP FP QUOT-like say that
 ‘=said like “((It))’s Na[↑ohi↓to, I tell [ya, ((are [you]))’=’
 1236S [na o hi to na o hi [to to [omou.
 ((name)) ((name)) QUOT think
 ‘[Naohito Naohi[to ((I)) [think.’
 1237J [°°n↓:°° |
 ‘[°°Mm↓:°°’
 1238E [°n:°
 ‘[°Mm:°’
 1239I =hontoni su(h)[ki na no]=
 really like COP FP
 ‘=really his fa(h)[n like that?’=’
 1240S [go(h)me(h)n]
 ‘[So(h)rr(h)y]’
 1241I =mi(h)ta(h)i(h)[na(ah) [hah hah hah .hh=
 something-like-that
 ‘=so(h)methi(h)ng li(h)ke [tha(ah) [hah hah hah .hh=’
 1242E [hahahah [hah hah hah hah
 1243S [°heh° .hh [.hh .hh .hhh
 1244I =i(h)[wa(h)re(h) [ta(ah) [.hhh [huhun
 be-told PAST
 ‘=(I)[wa(h)s to(h)[ld(h) [.hhh [huhun’
 1245S [ɸa(h)tashi [mo to[modachi [ni- t-ɸ,=
 I too friend to
 ‘[ɸI(h) [too once taught a fir*ie*nd of [mi- t-ɸ,=’
 1246J [°tahh°
 1247S =((teasingly)) nao[hito da yo [doka it(te)
 ((name)) COP FP QUOT-like say
 ‘=“((teasingly)) ((It))’s Nao[hito, I tell ya” [or some(thin)’
 1248I [.hhh [ah huh hun
 1249 (.)
 1250I so(h)o [↑so ↓na n- [.hhh
 so so COP N
 ‘Ri(h)ght [↑that’s ↓righ- [.hhh’
 1251S [°n° naoto [tte omou yon [ne.
 mm ((name)) QUOT think FP FP

	‘[°Mm° ((people)) easily think ((it)) as [Naoto, [do they.’	
1252J		[n :]
	‘[Mm[:’	
1253I		[£n : £=]
	‘[£Mm:£=’	

Izumi's answer at line 1211 that she does know the actor in question is followed by the recount of how she knows of him. Notice that the episode she starts to tell at line 1214 is exactly the same as the one told incompletely in Phase 2 (Cf. lines 1185/7). Previously, the recount of the episode served as a second "repair persistence" attempt. It is now recycled under a new sequential context. Here, the speaker cites the same experience to demonstrate not only that she has some knowledge of the actor but also that she is actually a fan of him. The recipients also take it as such, as shown at lines 1220 and 1226 (Erika), 1225/8 (Juri), and 1229 (Satomi), respectively.

Izumi then goes on to reintroduce another previously told episode (Cf. lines 1176 and 1179) at line 1232, as if it is a continuing part of a story. However, Satomi considers it not as a mere next episode of a story but as a repair-related action. In overlap with Izumi's talk, she offers a repair solution one more time (line 1236), which is accompanied by an apology (line 1240). She apparently interprets Izumi's rehash of the episode as an accusation against her of the mistake she made. Her interpretation seems quite sensitive to several aspects of Izumi's ongoing talk.

Firstly, Izumi uses the connective *dakara* ‘that’s why’ (Mori 1999) at line 1232 in response to Satomi’s preceding remark. Although not stated clearly, the connective makes a linkage between the fact that she is a fan of the actor and her previous conduct of persisting repair on his name.

Secondly, the episode Izumi is about to recount was previously used as a means of doing repair persistence. Even though the sequential position is different from the previous one and the design of the turn is changed according to the context of telling a story, “saying the same thing” can easily be seen as “doing the same action”.

Thirdly, Izumi's experience being reported again here is parallel to Satomi's current situation. Both of them get the actor's name wrong when they claim to be his fans. The tease/accusation that Izumi received from her colleague can be directly applied to Satomi as well. So, without respect to what Izumi's actual intention is, the rehash of the episode does have features to be taken as an accusation from Satomi's point of view.

Izumi's story, when completed and receipted with laughter, elicits a reciprocal story by Satomi

(lines 1245-1247). It may be noticeable that in this story Satomi takes the role of correcting somebody else who did the same mistake, not the one being corrected. This contrast, however, is not picked up by Izumi. Instead, the episode, together with Izumi's experience, is used to draw a conclusion that Satomi and Izumi are just two ordinary persons who make mistakes as everyone else does.

Phase 3 initially starts as a resumption of the main activity which has been suspended in favour of repair. But since some episodes that were told in Phase 2 are recycled, the trouble-related talk is made relevant one more time. In this, the trouble-source speaker regards the retelling of the episode as an accusation against her and apologises for the mistake that she, as a fan of the named actor, should not have made.

6.4. Negotiating "knowledgeability" through the repair activity

So far we have trailed the structural construction of our target sequence as it unfolds, and scrutinised how it is sequentially organized so that it is allowed to extend over an exceptionally long period of time. One question remains unsolved: why is it that the participants, Izumi and Satomi in particular, but the others as well by not intercepting those two, are putting so much effort to settle the issue? What are they trying to achieve through the prolonged repair activity? A key to this inquiry is the notion of "knowledgeability", that is, the issue of who knows more on the matter. Heritage and Raymond (2005) use the term "epistemic authority" for the same notion. According to them, "the distribution of rights and responsibilities regarding what people participants can accountably know, how they know it, whether they have rights to describe it, and in what terms is directly implicated in organized practices of speaking" (*ibid.*: 16). Of course, people do not usually say, "I know more than you do!" openly and boldly. They instead negotiate their epistemic authority by the use of subtle linguistic devices such as "first position" and "second position" assessments (*ibid.*) and direct reported speeches in response to assessments. The prolonged repair sequence of our target is, I will argue, also one venue in which such a negotiation takes place.

Even during the examination of the structural organization of the sequence in the prior section, we have seen epistemic issues such as "how I got to know the matter at hand" keep coming up to the conversational surface. This section sheds light on those epistemic issues to uncover their relevance to the on-going repair activity. We start with the way in which the trouble-source itself is introduced into

conversation, and then move to the negotiation of the participants' epistemic statuses, or knowledgeability through the whole repair activity.

6.4.1. Two epistemic issues relevant to the trouble-source

Recall first the place where the person reference which turns out to be a trouble-source later is first introduced into conversation.

(6-6) TL03:39-40:1128-1145

- 1128S-> a:rashi mo sē↑kin ↓fan no hito ↓ga iru yo: [(nanka),
I too recently fan of person NOM exist FP like
'I: too ↑recently became a ↓fan of ↓somebo:dy [(like),'
1129I [ɛ↓u:nɛ
'[ɛ↓Mm hmɛ'
1130 (.)
1131S-> sugo:i, (.) mezu[rashiku.
very-much unlikely
'very mu:ch, (.) unlikely [to me.'
1132I [ɛa sō:ɛ=
'[ɛOh is it soɛ=
1133S-> =>yut tak ke.<
say PAST Q
'=>Did ((I)) tell ((you)).<
1134 (0.3)
1135S=> nanka! (0.3) (°°fuch-°°) [fuji- (.) fujiki naoto tte yū hito.
like ((actor)) QUOT say person
'Like! (0.3) The person ((whose name is)) (°°fuch-°°) [Fuji- (.) Fujiki Naoto.'
1136J? [(°°yo-°°)
1137 (0.4)
1138J-> ↑a:[: : : [↓ : °°
'↑Oh:[:↓:°°
1139S-> [>shit↑teru? [(shi)tteru?<
know know
'[>↑Know of((him))? [(Kno)w of((him))?<
1140 (.)
1141I ne- e?
'Ne- Eh?'
1142 (0.4)
1143S fuji[ki naoto tte yū
((actor)) QUOT say
'((An actor)) called Fuji[ki Naoto'
1144J-> [((Sing-song)) chotto shi:n[↑pa::i [no hito [ya ne(eh).
a-little worried of person COP FP
'[The one famous for ((sing-song)) ((I'm)) little bit wo:rried ((about you)) [isn't he(eh).'

1145I		[un			
	‘[Yah’				
1146S			[^{oo} huh ^{oo}	[n↑e:↓fu:] =	
1147I				[fu- fu-] =	
1148I	=[ye?				
	‘=[Eh?’				
1149J	=[ahahh [.h				

The turn that contains the person reference (line 1135) takes the form of an “announcement”, which is preceded by “pre-announcements” (Schegloff 1995:33-41; Terasaki 2004) at lines 1128/31 and 1133. Since an announcement, or, a telling of “news”, should be sensitive to the recipient’s state of knowledge on the matter, a pre-announcement is often placed before the actual announcement is made so that the speaker can work out whether they should tell the news at all and how they should formulate it to this particular recipient.

Here, touched on the prior talk about Erika’s favourite football player, Satomi tells the others, *a:rashi mo sē↑kin ↓fan no hito ↓ga iru yo:*, ‘I: too ↑recently became a ↓fan of ↓somebo:dy’. The turn is equipped with the following four features of pre-announcements that Schegloff (*ibid.*: 35) lists: (a) it is designed to imply that what is to follow is to be an informing or a telling of news. The disclosure of whom she has in mind is implied to be due next. Still, (b) it sets enough parameters concerning the topical domain that the recipient can see if they already know it or not. The expression *fan no hito* “a fan of somebody”, for example, becomes a key word for the recipient to spot a memory of similar conversation in their previous encounters, if they have one. (c) It provides the evidence of the recency, in order to indicate the newsworthiness of the information to be offered. The word *sēkin*, or “recently”, especially does this job. Finally, (d) it makes actual telling contingent to the recipient reaction to the pre-announcement. The recipient is expected to invite the provision of the information, or to block it by saying that they know it.

However, an immediate response to the turn by Izumi is neither a “go-ahead” nor “blocking”. She simply registers what has been said with *£↓u:n£ ‘£↓Mm hm£’*. Satomi’s further attempt to pursue a more ‘appropriate’ response by adding increments is also met with an *a sō:* receipt which registers a new information provided and often leads the topic closure. Thereupon, she utters a question for checking explicitly the states of knowledge of the recipients (line 1133), and establishes a necessary condition for the delivery of the projected information, the name of an actor. In short, there is an

epistemic issue as to whether or not the recipients has already been informed who Satomi's favourite celebrity, which is built into the deployment of the pre-announcement sequences.

Another epistemic issue rises from the use of referential expressions: that is, the recognizability of the referent: in this case, whether or not the recipients recognize the named actor Fujiki Naoto (Naohito). It may be highly plausible to assume that girls at their age generally have knowledge about celebrities. Nonetheless, Satomi presupposes otherwise here. She introduces the name of the actor as non-recognisable to the others (*X tte yuu hito*, 'the person called X'). Juri's response, $\uparrow a::: \downarrow \cdot o^\circ$ ' $\uparrow Oh::: \downarrow \cdot o^\circ$ ', however, shows that Satomi's presupposition is at least not true to her. Satomi seems to accept her misjudge rather positively. By asking $>shit\uparrow teru? (shi)tteru? < \rightarrow \uparrow Know\ of\ ((him))?\ (Kno)w\ of\ ((him))?\ <$ enthusiastically, she tries to invite Juri to join in as a possible co-assessor of the actor.

Note here that it is only one recipient who shows full recognition of the actor. What the states of knowledge of the other two about the matter remains unclear. This remains to be figured out either during or after the repair activity to follow.

To sum up, there are two epistemic issues attached to the trouble-source-to-be from the very beginning. In delivering the name of the actor, the speaker Satomi has to concern the epistemic relevance of doing so at two levels: that is, the newsworthiness of the information and the recognisability of the referred-to for this particular set of recipients. The latter is a particularly important matter which underlines the repair activity initiated at line 1141. We now turn our attention to the relationship between epistemics and other-initiation of repair.

6.4.2. Repair initiation as a display of epistemic status

As argued in Chapter 4, a variety of problems in hearing and understanding talk trigger other-initiated repair. Some of the problems have to do with the epistemic status of the repair-initiating party. More concretely, there are some repair initiations that are considered as an index of the party's lack of knowledge about the matter at hand. The most typical example would be the Jitensha-sogyo 'bicycle-operation/day-by-day management of business' exchange cited in Chapter 4.

(6-7) Yakiniku01-04:13-14:369-403:381 [Jitensha-sogyo]

Partial reproduction of (4-22).

375Y [ma, >toriaezu-<
well for-the-time-being
'[Well, >for the time being-<']

376 (0.4)

377F °u: [n°
°°Ye[a:h°

378Y [nante yu no tōzano zētaku wa dekiru tte kanji ya ne:.
what say FP temporary luxury TOP can-do QUOT sense COP FP
'[What to say, ((I)) can temporarily live in luxury or something like that, y'know.]

379 (0.2)

380F [°a:°
[°Oh:°

381Y-> [>ore< sonnan:(0.2)>sonnan nai mon< <<jitensha↑sō[↓gyō:, shiteru kara:.,
I that-much that-much not-exist FP day-by-day-management do because
'[>I< don't have ((fortune)) that (0.2) >that much< <<((I))'m living, on *jitensha*-↑sō[↓gyō ((=a day-by-day)) basis, so:']

382F [°°n°°
[°°Mm hm°°

383 (0.2)

384N? °n:°
°°Mm hm°

385Y °↑n_°
°°↑Mm hm_°

386 (0.4)

387F-> nani sōgyō?
'What *sōgyō*?'

388 (0.2)

389Y-> jī(t/d)enshasōgyō °t↓te yū°
day-by-day-management QUOT say
'*Jī(t/d)ensha-sōgyō*, °((I)) ↓say°'

390 (0.2)

391F=> [nani u-
[What u-']

392Y [u-
393 (0.3)

394Y=> jitenshasōgyō ↓tte mō ↑shikin ga nakute:.,
day-by-day-management QUOT ((not))-any-more funds NOM not-exist(CONT)
'*Jitensha-sōgyō* ↓means ↑((you)) haven't got ((extra)) funds at all a.nd,'

395 (0.4)

396F (°↓on°)=
'(°↓Yeah°)='

397Y=> =utte katte sono ba: shinogi ↓no: u- shōbai °tte yū ka°
sell(CONT) buy(CONT) that occasion survival of business QUOT say or

398 => so yu kanji ya kara:.
so say sense COP because
'=by selling and buying ((you)) run a day-by-day u- business °or like° that sort of situation, so:.'

399 (0.2)

400F °↓n:°=

401N ‘°↓Mm:°=
 =[°n°
 ‘=[°Mm°
 402Y =[sonnani u- (0.2) [>↑kane ta↑mara ↓hen (°nam°)<.
 that-much money be-saved NEG FP
 ‘=[That much u- (0.2) [>↑money cannot be ↑sa↓ved, (°y’know°)<.’
 403? [°n°
 ‘[°Mm hm°

After denying that the antiques he collects make a ‘fortune’, Yoshida describes his life as doing *jitensha-sogyo*. Fumi first checks the hearing/understanding of the word itself by the use of a positioned interrogative at line 387, and then asks the meaning of it at line 391. It succeeds to solicit a detailed explication of what the word means. The most representative group of repair initiators as an index of the lack of knowledge is such interrogatives as *X tte nani?* ‘What’s *X*?’ (see also the *Shiki* extract in footnote 94 in Chapter 4) and *X tte doko?* ‘Where’s *X*?’ (see (3 - 27)).

Contrastively, there are some repair initiations which indicate that the repair-initiating party have a certain amount of knowledge about the repairable. Candidate understandings are most typical means for indicating knowledgeability, as in (6-8) below.

(6-8) Shakujii 11:1:13-22 [Bank]

13U atashi ginkoo ika nakuchaikenai n da yo ↑ne:..
 I bank go have-to N COP FP FP
 ‘I’ve gotta go to ((a/the)) bank, y’↑kno:w.’
 14 (1.1)
 15Y [°n: : - °
 ‘[°Mm hm:-°’
 16U-> [T-Gin
 ((bank))
 ‘[T-Bank.’
 17Y=> a: asuko no?
 oh there of
 ‘Oh: ((the one)) there?’
 18 (0.2)
 19U soo=
 so
 ‘That’s right=
 20Y=> =eki ↓no.
 station of
 ‘=((The one)) at the station.’
 21U soo soo [soo
 ‘Right, right, [right’

22Y [u : n=
 '[Yea:h=']

At line 16, Ui names the bank she has to visit before she meets Yuko. Even though Ui does not give any information about the bank's whereabouts (or, she may even mean *any* branch of the bank), Yuko's checkup questions suggest that she thinks of only one specific branch. From her selection of candidate understandings in initiating repair, we can infer Yuko's state of knowledge about the matter: for instance, that she has some geographic knowledge of the place where Ui lives in; or that she is familiar with Ui's routines, i.e., Ui always goes to that particular branch, etc. (Cf. Pomerantz 1988 on offering a candidate answer in asking a question).

In our target episode, too, it becomes apparent that Izumi has some knowledge about the named actor when she uses a candidate understanding at line 1150 in Phase 1. The knowledge the repair-initiating party claims to have by the deployment of a candidate understanding may not be compatible with the one the trouble-source speaker has. Indeed, the repair solution offered in response to the repair initiation (lines 1151/3) immediately dismisses Izumi's candidate understanding, and her knowledge behind it, as incorrect. The knowledge that two participants independently have about the same entity is thus found to be conflicting. One possible way of settling the matter is that either of them withdraws their claim. Izumi and Satomi here take a different tack: they choose to battle out to convince the other that their own version is more credible. We will see in the next section how they negotiate the credibility and the superiority of their knowledge through the repair activity.

6.4.3. Negotiation of knowledgeability through the prolonged repair sequence

When people find their assertion being challenged by the co-participant, they often defend themselves by giving evidence or grounds. One sort of evidence that is routinely called up is the sources or bases of their believing the assertion, that is to say, how they know that their assertion is true and/or credible (Pomerantz 1984b). This conversational practice is mobilised in every Phase of our target sequence.

Let us first look at the way in which Satomi formats repair solutions responsive to Izumi's candidate understanding (a), and Juri's subsequent follow-up inquiry (b) in Phase 1.

1147I [fu- fu-]=
1148I =[ye?
'=[Eh?'
1149J =[ahahh [.h
1150I [fuji-ki> naohito ja na[kut [(te?)
COP NEG but
'[Not <Fuji-ki> Naohito, [is [he?'
1151S-> [°n-° [a naoto [tte]=
mm oh ((name)) QUOT
'[°M-° [oh Naoto is= '
1152J [°naohi-°
1153S-> =[yū [n dat te!]=
say N COPFP
'=the right [name, so ((I)) heard! = '
1154I [nao-

1158J °na(h)ohito da to [omotte[ta°.
 ((name)) COP QUOT think PAST
 ‘‘(I) thought ((he was)) [Na(h)ohi[to°.’

1159S→ [nao- [naoto [tte yutte ta<<(atakushi) mo=
 ((name))QUOT say PAST I too
 ‘[Nao-[Naoto [(they)] called ((him))] <<((I also)=’

1160J [°naoto te yū n ya:°
 ((name)) QUOT say N COP

 ‘[(His name)] is Naoto:, right’’

1161S =sō omot°
 so think
 ‘=made the same mistake’’

200

whatever the source is. The additional information that she once made the same mistake (lines 1159/61) supports the implication and warrants the authenticity of her words.

The same conversational practice of “telling *just* what is directly known (*my* experience is ...) and reporting what other sources have said” (*ibid.*: 611, emphasis original) is also continuously used in Phase 2. More concretely, the actions of “repair persistence” (lines 1175/6/9 and 1185/7) and “repair resistance” (lines 1178/81/83) that we have identified earlier are borne out through this very practice.

(c)

- 1175I-> e atashi ne, naoto da to omotte ta ra naohito tte
eh I FP ((name)) COP QUOT think PAST and-then ((name)) QUOT
- 1176 naosare ta kedo [na:..
be-corrected PAST but FP
'Eh, I, y'know, thought ((he)) was Naoto and then was corrected as Naohito ((by somebody)),
[y'kno:w.'
- 1177E? [°nn°=
1178S=> =e! [, [hunzoo [fa:n,
eh but fan
'=What![, [But [fa:n,'
1179I-> [naohi[to da yo yappa[ri °tte°.
((name)) COP FP after-all QUOT
'[(I was told)) “((He)) is Naohi[to definite[ly”.’
- 1180 (0.3)
1181S=> pēji mitai no: ni [((complainingly)) °naoto tte=
page like thing on ((name)) QUOT
'on a ((fan's)) page or something like that [((complainingly)) °was written=
1182I [°n:°
'[°Mm.°
1183S=> =kaite[at ta yōna kigasuru.°
being-written PAST like feel
'=the name Naoto [as far as ((I)) remember.°
1184I [a honto:?
'[Oh really:?'
1185I-> nanka sa, i- ah hihntānetto kara [hag a[no:,
like FP internet from uh
'Y'know what? i- from the ah hihnternet [hag u[h:,'
1186S [°↑a?° [°naohito?°=
'[°↑Oh?° [°Naohito?°=
1187I-> =sha- (.) sha[shin o-
picture ACC
'=((I got his)) pi- (.) pi[cture-'
1188S [↑naohito naohi↓to.
'[((It's)) ↑Naohito Naohi↓to.'

As the first repair persistence, Izumi tells *her* experience of having her mistake corrected by someone. The source is again anonymous, though it can be inferable as a personal communication; not things like the mass media or hearsay.

Since Izumi's experience is equal to Satomi's, Satomi next has to present more credible evidence to defend her version. So she reveals the source of her information: a fan's site on the Internet. Notice, on the other hand, that she uses the modal *yōna kigasuru* 'I feel like it/as far as I remember correctly', which marks her evidence as less certain or credible. Indeed, in the middle of Izumi's following attempt to tell a similar experience, Satomi 'realises' that her version is actually incorrect.

The action of telling "how I know" still takes a central role in Phase 3 as well, when Izumi portrays the episode which was left incomplete on the previous occasion.

(d)

- 1210S =°hhh [huh°
 1211I [°n:° shitteru yo?
 mm know FP
 '[°Mm:° ((I)) know of ((him)) y'see?'
 1212 (0.4)
 1213S [°un un° [((sniff))
 '[°Yeah yeah° [((sniff))'
 1214I-> [kat- da- [zuibun mae ni [sono intānetto kara=
 quite long-time-ago uhm internet from
 '[Kat- da- [long long time ago [uhm from the Internet=
 1215S [(°n° ↑han↓ka:se-)
 '[(°Yeah° ↑han↓ka:se-)'
 1216I-> =shashin tottekite: ano:,
 picture download(CONT) uh
 '=((I)) downloaded ((his)) picture a.nd uh:.'
 1217 (0.3)
 1218I-> kabegami ni shitete: ,=
 wallpaper as do(CONT)
 'put ((it)) on my PC screen, a.nd,=
 1219I-> =[de sore[de: ,
 '=[and th[e:n,
 1220E [°o:° |
 '[°Wo:w°
 1221S [shite ta n [ya*(ah) hahah*
 do PAST N FP
 '[Did ((you)) do [tha*(ah) hahah*'
 1222I [kono- kono hito(oh) hahh=
 this this person
 '[“This- this gu(uh)y” hahh=’

1223I =hah [hah hah [hah hah
 1224S [heh hah [hah hah [hah
 1225J [.hhh [n, [saratto=
 mm casually
 ‘[.hhh [Mm, [rather casually=
 1226E [°oo[:°
 ‘[°Wowo[:w°
 1227S [.hhhh
 1228J =i[t ta ne(ehh) [°°hehehhh°°
 say PAST FP
 ‘=((she)) made [a confession, di(hih)dn’t ((she)) [°°hehehhh°°
 1229S=> [£ m õ [↓chō fan jan.£ [huh]=
 INT so fan
 ‘[£((You’re)) a so: [↓big fan ((of him)), aren’tchu.£ [huh]=
 1230I [°hah hah hah° [.hh]=
 1231S =[.hh huh huh huh [.hh [↑hah hah [.hh
 1232I-> =[↑hah ↓hah hah .hh da[ka(h)ra(ah) [.hhh [de nao==
 that’s-why and
 ‘=[↑hah ↓hah hah .hh Tha[(h)t’s wh(ah) [.hhh [And Nao=’
 1233I-> =naoto [naoto tte itte ta ↑ra, s-kaisha no hito ni=
 ((name)) ((name)) QUOT say PAST and-then company of person by
 ‘=((I kept)) calling ((him)) “Naoto, [Naoto”, and ↑so s-my colleague in the office=
 1234? [((Clap))
 1235I-> =na[↑ohi↓to da yo: to[ka itte so[re=
 ((name)) COP FP QUOT-like say that
 ‘=said like “((It))’s Na[↑ohi↓to, I tell [ya, ((are [you]))’=
 1236S [na o hi to na o hi [to to [omou.
 ((name)) ((name)) QUOT think
 ‘[Naohito Naohi[to ((I)) [think.’
 1237J [°°n↓:°° |
 ‘[°°Mm↓:°°
 1238E [°n:°
 ‘[°Mm:°
 1239I-> =hontoni su(h) [ki na no]=
 really like COP FP
 ‘=really his fa(h)[n like that?’=
 1240S [go(h)me(h)n]
 ‘[So(h)rr(h)y]’
 1241I-> =mi(h)ta(h)i(h) [na(ah) [hah hah hah .hh=
 something-like-that
 ‘=so(h)methi(h)ng li(h)ke [tha(ah) [hah hah hah .hh=
 1242E [hahahah [hah hah hah hah
 1243S [°heh° .hh [.hh .hh .hhh
 1244I-> =i(h) [wa(h)re(h) [ta(ah) [.hhh [huhun
 be-told PAST
 ‘=((I)) [wa(h)s to(h)[ld(h) .hhh [huhun’
 1245S [fa(h)tashi [mo to[modachi [ni- t-£,=
 I too friend to

take,¹¹⁸ but also for winning the entitlement of being a proper fan of Fujiki Naohito.

6.5. Concluding remarks

Past CA work on other-initiated repair and our exploration of Japanese other-initiated repair in the previous two chapters have informed us of what ordinary other-initiated repair looks like. Based on that knowledge, we have come to notice a prominent episode of other-initiated repair which is extended for

¹¹⁸ It is worth pointing out that in the talk subsequent to this exchange, Satomi makes exactly the same mispronunciation of the actor's name.

TL03:58:1666-1681:1671 [Fujiki Naoto II]
1666S are ne: man*ga* wa ne::,=
that FP comic TOP FP
‘Y’know what? in the original com*ic*, y’kno::w,=
1667I =u:n
‘=Yea:h’
1668S manga wa ne ↓a[no:,
comic TOP FP uh
‘in that comic, y’know, ↓u[h:,’
1669I [°un°
[°Yea:h°
1670 (0.6)
1671S->fujiki naoto no yaku [ga:,
((actor)) of role NOM
‘the character ((played by)) Fujiki Naoto [i:s,’
1672I [°n:°
[°Mm:°
1673 (0.3)
1674S muccha homo ya ne(hh)n.
INT gay COP FP
‘so: gay, y’kno(hh)w.’
1675I a [↑so(hh) ↓na n(h) [da(hh)
oh so COP N COP
‘Oh [i(hh)s ↑tha(h)t [↓so(hh)’
1676S [kkah hah [hah [.hhh ↑.hhh=
1677E [hah [hahah
1678S =[(gya(h)kute(h)nshi[sa↑re) .hh
((unclear))
‘=[(gya(h)kute(h)nshi[sa↑re) .hh’
1679I =[°nhuh?° [°↑a(hh) ↑sō ↓na n [da:(ahah)°
oh so COP N COP
‘=[°nhuh?° [°↑Oh(hh) is ↑that [↓so:(ohah)°’
1680J =[°hhhh°
1681S [°n:°
[°Mm:°

This time, however, no one initiates repair on it. Starting up repair one more time is no more relevant, or even to be seen as redundant, given that the sense of the participants sharing the correct knowledge has already been established. It is only that Satomi has not learnt a lesson from the previous repair activity.

an exceptionally long period. By carrying out a single-case analysis on the episode, we have answered the questions, how and why it becomes deviant.

First, we have traced the trajectory of the sequence, launching it as regular repair and getting extended with what I term “repair persistence” and “repair resistance” pair. The sequence may also be enlarged by the addition of some post-trouble-resolution talk, in which the participants review the nature of the trouble-source or the character of the repair sequence. Even after the main activity is resumed, a trouble-related talk may be brought up again into conversation at any moment.

In considering the activities for which the prolonged sequence is a vehicle, we have uncovered that negotiating and determining which version of the two candidate solutions is correct is not the only issue here. For one, the trouble-source-to-be is introduced into conversation under a specific environment where the states of knowledge of the recipients about the matter have to be especially figured out. For another, the repair persistence and repair resistance expose the conflict between the knowledge that participants independently have on the matter at hand. The underlining is a battle as to who accountably has authoritative knowledge and experiences about the matter, that is to say, a battle for the entitlement to be accepted as being somebody’s fan.

The examination of the prolonged repair sequence in those two regards leads us to reconsider the normative tendency of “three attempts of repair initiation and no more” proposed by Schegloff (2000a). It is not that people automatically drop out when three chances are used up. They can go beyond that if they want to. But they also bear possible risks for doing so: the progressivity of the talk may be largely disrupted; and the discordance with their co-participants becomes official. In most cases, therefore, people place a priority on the progressivity of the talk and the harmonious relationship between interactants by following the “three initiations and no more” tendency with each other.

The two concepts of a repair persistence-resistance pair as a trigger of the extension of a repair sequence and of repair as a negotiation of knowledability have proved to be important keys which allow us to access to this particular repair episode. The applicability of the concepts to any other prolonged repair sequences needs to be investigated in the future.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1. Findings of the study

This study has explored ways in which Japanese speakers locally and collaboratively manage to accomplish mutual understanding in conversation by deploying a variety of practices regarding “other-initiated repair”. This chapter concludes the study by summarizing the main findings discussed in Chapters 4 through 6. Some of the most important implications of those findings and potential directions for future research are also addressed.

7.1.1. Repair initiation practices in Japanese

In Chapter 4, we examined a large number of instances of other-initiated repair in Japanese, with particular attention to sequential processes through which problems in hearing and/or understanding encountered by recipients were managed to be resolved in each case. When a recipient understands a prior utterance with no difficulty, then a sequentially-relevant next action from the recipient, that is to say, a response to the prior utterance, is immediately due. The repair initiation is an alternative course of action taken by a recipient, with which he or she signals that a just-prior utterance is somehow problematic. Thus, the production of a sequentially-relevant next action is temporarily withheld. In response to a repair initiation, the trouble-source speaker analyzes what was mostly likely wrong with the prior utterance, and offers a possible remedy for it. There might be several such attempts, and at the moment when the recipient judges that the repair is successful, he or she closes the sequence and starts to move the conversation forward by producing the withheld next action. The resolution of a hearing and/or understanding problem raised by the recipient therefore requires collaborative and coordinated actions from the both sides. The typical other-initiated repair procedures in Japanese described in Chapter 4 were found to confirm those in English proposed by Schegloff *et al.* (1977) and others (Jefferson 1974; Drew 1997; Schegloff 1997a, 2000a, 2001a, 2004, 2007, to name a few).

Chapter 4 further went on to identify seven repair-initiation forms employed in Japanese

conversation. Each of them varies in its indication of the nature of the trouble, from “open-class repair initiators” such as *eh?* and *hai?* being the most vague and non-specific, to “candidate understandings” being the most specific, as they propose a possible alternative solution as well. The trouble-source speaker has to speculate what kind of trouble lies in his or her prior utterance, based on the type of repair initiation employed by the recipient. However, such speculation is not always adequate: a failed attempt at repair may call for another repair-initiation, and in such a situation, more specific initiation than the first tends to be chosen.

What this chapter sought to achieve was not merely the identification and categorization of repair-related practices. By presenting as many and detailed extracts as possible throughout the chapter, I have demonstrated ways in which such practices are actually used in the real world. Conversational problems that people encounter vary from occasion to occasion. How to apply the general practices described above in order to meet the exigencies of that particular occasion is the concern of conversation participants.

7.1.2. Repair on unexpressed utterance elements

Chapter 5 addressed the issue of the close connection between repair and Japanese grammar, introducing a previously undescribed form of repair, namely, “repair on unexpressed utterance elements”. Starting by noticing two repair initiation formats with almost identical appearances, a stand-alone interrogative on the one hand, and an interrogative accompanied by a case particle on the other, we investigated their sequential environments, that is, what precedes them and what follows them, which may characterize their use in conversation. It was then shown that while the former regularly elicits a partial repeat of a prior utterance as the repair outcome, the latter prompts the speaker to supply an utterance component “missing” from a prior utterance. The two repair initiations look similar, but a minor variation of the addition of a post-positioned particle makes them distinguishable from each other.

Those findings led us to a further consideration as to why such a repair on missing utterance elements is made available in Japanese. We concluded that the repair is designed precisely for that language, one aspect of which can be characterized by the prevalence of so-called “ellipsis”. Generally speaking, Japanese native speakers do not usually have difficulties in understanding elliptic utterances.

But the investigation of repair on unexpressed utterance elements in Chapter 5 revealed that the elliptical constituent of an utterance could be highlighted as a source of trouble. The initiation of such a repair conveys a recipient's claim that the precise retrieval of that missing information is particularly important business at this moment of interaction in order for speakers to perform a sequentially relevant next action.

7.1.3. Other-initiated repair and the participants' state of knowledge

Chapter 6 shed light on another interactional job done by repair, namely, showing the participants' state of knowledge about the matter at hand. A lack of knowledge may trigger the initiation of repair in some cases, and in others, the recipient of a some instance of talk may initiate repair in order to claim that they are more "knowledgeable" than the speaker. In Chapter 6, we undertook a single case analysis on an extended episode of talk in which an actor's name was mentioned inaccurately, and this eventually got corrected explicitly by the recipient of the talk through the employment of a prolonged repair and repair-related sequences.

We first conducted a careful examination of the case in order to confirm linguistic procedures with which the repair-related activities are developed step-by-step. In the first phase, the repair sequence was launched and proved to be initially handled in accordance with one of the regular practices described in Chapter 4. It was initiated with the use of an open class repair initiator, and upon the insufficiency of the first attempt, the "strongest" candidate understanding format was also called for. Candidate understanding can display that the recipient has at least some knowledge in advance of the issue under discussion. Although candidate understanding is recurrently accompanied by an uncertainty marker such as *Y ja nakute?* "Isn't that *Y*?", the presentation of *Y* alternative to the trouble-source *X* casts a doubt of a possible "failure" of speaking and/or memorizing on the trouble-source speaker's part. The trouble-source speaker can accept or reject the suggested *Y*.

A regular repair sequence comes to an end when a candidate understanding is confirmed or rejected by the trouble-source speaker. In this exchange, however, the solution of the trouble was further pursued by the repair-initiating party. A new phase of the repair activity thus began, occasioned by a rather strong disagreement on the "final" answer that the trouble-source speaker has just offered. The main actions observed in this phase were the statement of the participants' own opinions, accompanied

by a telling of “how I got to know” as a basis for their argument (Pomeranz 1984b). This is in stark contrast to the preceding phase, i.e., a standard repair sequence, where the selection of a correct alternative seems to require no warrant. This extended sequence reached completion when one of the parties suddenly “realized” her unconscious mistake.

The initiation of repair by the recipient of an utterance is normally done for the purpose of solving a hearing and/or understanding problem on the recipient’s side. In this case, however, it turns out to be the activity of correcting the speaker’s mistake as the sequence holds. This repair then results in a prolonged negotiation as to whose version is actually correct and which person is more entitled to be “knowledgeable” than the other on this particular issue.

Such persistence on the continuation of a repair activity and a resistance to it from the trouble-source speaker, instead of an orientation to the resumption of the main thread of conversation at the earliest possible occasion, seems to be infrequent so far as my data sets are concerned. To summarize, the single case analysis identified four steps involved in the resistance of repair; (a) the activation of a standard repair procedure by a recipient, (b) a speaker’s denial of a candidate repair solution offered by a recipient, (c) a persistence of the trouble solution beyond the point of repair sequence closure, (d) a speaker’s resistance to the persistence. However, the question of whether these four steps is a recurrent practice for expanding a repair sequence, or just an incidental happening in the example should be left for future research. Similarly, the connection between the employment of a prolonged repair sequence and the participants’ claims to be more knowledgeable than the other party needs to be confirmed in further investigation of actual occurrences of this phenomenon.

In summary, other-initiated repair contributes to the accomplishment of mutual understanding in the following two senses. From a recipient’s perspective, his or her failure to hear and/or understand what the speaker has said (and therefore the sort of next action this has made consequential) may cause a serious breakdown of interaction at any time. The initiation of repair provides recipients with opportunities in which they can work on a “crack” in their understanding with a minimum effort. From a speaker’s perspective, in return, other-initiated repair is likewise beneficial, as he or she can obtain timely feedback on a recipient’s possible incomprehension of their talk. Repairing a trouble source in response to a repair initiation exhibits the speaker’s close attention to, and interpretation of, the recipient’s state of mind, something which is normally inaccessible to them. Accomplishing mutual

understanding demands the collaborative work of both interactants. Other-initiation of repair is a conventional, yet practical means for alerting all participants to the necessity of particular work to be carried out immediately.

7.2. Implications of the study

The findings of this study have a number of critical implications for research on language, talk-in-interaction, communication, and language education.

First of all, the study has investigated processes of establishing “mutual understanding” in conversation as *observable phenomena*. We adopt the view that a person’s state of mind is *displayed in*, and becomes accessible from, his or her words, actions and behavior as they interact with others. The initiation of repair, for example, serves as an overt signal with which a recipient of talk makes claims about his or her current cognitive state. Of course, what we can speculate from a person’s verbal and nonverbal behavior may not necessarily reflect the true image of what is inside his or her mind (see Pomerantz 2005: 110 for her proposal to distinguish a participant’s understanding and his or her display of understanding). This is not a methodological disadvantage, however, as it is exactly how we “get to know” an interlocutor’s feelings, thoughts, intentions, and their state of comprehension during interaction. The current study has shown the importance and the effectiveness of this perspective for studying human communication behavior.

The study also offers some significant contributions to Conversation Analysis, the research approach that focuses on talk-in-interaction. One of the recurrent criticisms that CA has received from other disciplines is that it exclusively orients to English talk-in-interaction (Čmejrková and Prevignano 2003: 13). This is no longer the case, as mentioned in Section 3.5, since there has been a massive amount of Conversation Analytic work reported on other languages than English, including Japanese (Mori 1999; Tanaka 1999a; Hayashi 2002; Morita 2005; Nishizaka, Kushida and Kumagai 2008, among others). Still, concerning repair organization, very little work has been conducted in Japanese interactional situations, compared to that in English-speaking contexts. This study provides the first comprehensive attempt to investigate other-initiated repair observable in talk-in-interaction among native-native speakers of Japanese. It suggests that the generic organization of other-initiated repair as social conduct may potentially be universal across languages and cultures, or at least common between

English and Japanese, while still possessing some language- or culture-specific variations.

In relation to the discussion in Chapter 5 in particular, the study emphasizes the importance of paying close attention to actual language use in interaction and proposes to reconsider the concept of “grammar” in that context. Grammar, in a traditional sense, refers to the sets of rules in a language for producing and interpreting meaningful sentences. But those rules of language not only govern our use of language, but also become one of the resources for us to utilize in order to achieve particular interactional tasks in conversation. In other words, both the compliance with and the violation of a grammatical rule can be seen as a noticeable and meaningful event. The production of an elliptical utterance, for example, is not automatic: it is *designed* to be so by its speaker, conveying to its recipient either that the retrieval of the unexpressed element should be no problem with reference to the preceding context, or that it should not be a main concern of the moment. Such a speaker’s design of utterances may be regarded as problematic by a recipient. In initiating repair on unexpressed elements, recipients claims that retrieving the correct referent of the ellipsis does matter to them. The study thus proposes to grammar studies a new possible perspective for observing the realization of grammatical properties (i.e., the use of grammatical practices) in conversational talk. The challenge here for traditional grammarians is also to consider how syntactic rules become consequential to the subsequent course of the talk.

Finally, the study’s findings can be directly applicable to communication education both in one’s native language, and in foreign languages. In particular, the importance of communication education toward younger generations in our societies, teaching them principles and skills for better communication, has been widely recognized. The goals of communication education are, ultimately, to understand others and to make them understand oneself through the use of language. Such mutual understanding can and should be based on the local, utterance-by-utterance management of understanding, as proposed by the study. The study gives plenty of examples of what people regularly do, and provides suggestions about what should possibly be done, in order to achieve better communication in Japanese.

7.3. Directions in Future Research

Based on the findings of the present study, a few possibilities for future investigation can be suggested.

Firstly, it should be pointed out that the findings of the study are based on a limited amount of data. The data sets used in the study represent a wide range of social activities that we undertake in our everyday life, from casual chats with family and close friends to more formal and task-oriented exchanges in institutional settings. Although repair can be observed in any type of talk-in-interaction throughout the data, its occurrence is rather contingent. This is particularly so with the phenomenon examined in Chapter 6. The very fact that a prolonged repair sequence barely happens reflects people's orientation that repair halts the progressivity of the talk and such a disruptive activity should be done in as short a time as possible. The refinement of our argument in Chapter 6, then, awaits the manifestation of more "deviant" cases.

In this regard, a relevant domain of research can be offered by teacher-student interaction in classrooms (Cf. McHoul [1990] and Macbeth [2004] on repair in classroom talk in the English-speaking countries). When a teacher initiates repair on a student's answer to their question, for instance, the repair initiation is often heard as "Reconsider your answer." rather than as "Say it again". What interactional practices make such an "instructive" type of repair initiation distinguishable from those of more standard kinds? Is this hearing related to the participants' identities as "teacher" and "student" and to their relative knowledgeability? How does the instructive repair initiation set the subsequent course of talk and how does the repair sequence come to end? The investigation of other-initiated repair in classroom will deepen our understanding both on the organization of prolonged repair sequences and on the relevance of participants' knowledgeability to repair activity.

The second possible direction of future investigation is cross-linguistic comparison of repair practices. "Repair on unexpressed utterance elements" discussed in Chapter 5 is an outstanding phenomenon in Japanese conversation because the prevalence of ellipsis in the language makes relevant such a "backup" device. This exemplifies influences of language to the organization of social interaction, i.e., it represents a concrete way in which we organize our social interaction with reference to the language used in it. Retrieving elliptical referents correctly is a requisite task in understanding talk in Japanese, and repair on unexpressed utterance elements is exercised particularly when normal procedures of retrieval fail to be undertaken properly. Related questions worth pursuing is, then, whether the same interactional tasks are done in other languages, and if so, what kinds of practices are assigned for the job. As suggested in Kim (1993), Korean seems to have a similar syntactic feature that grammatical arguments such as a subject and an object of a sentence can be omitted. Is there a repair

unexpressed utterance elements in Korean, too? How about in languages like English in which the ellipsis of the sentence subject is said to be forbidden, yet in fact possible?

Relatedly, some subtypes of repair on unexpressed utterance elements in Japanese, for example, *dare to?* “With who?” and *doko ni?* “Where to?”, may serve similarly to what Lerner (2004) and Raymond (2004) call a “prompt”. “Increment initiators” in English, such as “with”, “at”, “meaning”, and “so”, when used stand-alone, prompts a prior speaker to add another increment to their incomplete turn. Although linguistic forms are totally different in the two languages, their working of eliciting “missing” elements from a prior speaker can be seen as alike.

With the support of some anthropological research on Thai, Tuvaluan, and Quiche, Schegloff (1987b) states that repair can be “the linkage between micro and macro” (pp. 209-214), the analysis of the organization of our social conducts, including repair, at the micro level and that of societies and cultures at the macro level. He further suggests:

This “microdomain” shows extraordinary invariance across massive variations in social structural, cultural, and linguistic context and relatively minor variations fitted to those variations in context. (Schegloff, *ibid.*: 213; see also Čmejrková & Prevignano 2003 for the cross-linguistic research project on repair that Schegloff has been engaged in recent years.)

Comparative studies about recipient-administered practices for dealing with the incompleteness of a prior utterance across languages will constitute a part of the exploration on universal and language-specific properties of our social conducts, and their implications on the larger sociological and cultural structures that surround us.

Finally, there will be another possible direction of future research in the domain of “intersubjectivity” accomplished in human communication. For the current study, we have taken a very narrow perspective on “understanding” as being managed moment-by-moment through the production of turns-at-talk in interaction. Other-initiated repair, as we have seen, is an important locus where a recipient’s understanding of talk is claimed to be at issue, and it occasions a speaker’s realization of the needs of collaborative repair activity in order to restore the mutual comprehension. Such a locally accomplished understanding at each moment of interaction may provide participants with the foundation for the promotion of a broader sense of “understanding” required in communication. To

situate the current study into a larger framework, theory, or model, of how understanding is achieved through communication will be a very challenging task, but it will surely advance our “understanding” of human communication, and of natures of human beings who cannot live without interacting with others.

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Appendix A: Transcription Conventions

\bar{a} , \bar{e} , \bar{i} , \bar{o} , \bar{u}	the normatively prolonged vowels
a?	Rising intonation
a.	Falling intonation
a,	Continuing intonation
a_	Noticeably flat intonation
(.)	Pause (less than two-tenth of a second)
(1.1)	Pause (second)
a::	Prolonged syllable
[Speech overlap
=	Latching between utterances by different speakers or continuous utterances by the same speaker
<<	Left-push (rush-in)
(talk)	Uncertain hearing
()	Inaudible fragment
>talk<	Quickened speech
<talk>	Slowed speech
<u>talk</u>	Stressed syllable or word
TALK	Loud speech
°talk°	Quiet and/or soft speech
°°talk°°	Barely audible speech
hh	Aspiration (outbreath) or laughter
.hh	Inhalation (inbreath)
.shh	Dentalized inbreath
a-	Abrupt cut-off
a!	Glottal stop (not necessary an exclamation)
↑a, ↓a	Marked rising or falling intonation shift
talk	Creaky voice
£talk£	Smiley voice

Appendix B: Abbreviations

ACC	accusative particle (direct object marker)
COP	copula
CONT	continuative verb form
DF	disfluency
FP	final particle
HOR	hortative verb form
IMP	imperative verb form
INT	intensifier
MIM	mimetics
N	nominalizer
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative particle (subject marker)
PAST	past tense morpheme
POL	polite morpheme/word
PRES	presumptive verb form
Q	question particle
QUOT	quotative particle
TOP	topic particle
TITLE	title marker (address form)