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**Prosody and grammar of other-repetitions in Finnish:  
Repair initiations, registerings and affectivity**

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**Abstract**

We examine how other-repetitions in Finnish are used for repairing interactional problems in hearing and understanding and for registering what another has just said, describing how prosody and grammar interact in accomplishing these goals. In the repair-initiating repetitions, the pitch contours build a continuum of different degrees of falling pitch from moderate to steep, the latter being associated with some type of an affective stance. In the registering repetitions, the pitch fall is generally narrower than in the repair-initiations, the pitch span of the repetition turn typically matching that of the original turn. A notable feature of other-repetitions in Finnish is the use of particles (mostly *ai* and *vai*), which deal specifically with the informational aspects of other-repetitions, thus contributing to the design of both repair-initiating and registering repetitions. The paper illustrates the complex layering of actions that Finnish as a ‘particle language’ affords.

**Keywords:** conversation analysis, other-repetition, prosody, grammar, Finnish, repair, registering, affectivity, response particle

## INTRODUCTION

The aim of this article is to describe how other-repetitions are used in Finnish to deal with recurring interactional problems in hearing, understanding, receiving, and accepting prior talk, and how prosody and grammar figure in the management of these problems.

We argue that, during repair initiations, the pitch contours of the repetition turns build a continuum of different degrees of falling pitch from moderate to steep (i.e., a wide pitch span), the latter being associated with an additional affective stance such as surprise. Besides considering other-repetitions as repair initiations, we find that, in Finnish, other-repetitions are also a common practice to ‘register’ the content of a prior turn. Differentiating registering from repair is mainly accomplished through prosody: in registerings, the pitch fall tends to be narrower than in repair initiations and its span commonly matches that of the original turn. We argue that, as in repair initiations, also in registerings, the repetition turn may involve an affective stance with respect to the preceding turn by the original-turn speaker.

Besides the repeated material, Finnish repetition turns may contain particles. The turn-final particle *vai* marks the repetition as a question and is thus associated with the repair-initiating function of other-repetitions. The turn-initial particle *ai* is more versatile: while marking a piece of information received as news, it also increases the relevance of a confirmation of the correctness or veracity of that information. The particle *ai* co-occurs with both repair-initiations and registerings.

In elaborating on these observations, the paper addresses the relation between linguistic and pragmatic typology. Typologically, Finnish is a ‘particle language’. As known, particles are not considered as part of the core syntax of clauses, which is relevant for their function in interaction. Their task is not to contribute to the propositional content of a clause but to guide the co-participant in what can be further inferred from an utterance. Particles function at the pragmatic level much in the same way as utterance-level prosody does. Thus, one of our goals is to explain how and for what purposes these linguistic resources are used in a language where intonation plays a somewhat lesser role in interaction than in many other European languages, including those discussed in this special issue.

The paper is organized as follows. First, we take up relevant aspects of Finnish grammar and prosody and describe the data used. Then we introduce the structure of other-repetition sequences, and analyze their interactional functions: other-repetitions as repair initiations, as affective repair initiations, as registerings, and as registerings with an affective stance. Finally, we consider the relevance of our findings to the relation between linguistic and pragmatic typology.

## BACKGROUND

### *Other-repetition*

Social interaction in any language necessitates a system for dealing with ‘problems in speaking, hearing and understanding’ (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks 1977), and the organization of repair is claimed to be fundamental to human interaction. The term (*next-turn*) *other-initiated repair* refers to practices with which a speaker may be invited to revisit or fix his/her previous problematic talk. Many formats for other-initiation of repair employ repetition of lexical material from the previous turn (e.g., Jefferson 1972; Schegloff et al. 1977:368; Wu 2006; Haakana, Kurhila, Lilja, & Savijärvi 2016; Kurhila & Lilja 2017). But, importantly, repair-initiation formats may additionally be used as vehicles for accomplishing actions other than repair, such as displaying surprise and astonishment (Selting 1996; Wilkinson & Kitzinger

2006), or conveying doubt, disagreement, or challenge (Svennevig 2004; Wu 2009; Benjamin & Walker 2013). By not quite ‘getting’ what was said by the co-participant, speakers can raise the possibility that the utterance was not ‘quite right’, even before any problems of acceptability surface (Schegloff 2007:151).

While lexical repetition is also common within turns of a single speaker, the term *inter-turn lexical repetition* refers to instances where the repeated material and the repetition are in adjacent turns produced by two different speakers. Such repetitions can be used to implement many different actions. These include answers, agreements, news receipts, sarcastic quotations, and – most importantly for the present purpose – other-initiated repair. Here, repetitions are sometimes accompanied by question words or other practices that, along with the repetition, help to identify the trouble source (e.g., A: *I bought it from Lidl*, B: *You bought it from where?*). However, in our study, and in the larger project which it is part of, we focus on repetitions that present the trouble source without the help of other linguistic constructions.

Other-repetitions may also be used to implement actions other than repair. Tannen (1987, 1989) suggested that the functions of repetition can be understood in terms of participation, ratifying listenership, humor, stalling, and expansion. In Finnish, importantly, verb repetition is used in ‘affirming’ answers to polar questions when providing the questioner with brand new information (see Sorjonen 2001:88). Kim (2002) described functions of repetition such as displaying surprise or incredulity. In this vein, repetitions have been shown to sometimes treat the previous turn as inadequate, in which case they may anticipate rejection, correction, misalignment and other dispreferred actions (Jefferson 1972; Sorjonen 1996; Robinson & Kevoe-Feldman 2010; Wu 2006; Benjamin & Walker 2013). Furthermore, repetitions may also be used to register new information provided by the previous speaker as received (Persson 2015) – something that we will also discuss in this paper. Given the many possible functions of repetition, it is not surprising that linguistic features such as prosody and particles are often needed for disambiguating between different interpretations of a repetition turn.

In this paper, we will study the functions of other-repetitions in Finnish. To be able to appreciate how prosody, lexis (e.g., particles), and morphology (e.g., clitics) contribute to these functions, we will next provide basic information about the grammar and prosody of Finnish.

### *The Finnish language*

In Finnish, imperatives and polar interrogatives are distinguished from declaratives through word order (V-first format) and particles (e.g., question clitic in polar interrogatives). Thus, what may be expressed with different prosodic variants of the same clausal structure in languages such as Italian is in Finnish expressed by the interplay of word order and particles. In addition, other tasks typically implemented by prosody in some languages (e.g., conveying newsworthiness, surprise, etc.) are taken care of by the wide array of particles in spoken Finnish (Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979:330; Koivisto 2016). This typological feature is relevant for the present article.

### *The prosody of Finnish*

In Finnish, primary word stress always falls on the first syllable. Secondary stress falls on the third syllable, or, if the third syllable ends in a short vowel, on the fourth syllable, and so on; but never on the last syllable (Ahlqvist 1877; Jännes 1890). Early studies, based on auditory impression, claimed that the intonation of Finnish is monotonous (e.g., Sovijärvi 1956:23), low-pitched and generally soft (e.g., L. Hakulinen 1979[1941]:33). These non-empirical claims were challenged through the acoustic measurements by Penttilä (1958), who called for an empirical analysis of these phenomena. Later research, based on read-aloud sentences and other

non-spontaneous spoken data, found that intonation in Finnish is generally falling in questions and assertions alike (Hirvonen 1970; Aaltonen & Wiik 1979; Iivonen 1998). In an early CA-informed study of spontaneous interactions (ca. 55 minutes; 250 turns), Tiittula (1985a, 1985b) found that all main intonation types – ‘strongly falling’, ‘slightly falling’, ‘level’, ‘slightly rising’ and ‘strongly rising’ – do occur, and apart from the strongly rising intonation, all of them may occur at turn endings (1985b:324). Among these final intonation patterns, the most common one was the strongly falling intonation, amounting to ca. 75 percent of the turns. Tiittula did not, however, differentiate between the interactional functions of these turns.

Unlike in some Indo-European languages, ‘sentence functions’ (statement, question, exclamation) are not distinguished with intonation in Finnish. For instance, Finnish does not have the so-called ‘question intonation’ (e.g., Kallioinen 1968): Questions are marked lexically and morpho-syntactically (Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979:281 ff.), or may be recognizable through their sequential position (Raevaara 1993). However, intonation can indeed serve different kinds of interactional task in Finnish, as shown, for example, by Ogden et al. (2004), who analyzed the stylized ‘no news’ pattern. Another study of prosody in Finnish conversations noted that rising utterance-final intonation does not signal transition relevance but is used for other functions (Ogden & Routarinne 2005). Routarinne (2003) demonstrated that, during storytelling, young female speakers used the final rise as a device to launch parenthetical utterances and postpone the pending story climax. None of these studies suggests a systematic association between intonation patterns and sentence functions such as question vs. statement.

## DATA

The data for this study come from videotaped face-to-face and audiotaped telephone conversations, all naturally occurring, mostly informal interactions. Some institutional data were included, mainly from church workplace meetings between pastors and cantors, and from hairdresser’s salon between clients and beauticians. The collection is drawn from altogether 30 hours of data, consisting of 78 different recordings. From this database, we collected all instances of other-repetitions as defined in the introduction to this special issue. The total number of these instances is 150 from 106 different speakers. Next, we will introduce their basic sequential structure. We will then analyze their interactional functions, starting from cases that initiate repair of problems of hearing and understanding, and then moving on to those that implement other actions.

## STRUCTURE OF OTHER-REPETITION SEQUENCES

Example 1 illustrates the basic structure of other-repetition sequences. Here two friends, Satu and Max, are catching up on the phone. Satu and her husband are renovating their house for which she needs help. In line 7 she informs Max about a detail in the procedure:

### **Example 1:** Lava

Sg S07 a\_02 phone

07 Satu: [Et et et ens viikolopuks me tilataa l:ava  
[So so so for the next weekend we are gonna order a platform.

08 (.)

09 Satu: Tsihe u[u-  
**To the new-**

10 Max: [Lava  
**Platform**

11 Satu: Lava  
**Platform**

At line 7, Satu delivers an informing to Max. After a short gap (line 8), getting no immediate response, she starts an increment to her turn, but cuts it off when Max begins to speak (line 10). Max repeats the last word of Satu's original turn: *lava*, 'platform', which elicits a response from Satu (line 11). The response is an other-repetition, too. It confirms Max's repetition that showed incomprehension with respect to something in Satu's original turn.

As shown in Example 1, responses to other-repetitions may sometimes be repetitions themselves. In such cases, the repetition is often preceded by a particle, such as *joo*, *nii*, or *mm*. The most frequent item in responses to a repetition that functions as a repair-initiation is a stand-alone response particle *nii*.

Let us now analyze the interactional functions of different types of other-repetition and the responses they elicit, as well as their interactional environments.

## OTHER-REPETITIONS AS REPAIR INITIATIONS

It is well established that in Finnish, as in other languages, other-repetitions may function as other-initiations of repair (see Haakana et al. 2016; Kurhila & Lilja 2017). These actions work to get the previous speaker to revisit or confirm what s/he just said, indicating that there was a problem in hearing or understanding that talk. In this way, the other-repetitions that function as repair initiations look backward: the speaker returns to something in the prior talk, and the sequence does not move forward before the problem is solved in one way or another (Schegloff 2007:106). In their study of other-repetitions that function as repair initiations in Finnish, Kurhila and Lilja (2017) focused on problems of hearing and understanding. They observed differences in the prosody of repair initiations, linking, for example, increased intensity with problems of hearing. Our paper contributes to this area of study by providing a detailed analysis of prosodic and lexico-grammatical resources used in accomplishing the different types of repair initiation and solution.

In our first case – an extended version of Example 1 – the original-turn speaker Satu responds to Max's other-repetition (line 10) with a confirming self-repetition (line 11). In so doing, she seems, at first glance, to treat the repetition as an indication of a problem of hearing. The sequence continuation, however, shows that the problem raised by Max's other-repetition may not have been due to insufficient hearing.

### Example 1': Lava

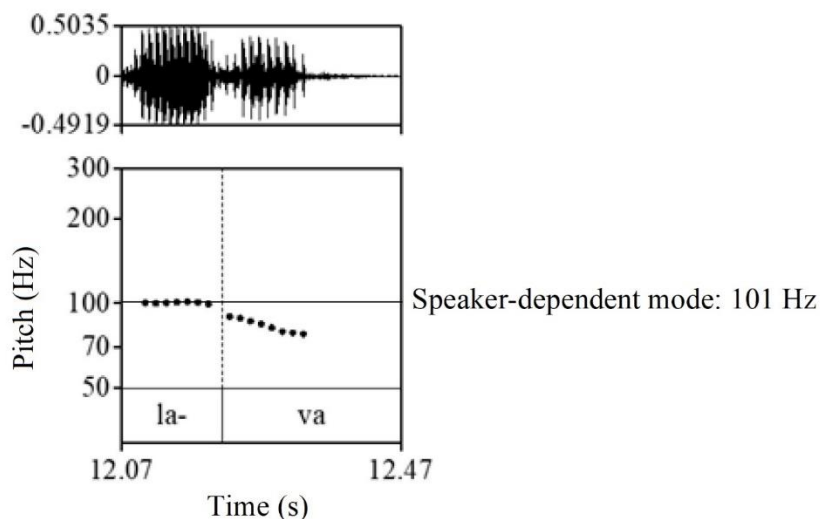
Sg S07 a\_02 phone

01 Max: No nytkö te alotatte vast niinku remontin [vai (---)  
**Well is it only now that you like start the renovation or (---)**

02 Satu: [hhh Joo ei me  
**JOO<sup>1</sup> we have not**

- 03 olla viel mitää alottettu siällä ja e- emmä nyt tiädä mitä  
**yet started with anything there and I don't really know what**
- 04 me tänäänkää viäl tehdää,=Mä luulen et huomana me vasta  
**we'll be doing today either,=I think that tomorrow we'll**
- 05 alotetaah  
**get started**
- 06 Max: [Nii:
- 07 Satu: [Et et et ens viikolopuks me tilataa l:ava  
PRT PRT PRT next weekend-TRA 1PL order-PAS platform  
**[So so so for next weekend we are gonna order a platform.**
- 08 (.)
- 09 Satu: Tsihe u[u-  
**To the new-**
- 10 Max: [Lava  
**Platform**
- 11 Satu: Lava  
**Platform**
- 12 (0.4)
- 13 Max: Nii et no mut sillohan se varsinaisesti vast niinku sillee  
**NII so well but then in fact it really properly like in a way**
- 14 pääsee alka[maan et (--)  
**will get going so (--)**
- 15 Satu: [Joo mut me voidaan siis purkaa etukäteen.  
**[JOO but we can see tear\_down ((them)) in advance**
- 16 Ja sit kantaa sillon.  
**And then carry ((them)) at the time**

**Figure 1.** Waveform and pitch trace of line 10 in example 1'.<sup>2</sup>



Max's repetition turn (line 10) targets the term *lava* 'platform', which Satu used in her original turn (line 7). Prosodically, the repetition turn is moderately falling (see Figure 1), which illustrates the unmarked way of producing a repetition turn in Finnish. Satu orients to the repetition turn as an indication of a problem of hearing, as she offers no clarification of the relevance of the term, but instead confirms the correct hearing of the problematic item by repeating it (line 11). After a short pause (line 12), Max first responds to Satu's confirmation with the particle *nii*, roughly 'yes' (line 13), which suggests that his repetition turn was *not* motivated by a problem of hearing. The continuation of Max's response shows that the problem was not resolved by Satu's confirming repetition. Max goes on to explicate that the problem has to do with the temporal chain of events that the original-turn speaker Satu projected ('but then', i.e., after getting the platform). Max apparently regards the platform as a necessary part of renovation work (which involves demolishing and tearing down) and thus cannot make sense of how the renovation could be started without the platform. Hence, even if at first glance the participants treat the repetition as dealing with a problem of hearing, they do not continue their activity until the exact nature of the problem is sorted out, which happens in lines 15 and 16. In this respect, Example 1' is rather similar to a case discussed by Kurhila and Lilja (2017:23–24), where the repetition signaled a need for contextual clarification, instead of indicating a failure to hear or understand the word as such.

In Example 2, the repeated material is a whole clause. Three friends have come together here. Susa has sent in her application to a vocational school and Anu enquires about Susa's plans in case she will not be accepted.

### Example 2: Jos mie em pääse kouluun

SG 151\_21:45 video

01 Anu: Mitä sie muute Susa meinaat tehdä jos et  
 what 2SG by-the-way FN intend-2SG do-INF if NEG-2SG  
**What do you Susa by-the-way intend to do if you**

02 sie pääse kouluu.  
 2SG be-admitted school-ILL  
**don't get in the school**

03 Susa: Jos [mie ] em pää[se ] kouluun.  
 if 1SG NEG-1SG be-admitted school-ILL  
**If I don't get in the school**

04 Anu: [(°-°)] [°Nii°]  
**NII**

05 Susa: Em mie oo itseasias ajatellu  
**I haven't actually thought ((about it))**

06 Mie aattele et pitää keksii [sit].  
**I think that one has to find ((it)) out at the time**

07 Miia: [heh heh]

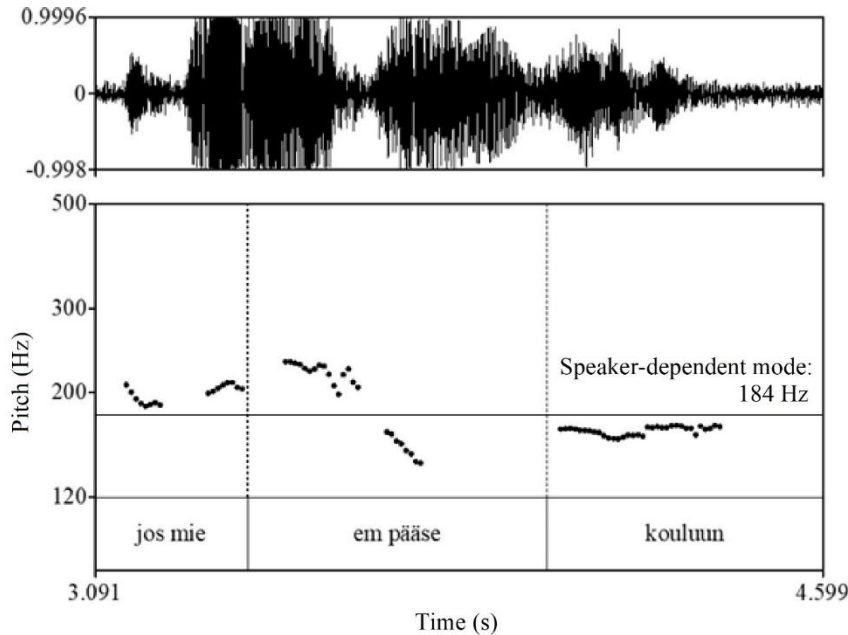
08 Anu: Lähetää työttömäks työnhakijaks Eurooppaan  
**Let's go to Europe as unemployed job seekers**

09 kolmeks ku(h)ukaudeks heh heh [sit ] sais  
**for three months heh heh then one would get**

10 Susa: [nii,]  
**NII**

11 Anu: ty(h)öttömy(h)yskorvausta siit,  
**une(h)mloyment benefit for that**

**Figure 2.** Waveform and pitch trace of line 3 in example 2



In this case, a whole clause from the original turn is repeated (line 3). The original turn is produced softly, basically in a whisper. Susa’s repetition turn (*jos mie em pääse kouluun*, ‘if I don’t get in the school’) is produced with a moderately falling intonation after the negative auxiliary *em* (see Figure 2). The repetition turn may be analyzed as an attempt to deal with a problem of hearing: Susa seeks confirmation on whether Anu is asking about a positive or a negative scenario with respect to getting into the school. The correctness of the negative scenario is confirmed by Anu’s particle *nii* ‘yea’ (line 4), produced softly in overlap with Susa’s repetition turn.

Notably, Susa’s repetition turn involves a change in the word order – that is, a change from the negation-initial original turn (*jos et sie*, lit. ‘if not you’) to the subject-initial repetition (*jos mie em*, lit. ‘if I not’; with a deictic shift). This word order change is utilized by Susa as a resource for rectifying a presupposition conveyed by the original turn (‘what do you intend to do if you don’t get into the school’) that a negative scenario with respect to Susa getting into the school is as likely as a positive scenario. The prosodic realization of the modified repetition supports this inference: the negative auxiliary *em* (NEG-1SG), placed after the subject in the repetition, receives extra stress (see Figure 2). In this way, the speaker highlights the stressed word as the most relevant element within the scope of the conditional *jos*, ‘if’, which is hearable as countering the likelihood of the scenario invoked in the original turn.

Anu’s response turn (*nii*, ‘yea’, line 4) does not take up the subtle unexpectedness conveyed by Susa’s modified repetition, but Susa’s subsequent talk (line 5) articulates the unlikelihood of the negative scenario more explicitly (‘I haven’t actually thought (about that)’). Next, Anu makes a suggestion of what they could do in the case of non-acceptance (lines 8–9 and 11). The



apparent silliness of the idea, as well as the laughter tokens in lines 9 and 11, suggest that, all in all, her future scenario should not be taken entirely seriously – something that also works towards mitigating the problematic presupposition in Anu’s previous turn concerning Susa’s chances of success.

The next example further demonstrates how the practice of repair through other-repetition serves to indicate a discrepancy in the participants’ knowledge of matters external to the interaction. Example 3 comes from a phone call between two male friends, who catch up after Christmas. In this context, Sami is telling Veke about the stomach flu he had. He reports that it was not until a day after Christmas day when he was able to eat, and continues:

### **Example 3: Minä**

SG09606A\_2:46 phone

01 Sami: [Kaikki mitä pisti k<sub>i</sub>tusii nii,  
[Anything one stuck to the gill

02 Veke: heh heh [.hhh

03 Sami: [ʔtuli oksennuksena ulos,ʔ  
[came out as vomit

04 Veke: No sä-hän lai<sub>h</sub>dutit varmaa e<sub>k</sub>aa kertaa jouluna,  
PRT 2SG=CLI slim-PST-2SG surely first time Christmas-ESS  
**I guess you were slimming for the first time at Christmas**

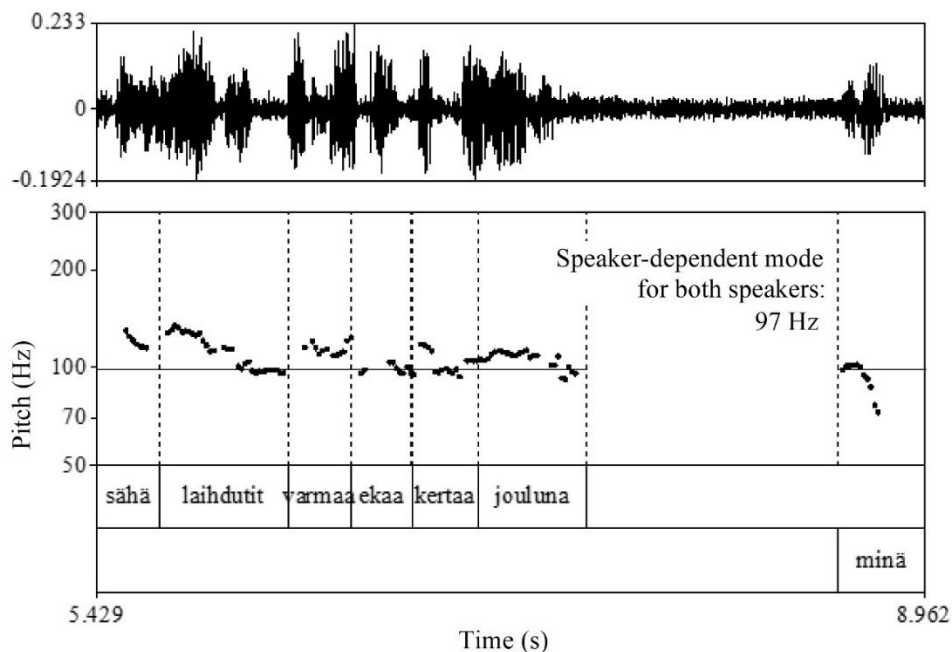
05 (0.6)

06 Sami: >Minä<  
1SG  
**me**

07 Veke: Nii,  
NII

08 Sami: e:m mä yleensä-kkää oo syäny nykyää paljon,  
NEG-1SG 1SG overall=CLI be eat-PTCP these.days much  
**I haven’t eaten much these days overall**

**Figure 3.** Waveform and pitch trace of lines 4–6 in Example 3



Veke reacts to Sami’s informing about his recent health condition with a turn that looks like a noticing: ‘I guess you were slimming for the first time at Christmas’, which turns out to be ironical. The turn concerns the body of the co-participant – a topic about which he, the first-hand experiencer, may be assumed to have primary knowledge. Veke’s turn, however, also includes the clitic particle *-hä(n)*, attached to the first lexical element of the turn, *sä*, ‘you’. This clitic indexes the (assumed) common ground between the speakers and suggests that the proposition as a whole is self-evident (Hakulinen 2001[1976]). As it stands, the content of the turn is potentially face-threatening, touching on the co-participant’s possible weight problems. It is also worth noting that prior to the original turn to be repeated, Veke laughs slightly (line 2) in response to Sami’s unfortunate Christmas celebrations. (Sami’s talk in line 3 is, also, produced with smiling voice.)

As for the repetition turn (line 6), Sami’s *minä*, ‘me’ (lit. ‘I’) repeats the first content word in the original turn, *sä-hän*, ‘you-CLI’, with a deictic shift. Prosodically, *minä* is produced with a moderate fall in pitch (see Figure 3). It is also produced at a fast rate, notably faster than his own previous turn. On the face of it, the repetition turn can be heard as simply seeking confirmation of Sami’s hearing/understanding of Veke’s noticing as being about *him* (and not about someone else). However, there doesn’t seem to be any apparent reason for Sami not to hear or understand this as he has been the topic of talk all along. This suggests that Sami’s repetition may actually seek to challenge Veke’s claim about him. As Sami explains in line 8, he is someone who generally does not eat a lot ‘these days overall’.

Thus Sami appears to initiate repair only in a *pro forma* manner. By using the po-faced repetition *minä*, he does not take up the irony in Veke’s comment, and foreshadows a discrepancy between his and Veke’s lines of action (note also the 0.6 second gap that precedes *minä*). Veke responds to Sami’s repetition turn with the confirming particle *nii* (line 7), thus treating the repetition as a ‘genuine’ repair initiation. This leads Sami to bring up the discrepancy explicitly in the subsequent turn (‘I haven’t eaten much these days overall’, line 8), which undermines the basis for Veke’s ironic comment.

Examples 1–3 above illustrate typical cases of other-repetition. Each of them presents a problem of hearing or understanding some aspect of the previous talk. With a more careful

analysis, however, we can see that something else is also going on in these interactions: the participants have subtle discrepancies in opinion or in understanding the situation. It is ultimately the context of the other-repetition that informs of its interpretation, with the specifics of that context often surfacing in the ensuing interaction.

#### OTHER-REPETITIONS BEYOND REPAIR: REPAIR + AFFECTIVE STANCE-TAKING

Not all other-repetitions in our database function as other-initiations of repair. Next, we discuss repetitions whose function is related to repair but where there is also significant affective stance-taking going on. By ‘affective stance’ we don’t mean that the speaker is simply overlaying or coating a repair initiation with ‘affective coloring’ (Thompson, Fox, & Couper-Kuhlen 2015:66, 74, 283), but rather that they are taking a specific, sequentially-implicative stance as to the unexpectedness or acceptability of what was said.

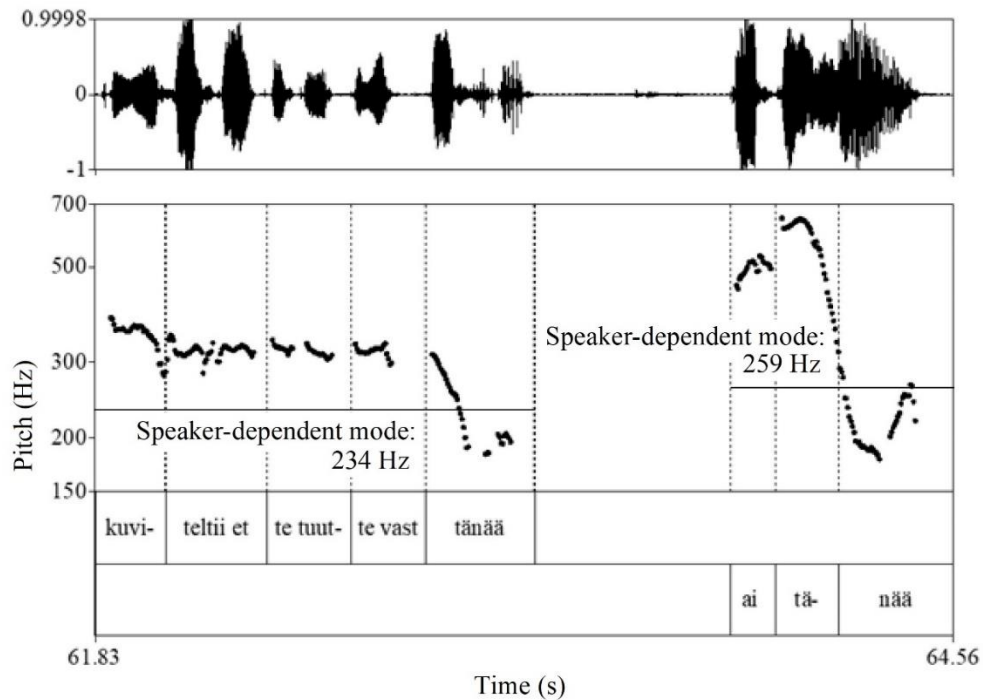
In Example 4, the speakers have a problem about the date of an invitation. Salla is calling Vilma to find out whether she (Salla) was actually supposed to come to visit Vilma the day before instead of today. Her turn in lines 1–2 includes suggestions for three possible alternatives as the cause for her confusion. This piling up of explanations may be heard as amounting to a belief that the day of the invitation has in fact already gone. Vilma’s subsequent response (lines 3–4), however, denies these explanations: as the hosts themselves ‘imagined’, the invitation concerns the very day of the phone call, i.e., ‘today’.

#### Example 4: Ai tänää

Sg401 Liisa3\_0:55 phone

- 01 Salla: Hei >ollik se sillo eilev vai muistiks mä ihan vääriv  
**Hey was it then yesterday or did I remember it all wrong**
- 02 vai onk se vaa et te [unohditte< (- -)  
**or is it just that you [forgot< (- -)**
- 03 Vilma: [Eiei ku,  
[**Nono but,**
- 04 Ei ei: me (.) kuviteltii et te tuutte vast tänää  
NEG NEG 1PL imagine-PST-PAS that 2PL come-2PL only today  
**No no: we (.) imagined that you are not coming until today**
- 05 (.)
- 06 Salla: **Ai tänää**  
**AI today**
- 07 Vilma: Nii me oltii nyt lähdös just kauppa sillai niinku  
**NII we were just now about to leave for shopping like**
- 08 Salla: oo  
**OOH**
- 09 (0.6)
- 10 Salla: Oota mun täytyy kyhhyhys(h)yy (-)  
**Wait I must a(h)a(h)sk (-)**

**Figure 4.** Waveform and pitch trace of lines 4–6 in Example 4



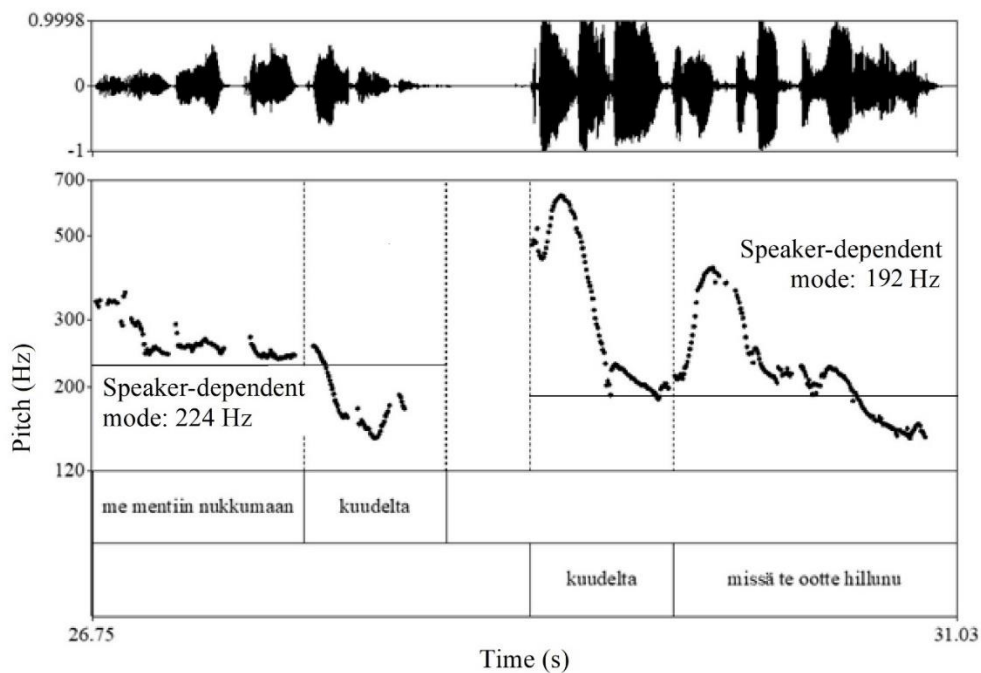
Salla’s repetition turn (line 6) singles out the last lexical item in the original turn: *tänää*, ‘today’, and presents it as a source of surprise, deriving from the fact that this was not among the possible scenarios she had considered (lines 1–2 and 11). The turn begins with the particle *ai*, but – as in all *ai*-prefaced repetitions in our data – the highest pitch peak does not occur on the initial particle but on the first syllable of the repeated word (see Figure 4). The very high onset and a fall with a wide pitch span on the repeated material has been associated with actions that go beyond initiating repair and include also a display of surprise or astonishment (Selting 1996).

In Finnish, the particle *ai* is used as a device for conveying a change of state of its speaker (VISK § 1028). In doing so, *ai* also implies the existence of a previous state of knowledge that has now been updated or altered (Heritage 1984). In addition to this, and in contrast to what has been said about the English *oh*, however, the Finnish particle *ai* also does work of factual questioning, in the sense of ‘you mean...?’ or ‘how so?’. In other words, what *ai* contributes to Salla’s display of astonishment is a contrast with her previous understanding of the situation, which appears not to be in force any longer. In this context, *ai* contributes to prompting the co-participant to provide grounds for the factual content of her original turn: how did this discrepancy in their understanding of the plans come about? The idea of *ai* doing this kind of work is in line with previous research suggesting its correspondence to the ‘interrogative’ prosody used in some other languages (Haakana et al. 2016:274–275).

Vilma’s response (line 7) to Salla’s repetition turn begins with the confirming particle *nii*, followed by an account: she was about to go shopping in preparation for Salla’s visit. Such an account – in addition to being an adequate response to a display of astonishment – is a relevant reaction to the implications of factual accountability associated with the particle *ai* in combination with the repetition in Salla’s turn.



**Figure 5.** Waveform and pitch trace of lines 6–8 in Example 5



The repetition (line 8) picks the last element – the specification of time – in the original turn, which was an answer to the question ‘how come you have slept this late’. It is produced with a very wide pitch span and a remarkable initial rise up to over 600 Hz, which is more than 20 semitones above the pitch region that the speaker uses most of the time, as indicated by the speaker-dependent mode (see Figure 5). Unlike in Example 4, where the prosodically salient word was preceded by the particle *ai*, here, the repetition does not challenge the truthfulness of the prior turn – as the question in the second TCU of the repetition turn shows. Instead, the repetition conveys a particularly strong incredulity and astonishment at the exceptionally late time at which the 10-year-old son went to bed. The follow-up question in the next TCU explicates the astonishment conveyed by the markedly high pitch followed by a fall with a wide pitch span in the repetition. The topic is continued in the subsequent exchange after the response turn (line 10) that is a po-faced explanation.

In the next example, two young men, Tero and Juha, are talking about Northern Karelia, a region in eastern Finland. Tero has told Juha that he is about to go hunting in that district. This reminds Juha of a recent accident that took place in grouse shooting (lines 1–2). The repetition occurs within an exchange of turns explicating the details of the shooting accident, spurred on by Juha’s expressions of incredulity: *älä*, ‘no way’ (line 7), an item of ritual disbelief, and a question about the lethal consequence of the action (line 12).

**Example 6:** Suoraan naamaan

SG S06A06\_8:12 phone

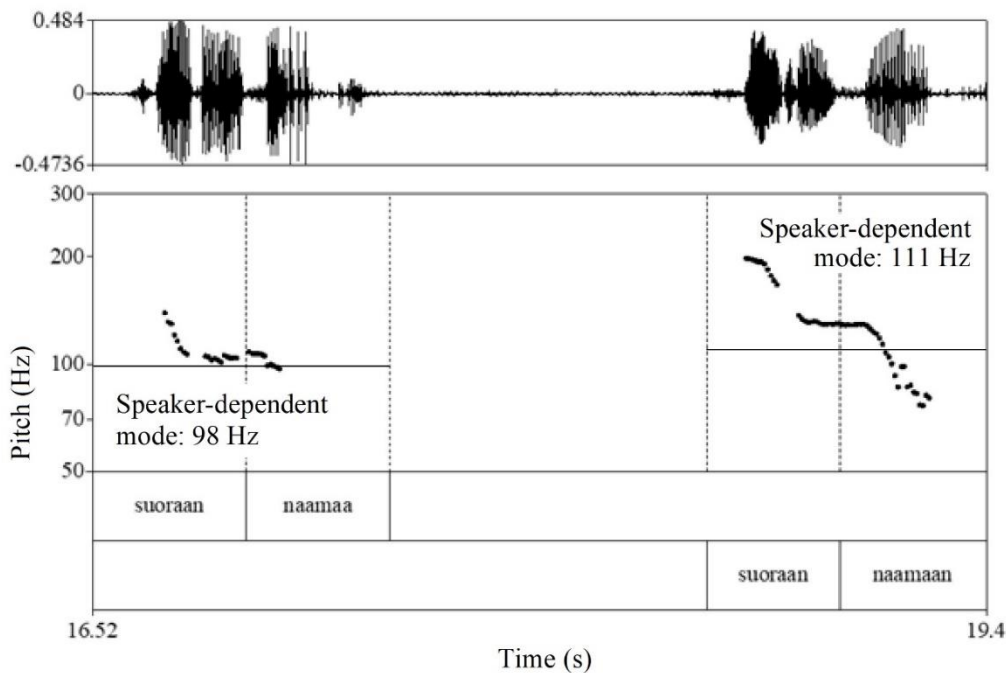
01 Juha: =No#: # m:itä tuolla Ilomantsissa ku ne ampuu  
**Well what like in Ilomantsi where they shoot**

02 ihmisii  
**people**

03 (0.6)

- 04 Tero: Kuka ampuu=  
**Who shoots**
- 05 Juha: =↑No: jokuha ampu: tytön #ö::# metsona vai#:: y#  
**Well someone-see shot a girl for a wood grouse or**
- 06 minä se ampu  
**for what was it**
- 07 Tero: ↑ÄI[ä  
**No way**
- 08 Juha: [.hh Jojoo  
**JOO\_JOO**
- 09 (0.3)
- 10 Juha: Kuustoistvuotias k<sub>i</sub>m<sub>m</sub>a  
**Sixteen-year-old girl**
- 11 (0.7)
- 12 Tero: Ku<sub>o</sub>lik[se]  
**Did she die**
- 13 Juha: [.h ] Kuoli  
**(She) died**
- 14 (.)
- 15 Juha: Suoraan na<sub>a</sub>maa  
straight-ILL face-ILL  
**Straight in the face**
- 16 (1.2)
- 17 Tero: Suoraan na<sub>a</sub>ma[an]  
straight-ILL face-ILL  
**Straight in the face**
- 18 Juha: [Nii:: siis p<sub>ä</sub>ähä  
PRT PRT head-ILL  
**NII that is in the head**
- 19 Tero: Ampu si<sub>t</sub>ä  
**Shot at her**
- 20 Juha: joo:  
**JOO**

**Figure 6.** Waveform and pitch trace of lines 15–17 in Example 6



The story detail *suoraan naamaa*, ‘straight in the face’ (line 15) is brought up after the tragic outcome of the event has already been presented (lines 12–13) – another gruesome detail of the lethal event. This further detail occasions an other-repetition, produced with marked prosody with a wide pitch span, starting high in the speaker’s range and also higher than the onset of the original turn (see Figure 6). The prosodic realization of the repetition turn conveys the speaker’s strong affective reaction to the horrible event. Moreover, the repetition turn can be heard as an expression of incredulity with respect to the improbable description of someone being accidentally shot ‘in the face’. Indeed, the lengthy pause before the repetition turn (line 16) contributes to this sense of incredulity.

In contrast to Example 4, where the repetition turn was prefaced with the particle *ai*, the astonishment in this case is not only of factual nature but invokes also the emotive, humanly horrifying nature of the telling. It is as if the repetition speaker would say: “this sounds too horrible to be true”. The story recipient also potentially challenges the detail ‘straight in the face’ as hard to believe. This is evidenced by the fact that the teller first responds with the confirming particle *nii* but then continues with a revision of his original description (‘straight in the head’) preceded by the particle *siiis* (‘that is’). In so doing, he backs down from his previous description of the event: if the shot had indeed been ‘in the face’, this suggests that the shooter must have faced the girl, making it even harder to believe that he mistook her for a grouse. A shot ‘in the head’ does not imply a particular spatial configuration for the shot and therefore makes the ghastly turn of events somewhat less unbelievable.

Example 7 comes from a phone call where Vilma is telling her friend Mia of her upcoming visit to Mia’s hometown (line 5). Vilma’s announcement is received by Mia with a repeat of the finite verb of the clause, shifting the deictic pronoun *minä*, ‘I’ and the first person singular inflection of the verb *tule-n* to the second person suffix in the verb *tuu-t*, which is followed by the question particle *vai* (line 6).



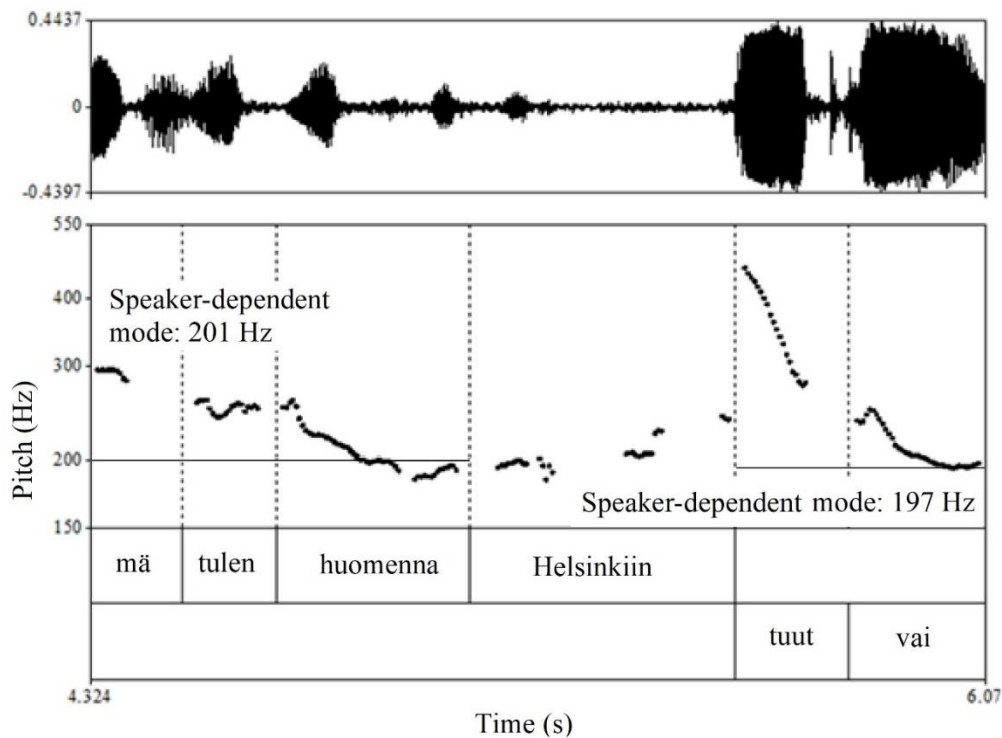
### Example 7: Tuut vai

SG S06B08\_00:09 phone

- 01 Mia: hh No täällä on Mia Salo täältä Helsingistä  
**This is Mia Salo from Helsinki**
- 02 hy[vää iltaa, ] [.heh M<sup>i</sup>tä ku(h)uluu:]=  
**good evening How's life**
- 03 Vilma: [No kato ↑hyvää iltaa] [heh .heh ]=  
**Well well good evening**
- 04 Mia: =[hh .heh hh ]
- 05 Vilma: =[Minä tul<sup>e</sup>n huomenna] Helsinki[in,? ]  
1SG come-1SG tomorrow PLACENAME-ILL  
**I'm coming to Helsinki tomorrow**
- 06 Mia: [TUUT ] VAI,=  
come-2SG VAI  
**You are coming VAI**
- 07 Vilma: =T(h)u<sup>l</sup>en,=  
come-1SG  
**I am**
- 08 Mia: =↑A[HAA:,]  
PRT  
**Oh I see:**
- 09 Vilma: [heh ] .hee Ajattelin: sä oot #yy# A<sup>s</sup>ko ö  
**I was thinking you are FnameM**
- 10 sano et sä oot sielläp (.) jossaki  
**said that you are there (.) in-some**
- 11 [mp ö laitoksella.]  
**at an institute**
- 12 Mia: [.hhhhh ] Joo: mut [m<sup>i</sup>hin aikaa sä] tuut.  
**JOO but at what time are you coming**

The construction Verb + Particle *vai*, used in Mia's turn (line 6), has been seen as one of the many ways in which Finnish speakers may express what Heritage (1984:339) has referred to as 'ritualized disbelief' in response to news announcements (Koivisto 2017b:134–135). This usage of the particle *vai* is derived from it being originally a disjunctive conjunction ('or'), from which it receives the meaning of 'choice' between two alternatives, leaving the latter unmentioned (see also Sorjonen 2001:300, Note 8). By using it, the speaker anticipates an elaboration of the preceding announcement. Vilma first responds to Mia's *tuut vai* with an affirmation in the form of a repeat of the finite verb of her original utterance, and, after Mia's subsequent news receipt (line 8), she begins to elaborate on the details of the visit (line 9).

**Figure 7.** Waveform and pitch trace and waveform of lines 5–6 in Example 7



Vilma’s announcement is presented with a smiley voice quality and a falling intonation contour with a relatively narrow pitch span. Mia’s repetition, in contrast, is performed with very marked prosody (see Figure 7): the turn has a very high onset, by far exceeding that of Vilma’s preceding announcement, and the pitch span of the turn is very large (15 semitones). While the lexico-syntactic construction of the turn (Verb repeat + Particle *vai*) represents a format that can be used for ritualized disbelief, the highly marked prosody conveys astonishment – and incredulity.

In this section, we have discussed repetitions whose function goes ‘beyond repair’ in the sense that they also involve affective stance-taking, which influences the ways in which these repetitions function interactionally. In the cases discussed, affective stance-taking is produced with recurrent prosodic features: high pitch onset, falling intonation contour with a wide pitch span, and great intensity – the combination of which has been referred to as ‘large prosody’ (Pillet-Shore 2012; Ogden 2016). Repetition turns designed in this way embody roughly what Selting (1994) referred to as ‘heightened emotive involvement’. In addition, the use of the particles *ai* and *vai* contributes to the specification of affective stances, which were here analyzed with reference to surprise (Example 4), incredulity (Example 5), challenge (Example 6) and ritualized disbelief (Example 7).

#### OTHER-REPETITIONS AS OTHER ACTIONS: REGISTERINGS

In our data, another type of action that can be accomplished by repeating all or part of the previous speaker’s turn is registering. The distinctiveness of registering as an action type in relation to repair initiation has been described by Persson (2015), who documented the different prosodic formatting of the two actions in French, showing how this has consequences for the relevance of response to the repetition. Whereas a repair-initiating repetition calls for the recipient to provide a confirming response, a registering repetition ‘may or may not leave a slot

for an optional confirmation' (Persson 2015:597). In what follows, we will give an example of how other-repetitions can do 'registering' in Finnish conversation. This analysis will be expanded in the next section with an argument that, just as repair-initiating repetitions can sometimes carry additional functions (e.g., displaying surprise), registering repetitions can also be used to accomplish or prepare the ground for actions that go beyond mere registering.

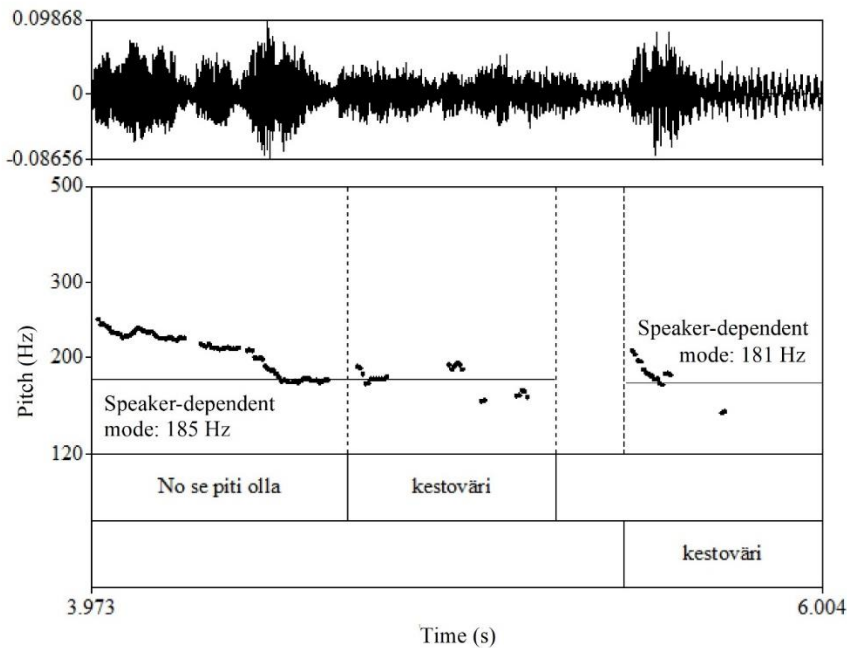
Example 8 is from a situation where a client (AS) is at a hairdresser's (KA), who is drying the client's hair with a towel (line 1) and commenting on the remnants of color that she observes in the hair (line 2). The client responds with a negative assertion about the durability of the color treatment (line 3) – hearable as a complaint about the action of a previous hairdresser. The (current) hairdresser, however, sidesteps such an interpretation by assuming that the comment concerned a purposefully chosen 'light' color treatment (line 4). After a micro-pause, the client clarifies that the dye was supposed to be permanent (line 6). She ends her turn with a particle *mut*, 'but', which, in this position, anticipates a continuation where the disappointment could be made more explicit (Koivisto 2012). The hairdresser, however, focuses on the factual information provided in the client's turn: she repeats the final content word of the client's turn (*kestoväri*, 'permanent dye', line 7), after which she produces the acknowledging particles *joo*, 'yeah' and *just*, 'exactly' (line 8).

### Example 8: Kestoväri

SG t150\_04:49 video

- 01 KA: ((drying the client's hair while simultaneously inspecting the color:))
- 02 Sul ov vähäv väriä tässä  
**You have a little color here**
- 03 AS: Mjoo mut se vähä läh(h)ti kyllä saman tien poies  
**JOO but it we(h)nt off in fact almost at once**
- 04 KA: Et soon semmonen kevyt  
**So it's that sort of light (one)**
- 05 (.)
- 06 AS: No se piti olla kestoväri mut  
PRT it must-PST-3SG be permanent.color but  
**Well it was supposed to be a permanent dye but**
- 07 KA: Kestoväri.  
permanent.color  
**Permanent dye**
- 08 [Joo.] (.) [(just.)]  
**JOO exactly**
- 09 AS: [.Nii] (.) [Ei ] se ottanu oikeestaan kut tonne  
**.NII It did not actually stick elsewhere than in the**
- 10 tyveej ja sit se melkei lähti parissa p(h)esussa  
**base and then it almost came off already in a couple of**
- 11 jo poies.  
**washings.**

**Figure 8.** Wave form and pitch trace of lines 6–7 in Example 8



The hairdresser’s turn (line 7) is an instance of an unmarked registering repetition. Even if the client begins her following utterance (lines 9–11) with the ingressive particle *.nii*, ‘yeah’ (conveying that the preceding turn needs no confirming), this happens in overlap with the hairdresser’s own token *joo*, ‘yeah’ (line 8). The lack of a slot for the client to provide a confirming response to the hairdresser’s repetition turn thus indicates that the repetition was indeed doing registering (Persson 2015). The hairdresser’s repetition turn is produced with an unmarked falling contour with a narrow pitch span. As can be seen in Figure 8, the pitch levels of the repetition turn follow closely those at the end of the client’s previous turn with the original content word *kestoväri*, ‘permanent color’, repeated by the hairdresser (on prosodic matching, see Couper-Kuhlen 1996).

Having illustrated the typical case of a simple registering repetition, let us move on to registering repetitions that are used to accomplish or prepare the ground for actions that go beyond (mere) registering.

#### OTHER-REPETITIONS AS OTHER ACTIONS: REGISTERING + AFFECTIVE STANCE-TAKING

The examples in this section represent repetitions that not only perform registering but, simultaneously, take an affective stance with respect to the preceding turn by the original-turn speaker.

Example 9 comes from a telephone conversation between two college students before a party that will take place outside of the town where they live. They discuss how to get Eeva to join the rest of the group, as she has difficulties in finding transport to and from the party venue (data not shown). Her friend Pipsa suggests different ways to solve the problem (lines 1–2), but she only receives a feeble response from Eeva (line 3). This response leads Pipsa to infer that Eeva may not want to come after all (line 4). After a lengthy silence, Eeva explains that her father could in fact bring her. This telling is received by Pipsa with an *ai*-initiated repetition (line 7).

**Example 9:** Ai voi tuua sut

SG 111 B06\_02:44- 03:01 phone

01 Pipsa: Pitää hei soitella vaikka ihmisille. .ahhm jos me tullaan  
**(We) must be calling around to people. Whether we'll come**

02 hakee sitte tai Jari tulee hakee sitte sinne Leeville?  
**and get (you) then or Jari will come and get (you) to Leevi's**

03 Eeva: [Mm:].

04 Pipsa: [.nhh Tulisiks sää sinne? .nh  
**Would you be coming there**

05 (1.0)

06 Eeva: Nii siis kato ku kyl-hä mein isä voi tuua mut.  
 NII PRT see as sure=CLI 1PL-GEN dad can bring 1SG-ACC  
**NII you see 'cos my dad can surely bring me but**

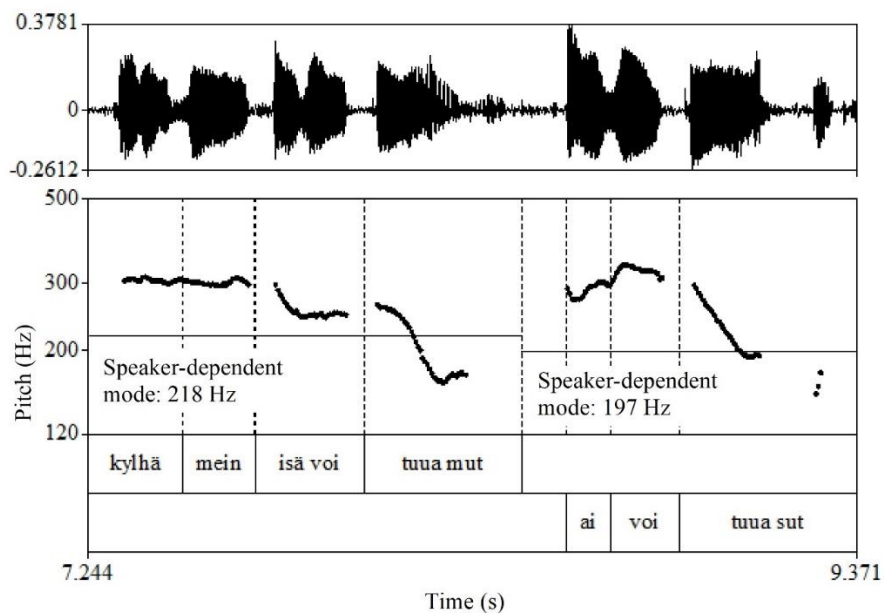
07 Pipsa: Ai voi tuua sut.  
 AI can bring 2SG-ACC  
**AI ((he)) can bring you**

08 Eeva: [Joo.]  
 JOO

09 Pipsa: [.nhh] Okei. No< m sovitaanko me sit jotain.  
**OK. Well m shall we agree on something then**

10 Tjäksi sää mis se asuu. (.) Ku sä oot käynny sie?  
**Do you know where he lives. Since you have been there**

**Figure 9.** Waveform and pitch trace of lines 6–7 in Example 9



Eeva formulates her turn (line 6) – the original turn – so as to present her father’s availability for providing transport to the party venue as self-evident. This includes using *kato ku*, ‘you see’ (Hakulinen & Seppänen 1992), and *kyl-hä*, consisting of the adverb *kyllä* which expresses speaker certainty (Keevallik & Hakulinen 2018). In addition, she attaches to this word the clitic particle *-hAn* (here *-hä*), which serves as a reminder that the utterance includes shared information (Hakulinen 2001[1976]). The main piece of news in her turn is provided by the verb *tuuua* ‘bring’, which is given extra stress.

The repetition turn (line 7) begins with the particle *ai* followed by a repetition of *voi tuuua sut*, lit. ‘can bring you’, without an explicit subject, referring to Eeva’s father. An explicit subject here, even in pronominal form (*se voi tuuua sut*, ‘he can bring you’), would contrast Eeva’s father to other potential helpers mentioned by Pipsa in lines 1–2 and display Pipsa’s understanding of him as an unexpected solution to their problem. An anaphoric zero, instead, implicates that the person has either just been mentioned or is otherwise salient and retrievable from the context (Hakulinen & Laitinen 2008). The main emphasis in the repetition turn falls on the verb chain *voi tuuua*, ‘can bring’, and the repetition of the finite modal verb *voi tuuua* ‘can bring’ underscores the materialization of a possibility that had not been considered in the previous talk (lines 1–2). In this context, registering this new option – marked as news by the particle *ai* – comes with a lamination of relief as the repetition speaker takes in the fact that the problem she was wondering how to solve in lines 1–2 has in fact been solved.

In this case, the pitch span of the repetition turn is larger than in the registering repetition discussed in the previous section (see Figure 9). But so is the pitch span of the original turn. It is thus remarkable that, as in the simple registering action discussed above, the repetition turn here matches the pitch span of the previous turn. Even if the large pitch span contributes to the perceived affectivity of the turn-exchange, there seems to be a prosodic balance between the original and the repetition turn, which makes the repetition turn unmarked enough to be heard as doing registering of new information. This interpretation is supported by the fact that Pipsa immediately moves on to making other relevant arrangements after Eeva’s confirmation token *joo* (line 8). Even though the main job of the other-repetition is to register the prior turn’s information, the use of the particle *ai* adds to the turn’s response relevance (see also Example 4). Unlike the affirming particle *nii* seen in Example 4, however, the confirming particle *joo* treats the content of the repetition as something that has been inferable from the context (Sorjonen 2001:88). This observation further supports the distinction between registering and repair initiation and the affective stances that they convey.

Example 10 is another instance where a repetition serves a function that goes beyond the mere registering of a new piece of information. In this extract, two couples discuss their experiences in hotel life abroad. They are talking about certain types of hotel-room keys that can also be used as credit cards. Mikko and Mirja construct a hypothetical scenario of what would happen if one forgot the key in the hotel room: a hotel cleaner could steal it and use it to go shopping or playing golf (lines 1–4).

### **Example 10:** Pelaamassa golfia

SG 355, Glögi, 15:41-16:00 video

01 Mikko: Jos se sijivooja käy  
**If the cleaner goes**

- 02        tekemässä    [omat (-) jos sillä        on,  
 make-INF-INE own-PL if 3SG-ADE be.3SG  
**and does her/his own (-) if s/he has**
- 03 Mirja:                    [o- he ɔstokset  
**sh- heh shoppings**
- 04 Mirja: ja pelaama[ssa golfia    ja, heh heh he,  
 and play-INF-INE golf-PAR and  
**and playing golf and, heh heh he**
- 05 Jaska:                    [heh heh he he heh,
- 06        (.)
- 07 Jaana: Pe(h)laamassa go(h)lfia,  
 play-INF-INE golf-PAR  
**Playing gol(h)f,**
- 08        [.hhh (( glances at Mirja))
- 09 Jaska: [Nii missä ne oli,  
**[NII where they were,**
- 10 Mirja: [>Ei ku sielläkin, oli  
**[No but it was there as well**
- 11        kuulemma nii että sielläki maksettiin,  
**I heard that there as well one paid ((with it))**

Jaska and Jaana receive Mikko and Mirja's co-constructed illustration of the imaginary scenario with displays of amusement: Jaska laughs (line 5) and Jaana picks up on the part of the hypothetical scenario depicting the cleaner in a golf course, repeating the words *pelaamassa golfia*, 'playing golf,' infused with laughter (line 7). While Jaana's turn is doing registering of Mirja's jest, it also conveys appreciation of its amusing side.

The turn is produced with a moderately falling intonation contour and a relatively narrow pitch span. The affective import of the turn is merely attributed to the fact that its production is imbued with laughter. By glancing at Mirja (line 8), Jaana invites her to share the amusement. However, Jaana's turn does not lead to further celebration or savoring of the funny scenario (nor does it prompt confirming or disconfirming responses from the original speaker). Instead, Mirja starts to repair something that was said earlier (lines 10–11); note the turn-initial *ei ku*, 'no but' in line 10 (Sorjonen & Laakso 2005). This configuration is in line with the sequence-closing quality of registering repetitions (Persson 2015).

Finally, Example 11, drawn from a planning meeting where two church officials – a pastor (P) and a cantor (C) – are preparing the service for the following Sunday. The extract begins with the cantor asking whether the service will be a mass or a word service (lines 1–2), the difference being the inclusion of the Eucharist in the former. The cantor's question is followed by both participants browsing in the church calendar (lines 3–12). Finally, the cantor finds the relevant information in the calendar and states that the service will be a mass (line 13) – a piece of information that the pastor subsequently registers by repeating the word *messu*, 'mass' (line 14).

### Example 11: Messu

VM 00:24 video

01 C: onks meillä muuten, (0.5)  
**Do we have by the way,**

02 messu vai sanapalvelus.  
**a mass or a word service.**

((9 lines removed, during which C and P browse the church calendar))

12 P: °ootas° hh °mikä se sit°  
°Wait° °what (is) it then°

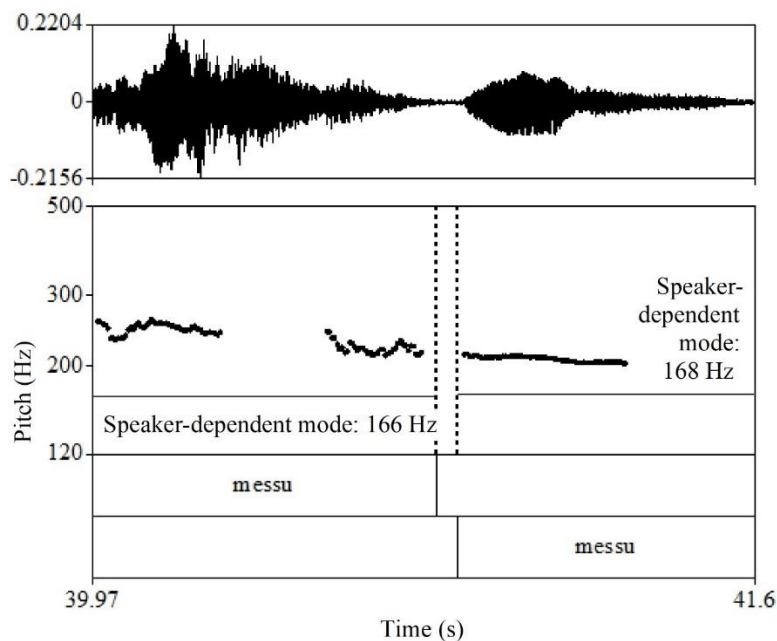
13 C: messu.  
**A mass.**

14 P: me:ssu,  
**A mass**

15 (.)

16 P: hm hm. .mth Nii ja sit tää on joku veteraanihöppöspöppös,  
**NII and then this is some silly-billy veteran party,**

Figure 10. Waveform and pitch trace of lines 13–14 in Example 11



In addition to doing registering, the pastor's repetition turn embodies an affective stance that may be best described as disappointment, a subdued negative affect, which could be motivated by the fact that a mass typically lasts longer than a word service. As has been described by Couper-Kuhlen (2009) with English and German interactional data, displays of disappointment, annoyance or frustration in second position tend to be produced with lower-than-normal intensity and with a narrow pitch span that is relatively low in the speaker's range. Such characterizations seem to hold also for our Finnish data (see Figure 10). Here, the pastor's



negative stance is further emphasized by hypo-articulation and lengthening of the first vowel. This interpretation gets support from what happens next in the interaction: the pastor starts complaining (line 16) that the following Sunday's service will mean extra work on other grounds as well.

Examples 9–11 demonstrate that a registering repetition can also involve affective stance-taking, and yet – with respect to the sequential implications of the turn – maintain the essential characteristics of the affectively more neutral registerings. Notably, however, unlike in the 'repair + affective stance-taking' cases, the affective stance-taking discussed here is **not** best described with reference to Selting's (1994) notion of 'heightened emotive involvement'. As shown by a lack of intensity (Example 10) or a subdued negative valence (Example 11) in the design of these affective stances, the repetitions do **not** invoke problems of expectation, which would make relevant a response dealing with that. Instead, just as in the cases of registering repetition in general, these repetitions make a confirming response only 'optionally' relevant (Persson 2015), while also conveying affectivity. In this case, then, affective stance-taking is closer to 'affective coloring' as documented by Thompson et al. (2015:66, 74, 283).

## CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

In this paper, we have described how other-repetitions in Finnish are used for solving interactional problems in hearing and understanding (*repair-initiations*) and for registering what another has just said (*registerings*). More specifically, we asked how prosody and grammar interact in accomplishing these actions through other-repetitions. Thereby, we have also discussed the affective stance toward some aspects of prior talk that these actions can convey.

Regarding prosody, we made the following observations. In the context of repair initiation, the pitch contours in the repetition turns can be placed on a continuum of different degrees of falling pitch from a moderate to a wide pitch span, the latter being associated with affective stance such as surprise. In the context of registerings, the pitch fall was generally narrower than in the context of repair-initiations, and the pitch span of the repetition turn frequently matched that of the original turn.

A notable feature of the other-repetitions in Finnish is the use of particles in connection with the repeated lexical material. The turn-final particle *vai* marks the repetition as a question, and its use is associated with repair and the affective stance of ritualized disbelief. The turn-initial particle *ai* is more versatile. While marking a piece of information as news, it also increases the relevance of a confirmation of the correctness or veracity of that information. This particle can thus contribute to the design of both repair-initiating and registering repetitions.

Other-repetitions functioning as repair-initiations or registerings can also be distinguished from each other on the basis of the type of response that they make relevant. According to Persson (2015), registerings make a response turn only optionally relevant; this is also apparent in our data, where registerings are sometimes followed by no response. Moreover, when a registering is followed by a response particle, this is typically the particle *joo*, which confirms information that is inferable from the context (Sorjonen 2001:45). In contrast, repair-initiations are normally responded to, often with the confirming particle *nii*, a repetition of the original turn, or a more elaborated turn involving an explanation or a correction.

Our results are summarized in Table 1, which shows how the different functions of other-repetition in Finnish are associated with different prosodic and grammatical features, and with different types of responses.

**Table 1.** Functions of other-repetition in Finnish, their prosodic and grammatical features, and types of responses they make relevant.

FUNCTION	PROSODY	GRAMMAR	RESPONSE
<i>Repair</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• non-salient, moderately falling pitch contour</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Repetition of the original element</li> <li>• Response particle (e.g., <i>nii</i> ‘yea’)</li> </ul>
<i>Repair + Affective stance-taking</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• salient, steeply falling pitch contour</li> <li>• wide pitch span</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• turn-initial particle <i>ai</i></li> <li>• turn-final particle <i>vai</i></li> <li>• repetition + interrogative clause</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Repetition of the original element with affect</li> <li>• Explanation</li> <li>• Correcting a problematic element in the original turn</li> </ul>
<i>Registering</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• non-salient, slightly falling pitch contour</li> <li>• narrow pitch span</li> <li>• pitch span matching between the repetition and the previous turn</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Response particle (e.g., <i>joo</i> ‘yea’)</li> <li>• No response</li> </ul>
<i>Registering + Affective stance-taking</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• pitch span matching between the repetition and the previous turn</li> <li>• laughter</li> <li>• more or less falling pitch contour (depending on the valence of affect)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• turn-initial particle <i>ai</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Response particle (e.g., <i>joo</i> ‘yea’)</li> <li>• No response</li> </ul>

As evident from Table 1, in the majority of other-repetitions in our data, the pitch contour is falling. This supports the earlier observations by Hirvonen, Tiittula, and many other researchers of Finnish intonation that Finnish does not rely on melodic alternations to mark pragmatic contrasts in the same way some other languages do (cf. Persson this issue; Rossi this issue b). This means that pitch contours in Finnish are not distinguished from each other categorically (e.g., fall vs. rise vs. rise-fall), but instead the pitch spans of what are mostly falling contours can be placed on a continuum from narrower to wider. At the wider end, we find cases of repair initiation + affective stance-taking (e.g., displaying surprise), whereas registerings are found at the narrower end, with simple repair initiation typically falling somewhere in the middle. That said, we should note that significant overlap remains in terms of an *absolute* span between repair-initiating and registering repetitions (cf. also Kurhila & Lilja 2017). In this context, a different prosodic cue that seems to aid in their recognition is *relative* span, with a tendency of registering repetitions to match that of the (last portion of the) original turn.

The present paper also addresses the relation between linguistic and pragmatic typology (see Dingemanse & Enfield 2015; Rossi this issue a). Other-repetitions in Finnish are sometimes (in 36% of the cases in our data) accompanied by particles. In aiding the participants’ understanding of how other-repetitions should be treated, these particles function at the pragmatic level much the same way as prosody does. There is, however, an important difference

between these two resources: While prosodic distinctions in Finnish other-repetitions are mainly gradient, the presence or absence of particles is categorical. Notably, however, the action categories which Finnish particles map onto may not neatly correspond to the ones found in other languages. For example, the particle *ai* marks a piece of information received as news and can thus be considered as a ‘change-of-state token’ (Heritage 1984). Unlike the English *oh*, though, the Finnish *ai* also increases the relevance of a confirmation of the correctness or veracity of that information. Like many other utterance-initial particles, *ai* has scope over the rest of the utterance, whether it consists of one word (*ai tänään*, ‘AI today’) or of a full clause (*ai voi tuua sut*, ‘AI can bring you’). The highlighted element within the scope is what the speaker is wondering about, doubting or questioning.

Furthermore, when combined with the type of ‘large’ prosody that can be said to convey ‘heightened emotive involvement’ in cases of affective stance-taking (see Examples 4–7 and 9–11), the questioning function of *ai* becomes more apparent, making the token even more distinct from its counterparts in other languages. While the wide pitch span is used to manage the affective aspects of the repetition, the particle *ai* addresses the factual aspects of the repeated content. With particle *ai* it is possible for the speaker to receive a piece of information as news and take an affective stance toward it while simultaneously questioning the correctness or veracity of that information. Then again, other-repetitions with similarly large prosody but without *ai* convey an affective stance, where the emotional aspects of the repetition sequence take precedence over the informational ones. Furthermore, there are several ‘change-of-state’ or ‘newsmark’ particles in Finnish (see Koivisto 2017a). Of the nine alternatives Koivisto discusses, *ai* is the least frequently used particle in a stand-alone position (she found only 7 *ai*’s in a total of 386 occurrences, i.e., 2%). It is therefore to be expected that *ai* may have uses other than the more well-known change-of-state function when used in connection with other lexical material.

We may finally summarize our idea on the nature of Finnish from the perspective of pragmatic typology. In our view, Finnish differs notably from the surrounding Indo-European languages, some of them discussed in this special issue. First, the fact that other-repetition as a means to initiate repair is in the minority when considering the whole repertoire of repair initiations in everyday Finnish interactions (Kuruhila & Lilja 2017) suggests that, in Finnish, a mere repetition, with little assistance from intonation, may be a less effective way to get an interactional problem solved than other lexico-syntactic means. Second, we argue that the frequent combination of repetitions with particles enables the speaker to achieve multiple goals with a single turn: Within the same turn the speaker may manage, for example, to (1) take an affective stance toward what has been said by using marked prosody and simultaneously to (2) manage the degree to which the information received is being accepted. Our paper has thus, from a specific perspective, illustrated what it may mean to consider a language to be a so-called particle language. In this way, Finnish other-repetitions appear as a locus of complex layering of actions, the exact dimensions and ramifications of which should be further explored in future conversation-analytic research.

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