



Response Design



Doing More than Confirming: Expanded Responses to Requests for Confirmation in German Talk-in-Interaction

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Abstract

While requests for confirmation (RfCs) make a yes/no-response relevant, recipients often produce *more* than a mere confirmation. Our paper explores expanded responses to RfCs in German talk-in-interaction. We focus on responses consisting of a confirmation and an additional TCU/action. Drawing on video data from mundane and

institutional settings, we demonstrate how expanded responses are designed and fit the sequential environments in which they occur. We show four different functions fulfilled with expanded responses: (i) specifying and elaborating on the topic introduced in the RfC, (ii) accounting for the intelligibility of the speaker's prior actions, (iii) resisting the terms of the RfC, and (iv) challenging a RfC by referring to the recipient's pre-existing knowledge. Finally, we summarize interactional features relevant for the occurrence of expanded responses in our data. In addition, we discuss the implications of our results for future cross-linguistic research.

Keywords

request for confirmation – expanded response – topical elaboration – account – challenge – transformative answer – Interactional Linguistics – Conversation Analysis

1 Introduction

With a prototypical request for confirmation (hereafter: RfC), speakers advance a hypothesis concerning a certain state of affairs, that is, a “confirmable” to be (dis-)confirmed by the recipient. RfCs, which can be produced with both interrogative and declarative syntax, typically embody a relatively flat epistemic gradient (e.g., Heritage, 2012; Heritage and Raymond, 2012): In accomplishing the action of requesting a confirmation (see König and Pfeiffer, this issue, on RfC as an action type), the requester claims at least partial knowledge/epistemic access concerning the proposition of the RfC, but at the same time displays uncertainty, or doubts, concerning its validity or its likelihood (see Heritage and Raymond, 2021; Raymond and Heritage, 2021). In doing so, the requester indexes lower epistemic rights, access, and responsibility and the recipient is positioned as having epistemic authority concerning the proposition of the RfC (König and Pfeiffer, this issue; see also Labov and Fanshel, 1977).

While RfCs typically make at least a confirmation relevant, recipients often respond with *more* than a mere confirmation (see Section 2.1), like in Extract (1) from a cooking interaction. Here, Despina asks her mother Penelope whether the noodles are of a particular kind (line 14). In response to this RfC, Penelope produces a confirmation (line 15) followed by an expansion (lines 17/19, 20; see Extract (6) in Section 4.1.2 for a more detailed analysis):

(1) FOLK_E_00327_SE_01_T_01_greece

- 13 (1.0)%(2.0)
 pen %halts cooking activities,gaze twd DES--->
- 14 -> DES: **aber die sind NICHT die gleichen wie in griEchenland.=Oder?**
but those are not the same as in greece are they
- 15 => PEN: **!pt @nee_e,@**
no
 pen @head shake@
- 16 (0.4)%(1.2)%
 pen --->%steps to pot,starts stirring again%
- 17 => PEN: **normal bringt_s immer der Papa %aus %passau mit(h)**
normally dad always brings it back from passau ((=city name))
 pen %...%gaze twd DES--->
- 18 (0.4)
- 19 => PEN: **(s_m) griechischem lebensmittelgeschäft,=**
(from the) greek grocery store
- 20 => **=aber jetzt %WAR er% ja schon seit LÄNGerem nich mehr in passau,**
but now he hasn't been to passau (any more) for a while
 pen --->%,,,,,,%
- 21 +(0.1)+(0.2)
 des +....+walks back to counter-->

Prior research has demonstrated that RfCs can invite different types of expansions, like accounts and explanations (Raymond and Stivers, 2016; Seuren and Huiskes, 2017). Yet, such studies have focused either on ‘polar questions’ in general (Raymond, 2010; Steensig and Heinemann, 2013), or on one specific type of expanded response (Raymond and Stivers, 2016; cf. Stivers, 2022: 171–175). Thus, there is no systematic analysis of the broader range of actions produced after confirmation, or how speakers “work to show that they are not just going along with the questioner” (Stivers, 2022: 23; but see Seuren and Huiskes, 2017).

Using the methodology framework of Conversation Analysis (hereafter: CA) and Interactional Linguistics (hereafter: IL), our paper explores expanded confirming responses to RfCs in German talk-in-interaction. By expanded responses we mean responses that consist of a confirmation in the form of the response particle, (partial) repeat or a nod, and an additional TCU before or after the confirmation that accomplishes an additional action. After reviewing prior research on expanded responses to RfCs (Section 2.1), we explain how we delimited the focus of our analysis (Section 2.2). In Section 3, we describe data and methods used for this study. Section 4 presents our analysis of actions that can be accomplished by expanded responses. Finally, we discuss interactional features relevant for the occurrence of expanded responses and outline implications of our results for future research.

2 Theoretical Background

2.1 *Expanded Responses to Requests for Confirmation*

There are various social actions that can solicit a yes/no-type response, such as specific types of offers, requests, suggestions, proposals, and assessments. One of the most well-researched ‘yes/no-type initiating actions’¹ (Raymond, 2010) are *polar questions*, which include requests for information and other-initiations of repair (see Stivers and Enfield, 2010 for an explanation of this categorization). Polar questions also include requests for confirmation. Their responses – *polar answers*² (Enfield et al., 2019) – have been studied in particular with regard to their turn-beginnings (see Heritage and Sorjonen, 2018), or the “first occurring answer type” (Enfield et al., 2019: 289; Stivers, 2019) because “the first unit of talk produced by a next speaker [...] must therefore be the respondent’s priority form” (Enfield et al., 2019: 289; Stivers, 2019; Bolden et al., 2023). Nevertheless, a number of studies have highlighted the relevance of looking at the *whole* response by showing that in specific cases, requests for information/confirmation can invite *more* than just a minimal confirmation (Raymond, 2010, 2013; Steensig and Heinemann, 2013; Raymond and Stivers, 2016; Seuren and Huiskes, 2017).

Prior research has focused on different forms of polar questions and tried to find systematic patterns concerning their responses, or it has focused on specific response types in the first place. Raymond (2010) compares two grammatical formats for accomplishing ‘yes/no-type initiating actions’ – yes/no interrogatives (YNIs) and yes/no declaratives (YNDs) – in interactions between health visitors and new mothers (cf. Spranz-Fogasy, 2010 and Deppermann and Spranz-Fogasy, 2010 for German). Raymond finds that the forms differ not only in terms of identities and social roles invoked by them, but also in terms of the kind of actions they accomplish and the kinds of responses they make relevant. In particular, YNDs were found to be sequence-closing, i.e., no expansion is expected, and if the content of the YND is treated as known, i.e., to convey a [K+] stance and offer a hypothesis for Other to confirm, this serves as a basis for making a confirming response relevant. In contrast, by using YNI, speakers

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- 1 There are different terminologies in the literature that are used synonymously with ‘yes/no-type initiating action’ (Raymond, 2010), namely ‘polar questions’ (Enfield et al., 2019), ‘yes/no-declaratives/interrogatives’ (Raymond, 2010), ‘yes/no-questions’ (Steensig and Heinemann, 2013), etc. In Section 2, we will mostly use the concepts that were originally used by individual authors themselves when describing their work, which will make clear the existing diversity (and possibly resulting inconsistencies) in the use of all these terms.
 - 2 By yes/no-type responses – as well as by polar answers – we mean not only response tokens, but also responses designed as repeats (see also Enfield et al., 2019) as well as confirming nods.

display a [K-] stance and thus produce a request for information, which makes more than mere confirmation relevant. According to Raymond (2010, 2013; see also 2003), the confirmation token matches the formal turn-design preference (Raymond 2000, 2003) of the grammatical form, i.e., the polar interrogative, while the expansion responds to the action accomplished with the form (see also Schegloff, 2007: 73–78 on ‘double-barrelled actions’).

In Danish, Steensig and Heinemann (2013) have found three types of actions that can be carried out by yes/no-questions (designed as interrogatives or declaratives) and demand more than just a confirmation: (1) expansion-eliciting questions, (2) knowledge discrepancy questions, and (3) specification requests. The three types of questions differ in terms of the “epistemic gradient” (Heritage, 2012; Heritage and Raymond, 2012) conveyed, that is, the relative epistemic “gap” between the speaker and the addressee:

For expansion-eliciting questions the questioner is asking from a position of knowledge apparently equal to that of the respondent, for knowledge-discrepancy questions the questioner is asking from a position where the knowledge he/she had seems no longer to be valid, whereas for the specification requests, the questioner is asking from a position where he/she knows nothing (or only very little) about the matter inquired about. (Steensig and Heinemann, 2013: 213)

Expansion-eliciting questions usually take the form of partial repeats with a final rising intonation and require a re-confirmation (Aldrup, this issue; Gipper et al., this issue) of something potentially “expandable” previously said by the recipient. Knowledge discrepancy questions are usually produced from a [K+]-position. They appear if recipients’ claims in prior sequential context are counter to the questioners’ existing knowledge. With a specification request, speakers position themselves as [K-] and invite recipients to elaborate. Such requests “seem to embed within them a wh-question which needs to be answered in order for the answerer to be satisfied, and this of course requires more expanded answers than a mere confirming ‘yes’” (Steensig and Heinemann, 2013: 222).

Seuren and Huiskes (2017) analyze the sequential implicativeness of RfCs accomplished with yes/no-declaratives in Dutch phone calls. They demonstrate that what type of response is solicited by a RfC cannot be accounted for only by virtue of the flat epistemic gradient that RfCs embody (Heritage, 2012). Instead, the analysis reveals that RfCs that return to a prior action/topic/sequence and are produced in the sequence and/or conversation closure make a mere confirmation relevant as an expected response. In contrast, RfCs are

expansion-implicative if they address a *B-event* (Labov and Fanshel, 1977) that has not been mentioned in the launched conversation and can thus not be inferred from the prior sequential context (Seuren and Huiskes, 2017: 195).

One specific expansion type in response to RfCs has been analyzed by Raymond and Stivers (2016): accounts in response to known-information questions concerning behavior, opinions or decisions of others. Raymond and Stivers show that if social conduct is not accounted for and is not intelligible for recipients, known-answer RfCs are used for soliciting an account in an off-record manner. In contrast to cases in which an account is *made conditionally relevant* in an “on-record” way (e.g., *Why?*, see Bolden and Robinson, 2011), known-answer RfCs merely *invite* an account, which is why “the account that follows is ‘voluntary’” (Raymond and Stivers, 2016: 349; see also Gubina and Betz, 2021).

Another type of expansion that responding speakers can produce after RfCs is a transformative answer (Stivers and Hayashi, 2010; Stivers 2022: ch. 6; cf. Gipper, frthc.). Stivers shows that transformative answers can be produced *in addition to* a confirmation (Stivers, 2022: 173). When the response begins with the confirmation, responders foreground alignment and affiliation (the latter in the sense of “cooperat[ing] with the preference of the prior action”, Stivers et al., 2011: 21) and display reduced agency or autonomy, while only minimally transforming/qualifying the terms or the agenda of the request for information or confirmation.

Prior research on ‘yes/no-type initiating actions’ has focused on responses to both requests for confirmation and requests for information³ (RfIs Raymond, 2010; Stivers, 2022) and has not differentiated between these and requests for reconfirmation (RfRC; see Raymond and Stivers, 2016; Steensig and Heinemann, 2013; Stivers and Enfield, 2010). Our study focuses only on responses to RfCs, excluding similar actions that can make type-conforming responses (Raymond, 2000, 2003) relevant, such as RfIs and RfRCs, as will be discussed in the next section.

2.2 *Delimiting the Focus*

Our paper focuses only on expanded responses to RfCs and excludes requests for information (RfIs) and requests for reconfirmation (RfRCs). In prior

3 If the response to some kinds of requests for information/confirmation/reconfirmation systematically involves more than just merely confirming/affirming, this raises the question whether the categories of requests for information/confirmation/reconfirmation might be too broad and should be specified according to the type of response they elicit. This is an important point that future research might address.

research, RfCs, RfIs and RfRCs have been subsumed under the category of *polar questions* (Steensig and Heinemann, 2013; Stivers and Enfield, 2010). The difference between the two former varieties of questions concerns epistemic gradients: In contrast to requests for information, speakers producing a RfC claim certain knowledge concerning the addressed state of affairs. Thus, requests for information were excluded from the current study.

The difference between RfCs and RfRCs (such as ‘newsmarks’ as well as other uses of other-repeats) is more difficult to capture. Although RfRCs often make more than confirmation relevant (Aldrup, this issue; Robinson, 2013; Rossi, 2020 on other-repeats; Gubina and Betz, 2021; Marmorstein and Szczepek Reed, this issue, on ‘newsmarks’), they differ from RfCs in several important respects:

- RfRCs do not introduce new propositional content, i.e., they do not represent anything that is independently formulated by the requester, but only reinvoke what the recipient said previously (Aldrup, this issue; Gipper et al., this issue).
- RfRCs do not get disconfirming responses (Marmorstein and Szczepek Reed, this issue; Gipper et al., this issue).
- RfRCs, especially formulaic ‘newsmarks’, *invite* a reconfirmation instead of making it *conditionally relevant*, which is why they regularly get no response (and no subsequent response pursuits; see also Gubina and Betz, 2021).

Because of their different epistemic and sequential properties, our paper excludes RfRCs as well.

3 Data and Methods

The data for our study come from video-recordings of mundane and institutional talk-in-interaction from the FOLK-corpus – the Research and Teaching Corpus of Spoken German⁴ (Schmidt, 2016). We have included mundane and institutional settings in which participants are involved in joint activities (like cooking, having breakfast/dinner, renovating, playing board games etc.), interactions while driving with friends or a driving teacher, job application training sessions, emergency drills, or physiotherapy sessions. All names appearing in the transcripts have been anonymized. Written informed consent for scientific use of the data was obtained from all research participants.

4 FOLK is a publicly available corpus for scientific purposes, hosted at the Leibniz Institute for the German Language (IDS). It is accessible at <<https://dgd.ids-mannheim.de>>.

We used a collection of 385 RfC sequences to identify non-minimal, or expanded, responses that consist of [confirmation+ additional action]. Positive response tokens, (partial) repeats, or head-nods were all treated as broadly confirming in response to the RfCs.

One part of this collection⁵ (208 instances) was coded according to the scheme described in König et al. (frthc.; see also Deppermann et al. frthc). The other cases (177 instances) were coded for the type of response (i.e., confirmation, disconfirmation, other, no response) and, in cases of a (dis-)confirmation, whether the response is expanded or not. Of the 385 instances in the collection, 94 sequences of RfCs (24%) contained confirming, expanded responses, and our analysis is based on these 94 sequences. Disconfirmations and non-answers were excluded from the current study due to limitations of space and the dispreferred nature of these responses (Heritage, 1984: 265–280; Stivers and Robinson, 2006). Furthermore, responses that consisted of a topic shift were also excluded from this study because in such cases, the additional TCU of the response is not part of the answer to the RfC. Moreover, we excluded expansions that embody only an additional confirmation produced with a response token, a nod or a repeat (e.g., *and you were there? – yes, I was there / yes exactly*). Although an additional confirmation can accomplish additional interactional work, due to the limits of space and a large variation of different linguistic and embodied means for producing such additional confirmations, we will not deal with this type of expansions in the current study. All 94 cases of expanded responses were subjected to close sequential analysis determining formats of expansions as well as contextual conditions for and functions of expanded responses.

Our study draws on the theoretical and methodological framework of Conversation Analysis (Sidnell and Stivers, 2012) and Interactional Linguistics (e.g., Couper-Kuhlen and Selting, 2018). The extracts were transcribed according to the GAT 2 transcription conventions (Selting et al., 2009). For readers more familiar with Jeffersonian transcription, notable differences between the systems include: The segmentation of talk in GAT 2 is based on intonation phrases, and each segment receives a line break and line number. When a long segment stretches across lines, only one line number is assigned (Extract (4), line 12). Capitalization indicates focus accents, while higher/lower volume is marked with the descriptions *f(orte)* and *p(iano)* in angle brackets (Extract (2), lines 7, 16). Underlining is not used. Angle brackets and descriptions are also used for other aspects of voice quality, volume, tempo (Extract (2), line 23,

5 The collection was created for a large-scale cross-linguistic project focusing on RfCs in ten languages (König and Pfeiffer, this issue).

le(nton)/slow). A hyphen indicates level pitch at unit end, not a cut-off (Extract (2), line 1). Cut-offs *can be* marked with an IPA glottal stop symbol (glottal cut-off) or a back slash (non-glottal cut-off), but they do not need to be marked (Extract (4), line 12, *ge:*). Furthermore, the extracts were additionally transcribed according to the conventions for annotating embodied conduct, where necessary (Mondada, 2018⁶). Throughout the examples shown in Section 4, the RfC-turn is always marked with ‘->’, while the response turn is indicated with ‘=>’. Both the RfC and the response are bolded.

4 Analysis

In this section, we discuss four major actions accomplished with expansions in our data:

- i. topical elaborations contributing to the progression of a topic preferred in the RfC (Section 4.1.1; *(oh/and) you've been there (once) before, right? – hm_hm, ten years ago*, see Extract 2),
- ii. accounts for the intelligibility of the recipient's prior actions (Section 4.1.2; e.g., *but those are not the same as in greece, are they? – no, normally dad always brings it back from Passau, but now he hasn't been to passau (any more) for a while*, see Extract 6),
- iii. transformative confirmations resisting the terms of the RfC (Section 4.2.1; e.g., *that is thai thailand, isn't it? –yes, right, that's also thai*, see Extract 7), and
- iv. challenges⁷ of the grounds for producing an RfC by referring to recipient's pre-existing knowledge (Section 4.2.2; e.g., *does milk still go in there? – yes of course. why else did you buy milk?*, see Extract 10).

We will argue that the first two are expansions invited by the RfC turn (Section 4.1), while the last two are unprojected expansions, initiated by the responding speaker (Section 4.2).

Table 1 shows the frequency distribution of different linguistic formats, or designs of expansions and the functions accomplished with them:

6 See <https://www.lorenzamondada.net/multimodal-transcription> (Last accessed on 12/12/2023).

7 We view such challenging uses of RfCs as constituting a specific type of account. Thus, this function is subsumed under ‘accounts’ in Table (1).

TABLE 1 Distribution of linguistic formats of expansions in different functions

| Function of expansion | Linguistic format of expansion | | | | TOTAL: |
|---|--------------------------------|-------------|--|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| | Response particles or nods | Full repeat | Transformation ^a (incl. modified repeats) | Independent wording ^b | |
| Additional confirmation | 12 | 9 | – | – | 21 |
| Topical elaborations | – | – | 1 | 12 | 13 |
| Resisting the RfC's terms | – | – | 28 | – | 28 |
| Account (incl. challenging the RfC's grounds) | – | – | 2 | 21 | 23 |
| Other (incl. unclear cases) | – | – | 1 | 11 | 12 |
| TOTAL: | 12 | 9 | 32 | 44 | N=97 ^c |

- a By 'transformation', we mean different operations that recipients employ for accomplishing 'transformative response' that "retroactively adjust the question posed to them" (Stivers and Hayashi, 2010: 1; see also Stivers, 2022: ch.6).
- b By 'independent wording', we mean that the linguistic design of such turn is not characterized by any syntactic or lexical tying or repeat.
- c As some expanded responses consist of more than just one expansion type, the total number of expansions in this table (97) is different from the total number of RfC sequences with expanded responses in the collection (94).

The statistics reveal that response particles and full repeats are only used for accomplishing additional confirmations⁸ (which are excluded from the current study), while transformations and independent wording can be a vehicle for fulfilling all the other interactional functions. Transformations are done with operations described in Stivers (2022: ch. 6), namely replacements, qualifications, and additions. Expansions designed with independent wording can equally be used for topical elaborations and accounting.

8 In the category "confirmation" in Table (1), only additional response tokens were counted. We do not specify the order of expansions in those cases, because they do not feature in the qualitative analysis in Section 4.

4.1 *Projected / Invited Expansions*

We begin with two types of expansions that are projected through features of RfC sequences and (sequential/activity) context and can be seen as invited by prior RfCs: topical elaborations (Section 4.1.1) and accounts (Section 4.1.2).

4.1.1 Topical Elaborations: Contributing to the Development of a Topic Proffered in the RfC

We begin with cases in which expanded responses contain topical elaborations: Responding speakers embrace a topic nominated by a request for confirmation that is placed at a topical juncture, thus treating the RfC as inviting an expanded response. We will show that sequential placement of the RfC, turn-design features, and the larger activity context contribute to making the RfC hearable as soliciting specification in addition to particle confirmations.

One possibility is that the expansion develops into an extended description or narrative, which displays that the RfC was treated as a topic proffer (Schegloff, 2007: 169–180). This is the case in Extract (2), which comes from an interaction between newlyweds Elena (ELE) and Norbert (NOR). In lines 01–07 and 11, Norbert expresses excitement about their upcoming trip to the city of Cologne and his expectation that it will be nice and affordable. After Elena has agreed with him (lines 08–09, 12), a lapse occurs.

(2) FOLK_E_00039_SE_01_T_01_cologne

- 01 NOR: bi_ick echt ma jeSPANNT-
I am really (kind of) excited
 02 (0.3)
 03 NOR: a ick FREU mich schon druff.
(oh) I'm looking forward to it already
 04 (0.3)
 05 NOR: dat gloob ick wird SCHÖN;
that I think will be nice
 06 (2.1)
 07 NOR: [<<f> und> (.) GÜN]stig.
and affordable
 08 ELE: [ja;;]
yeah
 09 ELE: (.) <<hh> und GÜNstig;
and affordable
 10 (0.6)
 11 NOR: günstig is WICHTig;
affordable is important
 12 ELE: (.) ja::;
yeah
 13 (5.1)
 14 ELE: schön uff de DOMplatte_
nicely to cologne cathedral

- 15 (1.8)
 16 → NOR: *<<pp> (oh/und)* da WARST du schon mal.=n[e?
 (oh/and) you've been there (once) before, right?
 nor *head poke fwd--*
- 17 ⇒ ELE: [<<all> +hm_HM?>
 +nod-->
- 18 %*(0.2)+ %*(0.2)
 nor %gaze down%
 nor *nod down-up-down*
 ele -->nod+head twd NOR->>
- 19 ⇒ ELE: vor (0.32) zehn JAHren?
 ten years ago
- 20 (0.9)
- 21 ⇒ ELE: sechzn oder SIEBzn war ick da.
 sixteen or seventeen I was then
- 22 (2.6)
- 23 ⇒ ELE: <<len> HM_hm,>
- 24 (0.9)
- 25 NOR: meine große STÄdtereise des lebens,
 my big city trip of my life
- 26 NOR: °hhh
- 27 ELE: ((laughs))
- 28 (1.5)
- 29 NOR: da(nn) war ich schon hamburg und in KÖLN;
 then I've been ((to)) hamburg and to cologne

After the lapse in line 13, which marks the prior topic as possibly closed, Elena produces a positive assessment of their travel destination (line 14). Norbert responds to this as remembering or reminiscing by Elena, one that seems to touch off a remembering on his part (see “oh/and”, line 16): He presents his understanding of Elena’s past travel experience for confirmation. This declarative RfC has several features that invite topical elaboration: First, it is produced at a possible topic juncture (Seuren and Huiskes, 2017), thus allowing for either continuing the prior topic or for shifting to a new one. Second, Norbert’s turn indexes prior knowledge: The tag “ne?” (‘no’) conveys that a confirming response is expected (Harren, 2001; König, 2017). A prior visit by Elena to Cologne was not mentioned in the current conversation. Norbert’s epistemic access thus seems to be grounded in their shared interactional history. Third, the RfC addresses a ‘recipient-oriented topic’, (Schegloff, 2007: 170), a ‘recipient-oriented event’ (Seuren and Huiskes, 2017), or a B-event statement (Labov and Fanshel, 1977), which serves as topic proffer (Schegloff, 2007: ch. 8). Fourth, the RfC contains an unspecific time reference “schon mal” (‘once before’), offering an opportunity for specifying when exactly she visited Cologne.

In her response, Elena first produces a rising-intoned confirmation token (along with a nod, line 17), which projects turn-continuation (Auer, 1996). Although Norbert shifts his gaze away from Elena after the confirmation and

thus does not himself convey an expectation of further elaboration (Rossano, 2012), Elena continues her turn by specifying the time of the prior visit: She describes the distance to the past event in absolute numbers and by reference to her age (lines 19, 21), elaborating on Norbert's "schon mal" ('once before'). Norbert then lists his own past travel destinations (lines 25–29), which develops into a comparison of past experiences in big cities (not shown). In this example, the RfC is thus treated as a topic proffer; the responding speaker embraces it by first confirming the proposition and then retrieving an opportunity for specification from the design of the prior turn. This develops into the sharing of stories.

In Extract (3), the context and design of the RfC again offer an opportunity specification: an unspecific place reference in the nomination of a new topic. Franziska (FRA) is applying to rent a room in a shared apartment and is interviewed by the (student) residents Sandra (SAN), Nicole (NIC) and Marvin (MAR). We join the interaction at the very beginning of the interview. After verifying Franziska's age (lines 01–11), Nicole in line 13 offers her understanding about Franziska's current place of residence. As in Extract (2), this RfC is produced after a possible topic closure. Franziska begins to respond in line 14.

(3) FOLK_E_00253_SE_01_T_01_DF_01_c258_nuremberg

- 01 SAN: wie ALT bist du noch ma,
how old are you once again
- 02 FRA: viernZWAN[zi]g;=
twenty-four
- 03 SAN: [oKAY.]
- 04 FRA: =ich bin vierenZWANzig;=
I am twenty-four
- 05 FRA: =geNAU;=
exactly
- 06 FRA: =ich werd im oktober fünfunZWANzig.
I will be twenty-five in october
- 07 FRA: [°h](.) j[a.]
yes
- 08 SAN: [<<pp> oKAY >.]
- 09 SAN: [cool.]
- 10 (0.4)
- 11 MAR: [ja.]
yes
- 12 MAR: [(.) sch]
sh-
- 13 → NIC: [un][du](.) wohnst diREkt in% nürnberg
and you live directly in nuremberg ((=city name))
san-g →%to FRA→

- 14 => FRA: ich wo:
I li
- 15 => (.) *jA. also &ich wohn* in& der johannis
yes so I live in the johannis ((=neighborhood name))
fra-h *nods x3-----*
nic-h &small nod x2&
- 16 &ich weiß nicht ob ihr *%[&nürn*berg&]KE[NNT,&=]
I don't know if you (all) know Nuremberg
nic-h &nod x2-----&up+down--&nods 3x---&
san-g %twd MAR-->
san *mouth shrug-->*shakes head-->
- 17 NIC: [<<p>ja des k>]
yeah that kn
- 18 NIC: [ja;]
yeah
- 19 FRA: =s %is äh* n altes stuDEN%ten:vie äh viertel;=
it is uhm an old student distr uhm student district
san-g ->%down-----% to FRA->>
san -->*
- 20 FRA: =und auch da (.) <<all>s die alte Uni,>=
and also there 's the old university
- 21 FRA: =°h [dA WO]HN ich jetzt noch.=ja.
there I still live yeah
- 22 MAR: [HM_hm,]
(FRA continues by describing experiences and motivations concerning shared living)

In line 13, Nicole asks if Franziska lives “directly in Nürnberg”. The town was named by Franziska as her place of residence (and hometown) about one minute earlier. Nicole now includes a specification of Franziska’s earlier “in nürnberg” with “direkt” (‘directly’), and she stresses the adverb. Nicole also prefaces her turn with “und” (‘and’), which can be employed to “connect actions and maintain an ongoing sense” of a larger activity or agenda (Nevile, 2007: 236; see also Heritage and Sorjonen, 1994 on English ‘and’). Her RfC thus can be seen to invite expansion on already established information, to proffer “direkt in nürnberg” for more than simple confirmation, as a new topic (Schegloff, 2007: 169–180). By inviting specification of “direkt”, the RfC offers an opportunity to Franziska for self-presentation as a prospective roommate.

Franziska initiates her response in line 14 with “ich wo:” (‘I li:’). This turn-beginning, hearable as the beginning of “ich wohn(e)” (‘I live’), projects an answer that does not align with the formal design preference of question (since it does not contain a type-conforming confirming response token) and thus may project ‘trouble’ with answering (Raymond, 2000; Raymond, 2003; Heritage and Raymond, 2005: 24ff.; Stivers, 2022). In line 15, she adjusts the

format of her answer through a self-repair (Drew et al., 2013): She restarts her turn with an interjectional answer, “jA,” (‘yes’), thus realigning with the course of action initiated by Nicole in line 13. Franziska orients to Nicole’s question as having solicited more than a simple confirmation: She produces a specification of “direkt in nürnberg” by naming (line 15) and describing (lines 19–20) her neighborhood, and she marks her answer as complete (line 21). She adds information about her current living situation, which allows her to transition to a presentation of her experience with communal living, and her motives for seeking it again (not shown).

Extract (3) shows that specifying expansions in response to an RfC can tie back to and resume prior course of action to steer interactional progression in a way that favors participants’ overarching agendas/goals. This is also the case in Extract (4). As in Extracts (2) and (3), the responding speaker retrieves a reference as an opportunity for specification. The example comes from a job application training. The trainer (TRR) and his assistant (AST) ask the trainee (TRE) to describe the extent of his staff responsibilities (line 01) in a past position (line 03). The trainee describes having been responsible for 15 people (lines 04–05) and then clarifies that this included full-time and part-time positions (lines 07–08). In line 12, the trainer offers his understanding that the trainee’s responsibilities amounted to “das komplette ergebnis” (‘the complete outcome/entire result’).

(4) FOLK_E_00173_SE_01_T_01_complete_outcome

- 01 TRR: °h für wie viel mitarbeiter HATten sie denn da verantwortung,
for how many staff were you responsible there
- 02 TRE: (.) hm so [in der][letzten]
hm like in the last
- 03 TRR: [bei][wyeth]
at wyeth ((=company name))
- 04 TRE: hm: (.) warn ma so circa
hm we were like approximately
- 05 TRE: ich denke das warn so circa FÜNF (.) zehn;
I think that was like approximately fíf (.) teen;
- 06 (1.91)
- 07 TRE: °h voll und TEILzeit.=
full and part-time
- 08 TRE: =also (.) wirklich KÖPfe (.) muss man da sagen;
(so) really heads one should say there ((=15 people))
- 09 TRR: geNAU.=
exactly
- 10 AST: =hm_HM,
- 11 TRE: °h

12 → TRR: und sie warn für den ge: für das komPLETte ergEbnis
 d[er ä des] *wyeth der de:r des MARKtes [ver+Antwort]lich;
and you were for the co for the complete (result/outcome)
of(the) uh of(the) wyeth of the of the of the market responsible
 trr *gaze>TRE-->
 ast +gaze>TRE-->

13 TRE: [!t()(lich)-]
 (ible)

14 => TRE: [RIChtig;]
 right

15 => TRE: geNAU.*
 exactly
 trr -->*gaze down to documents-->

16 (0.2)* (0.3)
 trr -->*

17 => TRE: al%so: persoNALverantwortung;=
 so staff responsibility
 tre %L thumb out-->

18 => TRE: =%die inf% in inventURverantwortung;=
 the in in inventory responsibility
 tre ->%.....%L index out/up-->

19 => TRE: =%die UM%satzverantwortung;
 the revenue responsibility
 tre ->%.....%L middle finger out w/up-down arm mvmt-->

20 => TRE: %für ALles. %
 for everything
 tre ->%,,,,,,,,,,%
 (0.7)

21

22 TRR: j[A,=*des_s] [(au* WIChtig).]=
 yes that's (certainly) important
 trr -->*side gaze>AST*down to docs-->

23 AST: [HM_+hm,]
 ast +gaze down-->

24 TRE: [geNAU,]
 exactly

25 TRR: =ja;*=
 yes
 trr *writes-->

26 AST: <<pp> (genau/okay)
 27 (2.3)

The trainee confirms the trainer's RfC in last-item overlap with "richtig" ('right/correct') in line 14, and, after the trainer's turn completion with "verantwortlich" ('responsible'), with "genau" ('exactly', line 15), an epistemically upgraded interjectional response (Oloff, 2017). After a pause, the trainee specifies "komplett" ('complete') through a list of four items (Selting, 2007). The last one both underscores that the preceding three were designed to illustrate his comprehensive responsibilities ("alles"/'everything') and closes the listing by tying back syntactically to the RfC (the preposition "für"/'for' is repeated in line 20, but not in lines 17, 18, 19).

As in Extracts (2) and (3), the expanded response in Extract (4) cannot be said to have been made conditionally relevant by the RfC (note that the trainer looks down in lines 15–16 at the documents on the table in front of him). However, the RfC in line 12 *opens up an opportunity* to provide more than a simple confirmation. This hinges on the epistemic positioning of the RfC speaker (as less authoritative) and the indeterminate, abstract formulation “das komplette ergebnis”, which invites a more precise description (similar to Extracts 2 and 3). By detailing different facets of his responsibilities (lines 17–19), the trainee gives more precise technical details. This demonstrates his professional competence and underscores the importance of his prior professional position. By taking the opportunity for elaboration, the trainee exercises agency in furthering a larger goal of the job interview training: He demonstrates his professional competence and his epistemic authority. With an eye to the larger training activity, it is expected that the trainee provide information about his vita to give the trainer as complete a picture as possible of his background and experience (and thus help the trainer provide general professional advice). Given this larger context, the RfC can be seen not only to invite, but to *solicit* an expanded response. In order to be maximally cooperative in the training activity (as in the roommate interviewing), responding participants should use these RfCs as opportunities to demonstrate their competence/experience and suitability (for a job, as a roommate etc.) by providing an expanded, specifying response.

In this section, we have discussed expanded responses to RfCs that occur at sequential junctures prepared for topic change by nominating aspects for elaboration. Such RfCs contain underspecified or indefinite components, which can be specified, like “once before” in Extract (2), “directly (in)” in Extract (3) and “complete” in Extract (4) (further examples are time/frequency references such as ‘sometimes’, ‘once’, ‘already’, ‘a lot’, ‘for long’, place references with ‘far/near’, ‘directly (in)’; quantifications such as ‘many/few’, etc.). Responding speakers use them as opportunities for topicalization by confirming and then specifying them. Sequential position and composition of the RfC turn contribute to offering, or projecting, opportunities for topical expansions and inviting specification. Specification is often offered as phrasal expansion, emphasizing its (syntactic) dependence on the RfC. The larger activity underway as well as aspects of the (institutional) setting and speakers’ interactional goals (e.g., presenting oneself as agreeable, or as competent) further support that expansion is projected and projects what type of specification is due.

4.1.2 Accounting: Ensuring Intelligibility of the Recipient's Prior Actions
 In this next section, we describe another type of expanded response to an RfC: providing accounts. The RfCs to which speakers respond make visible issues with intelligibility of the addressee's prior action. The accounting expansions serve to ensure the intelligibility of the speaker's prior action that motivated the RfC. Accounts are "attempt[s] by one interlocutor to modify (e.g., change, explain, justify, clarify, interpret, rationalize, [re]characterize, etc.), either prospectively or retrospectively, other interlocutors' understanding[s]" (Robinson, 2016: 15–16). In our collection, accounts are systematically produced as expansions to confirming responses to RfCs in environments where the producer of the RfC has displayed a problem of intelligibility concerning the addressee's prior actions. As we will see, they can reflect particulars of the activity/institutional goals.

Extract (5) from a physiotherapy session provides a first illustration. Here, the patient (PAT) has difficulties in transferring the therapist's instruction into bodily action. She is at her first session with this therapist (THE). After determining that the patient will need to strengthen her 'deep pelvis muscles' as the goal for the session, the therapist had the patient practice an exercise carried out lying on one's back. Before Extract (5) begins, the therapist shifts to another exercise: She gives an exercise ball to the patient and tells her to put her legs onto the ball, lift up her pelvis, hold the position for a few seconds, and finally roll her upper body down. We join as the patient is about to finish the third repetition of this exercise: In line 02, the therapist tells the patient to roll down slowly. After a short pause in line 04, the patient produces an RfC concerning the precise manner of rolling down (line 05):

(5) FOLK_E_00343_SE_01_T_01_roll_down

01 (0.4)
 02 THE: dann langsam wieder abroll[len;]
 then slowly roll(ing) down again
 03 [+ khh]hh
 pat +rolls partly down->
 04 (0.4)+
 pat ->+holds position->
 05 -> PAT: also von oben [nach]
 so from top to
 06 => THE: [*von 0]:ben *nach unten*°h
 from top to bottom
 the *head to left*to right*

- 07 => <<f> weil>+ (.) DAS is des wo sie dann die bau(ch)+ tiefen
=> bAuchmuskeln kriegen wenn sie des so langsam von oben nach
=> unten ABroll[n.]
*because that's it where you then get the ab- deep
abs when you roll it down so slowly from top to bottom*
- pat ->+rolls completely down----->+
- 08 PAT: [H]M_hm,
- 09 THE: und (.) <<creaky>>LOCKer lassen>.=
and relax
- 10 auch +die FüÙe lo+cker lassen;
also relax the feet
- pat +moves sholders,arms+moves feet-->
- 11 (0.4)+
- pat -->+
- 12 THE: geNAU.
exactly
- 13 (0.5)

The patient's RfC in line 05 is prefaced by the discourse particle "also" ('so'), which marks it as a candidate understanding inferred from the therapist's instruction (Deppermann, 2018a). The patient produces the RfC as she has already started to roll her body down. She halts this movement in progress (lines 03–04), showing that clarification is necessary to complete it properly. The therapist confirms with a repeat in overlap (completing the patient's turn, accompanied by a head movement that specifies "oben"/'top' and "untn"/'bottom'). The repeat-format not only displays stronger epistemic rights (Heritage and Raymond, 2012; Schegloff, 1996; Stivers, 2005), but might also have a didactic function, i.e., make it possible for the patient to memorize the exercise better (Fofana, 2022). The repeat is heard by the patient as confirming her performance in progress: The patient resumes the halted movement and completes the overall exercise (line 07), after which the therapist instructs her to relax (line 09–10).

The last word of the therapist's repeat-formatted confirmation is clipped. Along with a latched sharp inbreath, this projects turn continuation. In line 07, the therapist continues by explaining the benefits of doing the rolling movement in this particular way. Her account is initiated with "weil" ('because'+V2; cf. Gohl and Günthner, 1999). Through this account, the therapist seems to be orienting to the patient's lingering difficulties while doing the exercise (cf. Parry, 2009; see also Lindström et al., 2020): The patient already asked the therapist to confirm the correctness of her rolling movement in a prior round (data not shown). Checking again here indicates lingering problems and invites the therapist to do more than (dis)confirm. As the patient carries out the bodily action correctly, the account does not further instruct the exercise, but rather explains why it is useful and serves the goals set for the patient earlier (strengthen her 'deep pelvis muscles'). The therapist's expanded response

to the RfC thus can be seen as shaped by the larger activity: Her account is agentively/autonomously motivated by the obligation of the therapist educating the patient (Parry, 2009; see also Stivers and Heritage, 2001) and frames the exercise as a systematic measure to further the overall goal of the treatment.

More rarely, accounts are given in addition to confirmations if there are problems of expectations. In Extract (6), Penelope (PEN) and her daughter Despina (DES) are cooking a pasta dish together at Penelope's home. After having negotiated that the noodles must be fetched from a different room (lines 01–11), Despina offers her understanding regarding their origin (line 13).

(6) FOLK_E_00327_SE_01_T_01_greece

- 01 DES: soll ich die Nudeln holen,
should I get the noodles
- 02 (0.6)
- 03 PEN: j(h)a(h);
yes
- 04 +(0.7)
- des +walks out of recording frame→
- 05 PEN: hätt ich dir VORhin schon sagen wolln,+
would've wanted to tell you this before already
- des →+((off cam until 1.20))
- 06 PEN: (.) hab_s verGESsen;
forgot it
- 07 (3.4)
- 08 DES: die ganze PACKung,
the whole (box/bag)
- 09 PEN: ja;
yes
- 10 (0.9)
- 11 DES: <<f>A::h.>
(oh/ah)
- 12 (1.0)%(2.0)
- pen %halts cooking activities,gaze twd DES--->
- 13 → DES: **aber die sind NICHT die gleichen wie in griEchenland.=Oder?**
but those are not the same as in Greece, are they
- 14 => PEN: **!pt @nee_e,@**
no
- pen @head shake@
- 15 (0.4)%(1.2)%
- pen --->%steps to pot,starts stirring again%
- 16 => PEN: **normal bringt_s immer der PApa %aus %passau mit(h)**
normally dad always brings it back from passau ((=city name))
- pen %...%gaze twd DES--->
- 17 (0.4)
- 18 => PEN: **(s_m) griechischem lebensmittelgeschäft,=**
(from the) greek grocery store
- 19 => **=aber jetzt %WAR er% ja schon seit LÄNGerem nich mehr in passau,**
but now he hasn't been to passau (any more) for a while
- pen --->%,,,,,,%

4.2 *Unprojected/Uninvited Expansions*

In Sections 4.1.1 (topicalizing expansions) and 4.1.2 (accounting expansions), we described two systematic functions of expansions in sequences in which RfCs could be heard as inviting elaborations. The expansions we analyze in the next two subsections, however, cannot be said to be projected. Instead, responding participants provide unprojected elaborated responses on their own initiative to accomplish actions that move further away from confirmation: transforming the RfC by altering its proposition (Section 4.2.1) and challenging the grounds for the RfC by referring to recipient's pre-existing knowledge (Section 4.2.2).

4.2.1 Transformative Confirmations: Resisting the Terms of the RfC

Responding speakers can build answers that transform an aspect of the request for confirmation to which they respond. Such answers confirm “slightly different states of affairs than were originally posed by questions by placing conditions on their terms or agendas (e.g., the terms or agendas are qualified, mitigated, respecified, partially replaced, etc.)” (Robinson, 2020: 207). Speakers do not elaborate or specify, but subtly change the proposition put forward by the RfC, e.g., by widening or narrowing its semantic scope (cf. Stivers, 2022: 157–161 on qualifying transformations; Stivers and Hayashi, 2010). Such subtle alterations can amount to minor kinds of repair (Schegloff, 2013: 47). Transformative confirmations are systematically accomplished with repeats with minimal additions, replacements, or omissions of single words (most often adverbs or particles; see Sorjonen, 1996; Stivers, 2005 on *modified repeats*). Extract (7), from a car ride, is a case in point. The passengers are headed for a restaurant to have lunch. Bob (BOB), who is Lisa's (LIS) father, asks where exactly they are going (line 01). When Lisa's friend Mariola (MAR) – who is driving – names the restaurant (line 03), Bob offers a guess as to what type of food it serves (line 05). Both Lisa and Mariola respond (lines 06–09, 11).

(7) FOLK_E_00291_SE_01_T_02_asian

01 BOB: wo (.) wo wollen wir @HIN?_heute;
 where where do we wanna (go) to today
 mar @turns head back twd BOB→

02 (0.3)

03 MAR: z@um jade;
 to (the) Jade
 mar →@turns upper body tow BOB→

04 (1.1)

05 → BOB: des is (0.4) thai (.) thailand=[oder.]
 that's thai thailand isn't it?

- 06 => LIS: [1Eide]r asiat[isch;]
unfortunately asian
- 07 => MAR: [des is] (.)
that's
- 08 => MAR: @JA: stImmt==
yes right
mar ->@turns head back fwd->
- 09 => MAR: =des is auch THAIlÄndisch,
that's also thai ((cuisine))
- 10 LIS: warum hat mich
e[igenlich +<<f> niemand geFRAGT ob> ich des will.]
how come nobody asked me if I want that
lis +turns head to MAR->
- 11 => MAR: [da gibt_s @chiNEsisch und THAI@län]disch,
they have chinese and thai ((cuisine))
mar @head tilt twd LIS----->@gaze to LIS->>
- 12 LIS: gibt_s da auch SUSHi;
do they also have sushi?
- 13 (0.6)
- 14 MAR: NEI:N,
no
- 15 LIS: +(na/nä) TOLL.+
oh great
lis ->+turns head away+

Lisa's response in line 06 confirms Bob's categorization through a hyperonym, 'asian',¹⁰ while conveying her disapproval of the choice made through the inclusion of the adverb 'unfortunately' (cf. Bolden et al., 2019 on subversive completions). This first response is thus a transformative answer (Stivers, 2022: 147–177; Stivers and Hayashi, 2010). Mariola provides a second response in lines 07–11, which is our focus. After abandoning what looks like the beginning of a repetitional response (line 07), she produces "JA: stimmt" ('yes right', line 08), which confirms Bob's assumption, while claiming independent epistemic access (Betz, 2015). The following expansion makes explicit the now-realization claimed by "stimmt" and transforms Bob's categorization by adumbrating an addition with the adverb "auch" ('also'). This is then made explicit in line 11: 'they have chinese and thai (cuisine)'. Lisa's and Mariola's responses are similar in indexing that Thai is not wrong, but in need of amendment as a description of the type of cuisine the restaurant in question serves. While their responses follow the topical trajectory launched by Bob's RfC, in modifying the propositional as well as stance content in their expanded responses, Lisa and Mariola exert a greater degree of agency (Enfield et al., 2019), which is especially clear in case of Mariola's response that "confirms [a] slightly different state[...] of affairs than w[as] originally posed by" Bob's RfC (Robinson, 2020: 207).

10 Additionally, word ordering makes her turn hearable as a kind of co-completion of Bob's 'des is (0.4)'.

Mariola's turn does this within the response space made relevant by Bob's RfC by first confirming with a particle combination and then expanding her turn through transforming its terms using a modified repeat.

In Extract (7), the recipient alters the original RfC by *adding* an adverb "auch" ('also') to her expansion. The next extract shows how recipients can transform what they are confirming by *omitting* a word in their modified repeat as well as modifying/clarifying a reference in an embodied way. Extract (8) comes from the same cooking interaction as Extract (6). Penelope had taken a large container with feta cheese out of the fridge and arranged a cutting board, a plate, and a container next to it (see Fig. 1). She then put one piece of cheese onto the cutting board and started cutting it. Her daughter Despina now approaches the counter, looks at the container, and offers her understanding of how much cheese will be added to the dish they are cooking ("des alles ... kommt rein;" / 'all that ... goes in'; line 02).

(8) FOLK_E_00327_SE_01_T_01_all_three

01 (5.09)
 02 → DES: +%des ALLES #+o%der ↑wie % kommt+ rEin; %
 that all or how comes into
 all that or what? goes in
 des %head R twd container%L to plate%slightly further L%
 pen +moves one cut piece R+places it on plate+retracts hand→
 fig #1

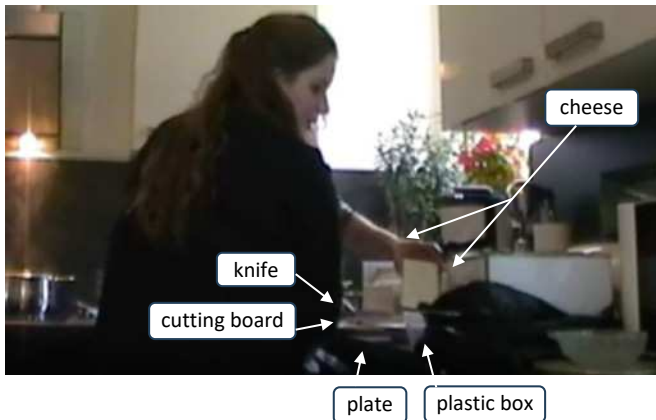


Fig. 1

03 (0.2)+(0.1)
 pen →+holds hand position above cutting board→
 04 ⇒ PEN: +*des* kommt+ rein.=ja.+
 that goes in yes
 pen-h *nod*
 pen →+small gest w/L hand to plate+, , , , , +

- 05 (0.2)
 06 DES: +aHA,=is ja VIEL;
 (oh I see/aha) ((it))’s a lot
 pen +makes another cut-->(1.13)
 07 (0.3)
 08 PEN: <<h>†FINdest du;>
 you think
 09 DES: <<h,f>ALle DREI;>
 all three
 10 (0.3)
 11 PEN: *nee NEE;*
 no no
 pen-h *head to DES*
 12 (0.9)
 13 DEN: ach oKAY.+
 oh okay
 pen -->+
 14 PEN: tu ich WIEder.
 put I again
 15 (0.8)
 16 PEN: in_n kühl-schrank?
 in the fridge

Despina’s RfC in line 02 is produced with the tag ‘or what’, placed mid-TCU, which marks uncertainty (Drake and Drake, 2010; see also Drake et al., 2021). The turn’s focal accent is on the extreme case formulation “alles” (‘all/everything’; see Pomerantz, 1986 and Whitehead, 2015 on extreme case formulations), which, along with Penelope’s head movement encompassing the cut piece and the remaining cheese, seems to convey that the quantity of the feta to be added is excessive. In her response (line 04), Penelope points toward *one* (smaller, already cut) piece of feta lying on the plate and produces a transformative confirmation, which is followed by a particle confirmation (see Stivers, 2022, ch. 5, on combinations of response formats). Penelope omits the pronoun “alles”, thereby resisting to treat the amount of feta as remarkable or “too much” and disaffiliating with Despina’s evaluative stance. The small pointing gesture accompanying it disambiguates the referent: “des” in one piece. In line 06, Despina produces the change-of-state token “aha” (Kühn, 1979) and then assesses the amount of cheese as “viel” (‘much’), thus making explicit the stance conveyed with ‘all that’ in her original RfC. Despina’s assessment includes the modal particle “ja” (Reineke, 2016), which conveys that Penelope should share her assessment. In line 08, while slicing the remaining cheese, Penelope asks for a re-confirmation of Despina’s opinion. Her RfRC is produced in a higher pitch register and could thus convey her astonishment about Despina’s assessment in line 06. Despina’s response “alle drei” (‘all three’) explicates the referent of ‘this all’ (line 02), thus allowing Penelope to see and

resolve the misunderstanding that persisted beyond line 04: Penelope rejects Despina's wrong understanding with a double saying of 'no' (see Stivers, 2004; Golato and Fagyal, 2008 on multiple sayings), and Despina accepts this with a change-of-state "ach" ('oh'; Golato and Betz, 2008) and a claim of (revised) understanding "okay" (Betz and Deppermann, 2021; see also Koole, 2010).

In this section, we have shown one specific format for responding to *and* transforming an RfC: a modified repeat that expands a confirming particle response (either prioritizing the particle or the repeat response). In such cases, recipients modify the repeated material minimally by adding, replacing, or omitting a word or a prepositional phrase. In doing so, they still confirm the RfC,¹¹ but minimally correct the requester's proposition (Jefferson, 1987), which can imply challenging their stance (as in Extract 8), in an off-record way (i.e., without overtly correcting it).

4.2.2 Challenging the Grounds for the RfC by Referring to Recipient's Pre-existing Knowledge

Speakers can also employ expansions in confirming responses to more strongly disalign with the prior RfC. In these cases, the expansion formulates a past action as belonging to the common ground of the interlocutors, i.e., as known to the RfC speaker. This action is presented as supporting the validity of the RfC's proposition. In this way, the responding speaker challenges the grounds for producing the RfC: the answer is obvious, and there was no need (to ask) for confirmation (see Stivers, 2011; 2022, on upgraded interjectional answers that challenge askability in English). The source of the presumed common ground knowledge can be the participants' shared interactional histories (Deppermann, 2018b), as Extract (9) illustrates. Charlene (CHA) is baking cupcakes in her mother Rahel's (RAH) kitchen, who is seated and watches her daughter. In lines 01 and 05, Charlene reproaches her mother for underestimating the number of available baking cups. Rahel excuses herself, saying that she has difficulties estimating the number (lines 02, 06). After a pause, Rahel produces a negatively polarized RfC (Heritage and Raymond, 2021), guessing that Charlene hasn't bought any cups herself (line 08):

(9) FOLK_E_00331_SE_01_T_01_cupcakes

01 CHA: (.) und DU hast (gesagt) das sind zu WEnige.
and you (said) that's too few

11 Note also the nod in Extract (8), line 4, which contributes to having the response come off as confirming, despite the correction-implicative alteration.

- 02 RAH: kann d[as nich sch]
that ((I)) can't es
- 03 CHA: [und da sind no]ch
and there are (also/still)
- 04 (0.5)
- 05 CHA: des sind bestimmt <<ff> fünfzig STÜC[K.>]
that's (definitely/at least) fifty (pieces)
- 06 RAH: [ich] kann des nich
 SCHÄTzen.
I can't estimate that
- 07 (2.0)
- 08 → RAH: du hast KEIne gekauft.=ne,
 you have none bought PRT
you haven't bought any right?
- 09 (0.4)
- 10 ⇒ CHA: ^NEin.
 no
- 11 (0.8)
- 12 ⇒ CHA: deswegen hab ich ja gefrAgt ob du (.) ob ihr jetz noch
 (HABT),=
that's why I asked if you if you still (have) (some)
- 13 CHA: =aber °h GU_ma.
 but look
- 14 (0.8)
- 15 RAH: ja,=ich kann das nich SCHÄTzen;
 yes I cannot estimate that
- 16 (0.3)
- 17 CHA: das SEH ich.
 I see that
- 18 (0.4)

After confirming with a negative particle (line 10), Charlene formulates an expansion with a conclusive adverb “deswegen” (‘that’s why’; line 12; see König, 2012). In doing so, she retrospectively frames the proposition of the RfC (Charlene did not buy cups) as the reason for her earlier question about existing cups. Charlene’s expansion includes the modal particle “ja” (Reineke, 2016), which – as in Extract (8) – marks the proposition as belonging to the participant’s personal common ground (Clark, 1996). By indexing a past event as shared and framing it as an account for the obviousness of the proposition put forward in the RfC, Charlene positions her mother as having had enough epistemic access *before* producing the RfC that would allow her to infer the answer. In this way, Charlene invokes their shared interactional history to *challenge* the need to produce the RfC. It is notable that Charlene’s expansion follows a particle response that is prosodically marked; the rise-fall contour on “nein” (‘no’) may already convey a stance of obviousness, which is then explicated in the accounting expansion that challenges the grounds for Rahel’s question in line 08.

While the challenge in Extract (9) is produced by a conclusive format, in Extract (10) a more prototypical format is used for the challenging, i.e., a rhetorical question (Koshik, 2005). Saskia (SAS), her partner Roman (ROM), and Roman's sister Lisa (LIS) are baking using a cake mix (and following the recipe printed on the box). Lisa gazes into the bowl in which Saskia mixes the ingredients and then produces an *ah*-prefaced noticing (line 01; see Golato, 2010) that concerns a missing ingredient, milk. During the production of the noticing, Lisa begins looking for something in her cupboards (a measuring cup for liquids, as will become evident in line 10). Saskia reacts to Lisa's noticing with an RfC¹² checking the grounds for it (line 03):

(10) FOLK_E_00372_SE_01_T_01_milk

- 01 LIS: ah du hasch no *kä MILSCH drin;
oh you don't yet have any milk in there
- lis >>gaze at bowl>>searching looking up to cabinets->
- 02 (0.6)
- 03 -> SAS: *kommt da noch milsch rin?*
does milk still go in there
- 04 (0.2)
- 05 => LIS: *a+h J↑0↓.
(yes of course)
- lis ->*opens cabinet door->
- rom +looks down to recipe-->
- 06 (1.2)
- 07 => LIS: *warum hast denn [sonst milsch* ka:ft;]*
why have-you PRT else milk bought
why else did you buy milk
- lis ->*
- 08 ROM: [sEchzich MILLiliter;]
sixty milliliters
- 09 *(1.1)
- lis *reaches into cabinet->
- 10 LIS: *(n)gu_ma DA: is a mEss+becher.*
(n)look here's a measuring cup
- lis ->*takes measuring cup out----->*
- rom -->+to LIS-->

In response, Lisa produces “ah jo” (‘yes of course’; line 05). This particle response already marks adding milk as an obvious and known step, thus casting Saskia’s

12 Although Saskia’s turn in line 03 can be seen as a RfRC as it repeats some elements from Lisa’s noticing (i.e., ‘in there’ and ‘milk’), it is different from typical practices used for RfRC: With her RfC, Saskia does not simply repeat what Lisa said in the prior position, but rather questions the grounds, or presuppositions, for Lisa’s noticing in line 01.

question as redundant, challenging its askability (cf. Stivers, 2011, 2022 on upgraded interjectional answers to polar questions). In line 07, Lisa adds a rhetorical question, asks Saskia why else (“warum sonst”) she would have bought milk. The question formulates something that the recipient should know,¹³ thus not requiring an answer (and not receiving one, either). Instead, it recalls the recipient’s own past action of buying milk as an intersubjectively evident warrant for the validity of the proposition expressed by the RfC in line 03. In doing so, Lisa positions Saskia as [K+] concerning the proposition put forward in Saskia’s RfC.

Extracts (9) and (10) show how speakers use expanded responses to challenge the RfC: They refer to a past action as belonging to the RfC speaker’s knowledge and as transparent evidence for the proposition expressed by the RfC. This in turn implies that the RfC should not have been produced at all. In other words, the responding speaker challenges the grounds of the RfC as an action by treating it as being redundant and confirmation as being obvious. It is notable that the particle confirmations that precede such accounts are marked (in terms of lexical choice and/or prosodic realization; similar to upgraded interjectional answers, cf. Stivers, 2022), already contributing to the stance of obviousness that is made explicit in the following challenge.

5 Conclusion and Discussion

Our paper has examined expanded, confirming responses to RfCs. We have described four social actions that speakers enact with expansions in our data: topical elaborations, accounting, transformative confirmations resisting the terms of the RfC, and challenging the action of the RfC. Expansions of the response to a RfC can be seen to be precisely motivated by the relationship of the request to the larger, encompassing sequence: Responses deliver information that lies beyond the formal response scope of the RfC, but which supports its sequential impact for progressing the current line of action.

We have shown that expansions in response to RfCs can be invited by producers of the RfC, specifically, in the case of topical elaborations and accounts (Section 4.1). Our analyses reveal that topical elaborations are produced in response to RfCs that offer an opportunity to elaborate not only through their

13 The modal particle “denn” (Deppermann, 2009) supports this stance: “denn” regularly occurs in rhetorical questions that enact challenges, or reproaches, and it draws on the responsibility of the recipient to know what is being asked.

position at sequential/topical junctures, but also through underspecified components in the RfC-turn, which nominate what should be specified. In the case of accounts, RfCs can invite elaboration by displaying some sort of problem with the intelligibility of the Other's behavior or by displaying problems of expectation. However, we have also shown that it is not always the case that the requesters *invite* a particular kind of response. Sometimes, recipients initiate an expansion *on their own initiative* (Section 4.2), for the purpose of resisting the terms of an RfC (Section 4.2.1) or challenging its askability (Section 4.2.2). Such expansions are not projected by the prior RfC.

In line with prior research, our analysis suggests that several features are relevant for the occurrence of expanded responses and characterize specific types of expansions, namely the turn-design of the RfC, its position within a sequence, the kind of overall activity, and participants' (claimed) epistemic rights and responsibilities. Table 2 summarizes the main systematic features of use of RfC sequences with confirming expanded responses in our data:¹⁴

TABLE 2 Overview of features of RfC sequences with confirming expanded responses

| | Features of the RfC | Features of the expanded response | Position within sequence, other features of context |
|-----------------------------|--|---|--|
| Invited expansions | | | |
| <i>Topical elaborations</i> | underspecified elements, B-event statements | specifies under-specified elements; expansions tend to have phrasal syntax | sequential/topical junctures; often in narrating sequences |
| <i>Accounts</i> | displays problems of expectation or with intelligibility of the Other's behavior | particle confirmation tends to be marked (e.g. epistemically upgraded); expansions tend to be clausal | often in instructional activities; requester's knowledge/expectation discrepancies regard sth said in the prior sequence |

14 Table 2 summarizes only recurrent features of RfC sequences with confirming expanded responses that are constitutive for the practices analyzed in this study.

TABLE 2 Overview of features of RfC sequences (*cont.*)

| | Features of the RfC | Features of the expanded response | Position within sequence, other features of context |
|---|--|--|--|
| Uninvited expansions | | | |
| <i>Transformative confirmations resisting the RfC's terms</i> | | complex, varied responses; confirmations tend to be unmarked; replacement, addition, or omission of single elements in repeat-formatted expansions | middle of the sequence or activity; often stance-taking environments |
| <i>Challenging the RfC's action</i> | concerns something that is knowable or inferrable from the prior context | initial particle confirmation marks issue with RfC (askability); reference to a past action as belonging to the recipient's knowledge | prior event belongs to the common ground |

As for invited expansions, topical elaborations are produced in response to RfCs containing underspecified elements and addressing recipient-oriented topics (Seuren and Huiskes, 2017). Such RfCs usually occur at sequential/topical junctures, often in narrating sequences. Topical elaborations typically elaborate on the underspecified elements and tend to have a phrasal syntactic structure. Expansions that accomplish accounts are often produced in instructional activities in cases when RfCs demonstrate problems with intelligibility with the Other's behavior or problems of expectations. Such expansions tend to be produced with a clausal syntax and accompanied by marked initial confirmatory response particles.

Regarding uninvited expansions, transformative confirmations that modify and resist the terms of the prior RfC occur in the middle of the already initiated sequences or activities and can be often found in stance-taking

environments. They are usually designed with repeat formats that involve addition, replacement or omission of an element and tend to occur with unmarked confirmations. Finally, challenges are usually produced when the RfC addresses some prior event that belongs to the participants' interactional histories. These expansions are accompanied by initial particle confirmations that take issue with the prior RfC and mark problems of askability. Moreover, such expansions refer to some past action or event as belonging to the recipient's knowledge.

The results of our study provide grounds for future research: As our study only focuses on expansions in response to RfCs in German, it would be important to explore expanded responses in RfC sequences in other languages. Furthermore, future research could compare expanded responses after (i) requests for confirmation, (ii) requests for information (especially the ones that make a yes/no-response relevant) and (iii) requests for reconfirmation. This would be crucial for demonstrating systematic similarities and differences concerning response space and sequential implicativeness in these three types of sequences. Moreover, since our paper only features the use of expansions that combine with confirming responses, it will be essential to check the validity of these observations for German in future research that aims at the comparison between expanded and non-expanded responses. Finally, in line with prior research on 'polar questions', we excluded disconfirmations from our current paper. Thus, future research should address actions that participants can undertake in addition to disconfirmations in response to RfCs and polar RfIs across different languages.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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