What X? / X what? and *What is X*: The multimodal formatting of two restricted other-initiations of repair in casual English as lingua franca conversations

Ivana Leinonen[1] / Florence Oloff

English abstract
This study investigates other-initiated repair and its embodied dimension in casual English as lingua franca (ELF) conversations, thereby contributing to the further understanding of multimodal repair practices in social interaction. Using multimodal conversation analysis, we focus on two types of restricted other-initiation of repair (OIR): partial repeats preceded or followed by the question word *what* (i.e., *what X?/X what?*) and copular interrogative clauses (i.e., *what is X*). Partial repeats with *what* produced with rising final intonation are consistently accompanied by a head poke and treated as relating to troubles in hearing, with the repair usually consisting of a repeat. In contrast to these partial repeats, copular interrogative clauses are produced with downward final intonation and accompanied by face-related embodied conduct. The *what is X* OIRs primarily target code-switched lexical items, the understanding of which is critical for maintaining the repair initiator's involvement in the ongoing sequence. This study also contributes some general reflections on the possible complexity of OIR and repair practices from a multimodal perspective.

Keywords: conversation analysis – other-initiated repair – embodied displays – understanding – casual conversation – English lingua franca interactions.

German abstract
Dieser Beitrag untersucht fremdinitiierte Reparaturen und ihre leibliche Dimension in Alltagsgesprächen in Englisch als Lingua Franca (ELF) und trägt damit zum weiteren Verständnis multimodaler Reparaturpraktiken in sozialer Interaktion bei. Mit Hilfe der multimodalen Gesprächsanalyse konzentrieren wir uns auf zwei Arten von eingeschränkten Reparaturinitiierungen (*OIR*): partielle Wiederholungen in Kombination mit dem Fragewort *what* (z.B. *what X?/X what?*) und interrogative Kopulasätze (z.B. *what is X*). Teilwiederholungen + *what* werden typischerweise mit steigender Endintonation und in Verbindung mit einer Kopfbewegung nach vorn (*poke*) produziert. Sie werden daher hauptsächlich im Zusammenhang mit Hörproblemen behandelt und in der Regel mit einer Wiederholung repariert. Im Gegensatz zu diesen Teilwiederholungen wird das Kopulaformat mit fallender Endintonation produziert und von mimischem leiblichen Verhalten begleitet. Die *what is X*-OIRs zielen in erster Linie auf *Code-Switchings* von Wörtern ab, deren Verständnis für die Aufrechterhaltung der Beteiligung der reparaturinitiierenden

Person an der laufenden Sequenz entscheidend ist. Dieser Beitrag schließt mit einigen allgemeineren Überlegungen zur möglichen Komplexität von OIRs und Reparaturpraktiken aus einer multimodalen Perspektive.

Keywords: Konversationsanalyse – fremd-initiierte Reparaturen – leibliche Displays – Verstehen und Intersubjektivität – Alltagsgespräche – Englisch als Lingua Franca-Interaktionen.

1. Introduction

This paper examines two types of restricted other-initiation of repair (OIR) in lingua franca interactions: 1) partial repeats of a previous turn, mostly phrases, preceded or followed by the question word *what* (i.e., *what X?* and *X what?*), and 2) copular interrogative clauses in the format *what is X*, where *X* represents either a full or partial repeat of the trouble source, mostly single lexical items, or the demonstrative pronoun *that*. Drawing on 26 hours of video-recorded casual English as lingua franca (ELF) conversations, we show how participants use the two selected OIR formats to signal trouble with prior talk and how they address the trouble through ensuing repair proper. Using multimodal analysis, we aim to contribute to previous conversation analytic research on repair in two ways. First, we demonstrate that in addition to lexico-syntactic formatting and prosodic delivery, participants also use specific embodied resources – such as gaze, facial displays, and head movements – that are mobilised together with the audible OIRs. Although previous studies in conversation analysis have identified some systematic relations in embodied displays related to open-class repair initiations (e.g., Mortensen 2016; Oloff 2018), embodiment in *restricted* repair initiations (Dingemanse et al. 2014; Dingemanse/ Enfield 2015) has yet to receive similar attention. Second, this contribution adds to our knowledge of how specific OIRs are carried out by the participants in linguistically complex ELF settings.

ELF interactions are often characterised as intrinsically multilingual: not only do they bring together speakers with varying expertise in English, but participants' linguistic repertoires often also include other languages which they may partially or fully share with other coparticipants (Kaur 2012; Leinonen 2022; Mauranen 2006). The use of multilingual resources such as insertions from participants' L1s or other languages can support the progressivity of the interaction; however, it can also cause additional language-related problems (Markaki et al. 2013; Oloff 2018). By examining sequences of other-initiated repair, we aim to broaden our under-

standing of various trouble types that the OIRs in question target in real-life, non-institutional multilingual settings. Furthermore, partial repeats preceded or followed by the question word *what* as well as the copular interrogative *what is X* have so far received little attention in previous interactional studies. To the best of our knowledge, there are no studies that describe how these OIRs are multimodally mobilized and treated in casual ELF interactions.

In what follows, we first look at previous research examining restricted OIRs (Section 2), specifically with partial repeats preceded or followed by a question word (Section 2.1) and copular interrogative clauses (Section 2.2). In Section 2.3, we offer an overview of studies that examine the use of embodied displays as and in OIRs. Following the description of the data and method (Section 3), the analysis (Section 4) is divided into two parts. In Section 4.1, we show that partial repeats preceded or followed by *what* produced with rising final intonation are accompanied by a head poke towards the producer of the trouble source. In our data, *what X?* and *X what?* occur in the next position with respect to the trouble-source turn and target mostly English phrases or words. Both of these repair initiations are – at least initially – responded to by a repetition of the trouble source (i.e., treated as problems of hearing); however, in most of the cases, participants also address possible problems of understanding by then providing additional explanations, specifications, or synonyms. Section 4.2 then discusses copular interrogative clauses *what is X* that – in our data – occur later than in the next position and target almost exclusively code-switched lexical items, the meaning of which are unknown to the repair initiator. Produced with downward final intonation and accompanied by minimal embodied displays focused mainly on the area of the eyes (such as alternating gaze and frowning), the *what is X* repair initiations are responded to by translations of the item in question to another shared language or by providing an explanation. Finally, we discuss the results of the study and its implications in the concluding section (Section 5).

2. Repair, other-initiation of repair, and restricted OIRs

In the field of conversation analysis, repair is regarded as a universal practice that allows people to address problems of speaking, hearing, and understanding (Schegloff et al. 1977; Hayashi et al. 2013). The organisation and the outcome of a repair sequence depend to a large extent on who initiates the repair and in which position as well as on the format of the repair initiation that is used to signal trouble with prior talk (Schegloff 2000). Repair can be initiated by the producer of a trouble source (self-initiated repair) or by someone else (other-initiated repair). Regarding the focus of this paper, in the following, we review the studies conducted on repair sequences initiated by others.

The most frequent sequential environment in which OIRs occur is the turn immediately after the trouble-source turn, a sequential position which offers an early opportunity for the repair initiator to signal trouble in prior talk. However, participants can also initiate repair at later sequential positions (Schegloff et al. 1977; Schegloff 2000; Egbert 2017). OIRs come in various formats which differ with regard to the sequential position and type of trouble (Schegloff 2007; Svennevig 2008; Dingemanse/Enfield 2015). Recipients of a problematic bit of talk can initiate

repair either with open-class repair initiations that do not specify the type of the repairable (such as *huh?*, *what?*, or *sorry?*; Drew 1997; Oloff 2018), or they can use restricted repair initiations that allow for a more precise identification of the trouble source (Dingemanse et al. 2014; Dingemanse/Enfield 2015).

Restricted OIRs include lexical formats that differ as to their precision in locating the trouble source and their capacity in delimiting the nature of a problem. Restricted OIRs include, for instance, full or partial repeats of the prior turn, candidate understandings, content question words, and different types of interrogative clauses. We will now more closely examine the two types of restricted OIR that are the focus of our analysis and the embodied displays as or in OIRs.

2.1. Partial repeats with question words

Repeats of parts of a trouble-source turn can be found among repair practices that are commonly used by speakers to initiate repair (Schegloff et al. 1977). Whereas some repeats are designed to present the trouble source itself (i.e., "trouble-presenting" repeats), others serve as a 'framing' tool that helps to locate the repairable (i.e., "trouble-framing" repeats; Jefferson 1972). In the latter case, the repeated content is often accompanied by another element – either a candidate understanding or a question word – pointing to the repairable (Dingemanse et al. 2014).

Partial repeats with question words are commonly mentioned in conversation analytic studies that offer an overview of repair practices (e.g., Couper-Kuhlen/Selting 2018; Dingemanse et al. 2014; Kendrick 2015; Schegloff et al. 1977), but there are only a small number of studies that provide more systematic analyses on the basis of multiple instances (e.g., Benjamin 2013; Sacks 1995; Sidnell 2010). The combination of a partial repeat and a question word allows for a rather precise localization of a trouble source: by partially repeating prior talk, repair initiators indicate that they have heard the utterance sufficiently well to reproduce at least part of it and simultaneously frame the trouble source by using a substitute question word that targets this precise item (Jefferson 1972; Sacks 1995:723). The trouble source can be replaced either with a "class-specific" question word specifying the kind of reference that needs repairing (such as *who*, *where*, *how*, or *when*) or with a "class-unspecific" question word such as *what* that can, at least in English, replace any problematic reference (Benjamin 2013; Couper-Kuhlen/Selting 2018). The partial repeat is either preceded or followed by a question word[2] depending on where the problematic item or phrase occurs in the trouble-source turn (Couper-Kuhlen/Selting 2018).

In this paper, we focus specifically on partial repeats preceded or followed by class-specific or class-unspecific occurrences of *what*, as these are the most frequent partial repeats with a question word in our data (15 cases).[3] In their overview of repair initiations in everyday interactions among native speakers of Finnish, Haakana et al. (2016:264-267) observe that the Finnish equivalent of *what X* can be

---

[2]   According to Benjamin (2013:139), *what* can be also surrounded by a partial repeat such as *you what them?* (Benjamin's example). The author, however, neither includes an extract nor specifies whether such cases have been found in their data. We have not observed similar instances in our data set.

[3]   For comparison, only two instances of partial repeat accompanied by the question word *who* were identified in the data.

used as an appeal for the specification of a referent that was either left unspecified, expressed with a pronoun, or not properly heard. Lilja (2010) observes a similar use in conversations among native and second language speakers of Finnish and shows that the repair initiation typically targets noun phrases. These are preceded by a demonstrative pronoun that displays the speaker's orientation to an already known referent for the recipient (Lilja 2010:167).

In research into English L1 interactions, attention has been brought particularly to prosodic features that have been found to be a decisive factor in determining the kind of trouble targeted by the OIR considered. Drawing on a variety of English data including talk among children, talk in court, and examples from other authors, Sidnell (2010:128) concludes that rising intonation is often connected to troubles with hearing, whereas falling intonation seems to be linked to troubles with the identification of an unspecified referent. Similarly, Benjamin (2013:141-153) notes that "framed-*what*s" produced with rising pitch are frequently responded to with a repetition (i.e., signalling hearing trouble), whereas "framed-*what*s" delivered with a falling pitch tend to indicate a problem with identifying the particular referent to which an indexical expression is pointing.[4] Furthermore, different kinds of over-tones can prosodically mark participants' alignment to prior talk and affect the ensuing repair; for instance, in her study of German L1 conversations, Selting (1996) notes that partial repeats (with and without a question word) produced with an "astonished" or "surprised" prosodic marking (high pitch and increased loudness) can indicate problems of expectation.

Whereas previous research has described connections between the syntactic and prosodic delivery of the OIR in question and the trouble it addresses, few studies have examined participants' concomitant embodied conduct in detail and the ways in which it shapes the ensuing repair (see Section 2.3). Furthermore, previous studies have focused mostly on interactions among speakers of the same first language, meaning that language-related understanding issues are rather rare (but see some of the excerpts in Oloff 2018). In ELF settings, however, participants' heterogenous linguistic skills can cause additional trouble which – as our analysis will show – can potentially lead to participants' higher awareness towards securing intersubjectivity (cf. Markaki et al. 2013).

2.2. Copular interrogative clauses

Copular interrogative clauses used as OIRs comprise an interrogative pronoun (such as *what*, *who*, or *where*), a copula (i.e., an inflected form of the verb *to be*), and a predicate representing a full or partial repeat of the problematic item or a pronoun that substitutes the trouble source (e.g., *that* or *those*). In this study, we focus on copular interrogative clauses in the format *what is X*, where *X* is either a full or partial repeat of the trouble source or the anaphoric pronoun *that*. The copular structure of this format not only rather precisely specifies the trouble source (in comparison to such syntactic structures as *what do you mean;* Raymond/Sidnell

---

[4] Benjamin's (2013:10) observations are based on an examination of both everyday and institutional conversations among speakers of British English and various varieties of American English.

2019), but it also delimits the nature of the trouble as being related to understanding, more specifically to a problem with the predicate *X*.

Previous studies show that participants can use the *what is X* clausal format as a tool for requesting a clarification or explanation of new or unknown vocabulary item and/or specialised terms in institutional contexts (for example in classroom environments; Červenková 2021; Markee 2000; Olsher 2003; Urmeneta/Evnit-skaya 2014) and in casual conversations (Greer/Ogawa 2021; Haakana et al. 2016; Kitzinger/Mandelbaum 2013; Sidnell 2010). Focusing on classroom interactions among learners of English, Olsher (2003:100-105) shows that learners use the *what is X* format as an upgraded repair initiation that explicitly targets the meaning of an unknown vocabulary item after a first, less 'strong' repair initiation has not obtained a successful repair in response. By referring to Schegloff's example "what's a gwaff" (Schegloff 2000:213), Olsher (2003:106-107) also points out that *what is X* repair initiations are not limited to language-related issues (e.g., in language learning contexts) but can refer to problems with specialised or technical vocabulary among native speakers of English as well. Similarly, Haakana et al. (2016:280-282) present several examples in which the Finnish equivalent *mikä on X* is used by native Finnish speakers in casual conversations to signal problems with the meaning of specific terms, noting, however, that similar repair initiations are rather rare in their data.

Although we can assume that the *what is X* format occurs more recurrently in linguistically asymmetrical interactions (Haakana et al. 2016), there seems to be only few studies on second language interactions that examine the use of *what is X* in their data (e.g., Kurhila 2001; Lilja 2010; Savijärvi 2011). Lilja (2010:115) describes *what is X* and *what does X mean* repair initiations as "focused questions" with which non-native speakers of Finnish target unknown Finnish words or expressions and ask native Finnish speakers to explain their meaning (see also Kurhila 2001:183). Finnish speakers typically address the trouble by providing explanations (for instance, by using paraphrases or synonyms) rather than by translating to other shared languages (Lilja 2010).

Our setting (cf. Section 3) differs from previous studies in the sense that all participants are non-native speakers of the main language of conversation (i.e., English). Rather than English lexical items, however, *what is X* repair initiations in our data target almost exclusively insertions from other languages that previous speakers assumed to be already known to the coparticipants. In comparison to Lilja's (2010) observations from participants in L2 interactions, our analysis shows that in such linguistically complex ELF settings, participants prefer to resolve the trouble by providing a translation of the unknown item to another language (often the repair initiator's L1) than by producing an explanation of the trouble source in English.

2.3. Embodied displays and OIRs

Although conversation analytic research has initially focused on the *audible* design of repair initiation, more recent studies have increasingly considered the participants' use of *visible* resources for this purpose. Gesture and other embodied features have been found to play a central role in the self-initiation of repair, especially in reformulation practices or word searches (e.g., de Fornel 1992; Hayashi 2003;

Hauser 2019; Uskokovic/Taleghani-Nikazm 2022; Wu 2022). The embodied dimension of the other-initiation of repair has been studied along two major lines: on the one hand, as a mere variation within a larger array of repair initiation practices in social interaction and, on the other hand, with an explicit focus on the visible resources used for specific types of OIR or OIRs in specific settings.

Within the first line of investigation, the use of visual cues for the OIR has been acknowledged as a cross-linguistic practice (Enfield et al. 2013; Floyd et al. 2016). More comparative-oriented studies tend to emphasise that repair seems to be rarely initiated only by visible resources although they can accompany a certain amount of audible OIRs (Kendrick 2015). Previous interactional research provides general descriptions of different visual resources that can be used as OIRs on their own or during the verbal OIR, for instance, a forward head poke or lateral head tilt (Seo/Koshik 2010; Kendrick 2015; Oloff 2018), a forward leaning of the upper body (Li 2014), a redirection of gaze and head movement (Lilja 2014; Satti 2021), and raised or furrowed eyebrows (Manrique/Enfield 2015; Manrique 2016; Oloff 2018; Hömke et al. 2022). The timing and temporality of these multimodal OIRs have been shown to be related to the management of repair sequences: a gesture, facial expression, or posture adopted at repair initiation is usually held until a repair has been provided and the repair sequence can come to a close (cf. Byun et al. 2018; Floyd et al. 2016; Manrique 2016; Sikveland/Ogden 2012). Although all of these studies acknowledge that audible and visible resources are used and can possibly be combined for OIR, they mostly do not aim at distinguishing different types and scopes of these repair initiations; that is, what they imply for the repair proper.

Within the second line of investigation, studies focus on specific settings and particular practices of OIR used within them. Unsurprisingly, classroom/L2 learning settings figure prominently in this strand of research, as they go hand in hand with a heightened frequency of possible repairables. Teachers can use a combination of talk and specific gestures for initiating the correction of a student's prior incorrect or incomplete answer (Eskildsen/Wagner 2013, 2015; Mortensen 2016; Tůma/Lojdová 2021). The type of visible resource used for OIR depends on the ecology and type of task: teachers can use specific objects for initiating repair (such as withholding the uncovering of the correct answer on a projected worksheet; Kääntä 2010:198-207), physiotherapists can touch a patient's body in a specific way during physiotherapy sessions in order to correct their posture (Martin/Sahlström 2010), and participants receiving instructions on manual/bodily activities such as cooking and farming can initiate repair by producing depictive gestures of the targeted activity (Jokipohja/Lilja 2022). In such task-related settings, the trouble source and thus the required type of repair are usually unequivocal, with the latter aimed at the production of a 'correct' linguistic form or physical action. This connection is however more ambiguous in settings where no specific (manual or didactic) task is targeted and where talk or mundane socializing constitutes the main activity, as in our data.

The practical problem of understanding the type of trouble and therefore of producing a fitted repair can be especially salient in atypical interactions (Wilkinson et al. 2020): interactional studies of, for example, hearing-impaired or neurodivergent participants tend to pay more attention to the use of embodied resources in repair practices (leaning forward or turning the ear to the speaker; Pajo/Laakso 2020; Pajo/Klippi 2013) and to specific trouble sources (such as the lack of mutual gaze;

Ekberg et al. 2017; Wiklund 2016). Due to the clear focus on visible means for communication, studies on signed language settings emphasise the role of embodied resources in OIR such as holds of otherwise dynamic movements in repair sequences (Floyd et al. 2016) or the "freeze look"; that is, steadily gazing at the previous speaker without responding to their turn (Manrique/Enfield 2015; Manrique 2016). However, attempts to systematise the link between specific multimodal displays used for OIR and the targeted trouble source remain scarce, especially when different resources for open-class repair initiation are combined (cf. Manrique 2016:4, Table 2; Skedsmo 2020a).

Regardless of the type of participants or investigated settings, some studies elaborate on the basic idea that different combinations of multimodal resources for initiating open-class repair might be related to different types of trouble (Oloff 2018; Hömke et al. 2022) or specific sequential positions (Skedsmo 2020b). In Dutch, eyebrow raises are more frequently combined with candidate understandings, while eyebrow furrowing co-occurs more often with restricted requests (Hömke et al. 2022; cf. also Leinonen 2022). Raised eyebrows seem to be more tightly connected to interrogative actions and to verbal repair initiations, while furrowed eyebrows used on their own seem to be related to insufficient understanding, making an ensuing clarification relevant (Hömke et al. 2022). In a multilingual/lingua franca setting, a combination of raised eyebrows and head poke was shown to be treated as an indication of trouble in hearing and responded to by a verbatim repeat, while a bodily freeze display (i.e., not only gaze) was linked to trouble in understanding, responded to by clearly modified versions of the trouble-source turn (Oloff 2018).

Although the seating arrangement and thus the body position of the participants has, to our knowledge, not been studied as a distinctive feature in OIR, some studies point at the fact that mutual perceivability might play a role in the frequency of use of more embodied forms of responsive actions (e.g., Blythe et al. 2018, Rossano et al. 2009). However, a closer look at the literature on OIRs reveals examples of embodied OIRs carried out by participants both sitting in front of or more laterally oriented to each other (for the latter seating position, see examples in, e.g., Li 2014; Manrique 2016; Skedsmo 2020b). With respect to the number of participants (note that most research on OIR focuses on dyadic settings), prior research has illustrated, for example, specific sequential arrangements such as late OIRs (Egbert 1997, 2017) or OIRs addressed to participants other than the trouble-source speaker (Bolden 2011; Greer/Ogawa 2021). However, no study thus far has pointed at a specific link between multiparty settings and the (non) use of specific embodied resources in OIR. Therefore, in conditions of mutual perceivability, body position and participant number can possibly impact the frequency of embodied resources in OIR but not their overall presence and fundamental organisation.

Research on embodied repair initiation has thus far focused on subjects such as embodied features either in isolation or in combination with verbal turns, multimodal displays combining two or more embodied features on their own, or a combination of these displays with verbal forms of OIR. This suggests that further research is needed to unravel the precise actional contributions of different embodied resources in OIR and how they act in combination with specific lexical formats of OIRs.

3. Data and method

The data set for this study consists of 23 video recordings collected between 2018 and 2022. The recordings comprise approximately 26 hours of everyday face-to-face conversations that are both dyadic and multiparty. In total, seven participants took part in the recordings. The participants are either friends or couples who met in their home environments for a casual conversation over a cup of coffee or some other drink. Of the participants, three are native speakers of Finnish, two are native speakers of Czech, and two are native speakers of Slovak. The data were collected in Finland where all the participants live permanently.

The participants' conversations during and outside of the recorded events are – for the most part – carried out using English as the lingua franca. The use of English as a contact language is a practical choice for the participants: even though all the Czech and Slovak participants have learnt Finnish at some point, not all of them can use it as the main language of conversation. Finnish, however, does serve as an additional linguistic resource for the participants who often code switch to Finnish, especially for single lexical items or short phrases. Furthermore, the Czech and Slovak participants can fully understand each other's native languages, and with two of the Finnish participants having a Czech or Slovak partner and some rudimentary knowledge of their partners' language, Czech and Slovak are occasionally utilised by the participants as well. This mundane but linguistically complex setting allows us to investigate repair practices 'in the wild', which in contrast to task-oriented, educational settings are less overtly related to language learning and a specific target language and are instead more generally oriented to maintaining intersubjectivity.

For our study, we searched the data set for the OIR formats *what X?/X what?* and *what is X*. The first collection comprises 15 repair sequences initiated with a partial repeat of the prior turn that is either preceded or followed by the question word *what* and that is produced with rising final intonation *(i.e., what X?/X what?)*. The lexico-syntactic format of these repair initiations can differ depending on the kind of trouble source that is being targeted by the question word *what* (e.g., nominal head, predicate, adjective, or full clause) and on the original position of the trouble source in the prior turn, leading to a realization of the OIR as either *what X?* or *X what?*. We have also included cases in which the lexico-syntactic format of the OIR can be seen as 'nonstandard' (from a grammatical viewpoint); for instance, the question word *what* may be misplaced in comparison to its placement in the prior turn ('what they have?' instead of 'they have what?'), or the word order of the partial repeat may not follow the rules of standard English.[5] These instances reflect participants' individual variations in their use of ELF and possible interference with respect to typical word order in their L1. The fact that both *what X?* and *X what?* are always in the next position with respect to the trouble-source turn and then responded to in a similar manner by the participants warrants considering their analytic treatment as belonging to one collection, at least in our data.

---

[5]   Even though they do not follow the rules of standard English, these instances are treated by the participants as repair initiations that restrict the trouble source in the same way as do the lexico-syntactically 'correct' partial repeats with *what*. For this reason, we included these cases in our analysis.

The second collection comprises 20 sequences initiated with the copular interrogative clause *what is X* produced with falling final intonation. In these instances, *X* corresponds either to a precise repairable or to *that* (cf. Section 2.2). In both analytic sections, we present three examples that illustrate the characteristic multimodal patterns we have identified in each collection but also show the diversity in the ways through which the participants treat the repair initiations considered. We analysed the data using the methodological framework of multimodal conversation analysis (e.g., Deppermann 2013; Mondada 2014; Streeck et al. 2011). The selected examples were transcribed using conversation analytic transcription conventions for talk (Jefferson 2004) and for embodied conduct (Mondada 2018, 2022). The participants provided their consent for the scientific use of the recorded data and agreed to the use of the screenshots that were added to the transcripts to support the visualisation of their embodied conduct. The participants' names have been replaced by pseudonyms, and copresent children have been anonymised with filters in the frame grabs.

4. Analysis

4.1. Repair sequences initiated through partial repeats combined with a question word (*what X?/X what?*)

In the first analytical section, we focus on repair sequences initiated through a partial repeat of the prior turn preceded or followed by the question word *what*. In our data, the OIR format *what X?*/X *what?* targets almost exclusively English words or phrases.[6] We present the analysis of three cases to illustrate the systematic relation between the multimodal turn design of these OIRs and the addressed trouble source that we recurrently observed in our data. The analysis shows that partial repetitions with the question word *what* are recurrently produced with *rising* final intonation and accompanied by a *head poke* towards the trouble-source producer, with the head movement being initiated at the beginning of the turn doing the OIR and being held until the trouble has been resolved (for a similar practice in English as a Second Language tutoring, see Excerpt 1 in Seo/Koshik 2010: 2223). Additional embodied displays such as narrowed eyes, frowning, raised eyebrows, and open mouth can be mobilised in various combinations with the head poke. Participants orient to these multimodal displays and respond – at least *initially* – with a full or partial repeat of the content that has been identified as problematic, treating the trouble source first and foremost as being related to a problem of hearing.

In Extract 1 the participants talk about what they would or would not buy if they won the lottery. The transcript begins with Aku telling a story about a woman from his village who bought a Mercedes after she won the lottery (lines 01-06). Martin then states that a car would probably be the last thing he would buy (lines 10-15), while Elena says she would *buy some nice shoes and (0.8) put the rest to savings* (lines 16-17, Figure 1A).

---

[6]   Only in two instances did the repair initiation frame part of the prior turn that included a code-switched element. One of these instances is presented in Section 4.2 (Extract 6) where *what X* is produced as a first attempt to initiate repair in an extended repair sequence.

Extract 1. Nice shoes

```
01  AKU     %one woman from our %village (0.2)%(0.6)
    aku     %.....gaze at TER---%,,,down------%MAR-->
02          won (it) lotto.% not- not the main
                         -->%,,,away/to side-->
03          but like >maybe some< (0.7)
04          *I don't know (.)%fifty %thousand euros?
    ter     *gaze at Aku-->
    aku                    -->%..ELE-%..MAR-->
05          so she bought a Mer- Mercedes.
06          and all the money went there.
07          (0.5)
08  TER     £˚mm-hm.˚£
09          (0.4)
10  MAR     ▪no I wouldn't.
    ele     ▪chews-->
11          (0.4)
12  MAR     I  *would never buy that.
    ter     -->*gaze at MAR-->
13          (0.5)
14  MAR     the car *is probably the last* thing
    ter         -->*away---------------*gaze at MAR-->
15          I would buy.=▪
    ele             -->▪
16  ELE     =*I would bu- %some- +buy some nice shoes
    ele      *gaze at MAR-->
    aku             -->%gaze at ELE-->
    ter                     -->+gaze at ELE-->
17          and *(0.8) put the rest to savings.#
    ele      -->*gaze at AKU-->
    fig                                     #1A
```


Figure 1A   Figure 1B

```
18          ▪(0.5)▪
    ele     ▪chews▪
19  TER ->  Δw[hat*] you Δwould▪ buy?#                ▪
20  AKU       [and-]%
    aku          -->%away-->
    ter     Δ...........Δhead poke-->
    ele       -->*gaze at TER-->
                            ▪puts cracker into mouth▪
    fig                     #1B
```
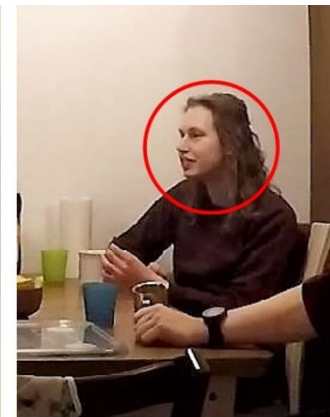
```
21            ▪(0.3)                ▪
              ▪takes cracker out▪
22  ELE ->  ni%ce sho͟es △%a[+nd r]est△ to+ sa+vi[n*gs.]%
23  TER ->            [+a:: ]
24  MAR                                      [a*nd ]%this is
    aku    ->%gaze ELE--%down----------------------%MAR//
    ele                                      -->*gaze at MAR//
    ter            -->△,,,,,,,,,,,,,△
                      -->+gaze away---+ELE+gaze at MAR//
25  MAR    what (keeps) me when I bet lotto.
```

In producing her turn in lines 16-17, Elena directs her gaze first to Martin and then to her partner, Aku. In this case, it is the nonaddressed coparticipant, Tereza, who produces an OIR directed at Elena's previous turn. Tereza initiates repair with the question word *what* followed by a partial repeat of Elena's turn adjusted with a pronominal shift (*what you would buy?*, line 19). Tereza's turn is produced without any prosodic breaks (i.e., as a single turn-constructional unit (TCU)), with a rising final intonation coupled with a forward-directed head poke towards Elena that begins with the onset of Tereza's verbal OIR and reaches its apex before she finishes her turn (Figure 1B). In line 22, Elena addresses Tereza's OIR by partially repeating her previous turn, omitting the dispensable parts (Schegloff 2004). In producing the repair, Elena adds volume and emphasis specifically when delivering the phrase *nice shoes*, which indicates that she finds this part of her previous turn to be the most likely source of trouble. Elena's prosodically upgraded repeat of *nice shoes* shows that she treats Tereza's OIR as referring to a trouble in hearing rather than as a possible trouble related to sequential fittedness (cf. Curl 2005).[7] Indeed, after Elena repeats the phrase *nice shoes*, Tereza does not display any surprise concerning Elena's statement but simply produces a change-of-state token (line 23) while retracting the head poke, thus making it clear that the trouble has been resolved (Floyd et al. 2016).

Worth noticing in this case is the question-like clausal format of Tereza's OIR (*what you would buy?*, line 19). One could assume the *X what?* format (i.e., "you would buy what?") to be more 'accurate', taking into consideration the fact that the trouble source (*nice shoes*) is located at the end of Elena's TCU (*I would buy some nice shoes*, line 16). Furthermore, the word order of Tereza's repair initiation does not correspond to the appropriate question format in standard English ("what would you buy?; compare this to a similar turn format in Excerpt 6, line 9). As noted by Firth (1996, 2009), the presence of linguistic forms seen by the analysts as nonstandard can be characteristic of ELF talk even though ELF speakers themselves rarely pay attention to such individual variations. Similarly, in Extract 1, Elena does not orient to the disorderly lexico-syntactic format of Tereza's turn in line 19 but

---

7 Taking into consideration the 'strangeness' of Elena's statement, one could wonder whether there may be an aspect of surprise or disbelief in Tereza's OIR (line 19). The prosodic pattern of Elena's repeat (louder, more precise, and with altered articulation), however, does not display such orientation. As noted by Curl (2005), speakers often produce prosodically upgraded repeats (as seen in Extract 1) when addressing hearing problems of turns that are understood as being sequentially fitted rather than misplaced.

hears and treats Tereza's turn as a partial repeat[8] that localizes part of her prior turn as a trouble source (via the interrogative *what*) and indicates a hearing problem.

Extract 2 is a continuation of a conversation between participants Jenni and Martin. Jenni told Martin that the Skype application on her laptop was not working properly even though *it used to work fi:ne* earlier (lines 01 and 04). Martin responds that the problem could be in the webcam driver (lines 03 and 05), which is then confirmed by Jenni in line 06. A rather long pause of 12 seconds follows, during which the participants – including Martin's partner Tereza and their child – follow a programme on television (line 07). In lines 08-11, Martin returns to the topic by quoting a character from the well-known sitcom *The Big Bang Theory* who allegedly says that he does not like things that are *more user-friendly* (Figure 2A).

Extract 2. User-friendly

```
01   JEN     it used to work fi:ne.
02           (1.0)
03   MAR     nah there is so[mething with driver ma]ybe=
04   JEN                    [˚on my laptop earlier˚ ]
05   MAR     =on the webcam ˚inside˚.
06   JEN     ye:ah.
07           (12.0) ((participants look at TV))
08   MAR     but as Sheldon said in +Big Bang Theory,
     jen                            +gaze at MAR-->
09           (.)
10   MAR     *it's more use[r-friendly.               ]
                          [((child drags the toy box))]
     mar     *gaze towards JEN-->
11   MAR     I don't *like th#at.
     mar        -->*gaze towards TV-->
     fig             #2A
```


Figure 2A

---

[8] In this study, we adopt Schegloff's definition of the term *repeats* as "turns that are hearably and analyzably produced as 'repeats'" (Schegloff 1997:525). Such turns are not necessarily exact replicas of the prior turns (or their parts) but often convey various modifications such as shifts in pronominalizations, deixis, and differences in prosodic delivery (Curl 2002; Schegloff, 1997). As noted by Schegloff (1997), the level of matching with the prior turn is not a strict criterion for recipients to recognize the turns as *repeats* that are designed to implement specific actions.

```
12          (0.4)
13  JEN -> it ▪more use-*≈▪what?#
    jen        ▪...........▪head poke-->
                         ≈narrows eyes-->
    mar              -->*gaze at JEN-->>
    fig                        #2B
```


Figure 2B

```
14  MAR -> user-friendly.
15          (0.5)≈
    jen        -->≈
16  MAR -> all▪ ¤the▪ ¤updates and +new softwares.¤
    jen     -->▪,,,,,▪
                 ¤.....¤smiles--------------------¤
                             -->+gaze at TV-->
17  JEN     that's +what he sai:d?
                -->+gaze at MAR-->>
18          (.)
19  MAR     yes.
20  JEN     I don't think he usually likes ↑change:s.
```

Immediately after Martin's quote from the TV series, Jenni responds with *it more use- what?* (line 13), which frames part of Martin's previous turn as a trouble source. The fact that Jenni does not repeat the verb *is* indicates that the hearing problem possibly concerns even Martin's turn beginning and that she probably interprets the trouble source as being a verb. In addition to producing her turn with rising final intonation, Jenni performs a head poke that reaches its apex after the partial repeat. Towards the end of her turn, she narrows her eyes while keeping her gaze at Martin (line 13, Figure 2B). It is worth noticing that simultaneously with Martin uttering the adjective *user-friendly* (end of line 10), the child drags a toy box on the floor, causing a noise that overlaps with Martin's turn. Indeed, Martin's repair solution in line 14 – a repeat of the word *user-friendly* – precisely addresses the part that has been acoustically disturbed and potentially needs to be "recycled" (Schegloff 1987). After the repair solution is produced, Jenni revokes the "narrowed-eyes" display (line 15; cf. Floyd et al. 2016); however, a more elaborate response from her side is still missing. Martin thus continues by clarifying what the

word *user-friendly* means in this context (line 16). Just as Martin begins his clarification, Jenni retracts the head poke, starts to smile, and turns her gaze away from Martin (line 16), which seems to suggest that Martin's first repair solution (the repeat) might have been sufficient for all practical purposes.

Similar to Extract 1, in Extract 2, one can see that the OIR comprising a partial repeat and the question word *what* produced with rising final intonation is accompanied by a specific embodied display: a head poke towards the producer of the trouble source. The OIR is, again, being (at first) addressed with a repeat that demonstrates the trouble-source producer's preference to first attend to a possible hearing problem before resorting to more compound repair constructions (cf. Svennevig 2008). In contrast to Extract 1, however, the embodied display in Extract 2 is more complex: in addition to the head poke, it also includes "narrowed eyes" that give the impression of Jenni's increased attention towards Martin and his upcoming repair (cf. Skedsmo 2020a:14). Both Jenni's upgraded embodied display and the lexico-syntactic format of her repair initiation (*it more use- what?*, line 13) seem to project more than a mere hearing problem. Indeed, Martin's original quote of Sheldon (in lines 08-11) and the joke (that builds on a contradiction, i.e., user-friendliness as a normally positive feature that Sheldon however dislikes) might not have been fully picked up by Jenni. This becomes clear not only from Jenni's lack of uptake following Martin's repeat (*user-friendly*, line 14) but also from her subsequent display of doubt and disbelief (line 17 and 20) regarding Martin's quotation of Sheldon, demonstrating that she possibly misunderstood the punch line.

In Extract 3, Aku and Martin discuss the resolution of Martin's old laptop display. Aku has previously stated that the difference between Martin's old laptop and newer laptop screens might particularly concern the type of videos one can or cannot watch; that is, Martin's laptop may not be the best in this regard. In lines 01-03, Martin responds to Aku's prior assessment of his laptop by saying that he (Aku) can watch whatever he wants on his laptop as well (line 03); however, the laptop *adapts the resolution* (line 01) of the video file, and, therefore, one cannot watch the video in the original resolution (line 04).

Extract 3. Micrometres

```
01   MAR     it only adapts the resolution.
02           (0.5)
03   MAR     so you can watch every- whatever you want
04           you just can't see it in that [res]olution.
05   AKU                                   [mmh]
06   MAR     *≈but I don't know if you have that good eyes.
     mar     *gaze at laptop-->
     aku      ≈gaze at MAR-->
07           (1.5)
08   MAR ->  ×because it's like the difference *is
     mar                                 -->*gaze AKU-->
     aku     ×turns the ring on his finger-->
```

```
09       -> in# micro°metres°.×
                         -->×
   fig       #3A
```


Figure 3A

```
10           ×(0.6)×
   aku       ×,,,,,×
11 AKU -> ▪∆in#∆ wha▪t?•#
          ▪frowns---▪raises eyebrows-->
           ∆...∆head poke-->
                      •open mouth-->
   fig         #3B       #3C
```


Figure 3B   Figure 3C

```
12        (.)
13 MAR -> in m•ic+ro▪+me*tres#▪ like th∆[e  +p∆]ix*el[s.]
14 AKU                          ∆[m-hm ∆]    [ye]ah
   aku     -->•
              -->▪.........▪
                         -->∆nods--∆//
   mar        +...+'small' gesture------+
              -->*gaze down---------------*AKU-->
   fig                 #3D
15 AKU    maybe.
```

Figure 3D

```
16   MAR     (and) *this is thirteen ≈inch,
                -->*gaze at laptop//
     aku                         -->≈gaze at laptop//
17   AKU     mh-m.
```

In line 06, Martin continues by questioning Aku's ability to even notice the difference between the videos. As Aku is not responding to this (see the 1,5-second pause, line 07), Martin expands his previous argument by saying that the difference between the different resolutions *is in micro°metres°* (line 08 and 09, Figure 3A). In line 11, Aku initiates repair by targeting the end of Martin's prior turn; he repeats the preposition *in* and adds the class-specific question word *what*, produced with rising final intonation. Furthermore, simultaneous with the onset of his turn, Aku mobilises a frowning display and pokes his head in Martin's direction (Figure 3B). Also worth noticing is Aku's suspension of the hand movement that coincides with the OIR: preceding the OIR, Aku has been playing with the ring on his finger (see Figure 3A, lines 08 and 09), which stops soon after the trouble source has been produced and has made relevant a new response from Aku's side. Towards the end of his audible OIR (line 11), Aku releases the frowning display and raises his eyebrows slightly (indicating a possible trouble in hearing; cf. Hömke et al. 2022) while still looking at Martin and maintaining the head poke and the gesture hold (similar to a "freeze display" indicating a possible trouble in understanding; Oloff 2018). Moreover, after producing the OIR, Aku keeps his mouth open (Figure 3C) until Martin begins to respond in line 13.

Martin's repair solution in line 13 reflects Aku's embodied orientation towards both a trouble in hearing and in understanding, as it contains two parts: he first repeats the phrase framed by Aku's repair initiation with added emphasis (*in micrometres*, responding to a trouble in hearing) and then immediately produces a synonym (*like the pixels*, responding thereby to a potential understanding problem). At the same time, Martin employs an iconic hand gesture: he brings the thumb and index finger of his right hand closer together, clearly illustrating the small size of the pixels (line 13, Figure 3D). Orienting to Martin's multimodal conduct, Aku first

retracts the head poke, then starts nodding and – in overlap with Martin's synonym substitute (*the pixels*, line 13) – produces an acknowledgment token (line 14), thereby responding to Martin's repetition of the trouble source. Aku's following *yeah maybe* (line 14 and 15) then displays his weak agreement with Martin's previous evaluation of his sight as possibly not good enough to notice the difference.

In Extract 3, we can see more variation in both embodied features accompanying the OIR and the following repair proper. The lexical format of the OIR is again produced with rising final intonation and accompanied by a head poke towards the producer of the trouble source. Moreover, the speaker of the OIR also mobilises additional embodied features: a frown (Figure 3B) followed by raised eyebrows combined with an open mouth (Figure 3C) – facial expressions that are gradually released as Martin delivers the repair proper. The embodied display in Extract 3 is clearly more complex than that in Extract 1 and 2, which seems to be implicative for the design of the ensuing repair. Martin's repair in line 13 shows that he is treating Aku's OIR as more than a mere hearing problem: in addition to the repeat of the trouble source (cf. also the repairs in Ex. 1 and 2), Martin also mobilises a hand gesture that increases intelligibility and adds a synonym, thereby suggesting an alternative trouble source. Whereas in the previous example (Extract 2), Martin targeted a possible trouble of understanding only in a second turn after a lack of sufficient uptake from the repair initiator, in this case, he does not wait for Aku's response but addresses the trouble of understanding straight away by latching the synonym onto the repetition. The fact that Aku's ensuing confirmation (line 14) is positioned precisely after the first part of the repair, which is the repeat, indicates that the repeat of the trouble source combined with the hand gesture may provide a sufficient resolution to the trouble.

These previous examples demonstrate that repair initiations in the form of partial repeats preceded or followed by the question word *what* and produced with rising final intonation are systematically accompanied by a head poke towards the producer of the trouble-source turn. Participants in our setting are primarily seated around the table and in most instances the repair initiator and the trouble source producer are sitting on the opposite sides (i.e., facing each other) which can be a relevant factor for the frequent occurrence of a clearly forward-oriented head poke.[9] In Extract 2 and 3, we can observe possible variations in embodied displays (Extract 2: narrowed eyes in addition to the head poke; Extract 3: a combination of head poke, frowning, raised eyebrows, and open mouth). Despite these variations in the multimodal formatting of the OIR, the coparticipants consistently respond, at least initially, with a repeat of the targeted items in the trouble-source turn. Participants' initial orientation to a trouble in hearing is reinforced by the fact that repeated content is often produced with increased loudness and/or emphasis (cf. Curl 2005). In the case of more complex or possibly ambiguous multimodal OIR displays (Extract 3 in particular), OIRs are more likely to be treated as referring to more than just a mere problem of hearing, as the coparticipants concurrently orient to possible understanding trouble and offer more complex or diverse repair solutions.

---

[9]   There may be more variation in settings where participants are seated side by side, in L-shape, or are moving around (see Blythe et al. 2018). Nevertheless, while leaning forward and head pokes can be carried out in a slightly lateral direction according to the seating position of the addressed participant, the essential action of the torso and/or head remains a movement *closer to the other* (Li 2014; Rasmussen 2014).

4.2. Repair sequences initiated with a copular interrogative clause (*what is X*)

In this section, we focus on repair sequences that are initiated with a copular interrogative clause, i.e. *what is X*. In 15 cases out of the 20 that have been identified in our data set, the targeted trouble source *X* is a 'code-switched' lexical item; that is, one expressed in a language other than ELF (either due to an ad hoc insertion or, as in Ex. 4, a proper name in another language). The following analysis mainly illustrates two recurrently observed constitutive properties of this OIR format. First, the production of the repair initiation is often delayed; that is, the OIR is *not* delivered immediately after the trouble-source turn in the first possible response slot but later in time, for instance, as a last responsive action in a series of responses (Extract 4), after a gap (Extract 5), or as a second attempt to initiate repair (after the first attempt does not lead to a successful repair, Extract 6). These sequentially more peculiar structures with more 'distant' OIRs can be linked to the multiparty setting (Egbert 1997, 2009:112). Second, the concurrent embodied displays are rather minimal, consisting primarily of a frowning display and – in multiparty conversations – of the repair initiator's shifting gaze among the coparticipants that indicates the participant's effort to request assistance with an understanding problem by selecting others as potential language "brokers" (cf. Bolden 2012).

The first example in this section comes from a conversation among four friends (see Figure 4A for the participant constellation). Czech participant Martin asks Finnish participant Aku whether it is only alcohol that he buys from an internet shop located in Austria (lines 01 and 02). In his response (lines 03-05), Aku specifies that he did not order only beer but also *Mozartkugel*, a traditional Austrian treat made from chocolate and marzipan.

Extract 4. Mozartkugel

```
01  MAR    so the shop you are buying from
02         is just alcohol?
           >>gaze at AKU-->
03  AKU    +well that Austria mar+ket they have everything.
           +gaze down-----------+gaze TER-->
04         I- I or+dered #thirty+-five .h cans of +beer
              -->+gaze at MAR--+gaze down--------+up-->
    fig                 #4A
05      -> and+ one pack of +(.) Mozart (.) gügel.
                                Mozartkugel
           -->+gaze at MAR--+gaze at TER-->
```

Figure 4A

```
06  ELE    khh[h heh he≈h #huh]           [.hh  ]
07  TER       [↓o::h do≈  #you] ≈¤like¤#*[them?]   ¤
    mar                ≈........≈frowns-->
                             ¤....¤head twd TER¤

                         -->*gaze at TER-->
    fig                   #4B           #4C
```


Figure 4B

Figure 4C

```
08  AKU    I ¤li¤ke *th[em].
09  MAR ->           [wh]+▪#at's th▪at;=
    aku               -->+gaze at MAR-->>
    mar       ¤,,¤twd AKU-->
                  -->*gaze at AKU-->
    ter                  ▪........▪gaze at MAR-->
    fig                   #4D
```

Figure 4D   Figure 4E

```
10   TER    =˚I don’t li¤ke˚=¤*
     mar              -->¤....¤twd TER//
                           -->*gaze at TER-->
11   ELE -> =Mo[zartove gule]
12   TER ->    [Mozartove gu]le
13          (0.3)≈*(0.3)
     mar        -->≈
                  -->*gaze down-->>
14   AKU -> m≈h (0.3)# £.hh£≈
     mar      ≈R lip corner & L eyebrow up≈
     fig             #4E
15   TER    m▪huh huh h £I also don’t like kh .h (yeah)£
              ▪gaze at AKU//
```

While responding to Martin's question (lines 03-05), Aku's gaze alternates between
Martin and Tereza, which indicates that he addresses his response to both of them.
At the end of line 05, Aku makes a clear effort to pronounce the name of an Austrian
treat with a German accent, which seems to be acknowledged by his partner Elena
who responds with suppressed laughter (line 06, Figure 4B). Tereza responds to the
new information with an *o::h* receipt, followed by a question of whether Aku likes
Mozartkugel (line 07), thereby displaying her understanding of the lexical item.
Martin, on the other hand, does not immediately verbally respond to Aku's answer;
he does however adopt a frowning display (lines 06-07, Figure 4B) and turns his
head and gaze towards his partner Tereza (Figure 4C). Right after Aku responds
affirmatively to Tereza's question (line 08), Martin turns his gaze back to him, and
at the end of Aku's turn, initiates repair with the copular interrogative clause *what's
that;* (line 09) while still maintaining the frown (Figure 4D).

In line 10, Tereza responds to Aku's answer by formulating her dislike for *Mo-
zartkugel*. At this point Martin again shifts his gaze towards Tereza (line 10) – who
has explicitly displayed that she recognises the term – thus addressing the repair
initiation to her as well (cf. Bolden 2012). Indeed, together with Elena, Tereza
swiftly produces a repair – a Slovak/Czech translation of the German name (i.e.,
Mozartove gule lines 11-12) – treating Martin's repair initiation as referring to a
trouble caused by the linguistic form of the problematic item. Martin's subsequent

embodied response comprises a facial expression (line 14, Figure 4E) that is interpreted by Tereza as a display of Martin's dislike for the treat (line 15).

In this example, we can see that the OIR *what's that*; (line 09) is preceded by a frown that could be interpreted as a first embodied OIR and projection of Martin's upcoming verbal repair initiation. The preceding frown, however, is not recognised as a display of trouble by the coparticipants, possibly as they continue the conversation without looking at Martin. Despite this, the frown is a relevant resource in the organization of repair: Martin continues the frowning display as he produces the verbal OIR (line 9), and the frown is maintained until the repair solution is delivered (line 13), thus upholding the relevance of repair (Floyd et al. 2016). After the repair proper has been produced, Aku's and Tereza's reactions (in line 14 and 15) show a clear orientation to the change in Martin's facial display (Figure 4B) as a new responsive action.

We can also notice that Martin does not initiate repair right after the problematic item is introduced by Aku in line 05; rather, the OIR is delayed (line 09). By initially withholding the repair initiation, Martin seems to apply the "let-it-pass" strategy (Firth 1996): he follows the unfolding conversation between Tereza and Aku concerning the item *Mozartkugel*, possibly waiting for further talk allowing him to grasp the meaning of the problematic word. Once all three coparticipants have demonstrated their knowledge of the word *Mozartkugel* through their actions (Elena with laughter, Tereza and Aku with their assessments), Martin finally initiates repair (line 09), as this is the latest sequential position for providing his own assessment or some other type of response to Aku's turn (being also the one who initially asked about Aku's purchase, lines 01-02). Indeed, Martin seems to realise that he cannot let his nonunderstanding of the lexical item pass if he wants to secure his involvement in the current sequence and topic of the conversation (see also Egbert 2017).

Extract 5 comes from a conversation among two couples: a Finnish–Slovak couple (Aku and Elena) and a Finnish–Czech couple (Ilari and Anna). Here, Slovak participant Elena tells a story about her father who has been accidentally drinking wine while driving a car (lines 01-02) because Elena's mother poured the wine into a sparkling water bottle, a fact which the father was obviously not aware of.

Extract 5. Vissy

```
01 ELE     my dad was dri::ving △and△ drinking (.)
   ele     >>gaze twd ANN/ILA-->
                         △...△'drinking' gesture-->
   aku     >>gaze at ELE-->
02         the:: (.)  vissu  all the# ti+[me.≈t*he-]^
             sparkling water
03 AKU                            +[vis≈s*y  ]^
                             sparkling water
   aku                      -->+gaze at ANN-->
   ann                           ≈frowns-->
                                  *gaze AKU-->
   ele                            -->^gaze AKU-->
   fig                       #5A
```
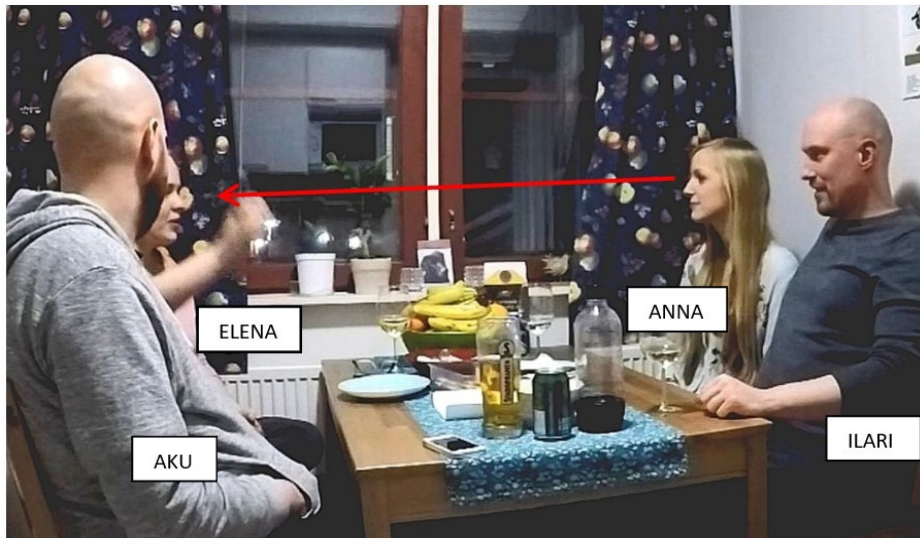
Figure 5A

```
04          (0.5)#
   fig          #5B
05 ELE    m[i+kä se on. ≈]
          what    it is
06 ANN ->  [w+hat is vis≈]sy,=
   aku    -->+gaze at ELE-->
                     -->≈
```


Figure 5B

```
07 ILA -> =vi[ssy ] +i[s a^::: ]
08 ELE       [eu:h]
09 AKU ->              [per^liva] voda.
                       sparkling water
   aku           -->+gaze twd ILA/ELE-->
   ele              -->^gaze at ILA-->
10 ILA    mm ^[yes]
11 ANN       ^[a: ] yeah]
```

```
12 ELE        ^[perliva  ] voda∆ .h ^(>and he<) was dri+ving
   ele     -->^gaze at ANN----------^gaze down//
                            -->∆//
   aku                                              -->+//
13        and he was like this is kind of sweet
14        this £perlivá voda h£ and then he was like
15        why did you buy this sweet one;
```

In lines 01-02, Elena refers in Finnish to the sparkling water (*vissu*) that her father seemingly drank (Figure 5A). The code-switched word is preceded by a prolongation of the definite article and by a short pause signalling a difficulty in producing the sought-for item. Elena's TCU is followed by a recycled definite article *the-* (end of line 02) that projects a possible search for a more suitable expression. In partial overlap with Elena (end of line 02), her partner Aku produces an other-correction of the Finnish word (*vissy*, line 03) that stresses the accurate pronunciation of the vowel *y,* which in Finnish is pronounced with rounded lips. By correcting Elena's pronunciation, Aku displays his orientation to Elena's uncertainty about the word and takes on the role of an expert in the switched-to language, Finnish (Aku's L1). It is also interesting to notice that in producing the correction, Aku shifts his gaze from Elena to Anna (Czech coparticipant), which suggests that Aku may be primarily concerned with Anna's understanding of the Finnish word.

The following expansion of the side sequence shows that it is indeed Anna's understanding that is at risk here. In line 05, Elena code switches again to Finnish and produces a copular interrogative clause *mikä se on* ('what is it', lit. 'what it is'). As the teller of the story, Elena clearly knows what she is referring to; therefore, her copular clause does *not* constitute an OIR but serves as an explicit marker of her search for a more suitable word (projected already in line 02). By shifting her gaze towards Aku and by code switching to his L1 (Finnish), Elena visibly seeks his assistance with the word search. In overlap, Aku is also addressed by Anna who now displays trouble understanding the Finnish word, both by her earlier adopted frown (line 03, Figure 5B) and by her ensuing OIR with the copular interrogative clause *what is vissy,* (line 06).

Anna's partner Ilari is the first who attempts to produce a repair solution in line 07. Ilari's repair attempt ends on a prolongation of an indefinite article (*vissu is a:::*) which possibly projects either an English translation or an explanation. However, before Ilari even suspends his syntactic construction, Aku produces a translation of the Finnish word *vissy* (*perliva voda*, line 09). As Aku has some knowledge of the Slovak language (his partner's L1), we can presume that he (successfully) attempted to produce a Slovak translation. Conveniently, the name for sparkling water is the same in Czech (Anna's L1), and indeed the translation provides a sufficient repair, as in line 11 Anna produces a change-of-state token (*a:*) and a confirmative *yeah*. Elena, the producer of the initial trouble source, accepts the translation as well by repeating it before resuming her suspended storytelling sequence (line 12).

As in Extract 4, the audible OIR in Extract 5 is produced as delayed with respect to the trouble-source turn. Here, Anna's OIR in line 06 is delivered after the problematic item is highlighted and brought closer to the participants' attention because of Aku's other-correction and Elena's word search. Whereas in Extract 4, the recognition of the word *Mozartkugel* is important for Martin to contribute to the conversation with his own assessment, in this case, the meaning of the targeted item is necessary for Anna to understand the punchline of the unfolding story. This means

that in both excerpts, the participants have already displayed their possible trouble by an early-adopted frown; however, this trouble has been brought to the coparticipants' attention through a full-fledged verbal OIR only at a later (and the sequentially latest) point in the sequence.

Our collection also contains six cases in which the copular interrogative clause *what is X* is used as an audible *second attempt* to initiate repair after the first verbal attempt of OIR has not led to a (sufficient) repair in response. We can see such an extended repair sequence in the last example of this section (see also Skedsmo 2020b for multiple OIRs in Norwegian sign language) that combines repair initiations from both collections.

Prior to Extract 6, the participants were talking about Tereza starting to drive a car on her own. Tereza's partner Martin now jokingly states that when Tereza drives, he is praying constantly that the car will make it back intact (lines 01-02) but that he ultimately does not care about Tereza's style of driving (lines 05-06). In partial overlap with Martin's turn, Aku's partner Elena – who is herself also a novice driver – says that she and Aku were practicing driving on a motorway which she refers to by using the Finnish colloquial word *motari* (lines 03-04 and line 07).

Extract 6. Motari

```
01   MAR     I sit all the time praying home that (1.0)
02           [the car ] will come.
03   ELE     [yeah we-](.) we were △practicing
     ter                          △gaze at ELE-->
04           [that-]
05   MAR     [I don]'t care about the
06           drivi[ng]
07   ELE         [mo]t*ari now when* (we-) when *he-
                  motorway ((Finnish, spoken))
     ele            *gaze down---*gaze TER----*down-->
08           ▼(0.7)                ▼
     ele     ▼puts cookie in mouth▼
09   TER ->  +(what)*+what did you;
     ter     +.......+pokes head slightly-->
     ele           ->*gaze at TER-->
10   ELE ->  ¤m*otari?
             motorway
             ¤'driving' gesture-->
             ->*gaze down-->
11           (0.5)¤*+
     ele        -->¤
                 -->*
     ter          -->+
```

Figure 6A

Figure 6B

```
12   TER -> ¤*wh∆[at#  is ∆#mo¤t-]
13   ELE ->     ∆[we# went∆#  ¤to] mota¤ri.*∆
                               motorway
     ele    ¤'joining' gesture¤,,,,,,,,¤
            *gaze at TER-----------------*
     ter      -->∆gaze AKU-∆gaze at ELE------∆
     fig           #6A      #6B
14            *∆(.)#
     ele    *gaze down-->
     ter     ∆gaze at AKU-->
     fig          #6C
15   ELE -> na dial'∆ni#cu.* ((Slovak))
            on the motorway
     ter        -->∆gaze at ELE-->
     ele               -->*
     fig               #6D
```


Figure 6C

Figure 6D

```
16          *•(.)
     ele    *gaze at TER-->
     aku     •gaze TER-->
17   TER    a:: •okay *ye[ah.∆      *
18   AKU              [moo∆ttori*tie.
                       motorway ((Finnish, standard))
     aku     •gaze down-->//
     ele          -->*gaze down---*gaze at AKU//
     ter               -->∆gaze away-->//
19   ELE    mm[-hm.]
```

```
20   TER        [mm. ]
21              (.)
22   ELE        and I was like this went so well.
23   TER        £ye[ah.£
24                  [mt like no car anywhere.
```

Elena's storytelling is momentarily interrupted as she puts a cookie in her mouth (line 08); following this pause, in line 09, Tereza initiates repair with the question word *what* followed by a modified partial repeat of Elena's previous turn (*what did you;*) that seems to display Tereza's confusion about the kind of activity Elena was engaged in (i.e., 'practicing *motari'*). Tereza's first repair initiation is produced with slightly rising final intonation and accompanied by a small head poke that begins with the onset of her verbal repair initiation (cf. Section 4.1). Elena responds to Tereza's repair initiation with the repeat of the Finnish word *motari* (line 10) that is produced with try-marked intonation (Sacks/Schegloff 1979), indicating that Elena is checking whether it is the Finnish word that is the source of trouble. As Tereza does not immediately respond, Elena produces a second repair attempt, now reformulating the kind of activity she and Aku were involved in (*we went to motari*, line 13) and adding an iconic hand gesture that seems to illustrate the car joining the highway (Figure 6A and 6B).

In overlap with Elena's second repair attempt, Tereza produces a more explicit repair initiation comprising the question word *what*, a copula, and a partial repeat of the trouble source item (*what is mot-*, line 12). This OIR now delimits the trouble as being specifically related to the meaning of the code-switched word. The fact that Tereza's repeat of the Finnish word is cut off – even though Elena repeated it in her first repair attempt (line 10) – suggests that Tereza is indeed not familiar with the word. While producing this upgraded repair initiation, Tereza pulls her head slightly back and alternates her gaze between Elena and Aku, who – being a character in Elena's telling – should presumably know what Elena is referring to (see Figures 6A-6D for Tereza's gaze alternation). Indeed, in what follows, both Elena and Aku address Tereza's OIR: Elena produces a Slovak (her and Tereza's L1) translation of the Finnish word accompanied by the preposition 'on' (*na diaľnicu* 'on the motorway', line 15), which is acknowledged by Tereza in line 17 by a change-of-state and other response tokens (similar to Excerpt 5). Although the repair has been successfully accomplished at this point, Aku then provides a clearly articulated standard version of the Finnish word in question (*moottoritie*, line 18), thus taking on the role of an expert in the switched-to language. Both Elena (line 19) and Tereza (line 20) subsequently minimally acknowledge Aku's other-correction of the linguistic form, after which Elena resumes her storytelling (line 22).

In this last example, we can observe the use of *what is X* as an upgraded OIR after the first repair does not successfully resolve the problem. With Elena's trouble-source turn being in partial overlap with Martin's turn (lines 02-05), it might be possible that Tereza's first attempt to initiate repair (*what* + adjusted partial repeat) in fact targets mainly hearing (cf. Section 4.1). Elena's try-marking of the repeated insertion in line 10 (*motari*), however, indicates that she is – already at this point – orienting to a possibility of the problem being caused by language choice. Tereza's unfamiliarity with the Finnish word is then explicitly displayed by her use of a copular interrogative clause as a second OIR (line 12). Finally, in this example (as well

as in Extract 4 and 5), the trouble is resolved with a translation to the repair initiator's L1.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have investigated how participants use two different formats of restricted OIRs: partial repeats preceded or followed by the question word *what* (Section 4.1) and copular interrogative clauses in the format *what is X* (Section 4.2). The analytical focus has been on the constitutive features of the selected OIRs, including embodied resources and the ensuing repair solutions.

The analysis shows that partial repeats preceded or followed by the question word *what* (Section 4.1) and produced with rising final intonation are accompanied by the repair initiator's head poke (or, in some instances, upper body leaning) towards the speaker of the turn containing the trouble source. The analysed examples illustrate that the head poke can be combined with a variety of other embodied resources – such as narrowed eyes, raised eyebrows, frowning, and open mouth display – that can be maintained until the repair solution is delivered (Floyd et al. 2016). Regarding the lexico-syntactic characteristics of the OIR, we can see that the verbal format may not always follow the rules of standard English (including the 'wrong' word order and/or misplaced *what*; see Extract 1). Similar instances reflect ELF speakers' individual variations in their use of English and indicate possible differences in the ways ELF speakers verbally initiate repair as compared to native speakers of English. Although such variations are noticeable to an analyst, they are not oriented to by the participants in our data. As can be seen in Extract 1, despite the repair initiator's nonstandard verbal format of the OIR, the repairer is able to successfully localise and repair the trouble.

In accordance with previous research on L1 settings (Benjamin 2013; Sidnell 2010), participants address "questioning" repair initiations with a repeat of the trouble source that can be delivered with increased volume and/or emphasis, making it clear that the repairers attend first and foremost to a hearing trouble (Curl 2005). It is noteworthy, however, that in the majority of the cases in our first collection, the participants attend not only to troubles in hearing but also to potential troubles in understanding with additional specifications, paraphrases, or synonyms that (as illustrated in Extract 2) can tackle the repair initiator's lack of uptake in response to the initial repair attempt, the repeat. These complex repair solutions thus sequentially address both possible troubles in hearing and understanding (see Extract 3 and also Oloff 2018:38). On the one hand, this practice seems to especially demonstrate ELF speakers' orientation to being accountable for their lexical and linguistic choices, as they display an effort to increase clarity and pre-empt nonunderstanding in a linguistically diverse setting (see also Cogo 2009; Kaur 2009, 2012; Leinonen 2022; Mauranen 2006). These types of complex repairs can be assumed to be more frequent in ELF or other multilingual settings (see also Oloff 2018:48-49, who underlines the greater ambiguity of repairables in multilingual settings), but a systematic comparison to L1 settings would be needed to flesh out the possible differences with respect to the linguistic setting. On the other hand, these complex repairs more generally reflect the potentially composite nature of the OIR (cf. Rossi's 2018 no-

tion of "composite social actions"), which, regarding the concurrent embodied displays, can illustrate the speaker's orientations to troubles in hearing (raised eyebrows, head poke) and in understanding (frowning, narrowed eyes).

In comparison to partial repeats combined with *what*, the lexico-syntactic format of copular interrogative clauses of the type *what is X* (Section 4.2) delimits the repairable more precisely as being related to a trouble in understanding the meaning of a given referent *X*. In our setting, participants use these OIRs mainly to signal trouble caused by language choice (i.e., code-switched words and phrases). *What is X* OIRs are often produced as sequentially delayed (cf. Egbert 2009, 2017), which points to the participants' initial use of a "let-it-pass" strategy (Firth 1990, 1996). Furthermore, as illustrated in Extract 6, *what is X* can be mobilised as an upgraded, more focused repair initiation after the first repair has not successfully resolved the problem (see Olsher 2003 for similar observations). These findings reveal that ELF speakers resort to these rather 'strong' OIRs especially in sequentially important moments, when it becomes clear that the understanding of a specific word or phrase is necessary for them to stay involved in the conversation (or, more specifically, when their own contribution has been made sequentially relevant; cf. Extract 4).

In our data set, *what is X* repair initiations delivered with a continuous or a downward final intonation are accompanied by minimal embodied displays focused mostly on the area of the eyes. Extracts 4 and 5 show that participants might display their ongoing trouble with a frown that precedes and/or coincides with the audible repair initiation. While minimal embodied conduct such as a frown can display nonunderstanding and can possibly work as an OIR on its own (as shown by previous research; cf. Section 2.3.), especially in multiparty interactions, the frown can be easily missed by the coparticipants engaged in the ongoing conversation until the trouble is brought to their attention through a verbal, that is, a more explicit OIR (cf. Extract 4). In multiparty conversations, alternating gaze was found to be another constitutive feature recurrently observed in this OIR format, such as in Extract 6, where the repair initiator's gaze alternates several times between the two 'knowledgeable' participants, thus addressing the repair initiation to both of them. *What is X* is usually not accompanied by a head poke or other head movements, providing further evidence that a forward movement of the head and/or upper body is indeed more explicitly in conjunction with troubles in hearing (as one thereby moves closer to the speaker of the trouble-source turn), such as we observed in the other OIR format in Section 4.1.

Although these results add to our knowledge of the role of embodied resources within the organisation of OIRs and repair proper, further analytical challenges remain. In our data, repair sequences initiated with partial repeats with *what* exhibit an overall higher variation in the embodied displays, which raises the question of whether and how different combinations of visual cues relate to different types of trouble sources. While it seems rather clear that the head poke as a single embodied feature (Extract 1) can mainly be connected to the display of acoustic problems, its combination with narrowed eyes (Extract 2) or frowns (Extract 3) might indicate more than mere hearing trouble. There may also be differences regarding the intensity or visibility of the head poke, with a more distinct head poke displaying the repair initiator's effort to hear more clearly, and a more minimal head poke, on the contrary, potentially downgrading the hearing problem (Extract 6).

Moreover, most of our cases show non-simple repair solutions, in the sense that a first repair (such as a repeat) will be extended, continued, or modified, either within the same TCU or in a new one. Together with the possibly ambiguous embodied OIR displays, this shows that the understanding of the trouble source and of providing adequate repair is a practical problem for the participants themselves (cf. Oloff 2018). Complex or possibly diverging embodied displays (such as a frown followed by an eyebrow raise, Extract 3) do however neatly illustrate that not only 'understanding' but also the scope of 'nonunderstanding' (as in OIR practices) can change and be adjusted moment by moment. Although it might be tempting to link this analytical challenge with the linguistically and culturally diverse setting we have chosen, one could interpret it to be an argument further emphasising the need to more systematically consider the temporal entwinement of audible and visible resources in OIRs and how these might transform the conception of seemingly prototypical (verbal) OIRs.

Finally, the analysis of the repair sequences presented in this study also contributes to our understanding of how multilingual participants signal trouble and negotiate meaning in linguistically diverse ELF settings. In Section 4.2, we can see that speakers code switching to another language can cause additional problems if their coparticipants are not familiar with the specific lexical item or phrase (cf. Leinonen 2022). However, code switching to partially or fully shared languages constitutes an essential resource used by ELF (or other lingua franca) speakers to quickly resolve the trouble and move on with their actions (cf. Leinonen 2022; Markaki et al. 2013; Greer/Ogawa 2021). The preference to repair the trouble by providing a translation rather than by providing an explanation not only displays the participants' orientation to the progressivity and effectivity of the interaction but also makes visible their identities as multilingual speakers who are flexibly adapting their linguistic skills and practices.

6. References

Benjamin, Trevor Michael (2013): Signalling trouble: on the linguistic design of other-initiation of repair in English conversation. Ph.D. thesis, University of Groningen.

Blythe, Joe / Gardner, Rod / Mushin, Ilana / Stirling, Lesley (2018): Tools of Engagement: Selecting a Next Speaker in Australian Aboriginal Multiparty Conversations. In: Research on Language and Social Interaction 51(2), 145-170. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2018.1449441

Bolden, Galina B. (2011): On the Organization of Repair in Multiperson Conversation: The Case of "Other"-Selection in Other-Initiated Repair Sequences. In: Research on Language & Social Interaction 44(3), 237-262. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2011.591835

Bolden, Galina B. (2012): Across languages and cultures: Brokering problems of understanding in conversational repair. In: Language in Society 41(1), 97-121. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0047404511000923

Byun, Kang-Suk / de Vos, Connie / Bradford, Anastasia / Zeshan, Ulrike / Levinson, Stephen C. (2018): First Encounters: Repair Sequences in Cross-Signing. In: Topics in Cognitive Science 10(2), 314-334.
https://doi.org/10.1111/tops.12303

Červenková, Adéla (2021): "I'll google it.": Using an online dictionary for conducting repair during pair and group work activities in upper-secondary EFL classrooms. In: Studies in Applied Linguistics 12(2), 43-58

Cogo, Alessia (2009): Accommodating difference in ELF conversations: A study of pragmatic strategies. In: Mauranen, Anna / Ranta, Elina (eds.), English as a lingua franca: Studies and findings. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 254-273.

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth / Selting, Margret (2018): Interactional linguistics: Studying language in social interaction. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
https://doi.org/10.1017/9781139507318

Curl, Traci S. (2002): The Phonetics of sequence organization: An investigation of lexical repetition in other-initiated repair sequences in American English. Ph.D. thesis, University of Colorado.

Curl, Traci S. (2005): Practices in Other-Initiated Repair Resolution: The Phonetic Differentiation of 'Repetitions'. In: Discourse Processes 39(1), 1-43.
https://doi.org/10.1207/s15326950dp3901_1

de Fornel, Michel (1992): The Return Gesture: Some Remarks on Context, Inference, and Iconic Gesture. In: Auer, Peter / di Luzio, Aldo (eds.), The Contextualization of Language. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 159-176.
https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.22.11for

Deppermann, Arnulf (2013): Introduction: Multimodal interaction from a conversation analytic perspective. In: Journal of Pragmatics 46(1), 1-7.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2012.11.014

Dingemanse, Mark / Blythe, Joe / Dirksmeyer, Tyko (2014): Formats for Other-Initiation of Repair across Languages: An Exercise in Pragmatic Typology. In: Studies in Language 38(1), 5-43.
https://doi.org/10.1075/sl.38.1.01din

Dingemanse, Mark / Enfield, Nick J. (2015): Other-initiated repair across languages: towards a typology of conversational structures. In: Open Linguistics 1(1), 96-118.
https://doi.org/10.2478/opli-2014-0007

Drew, Paul (1997): 'Open' class repair initiators in response to sequential sources of troubles in conversation. In: Journal of Pragmatics 28(1), 69-101.
https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(97)89759-7

Egbert, Maria (1997): Some interactional achievements of other-initiated repair in multiperson conversation. In: Journal of Pragmatics 27, 611-634.
https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(96)00039-2

Egbert, Maria (2009): Der Reparaturmechanismus in deutschen Gesprächen. Mannheim: Verlag für Gesprächsforschung.

Egbert, Maria (2017): Selection principles of other-initiated repair turn formats: Some indications from positioned questions. In: Raymond, Geoffrey / Lerner, Gene H. / Heritage, John (eds.), Enabling Human Conduct: Studies of talk-in-interaction in honor of Emanuel A. Schegloff. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 167-184.
https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.273.09egb

Ekberg, Katie / Hickson, Louise / Grenness, Caitlin (2017): Conversation Breakdowns in the Audiology Clinic: The Importance of Mutual Gaze. In: International Journal of Language & Communication Disorders 52(3), 346-355.
https://doi.org/10.1111/1460-6984.12277

Enfield, Nicholas J. / Dingemanse, Mark / Baranova, Julija / Blythe, Joe / Brown, Penelope et al. (2013): *Huh? What?* - A First Survey in Twenty-One Languages. In: Hayashi, Makoto / Raymond, Geoffrey / Sidnell, Jack (eds.), Conversational Repair and Human Understanding. Cambridge/New York/Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 343-380.
https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511757464.012

Eskildsen, Søren Wind / Wagner, Johannes (2013): Recurring and Shared Gestures in the L2 Classroom: Resources for Teaching and Learning. In: European Journal of Applied Linguistics 1(1), 139-161.
https://doi.org/10.1515/eujal-2013-0007

Eskildsen, Søren Wind / Wagner, Johannes (2015): Embodied L2 Construction Learning. In: Language Learning 65(2), 268-297.
https://doi.org/10.1111/lang.12106

Firth, Alan (1990): 'Lingua franca' negotiations: towards an interactional approach. In: World Englishes 9, 269-280.
https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.1990.tb00265.x

Firth, Alan (1996): The discursive accomplishment of normality: On 'lingua franca' English and conversation analysis. In: Journal of Pragmatics 26, 237-259.
https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166(96)00014-8

Firth, Alan (2009): Doing *not* being a foreign language learner: English as a *lingua franca* in the workplace and (some) implications for SLA. In: International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching, 47(1), 127-156.
https://doi.org/10.1515/iral.2009.006

Floyd, Simeon / Manrique, Elizabeth / Rossi, Giovanni / Torreira, Francisco (2016): Timing of Visual Bodily Behavior in Repair Sequences: Evidence From Three Languages. In: Discourse Processes 53(3), 175-204.
https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2014.992680

Greer, Tim / Ogawa, Yosuke (2021): Managing peripheral recipiency in triadic multilingual storytelling. In: Wong, Jean / Zhang Waring, Hansun (eds.), Storytelling in Multilingual Interaction. A conversation analysis perspective. New York/London: Routledge, 55-81.
https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429029240-6

Haakana, Markku / Kurhila, Salla / Lilja, Niina / Savijärvi, Marjo (2016): Kuka, mitä, häh? Korjausaloitteet suomalaisessa arkikeskustelussa [Other-initiation of repair in Finnish everyday conversation]. In: Virittäjä 120(2), 255-292.
https://journal.fi/virittaja/article/view/51319

Hauser, Eric (2019): Upgraded self-repeated gestures in Japanese interaction. In: Journal of Pragmatics 150, 180-196.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2018.04.004

Hayashi, Makoto (2003): Joint Utterance Construction in Japanese Conversation. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
https://doi.org/10.1075/sidag.12

Hayashi, Makoto / Raymond, Geoffrey / Sidnell, Jack (2013): Conversational repair and human understanding: An introduction. In: Hayashi, Makoto / Raymond, Geoffrey / Sidnell, Jack (eds.), Conversational Repair and Human Understanding. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-40.
https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511757464.001

Hömke, Paul / Levinson, Stephen C. / Holler, Judith (2022): Eyebrow Movements as Signals of Communicative Problems in Human Face-to-Face Interaction. Preprint. PsyArXiv.
https://doi.org/10.31234/osf.io/3jnmt

Jefferson, Gail (1972): Side sequences. In: Sudnow, David N. (ed.), Studies in Social Interaction. New York: Free Press, 294-338.

Jefferson, Gail (2004): Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In: Lerner, Gene H. (eds.), Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 3-31.
https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.125.02jef

Jokipohja, Anna-Kaisa / Lilja, Niina (2022): Depictive Hand Gestures as Candidate Understanding. In: Research on Language and Social Interaction 55(2), 123-145.
https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2022.2067425

Kääntä, Leila (2010): Teacher Turn-Allocation and Repair Practices in Classroom Interaction: A Multisemiotic Perspective. Ph.D. thesis, University of Jyväskylä.
http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-951-39-3811-6

Kaur, Jagdish (2009): Pre-empting problems of understanding in English as a lingua franca. In: Mauranen, Anna / Ranta, Elina (eds.), English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and Findings. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 107-123.

Kaur, Jagdish (2012): Saying it again: Enhancing clarity in English as a lingua franca (ELF) talk through self-repetition. In: Text & Talk 32(5), 593-613.
https://doi.org/10.1515/text-2012-0028

Kendrick, Kobin H. (2015): Other-initiated repair in English. In: Open Linguistics 1(1), 164-190. https://doi.org/10.2478/opli-2014-0009

Kitzinger, Celia / Mandelbaum, Jenny (2013): Word Selection and Social Identities in Talk-in Interaction. In: Communication Monographs 80(2), 176-198.
https://doi.org/10.1080/03637751.2013.776171

Kurhila, Salla (2001): Asiantuntijuuden kerrostumista. Syntyperäiset ja ei- syntyperäiset suomenpuhujat virkailijoina ja asiakkaina. In: Ruusuvuori, Johanna / Haakana, Markku / Raevaara, Liisa (eds.), Institutionaalinen vuorovaikutus (Tietolipas 173). Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 178-195.

Leinonen, Ivana (2022). Multimodal Try-marking for Securing Recipient Understanding of Codeswitched Lexical Items in Everyday ELF Conversations. In: Social Interaction. Video-Based Studies of Human Sociality 5(2).
https://doi.org/10.7146/si.v5i2.124481

Li, Xiaoting (2014): Leaning and recipient intervening questions in Mandarin conversation. In: Journal of Pragmatics 67, 34-60.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2014.03.011

Lilja, Niina (2010): Ongelmista oppimiseen: toisen aloittamat korjausjaksot kakkoskielisessä keskustelussa. Ph.D. thesis, University of Jyväskylä.
http://www.kotikielenseura.fi/virittaja/hakemistot/jutut/lilja4_2010.pdf

Lilja, Niina (2014): Partial repetitions as other-initiations of repair in second language talk: Re-establishing understanding and doing learning. In: Journal of Pragmatics 71, 98-116.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2014.07.011

Manrique, Elizabeth (2016): Other-Initiated Repair in Argentine Sign Language. In: Open Linguistics 2(1), 1-34.
https://doi.org/10.1515/opli-2016-0001

Manrique, Elizabeth / Enfield, Nicholas J. (2015): Suspending the next turn as a form of repair initiation: evidence from Argentine Sign Language. In: Frontiers in Psychology 6, 1-21.
http://dx.doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2015.01326

Markaki, Vassiliki / Merlino, Sara / Mondada, Lorenza / Oloff, Florence / Traverso, Véronique (2013): Multilingual practices in professional settings: Keeping the delicate balance between progressivity and intersubjectivity. In: Berthoud, Anne-Claude / Grin, François / Lüdi, Georges (eds.), Exploring the Dynamics of Multilingualism: The DYLAN Project. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 3-32.
https://doi.org/10.1075/mdm.2.01mar

Markee, Numa (2000): Conversation Analysis. Mahwah: Routledge.

Martin, Cathrin / Sahlström, Fritjof (2010): Learning as Longitudinal Interactional Change: From *Other*-Repair to *Self*-Repair in Physiotherapy Treatment. In: Discourse Processes: A Multidisciplinary Journal 47(8), 668-697.
https://doi.org/10.1080/01638531003628965

Mauranen, Anna (2006): Signaling and preventing misunderstanding in English as lingua franca communication. In: International Journal of the Sociology of Language 177, 123-150.
https://doi.org/10.1515/IJSL.2006.008

Mondada, Lorenza (2014): The local constitution of multimodal resources for social interaction. In: Journal of Pragmatics 65, 137-156.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2014.04.004

Mondada, Lorenza (2018): Multiple Temporalities of Language and Body in Interaction: Challenges for Transcribing Multimodality. In: Research on Language and Social Interaction, 51(1), 85-106.
https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2018.1413878

Mondada, Lorenza (2022): Conventions for multimodal transcription (accessed 14 November 2023). https://www.lorenzamondada.net/multimodal-transcription

Mortensen, Kristian (2016): The Body as a Resource for Other-Initiation of Repair: Cupping the Hand Behind the Ear. In: Research on Language and Social Interaction 49(1), 34-57.
https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2016.1126450

Oloff, Florence (2018): "Sorry?"/"Como?"/"Was?" – Open class and embodied repair initiators in international workplace interactions. In: Journal of Pragmatics 126, 29-51.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2017.11.002

Olsher, David Alan (2003): Collaborative group work in second and foreign language classrooms: Talk, embodiment, and sequential organization. Ph.D. thesis, University of California.

Pajo, Kati / Klippi, Anu (2013): Hearing-impaired recipients' non-vocal action sets as a resource for collaboration in conversation. In: Journal of Pragmatics 55, 162-179.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2013.06.004

Pajo, Kati / Laakso, Minna (2020): Other-initiation of repair by speakers with mild to severe hearing impairment. In: Clinical Linguistics & Phonetics 34(10-11), 998-1017.
https://doi.org/10.1080/02699206.2020.1724335

Rasmussen, Gitte (2014): Inclined to a better understanding – The coordination of talk and 'leaning forward' in doing repair. In: Journal of Pragmatics 65, 30-45.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2013.10.001

Raymond, Geoffrey / Sidnell, Jack (2019): Interaction at the boundaries of a world known in common: initiating repair with "What do you mean?". In: Research on Language and Social Interaction 52(2), 177-192.
https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2019.1608100

Rossano, Federico / Brown, Penelope / Levinson, Stephen C. (2009): Gaze, questioning and culture. In: Sidnell, Jack (eds.), Conversation analysis: Comparative perspectives. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 187-249.
https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511635670.008

Rossi, Giovanni (2018): Composite Social Actions: The Case of Factual Declaratives in Everyday Interaction. In: Research on Language and Social Interaction 51(4), 379-397.
https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2018.1524562

Sacks, Harvey (1995): Lectures on Conversation (2 Vols.). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Sacks, Harvey / Schegloff, Emanuel A. (1979): Two preferences in the organization of reference to persons and their interaction. In: Psathas, George (eds.), Everyday language: Studies in Ethnomethodology. New York: Irvington, 15-21.

Satti, Ignacio (2021): When it's "now or never": Multimodal practices for managing opportunities to initiate other-repair in collaborative storytelling. In: Narrative Inquiry 33(1), 222-253.
https://doi.org/10.1075/ni.21005.sat

Savijärvi, Marjo (2011): Yhteisestä toiminnasta yhteiseen kieleen. Keskustelunanalyyttinen tutkimus toisen kielen oppimisesta kielikylpypäiväkodin arkitilanteissa. Ph.D. thesis, University of Helsinki.
http://hdl.handle.net/10138/28155

Schegloff, Emanuel A. (1987): Recycled turn beginnings: a precise repair mechanism in conversation's turn-taking organization. In: Button, Graham / Lee, John R. E. (eds.), Talk and Social Organization. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 70-85.
https://doi.org/10.21832/9781800418226-005

Schegloff, Emanuel A. (1997): Practices and actions: boundary cases of other-initiated repair. In: Discourse Processes 23(3), 499-545.
https://doi.org/10.1080/01638539709545001

Schegloff, Emanuel A. (2000): When 'others' initiate repair. In: Applied Linguistics 21(2), 205-243.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. (2004): On Dispensability. In: Research on Language and Social Interaction 37 (2), 95-149.
https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/21.2.205

Schegloff, Emanuel A. (2007): Sequence Organization in Interaction: A Primer in Conversation Analysis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511791208

Schegloff, Emanuel A. / Jefferson, Gail / Sacks, Harvey (1977): The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. In: Language 53(2), 361-382.
https://doi.org/10.2307/413107

Selting, Margret (1996): Prosody as an activity-type distinctive cue in conversation: the case of so called 'astonished' questions in repair initiation. In: Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth / Selting, Margret (eds.), Prosody in Conversation: Interactional Studies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 231-270.
https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511597862.008

Seo, Mi-Suk / Koshik, Irene (2010): A conversation analytic study of gestures that engender repair in ESL conversational tutoring. In: Journal of Pragmatics 42(8), 2219-2239.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.01.021

Sidnell, Jack (2010): Conversation Analysis: An Introduction. Chichester/Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.

Sikveland, Rein Ove / Ogden, Richard (2012): Holding gestures across turns: Moments to generate shared understanding. In: Gesture 12(2), 166-199.
https://doi.org/10.1075/gest.12.2.03sik

Skedsmo, Kristian (2020a): Other-initiations of repair in Norwegian Sign Language. In: Social Interaction. Video-Based Studies of Human Sociality 3(2).
https://doi.org/10.7146/si.v3i2.117723

Skedsmo, Kristian (2020b): Multiple Other-Initiations of Repair in Norwegian Sign Language. In: Open Linguistics 6(1), 532-566.
https://doi.org/10.1515/opli-2020-0030

Streeck, Jürgen / Goodwin, Charles / LeBaron, Curtis (2011): Embodied Interaction: Language and Body in the Material World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Svennevig, Jan (2008): Trying the easiest solution first in other-initiation of repair. In: Journal of Pragmatics 40(2), 333-348.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2007.11.007

Tůma, František / Lojdová, Kateřina (2021): 'There are two gaps, so': teaching materials as resources for correction in pre-service teachers' EFL classes. In: Classroom Discourse 12(1-2), 15-34.
https://doi.org/10.1080/19463014.2020.1856697

Urmeneta, Cristina Escobar / Evnitskaya, Natalia (2014): 'Do you know Actimel?' The adaptive nature of dialogic teacher-led discussions in the CLIL science classroom: a case study. In: The Language Learning Journal 42, 165-180. https://doi.org/10.1080/09571736.2014.889507

Uskokovic, Budimka / Telehgani-Nikazm, Carmen (2022): Talk and Embodied Conduct in Word Searches in Video-Mediated Interactions. In: Social Interaction. Video-Based Studies of Human Sociality 5(1). https://doi.org/10.7146/si.v5i2.130876

Wilkinson, Ray / Rae, John P. / Rasmussen, Gitte (2020) (eds.), Atypical Interaction. The Impact of Communicative Impairments within Everyday Talk. Cham: Palgrave MacMillan.

Wiklund, Mari (2016): Interactional challenges in conversations with autistic pre-adolescents: The role of prosody and non-verbal communication in other-initiated repairs. In: Journal of Pragmatics 94, 76-97. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2016.01.008

Wu, Ruey-Juian Regina (2022): Gestural repair in Mandarin conversation. In: Discourse Studies 24(1), 65-93. https://doi.org/10.1177/14614456211037451

Ivana Leinonen
Finnish Language
Research Unit for Languages and Literature
Faculty of Humanities
P.O.Box 1000
FI–90014 University of Oulu

ivana.leinonen@oulu.fi

Florence Oloff
Leibniz-Institut für Deutsche Sprache
Postfach 10 16 21
D–68016 Mannheim

oloff@ids-mannheim.de