

FORMS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE FRENCH DISCOURSE PARTICLE HEIN IN FRENCH
MUNDANE CONVERSATION: A CONVERSATION ANALYSIS PERSPECTIVE

BY

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

This is a qualitative study of the forms and functions of the French particle *hein* in mundane talk-in-interaction between French native speakers. This study was conducted using Conversation Analysis (CA) as methodology. The data for this study consist of four different sets of videotaped and audio-taped, non-elicited mundane conversation, yielding a total of 6 hours of conversation. Speakers included six family members and one friend. All data were collected with the subjects' consent and in accordance with the regulations of the University of Illinois' Institutional Review Board.

After a thorough description of the methodology (chapter 1), I provide a literature review (chapter 2). I first report findings of previous studies on other discourse particles conducted with CA. I then present findings of non-CA studies previously done on French particles. Lastly, I present a literature review on *hein*. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 present the findings of my study on *hein* with respect to the place of *hein* in a turn constructional unit (TCU). My data show that *hein* can appear in four different positions: as a stand-alone particle, at the end of a TCU, at the conjunction of two TCUs uttered by the same party, and within a TCU.

Chapter 3 is devoted to the functions of *hein* as a stand-alone particle. I demonstrate that in this position, the main function of *hein* is that of a repair initiator. However, a stand-alone *hein* can also be used as an attention getting device, a summons and/or an agreement pursuit.

Chapter 4 focuses on the functions of *hein* at the end of a TCU, that is, in tag position. This *hein* appears to perform four main functions. The first function is that of an agreement pursuit. Furthermore, *hein* appears to be used as a device to stress important information and insist on taking the floor. In this position, *hein* also appears to be used as a device to intensify the

act of hedging done in the previous TCU. Lastly, my data show that *hein* may be considered as a facilitative tag in the context of long tellings.

Chapter 5 treats the functions of *hein* in two different sequential environments: *hein* at the conjunction of two latched TCUs uttered by the same party, and *hein* within a TCU. I argue that when *hein* is uttered between two latched TCUs, it is found in dispreferred environments (e.g., request + *hein* + account). Additionally, I show how the talk after the *hein* is linked with the part that is uttered before the *hein*. I present two instances of *hein* used in such environments. As for the *hein* within a TCU, my data show that in this environment, *hein* performs two main functions. First, an intra-TCU *hein* is interactively proven efficient as a device to stress the term(s) that immediately precede(s) the *hein*. Second, in some instances, a speaker produces what initially appears to be a complete TCU followed by *hein*, after which, it then becomes apparent that the remainder of the talk is built as a continuation of the prior TCU. Put differently, as the talk unfolds a tag-*hein* becomes an intra-turn *hein*.

The conclusion situates the findings of this study in relation to prior research. In this discussion, the methodological advantages of using a conversation analytic approach are highlighted. The conclusion also points out the limitations of the study and avenues of future research.

In loving memory of my Nonno Natale, the best teacher I have ever had

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Introduction

As Enfield & Levinson (2006, p. 1) state: “At the heart of the uniquely human way of life is our peculiarly intense, mentally mediated, and highly structured way of interacting with one another.” Communication is at the heart of human life and human interaction. One can then infer how important the knowledge of one’s way of communicating is in order to understand each other and to interact with each other. “The roots of sociality lie in a special capacity for social interaction, which itself holds the key to human evolution, the evolution of language, the nature of much of our daily concerns, the building blocks of social systems, and even the limitations of our political system” (Enfield & Levinson, 2006, p. 39).

Browsing throughout several recordings of naturally occurring conversations between French native speakers, a word caught my attention: *hein*. This discourse particle happens to be very frequent in these conversations, even in places where I did not expect to find it. Furthermore, it seemed to have interactional functions that even I, a native speaker of French, did not realize. Finally, and surprisingly, this word has not been the object of extensive research beyond a small number of sociolinguistic studies.

While discourse particles in general have been considered as “desemanticised” (Beeching, 2004, p. 61), labeled as “coloring particles” (Settekorn, 1977, p. 195) and often dismissed as “conversational ‘tics’ or ‘fillers’” (Beeching, 2004, p. 61), their use in discourse is ubiquitous. Linguists such as Settekorn (1977) emphasize the necessity to investigate the function of these communicative particles in speech situations since their constant presence cannot be explained solely by a wish from the speaker to “color” or “decorate” discourse (Settekorn, 1977, p. 195).

In the past 25 years, these particles have drawn the attention of some sociolinguists (e.g., Beeching 2002, 2004, 2007) and the number of studies on discourse particles has grown considerably. The findings are relevant and enlightening with respect to, for instance, the relation existing between the use of discourse particles on the one hand and generations, social classes and gender on the other hand. However, studies of the particle *hein*, particularly its function in specific sequential positions, have yet to be conducted.

In broad terms, my dissertation examines the use of a French discourse particle in everyday conversation. More specifically, it explores the use and function of the French discourse marker *hein* in mundane discourse using the methodology of Conversation Analysis (CA). My research shows that depending on certain factors such as where it occurs in a turn, the intonation with which it is uttered, and the embodied actions (gestures, eye gaze, body posture, etc.) that accompany its utterance, the discourse particle *hein* endorses specific functions such as repair, seeking agreement, structuring one's discourse, etc. In the dissertation, I also compare and contrast *hein* with tag-question particles in English. Hence, one can see how this work contributes to our understanding of the interplay between grammar and interaction. As such, it is of interest not only to interactional linguists and sociologists, but also to teachers and teacher trainers interested in conveying the finer details of authentic uses of spoken French.

As mentioned earlier, for this study, I have adopted CA as methodology. A conversation analyst examines the gradual unfolding of talk-in-interaction. Verbal utterances are considered as ongoing social actions. The approach allows the analyst to understand the function of specific turns on a smaller scale. The orderliness of the interaction is always explained from the participants' perspective (Markee, 2000, p. 25). The researcher analyzes how the participant understands what is happening in the interaction and the way the participant incorporates his/her

own understanding into courses of action. In other words, CA is both a perspective and a methodology for analyzing the way everyday social actions unfold *in situ*. CA is unique among existing approaches to the study of conversation in that it is primarily an *emic* (i.e., an internal, or participant-centered) rather than an *etic* (i.e., an external, or researcher-centered) approach for analyzing discourse.

I will present the results of my data collection as follows. In chapter I, I discuss CA as a research methodology. After a brief introduction related to the emergence of CA, I will then discuss the essence of CA, that is, its ethnomethodological dimension, and explain the consequences of this particular characteristic that sets CA apart from other existing approaches to language. This will lead me to present key practices that will be relevant in the discussion of *hein*. These practices are turn-taking, repair, and preference organization, all of them highlighting the orderliness of a conversation. Additionally, I will explain concepts that I will also be referring to, namely, adjacency pairs, preference organization, turn constructional unit (TCU), transition relevance place (TRP), overlap and interruption. I will then also refer to practical issues such as recording, transcribing, and analyzing data.

Chapter two offers a brief review of CA studies on discourses particles used in English and in other languages. In addition, chapter two consists of a review of the prior research conducted on *hein* from both sociolinguistic and discourse analytic perspectives. I will conclude chapter two by highlighting not only the importance of *hein* in naturally occurring talk-in-interaction, but also the necessity of a study of *hein* completed with CA.

In chapter three, I analyze the forms and functions of *hein* as a stand-alone particle. The discussion will show that *hein* as a stand-alone particle performs mainly the function of repair initiator. My data also show that in this position, the particle can also fulfill the function of an

attention-getting device. Lastly, I present one case in which the particle may be seen either as an agreement pursuit and / or a summons.

In chapter four, I discuss *hein* when it is uttered at the end of a TCU. When *hein* is uttered in this sequential environment, my data show that it can perform four main functions. In effect, *hein* can be used as an agreement-pursuit device or as a stressing device. Furthermore, *hein* may also perform the function of a device to intensify the act of hedging, and that of being a facilitative tag in contexts of long tellings (otherwise referred to as “facilitative tag” (Holmes, 1982, p. 54)).

Chapter five discusses two additional sequential environments, namely *hein* at the conjunction of two latched TCUs and *hein* within a TCU. There are specific interactional functions associated with each of these positions. When *hein* is produced between two latched TCUs, it serves to link them in that the talk after the *hein* is always directly linked with the part that is uttered before the *hein*. Most importantly, this type of *hein* is always to be found in dispreferred environments. Hence, this *hein* can be found at the end of a TCU containing a request, which is an action that is considered to be dispreferred. In this case, *hein* may be followed by an account that hedges the previously uttered request. As I will show, *hein* can also appear in the specific context where a compliment is a component of a dispreferred first pair part. When *hein* is used within a TCU, I will show that it serves two main functions. First, it can be used as a device to emphasize the term(s) that immediately precede(s) it. Additionally, when used at the end of a TCU, *hein* may become retroactively an intra-turn *hein*. In effect, in some specific circumstances, the speaker of what appears at first as [TCU + *hein*] may go on with his/her utterance and structure the remaining of the turn as a completion of the prior utterance.

In the conclusion, I will highlight the main findings and compare them to previously published work, thereby specifying my contribution to the literature. In addition, I will discuss the limitations of the study and avenues for future research.

Chapter 1: Conversation Analysis

1.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will start with a brief presentation of the emergence of CA. I will then describe the characteristics that set CA apart from other approaches to discourse. I will also define and explain theoretical concepts that I will be referring to in the analyses throughout the dissertation. These concepts are as follows: adjacency pairs, preference organization, turn constructional unit (TCU), transition relevance place (TRP), overlap, interruptions and repairs. I will then refer to practical issues related to recording and transcribing data. Finally, I explain how data are approached and analyzed within a conversation analytic framework.

1.2. The emergence of CA

As described by many authors (e.g., Markee, 2000; Heritage, 1984; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Psathas, 1995; Tannen, 2005; ten Have, 2002; and Silverman, 1998) prior to the emergence of CA in the 1960s, in a variety of fields such as linguistics, philosophy of language, and discourse analysis, etc., researchers had long been interested in social interaction. However, these disciplines were not closely examining the organization (i.e., the orderliness) of natural-occurring language. Rather, the data (if data were collected at all) were analyzed with an etic approach (i.e., a researcher-centered approach) which means that the researchers approached data with pre-set categories in mind (Markee, 2000, p.29). Moreover, in some disciplines, language was analyzed by adopting a quantitative approach rather than a qualitative one (Psathas, 1995). Hence, the results were broad in order to be replicable and fine details were not present in the analyses.

As Psathas (1995) and many other authors previously mentioned highlighted it, in the early days of CA (the late 1950s and early 1960s), there were numerous other approaches to the study of interaction that were developing in parallel and that drew the attention of researchers. For instance, the importance of body movements in interaction had caught Burdwhistell's attention (1952, 1970, quoted in Psathas, 1995) who elaborated a system to analyze these movements on a very small scale in order to examine the impact of these movements on interaction. While all the above-mentioned research was developing, Erving Goffman (1959), whose work was in the field of social anthropology, completed his dissertation using direct observation, field notes and elaborate descriptions for understanding everyday interactions. Meanwhile the ethnomethodologist Harold Garfinkel taught a seminar at UCLA that Harvey Sacks attended. It is later, when Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and David Sudnow started to work with Garfinkel and Goffman as graduate students at the University of California at Berkeley that the field of CA really started to bloom (Psathas, 1995).

To this day, researchers agree that Sacks and Goffman have made the greatest contribution to the birth of CA. Particularly important is Goffman's *Behavior in Public Places* (1963) which inspired a great amount of research on naturally occurring behavior. Goffman used a tool that is still used nowadays by conversation analysts: a portable tape recorder that allowed the recording of authentic data. Moreover, data could be analyzed repeatedly and in much detail. While employed at the Suicide Research Center in Los Angeles, Sacks recorded the incoming calls and analyzed the beginnings of telephone calls to the Center. Generally speaking, Sacks was particularly interested in the organization of social behavior, that is, (a) how the interlocutors were actually understanding each other, and (b) how they accomplished mundane social actions through talk (Psathas, 1995). As Psathas states, in examining his data, "Sacks was able to show

how the relationship of the person to society was visibly demonstrated in their talk” (Psathas, 1995, p. 7). Hence, Sacks and other conversation analysts were developing a specific social science that would become CA.

1.3. What is CA?

The element that sets CA apart from other approaches such as discourse analysis or ethnography of communication is the ethnomethodological dimension of CA (Markee, 2002). According to Psathas (1995, p. 3), this dimension has three main implications; (a) what interests CA researchers above all are social action occurring in everyday life, (b) those actions have to be “examined as ongoing practical accomplishments” (Psathas, 1995, p. 3)- in the here and now, and (c) the focus of CA is to find the logic or organization of such actions. Those actions occur in a certain order and an analysis based on CA has to show the orderliness of those actions (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Drew & Wootton, 1988; Goffman, 1983; Goodwin, 1981; Heritage, 1984b; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Jefferson, 1983; Levinson, 1983; Markee, 2000; Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 1968; Schegloff, 1979a, 1979b; Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977; Silverman, 1998; Tannen, 2005; ten Have & Psathas, 1995; ten Have, 2002; Psathas, 1995). Finally, CA has always focused on two different types of data sets: mundane naturally occurring interaction, and interaction occurring in institutional settings. Hence, at some point, researchers agreed that “talk-in-interaction” might actually be a better fitting appellation to qualify what they were analyzing (Markee, 2000). Nowadays, the appellation “CA” is broadly used to refer to the analysis of everyday mundane conversation and conversation in institutional contexts (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Markee, 2002).

As mentioned earlier, it is the ethnomethodological basis that differentiates CA from

other approaches to discourse. This is one of the major reasons why I chose CA to analyze the data I gathered for this study.

What I find particularly relevant about the ethnomethodological dimension of CA is that not only does it allow the analyst to understand how talk-in-interaction gradually unfolds, but it also allows the analyst to understand the function of specific turns or even terms on a smaller scale. It thereby shows the orderliness of interaction from a participants' perspective (Markee, 2000, p. 25).

It is important to mention that before the 1960s, researchers assumed that ordinary talk was chaotic and disorderly (ten Have, 2002, p. 3). However, research since then has shown the opposite to be true, namely that "ordinary talk is a highly organized, ordered phenomenon" (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 13). Actually, it was only when recording devices became available and when researchers were willing to study such a mundane phenomenon in depth, that 'the order of conversation' was discovered. Hence, whether the interaction is either merely mundane or taking place in an institutional setting, "orderliness" is the main element of CA in its essence. Psathas (1995, pp. 2-3) formulates the basic principles of "orderliness" as follows:

1. Order is a produced orderliness.
2. Order is produced by the parties in situ; that is, it is situated and occasioned.
3. The parties orient to that order themselves; that is, this order is not an analyst's conception, not the result of the use of some preformed or pre-formulated theoretical conceptions concerning what action should / must / ought to be, or based on generalizing or summarizing statements about what action generally / frequently / often is.
4. Order is repeatable and recurrent.

5. The discovery, description, and analysis of that produced orderliness are the task of the analyst.
6. Issues of how frequently, how widely, or how often particular phenomena occur are to be set aside in the interest of discovering, describing, and analyzing the *structures*, the *machinery*, the *organized practices*, the *formal procedures*, the ways in which order is produced.
7. Structures of social action, once so discerned, can be described and analyzed in formal, that is, structural, organizational, logical, atopically contentless, consistent, and abstracts, terms.

Another assumption that is at the basis of a CA analysis is the use of authentic data, that is to say, naturally occurring talk-in-interaction that is audio or / and video recorded (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998, p. 14) stress the crucial importance of the authenticity of the data; "...the activities which are recorded are situated as far as possible in the ordinary unfolding of people's lives, as opposed to being pre-arranged or set up in laboratories." Recordings are then analyzed in order to discover how participants make sense and respond to one another in their turns at talk, hence, how they generate *sequences* of actions (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p.14).

In this context, words uttered by participants are seen as actions by the speaker. Interlocutors display their understanding of this prior action through their own turn at talk. Actions are thus "activities being negotiated in the talk: as requests, proposals, accusations, complaints and so on" (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p.14). As stated above, in analyzing a turn at talk in the context in which it is produced and by how the coparticipant(s) react(s) to it, researchers take an emic approach (Markee, 2000; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). That is, the

analysis of a talk-in-interaction is done from the point of view of the participant and not from the researcher's point of view. Thereby, it is important to analyze a turn in relation to the previous turn and the next turn. Analysts are thus proceeding under the assumption that orderliness is present in their data. This orderliness might not be seen by the analysts right away but it is present for the participants who co-produced this data and can be uncovered by the analyst as well.

This is what underlies the notion of sequences: while the conversation is unfolding, in a sequence of actions, participants display in their next turns their understanding of previous turn(s). This procedure is referred to by Hutchby & Wooffitt as "a next-turn proof procedure" (p. 15). It is the most basic tool used in CA to ensure that analyses display the orderliness of the conversation from the participants' point of view and not from the analyst's assumptions (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 15).

To summarize, CA is not etic-oriented, but rather is emic-oriented. One of the main questions an analyst must therefore ask when confronted with an utterance is not how the analyst himself / herself can make sense of the utterance of this participant, but rather how the participant makes sense of this utterance (Sacks *et al.*, 1974; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). As such, the next-turn proof procedure will be vital to many of my discussions throughout my analyses.

1.4. Methodological considerations

This section is about collecting, transcribing and considering the data utilized later for the actual analysis, using the conventions of CA. I will first describe how conversation analysts

gather and transcribe their data. I will then clarify how to first approach the collected elements and what counts as “evidence” (Markee, 2000, p. 3).

As Hutchby & Wooffitt explain (1998, p. 73), transcriptions of tape-recorded and video-recorded naturally occurring talk-in-interaction are fundamental in CA research. I have expressed in the previous section the importance of having authentic data and highlighted the fact that recordings, whether audio or video, are essential. It is important to have high quality audio / video recordings since the researcher has to then transcribe the recorded interaction(s) as accurately as possible, which is already not easy and which can be even harder when the quality of the recordings is poor. Computer software and various technological devices allow conversation analysts to include more elements in their analyses such as eye gaze, gestures, body posture, phonetic features, etc. However, embodied actions such as gestures, body movements, facial expressions as well as eye-gaze are studied only in the way they are related to the speech that they accompany (Kendon, 1990, cited in Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 74). CA transcriptions follow very specific transcription conventions developed principally by Gail Jefferson as described in Atkinson & Hertiage (1984).

Transcribing does not mean simply writing down the words that the participants uttered. Rather, transcribing means writing down in great detail all the features (such as inbreathes, false starts, silences, sighs, noises, etc.) of the naturally occurring conversation as they actually occur. In addition, if one’s data is not in English, one is required to add two different lines of translation to the transcription: the first line is a transcription done literally “word for word” that appears right below the line in the foreign language, while the second is a more idiomatic translation.

Once the audio and / or the video recordings are transcribed, the transcript is used in conjunction with the tape during the analysis. Repeated listenings allow the analyst to become

very familiar with the recording(s) not only to end up with a very detailed transcript, but also to identify any interactional phenomenon for future analysis. Interactional phenomena include utterances (talk), actions, and embodied actions (mainly movements, eye gaze, body posture). The data has to be approached from the point of view of the participants themselves, that is, from their actions that have to be analyzed through their talk and embodied actions as the conversation unfolds.

Examining interactional phenomena means getting an idea of how actions (i.e., talk as well as embodied actions) are done and ordered by the participants through the co-construction of the interaction. That is, the researchers analyze how an individual turn is composed and how an individual turn is fitted to the surrounding talk in order to describe the conversational practices deployed by the participants.

As Markee (2000, p. 26) explains, usually, “[d]eveloping a participant’s perspective involves developing a rich description of context.” However, for conversation analysts who are strictly faithful to the principles of CA, “developing a rich description of context” (Markee, 2000, p. 26) does not mean taking into account participants’ ethnographic information (such as references to the participants’ biographies or cultures) in order to analyze the participants’ talk-in-interaction and to make an argument, “unless there is internal evidence in the conversational data to provide a warrant for the introduction of such data” (Markee, 2000, p. 26). In this sense, CA is what is called “context-free” (Markee, 2000, p. 26).

Note, however, that CA is also known to be context-dependent. So what is context for CA? In a CA analysis, the only context that exists is located within the conversation itself. As Markee (2000, p. 27) explains: “[f]rom a purist perspective on CA, then, context means the immediate sequential environment of a turn. It is this local environment (...) that provides

participants with a metric with which to judge the appropriateness of the talk that is produced in next turn.” In this sense, CA is highly context-dependant.

Another important element (and challenge) while doing a CA analysis is for the analyst to refrain from immediately categorizing one instance of a phenomenon as being similar to instances from past data analyses or intuitive knowledge. It is only after a very detailed analysis of the newly found phenomenon as well as very thorough comparisons with what seem to be similar instances of this phenomenon that one can conclude that the newly found phenomenon is or is not similar to other recorded and gathered instances. This leads to a final but very important element of CA: the main goal of an analyst is to approach, describe and provide an analysis of data, considering the data as a singular instance of a phenomenon that is not at all originally intended to be generalized. Rather, CA “is concerned with providing analyses that meet criteria of ‘unique adequacy’” (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970, cited in Psathas, 1995, p. 50). As Benson & Hughes (1991, p. 131) cited in Markee (2000, p. 26) word it, “[w]hether it [that is the instance / the occurrence] does or does not occur again is irrelevant for the task of showing how this single occurrence is organized, what the machinery of its production is.”

1.5. What does ‘doing CA’ mean?

When analyzing their data, researchers typically start out with the analysis of two features, namely turn-design (and turn-taking), as well as sequence organization. The first studies how a particular turn at talk is organized, the second studies how an individual turn is embedded in the context of other talk. In this analysis prosody, embodied actions such as body posture, gestures, eye gaze and silences are all taken into account.

From a CA perspective, every turn at talk is related to the prior turn at talk and simultaneously shapes the talk that comes afterwards. That is, conversation is organized in *sequences of* turn at talk. It is important to notice that the most basic example is the *adjacency pair* (Schegloff, 1972, 1979a, 1979b, cited in Markee, 2000, p. 68; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973 cited in Markee, 2000, p. 68; Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Drew & Wootton, 1988; Goffman, 1983; Goodwin, 1981; Heritage, 1984b; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Jefferson, 1983; Levinson, 1983; Markee, 2000; Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 1968; Schegloff, 1979a, 1979b; Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977; Silverman, 1998; Tannen, 2005; ten Have & Psathas, 1995; ten Have, 2002; Psathas, 1995). As Markee explains (2000, p. 68-emphasis in the original),

Adjacency pair sequences involve sequences that are (a) physically adjacent to each other (b) produced by two different speakers (c) constructed in terms of *first* and *second pair parts* (d) constructed such that Speaker 1's first pair part makes it *conditionally relevant* for Speaker 2 to respond with an appropriate second pair part.

An example of a basic adjacency pair is the exchange of greetings between Speaker 1 uttering the first pair part: "hi" and Speaker 2 uttering the second pair part: "hi". In ordinary conversation, there is a broad diversity of sequences. In most of them, there is one central type of second pair part. For instance, greetings and farewell exchanges are part of this kind of sequences. However, for many sequences, there are alternative types of responses which the first pair part makes relevant. For instance, a recipient of an invitation may accept it or decline it. These are the two most typical alternative types of response / second pair parts to an invitation. Those two types of responses also reflect two types of alignment. As Schegloff explains (2007, p. 59) "[the] response to the first pair part which embodies or favors furthering or the

accomplishment of the activity is the favored-or, as we shall term it, the preferred- second pair part.” Hence, to go back to the scenario of an invitation, if the recipient of the invitation accepts it, it means that this recipient utters the “favored” second pair-part or preferred second pair part. However, if this same recipient declines the invitation, the recipient does not utter the “favored” second pair part. Hence, this recipient is not aligning with the first pair part and is said to give the dispreferred second pair part. Whether it is an offer, an invitation or some other sequence, preferred and dispreferred responses show a contrasting set of particularities. For instance, as Schegloff (2007) notices, whereas preferred responses are generally speaking “short and to the point” (Schegloff, 2007, p. 65), dispreferred responses are longer and mostly encompass at least one if not more of these following elements; “...accounts..., excuses..., disclaimers (... [such as] “I don’t know”), and hedges...” (Schegloff, 2007, p. 65). The following example from Schegloff (2007, p. 65) illustrates a dispreferred answer containing some of the elements mentioned above:

(5.07) TG, 18:12-16
 1 Ava: F→ [Maybe if yih come down I’ll take the car (down).
 2 Bee: S→ t! We:ll, uhd-yihknow I-I don’ wanna make any-thing
 3 → definite because I-yihknow I jis:: I jis::t thinkin:g
 4 → tihday all day riding on th’ trains hhuh-uh ‘hh[h!

Here, the dispreferred nature of the answer to Ava’s offer becomes apparent as soon as Bee starts to talk in line 2. First, there is the use “we:ll”, a word that is most of the time prefacing a dispreferred answer. This term is then followed by a large array of elements that convey hesitation, e.g. the word “uhd” (line 2) in itself, the repetitions such as “yihknow” (lines 2 and 3), “I” (twice in a row line 1) and “I jis::t” as well as the actions themselves, that is, (a) the hedged refusal of making “definite” plans (lines 2 and 3) and (b) the “giving of an excuse” for

the refusal that is made implicitly definite through this excuse : “all day riding on th’ trains” (line 4).

While the nature of which actions are preferred and which ones are dispreferred can differ across languages, adjacency pairs exist in all languages and are “a universal characteristic of the organization of all conversational interaction” (Markee, 2000, p. 68).

Given that the first and second pair parts are produced by different speakers in their respective turns, the construction of adjacency pairs relies on the turn-taking system within interaction. First, some turn-taking features are common to any conversations. For instance, “speaker-change recurs, or at least occurs” (Sacks *et al.*, 1974, p. 700). Furthermore, most of the time, people do not talk at the same time but instead take the floor one at a time. Sometimes two or more people will talk at the same time, but those occurrences are usually very brief. Finally, in naturally occurring conversations, both the distribution and the length of a participant’s turn do vary constantly. Typically, a given speaker has the floor for one turn-constructual unit (TCU). At the end of a TCU, a turn-transition becomes relevant. A TCU is a spate of talk that is syntactically, semantically, pragmatically and intonationally complete. Markee explains that “[s]peaker-hearers use their knowledge of sentence-level syntax to project when a turn might roughly be coming to a possible completion point and use these hypotheses to determine when they can appropriately start or continue with their own talk. [Hence,] [a] turn is defined as a spate of talk that is collaboratively constructed by speakers out of one or more TCUs, whose projectability allows possible next and current speakers to identify when current speaker’s turn might hearably be coming to an end” (Markee, 2000, pp. 83-84).

The place at which one turns comes to an end and speaker change may become relevant is called a “transition relevance place” or TRP (Sacks *et al.*, 1974, p. 703). After a TCU, 3 scenarios

are possible. First, the current speaker may select the next speaker who then may take next-turn to speak. Thus, transfer occurs at that place. The current speaker may also choose not to select the next speaker. In this case, which would constitute the second possible scenario, any participants may self-select and the first participant to do so then acquires the rights to a turn. Finally, the current speaker may simply continue to talk, unless another self-selects. These three scenarios constitute the main rules of the turn taking system; the ordering rules.

When all speakers adhere to these rules (i.e., in the ideal speaker exchange scenario), one speaker talks at a time. Furthermore, in this ideal exchange scenario, transitions during speaker change are well coordinated. It is common, though, for a slight gap (i.e., a very short lapse of time) or a slight overlap (i.e., two or more parties talk at the same time (Levinson, 1983, p. 296)) to occur during a transition when for instance one (or more) party is aiming to take the floor right at the TRP and they end up overlapping with the end of the speaker's TCU. However, thanks to repair mechanisms that exist for dealing with such "turn taking errors or violations", such violations are typically short (Sacks *et al.*, 1974, p. 701). In order to minimize overlap, the speaker who is causing the overlap can stop talking. Another way to avoid overlap is for the participant who wants to take the floor to wait long enough for current speaker's turn to be entirely completed, before then self-selecting and taking the floor. Of course, this can be difficult to achieve, especially if one bears in mind that the end of the current speaker's TCU might not be the end of his / her turn. One last way to avoid or minimize overlap is to wait for the current speaker to allocate the next turn to the interlocutor who wants to speak. Overlaps are different from interruptions in that overlaps occur at turn transition relevance places, while interruptions are simultaneous talk by another speaker when the TCU is not near a completion point (Sacks *et al.*, 1974).

1.6. Conclusion

This chapter presented an overview of the origins and the methodology of CA. Such an overview is necessary to understand how CA differs from other, related fields. Working with CA means the very detailed analysis of oral language and, more specifically, the detailed analysis of how a conversation unfolds, taking into account a large array of different elements at the same time. Hence, the final analysis of the data is the result of a detailed examination of spoken discourse, and a unique approach to the study of spoken language. I believe that such an analysis will best allow me to answer the following question: how and to what end(s) do French native speakers use *hein* in oral discourse?

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

While the preceding chapter explained CA methodology, this chapter reviews the literature on discourse particles, specifically *hein*. In addition, it discusses why CA is a more appropriate approach to analyze the different uses of this discourse particle.

When I started to transcribe my data, one specific element caught my attention: I realized that participants were using a lot of discourse particles. What particularly struck me was that even though I am a French native speaker, I had never realized that these particles were used so often and that, depending on certain factors, they could fulfill so many different functions. Among these factors, one can list for instance (a) the position of these particles in a turn – these particles are usually located at the beginning or at the end of a turn, at a junction between two turns, possibly in intra-turn position or even as a stand-alone particle; (b) the intonation with which these particles are uttered; and (c) the embodied actions that sometimes accompany the utterance of some of these particles, as well as other factors that will be mentioned later in this study. For all the above reasons, one particle raised my interest, namely *hein*.

“[P]ragmatic particles [*hein* included] are generally considered to be desemanticised and colloquial forms and are often dismissed as conversational ‘tics’ or ‘fillers’” (Beeching, 2004, p. 61). However, CA research on discourse particles from different languages has shown that these particles are not empty words. Rather, they have very specific interactional functions. In this section, I will first refer to studies on discourse particles that have been done in different languages and I will then briefly allude to those that have been done on French. I will then summarize the research prior research on *hein* (mainly in the field of sociolinguistics). Next, I

will discuss the validity of each study, while, in parallel, I will highlight the necessity of a CA study of this discourse particle. The review below focuses first on studies done on English and then on studies in other languages. In a subsequent section, I will then review prior work on discourse particles in French.

2.2. CA and discourse particles

Overall, if one takes into account all languages, discourse particles have very different functions. However, regardless of the language, those particles have one common element: they are mainly used in oral discourse, hence, one can find a large array of CA studies related to discourse particles.

2.2.1. Examples of studies in English

A certain number of studies can be found in English on a variety of discourse particles. Here, I will summarize the research on both *so* and *oh* from a CA perspective.

Raymond (2004) analyzed stand-alone *so* in ordinary conversation as a particle that is used to prompt action. According to Raymond, stand-alone *so* can first be a particle “to indicate the upshot of a prior turn” (Raymond, 2004, p. 186). By this, he means that *so* can be used by a speaker to introduce a TCU to bring out the link between different elements present in a previous larger turn or even in previous series of turns. Furthermore, speakers can also produce a *so* but leave out the upshot it projects. If this *so* is added after a TCU or a series of TCUs uttered by the same speaker, *so* can invite the interlocutor(s) to act, that is, to react to what the previous speaker uttered. In this sense, one can see how *so* “invokes some prior talk” (Raymond, 2004, p. 210). For instance, it could be used to prompt the interlocutor to actually utter the upshot himself /

herself. Third, a stand-alone *so* as an unfinished turn is sometimes used to prompt the interlocutor to acknowledge what has been talked about (Raymond, 2004, p. 197) or even to “promote sequence expansion as well as sequence closure” (Raymond, 2004, p. 199). Thus, depending on its placement in the interaction, stand-alone *so* represents a very important tool to manage the course of actions in a conversation.

Bolden (2008b) analyzes interactional junctures in which transitions to the first conversational topic of a telephone conversation are realized. She shows that moves toward the first topic are accomplished by the use of the particle *so* when the topic to be introduced is other-attentive (i.e., when it relates to the co-participant). On the other hand, if the topic to be introduced is speaker-relevant, it is introduced with *oh*. Thus, the choice of particle (i.e., either *so* or *oh*) is systematic, and highlights the important roles of particles at this interactional juncture.

In another study, Bolden (2009) concludes that this particle also has the function of implementing incipient actions, when it is used for prefacing sequence-initiating actions such as questions. She highlights that *so* is used to indicate that the upcoming action is incipient, that is, it is not an action that depends on the preceding one accomplished in the preceding turn. Instead, the speaker introduces an element that was “pending” on his / her interactional agenda.

Along with *so*, *oh* also has been the focus of a large number of CA studies. For instance, Heritage (1984a) analyzed *oh* as a change-of state token. According to the placement of *oh* in a sequence, this token can be “used to propose that its producer has undergone some kind of change in his / her locally current state of knowledge, information, orientation or awareness” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 299). Hence, the presence of *oh* as change-of-state token has an influence on the way the sequence, or even at a smaller scale, the upcoming TCU, unfolds. Heritage illustrates this specific element with the example of *oh* used as “doing noticing” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 300).

In this case, the ‘noticing’ interrupts the ongoing sequence until the noticing moment comes to a close and the previous sequence is resumed.

The main goal of Heritage is to study this change of state token “as a response to a variety of conversational actions” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 300), hence, in different contexts. The researcher identifies seven different environments in which this token as a change of state token can be found. All of these environments will be summarized below.

First, *oh* can be used as a response to informings. In this case, *oh* is used either as a stand-alone token or can be seen in the first position of a TCU. In this environment, *oh* functions as a mark that the new information delivered in the previous TCU(s) has been received and processed by the interlocutor(s). Furthermore, Heritage noticed that “‘oh’ receipts occur in response to complete chunks of information, and are produced at points at which the informing are possibly complete” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 301). According to Heritage’s data, in this context, *oh* appears rarely by itself, as a “free-standing token” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 302). Usually *oh* is in turn-initial position and is followed by an assessment related to the news. This assessment usually concludes the “informing sequence” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 303). However, sometimes, the news telling is not heard as complete when the *oh* is uttered. Hence, in this case, *oh* will be followed by an invitation for the news teller to elaborate the telling. Finally, Heritage highlights that for this kind of sequences to be successful, that is, for the information to lead to an *oh* as change-of-state token, the news teller must avoid telling recipients what they already know. In this sense, “‘oh’ is thus a means by which recipients can align themselves to, and confirm, a prior’s turn proposal to have been informative” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 304). Heritage emphasizes that as opposed to *yes* and *mm hm* that “avoid or defer treating prior talk as informative, *oh* is a strong indication that his producer has been informed as a result of a prior turn’s talk” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 305).

Hence, the choice of one token over others has implications for turn designs since the strength of *oh* is enough for the producer of this particle to show that s/he has received and processed the prior informing. *Oh* is typically not followed by elements indicating that the information has been well received. The case is different for *yes* or *mm hm*; since the strength of these two tokens is weaker than the one of *oh*. “[O]h’ or ‘oh-prefaced turns is [sic] commonly reserved for significant story elements” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 306), as well as in response to “prior talk as significant” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 306). *Oh* is then used if one wants to highlight the information given, or, in other words, to mark one piece of information as “information to be “foregrounded” from surrounding talk” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 306).

The second context in which *oh* can occur is “in response to informings that are elicited by questions” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 307). This type of sequence is very much present in mundane talk-in-interaction, and in which “‘oh’ functions as an information receipt by proposing a change of state of knowledge or information” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 309). By producing the *oh*, the speaker shows that while they earlier had the status of being “uninformed”, they now have the status of “informed” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 309), with *oh* showing that the information has been successfully transmitted. If *oh* is not uttered, one can then imply that this transmission has not been successful, which has an impact on the rest of the sequence since further negotiations are needed for the information to be successfully transmitted.

The next context in which *oh* has been analyzed is what Heritage called “counterinformings” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 312). In this context, *oh* is used in a sequence that has the following shape: Speaker A makes a statement containing a piece of new information; in the following turn, speaker B makes a statement that is counterinforming, that is, speaker B makes a “statement that is contrasting with the first” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 312), giving a revised version of

the information that A has just uttered; finally, speaker A starts the third turn with *oh*, this particle being usually followed by a repetition of the revised piece of information that speaker B has just uttered. Hence, in this context, the *oh* conveys “a change of state proposal that is responsive to the informative character of the prior turn” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 312). Obviously, the *oh* turn implies that speaker A accepts the correction of the revised version of the statement. In the context of counterinformings, *oh*-initial turns can also convey a realization and / or a recollection of the previously revised piece of information. When, in such sequences, *oh* is not present, Heritage explains this absence of *oh* as a face saving reflex from the speaker who utters the turn in which *oh* is absent. In other words, by eliminating the *oh* in this kind of turn, the speaker wants to convey that s/he already knew the information provided in the revised version (information that, for instance, the speaker may have forgotten about it when s/he uttered the turn that has been revised by the other speaker).

In the context of “other initiated repair” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 315), the uttering of *oh* generally means the acceptance of the information contained in the repair. To be more specific, such sequences are usually built as follows. A first turn is uttered by a speaker A. However, his / her turn appears to represent a trouble source for speaker B who, in the following turn, initiates a repair. Once the repair is completed by speaker A in the next turn, speaker B shows his / her receipt of the repair as well as “a change of state of information” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 316) by uttering *oh*. Then, speaker A seems to follow one of two patterns; speaker A might go on and elaborate what has been said in the repair completion or s/he chooses to resume the topic that has been interrupted by the repair sequence.

The fifth context analyzed by Heritage is when the *oh* is present in sequences involving “understanding checks” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 318). The type of sequences in which *oh* appears is

shaped as follows: Speaker A utters a turn that appears to be a trouble source for speaker B. Hence, speaker B utters a repair initiation as a clarification check, that is, in this turn, speaker B's repair initiation focuses exactly on the element that caused trouble in speaker A's previous turn by proposing a solution to the trouble. In the third turn, then, speaker A either confirms or disconfirms B's solution. Finally, speaker B shows the receipt of speaker's A confirmation or disconfirmation by uttering an *oh*.

The sixth context where *oh* as a change-of-state token can be found is in sequences of "displays of understanding" (Heritage, 1984a, p. 320). In the context of understanding checks, "after a responsive confirmation or disconfirmation of the check" (Heritage, 1984a, p. 320), there are cases where the recipient of a confirmation / disconfirmation wants to verbally display not only his / her understanding of the clarification but also that the information s/he received was adequate. Hence, in this case, the uttering of *oh* will be followed by a display of the import of the information that has been previously received.

Heritage then explains the specific functions of *oh* through what he calls "recipient conduct in new topics beginnings" (Heritage, 1984a, p. 327). In this specific section, Heritage's main goal is "to consider recipient conduct in two systematically organized sequence types used to develop new topics in conversation" (Heritage, 1984a, p. 327). These two sequence types consist of news announcements, and what Heritage calls "itemized news inquiries" (Heritage, 1984a, p. 327). In both sequences, speakers abruptly shift topics, which can be done in different ways that have an impact on the shape of the sequence. In news announcements, the speaker is starting a new topic in a way that can be qualified as quite smooth. By this, I mean that the news teller is announcing the new topic (that is usually not completely unknown by the news recipient(s)) with an introduction, in other words, a "headline" (Heritage, 1984a, p. 327). A

typical news announcement usually starts with the introduction of the news announcement that always conveys the idea that there is more to be told. Hence, this turn is creating and encouraging the recipient to ask for more information, which is usually what follows. Then, the news announcer elaborates on the previous introduction of the news and completes the telling of the news by giving more information. Finally, the *oh* appears in the fourth turn, whether it is followed by a “newsmark” or an “inquiry” or not (Heritage, 1984a, p. 328). Thereby, this *oh* conveys the receipt of the news, hence, the confirmation that a change of state of information has taken place. If the recipient displays curiosity towards the topic, *oh* might be followed by inquiries, for instance. However, if the *oh* is a stand-alone *oh*, this one word reaction may not be sufficient to encourage the news announcer to give more details about the news.

As Heritage explains, “[i]n the context of itemized news inquiries, by contrast, the reverse is the case” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 329). In this context, it is the recipient (and not the teller) who points out “a possible newsworthy event” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 329) by asking questions (i.e.: these “itemized news inquiries”) about a person or a thing being talked about. As Heritage highlights, these questions are real news requests, the answers to which are necessary for the inquirer to have full access to what is being talked about. These questions are attended to by the news teller who gives an elaborate response after which the inquirer usually utters a continuer such as *yes* or *mm hm* to encourage further explanation. However, *oh* is not uttered in this kind of sequence. As Heritage explains, an *oh* receipt would be inappropriate for one main reason: whether it is a stand-alone *oh* or an *oh* that “co-occurs with additional turn components” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 330), an *oh* (instead of a continuer) may show the teller that his / her information-giving sequence is considered as complete by the interlocutor(s) and that therefore, there is no need for the speaker to go on with the telling. Finally, Heritage describes instances in

which a free-standing *oh* is produced in order “to withhold other topical talk” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 333). For instance, Heritage analyzes a case of a typical pre-request / pre-invitation starting with “what are you doing” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 333). If this question is then answered in a way that indicates that the forthcoming invitation will probably be answered with a non-preferred answer (that is, by a refusal), evidence shows that the person who uttered the pre-invitation would most likely utter a stand-alone *oh* instead of the invitation (or request).

In a different study, Heritage (1998) analyzed this particle as a response to an enquiry in three specific sequential contexts. First, Heritage (Heritage, 1998, p. 291) describes that in English, if a question is answered with a turn starting with *oh*, this implies that the answerer found this specific question to be problematic “in terms of its relevance, presuppositions context” (Heritage, 1998, p. 291). Second, an answer starting with *oh* may also represent a tool to “foreshadow reluctance” (Heritage, 1998, p. 291) to go on with the topic. Finally, it seems that if *oh* is used in responses to questions such as *How are you*, *oh* indicates that a response other than the usual *fine* is forthcoming. Specifically, an *oh* projects a description of troubles or otherwise lengthier response. I will now briefly elaborate on these three main contexts in which *oh* prefaces a response inquiry.

If used at the beginning of a turn, *oh* may imply doing noticing, or, in other words, it may mark a “change of state of orientation or awareness” or it may even mark “recollection” (Heritage, 1998, p. 291-292). In this case, *oh* is placed at the beginning of a turn and is uttered with the same intonation contour as the upcoming TCU. Other examples of this kind may occur when the question asked to the interlocutor provokes a shift of attention, implying that the question is either unexpected or seems irrelevant. Heritage found many examples of this kind. According to him, what is happening is that the questioner is not familiar enough with the world

of the answerer, and thus has asked the question from his / her world's point of view. In a similar way, these situations also arise when the question is seen as irrelevant given what has been said before in the conversation. Usually, then, the *oh*-prefaced answer is very short and not elaborated at all because from the answerer's point of view, the response is self-evident given the situation, culture and knowledge of the answerer. The *oh*-prefaced answer can also happen after a sequentially unexpected question (given the nature of the conversation). Here, an *oh*-prefaced answer is to be expected since a shift from a topic to another in the question is considered as an inappropriate behavior from the answerer's point of view. In this case the answerer conveys this inappropriateness with an *oh*-prefaced answer. Finally, an *oh*-prefaced answer can be used in a completely different context to "emphasize the force of an inquiry" (Heritage, 1998, p. 308).

Heritage then alludes to "sequential projections of *oh*-prefaced responses" (Heritage, 1998, p. 313). In this case, Heritage explains that these specific responses can also "be deployed or exploited to project reluctance to talk about a topic raised by the inquiry" (Heritage, 1998, p. 313). This reluctance can be seen in the *oh*-prefaced responses through three specific elements: the shortness and lack of elaboration of the response, the reluctance to elaborate the answer through an attempt to change the topic immediately or through a 'move' to go back to a previous topic right after the *oh*-prefaced response, and finally, through mere silence from the *oh*-prefaced response-giver. Thereby, *oh*-prefaced responses seem to constitute a major tool for the reluctant responder.

The last context that Heritage has found for "*oh*-prefaced responses to enquiry" lies within the "responses to personal state inquiries" (Heritage, 1998, p. 320). More specifically, Heritage analyzes *oh*-prefaced inquiries to questions such as *how are you?* In this case, *oh*-prefaced responses represent "a resource in an intricate information game that is played with

downgraded conventional responses” (Heritage, 1998, p. 321). Contrary to what Sacks considers as a “conventional answer” such as *fine* (Sacks, 1975, cited in Heritage, 1998, p. 322), this kind of answer to such a question “attracts inquiries that locate or pursue trouble” (Heritage, 1998, p. 322).

In another study on *oh*, Heritage (2002) first points out that turn beginnings are “strategic sites” (Heritage, 2002, p. 1) because they are the place where one can find sequential markers that bring out a link between the previous turn uttered by one speaker, and the turn that is about to be started by another speaker. In this case, the sequential markers such as *well*, *uh*, *but*, *so*, *oh*, etc. will be used. In the particular case of “*oh*-prefaced response to assessments”, this kind of response constitutes a challenge to the “relevance”, “appropriateness” or “presuppositions” of the previous questions (Heritage, 1998, cited in Heritage, 2002, pp.1-2). Heritage argues that this technique is a way through which “the respondent can convey that their own point of view is the basic framework from which the issue is to be considered, and do so inexplicitly yet intensively” (Heritage, 1998, pp. 291-296, cited in Heritage 2002, p. 2). This way, “the respondents index (and reaffirm) a claim of epistemic authority over their questioners” (Heritage, 2002, p. 2). The importance of this idea of epistemic authority is clarified and illustrated throughout Heritage’s study.

First, Heritage analyzes the case of *oh*-prefaced agreements that bring out the case of what he calls “epistemic independence” (Heritage, 2002, p. 2). For instance, speaker A makes an assessment to speaker B about an element that is not entirely familiar to speaker A but that speaker B has knowledge about. Then, speaker B reacts to speaker A’s assessment with an *oh*-prefaced-response. In this response, speaker B highlights the fact that s/he has a certain independent expertise on what speaker A has just uttered. *Oh* is thus used in this situation “to

convey a degree of prior knowledge in the topic” (Heritage, 2002, p. 3). Furthermore, the *oh* prefacing is also used when two speakers agree on an event / element that was brought to their knowledge individually, that is, each speaker has independent knowledge on the element / state of affairs, etc. before the current conversation. In this case, the *oh*-prefaced agreement conveys the wish of the speaker of this agreement to show that both speakers know about the element and have equal rights to assess the element, whatever this element is.

Finally, the particle *oh* can also preface disagreements. Usually, such turns are used in response to a previous disagreement, hence, in an “escalation of disagreements” (Heritage, 2002, p. 18), especially in what Heritage (2002) refers to as “Holding a Position’ in Flat Out Opposition” or “in Scaled Disagreement”. In these cases, the disagreeing party using the *oh* prefacing turn usually insists on his / her position until the other speaker gives up his / her own position or, at least, partially backs down.

In his study of *oh*, Local (1996) combines two fields, phonetics and CA, into what he calls “the phonetics of interaction” (Local, 1996, p. 177). Using Heritage’s (1984a) data, Local (1996) demonstrates that both the sequential position and the phonetic realization (i.e., intonation contour) of *oh* determines its interactional function.

First, Local analyzes “the phonetic characteristics of freestanding *Oh* as a display of ‘news receipts’” (Local, 1996, p. 180). From his analysis of several data excerpts, Local found common characteristics of the stand-alone *ohs* uttered when one receives news. The most important characteristics of these *ohs* are that they all are stressed, uttered with falling intonation, and can be stretched and preceded or followed by a pause. Finally, Local notices that the speaker who utters the *oh* often does so after another speaker had completed a news telling or an informing sequence.

In a scenario where a speaker utters the *oh* while the current speaker's sequence is still in progress, this *oh* may convey the idea that from the point of view of the *oh* speaker, the information given thus far is sufficient. In other words, the information-giving sequence should stop. Local confirms this point through analyses of excerpts in which the "sequence terminating [nature] of these *oh*-tokens can be found in both sequential and phonetic aspects of the talk" (Local, 1996, p. 182). For instance, evidence shows that a topic shift often happens after such an *oh* sequence. In this case, one should notice that the *oh* is uttered with falling intonation. However, whatever is uttered after the *oh* and whoever utters what comes after the *oh* is uttered with higher pitch. *Oh* is then pronounced with falling intonation to highlight the fact that the current speaker should stop with the wording of the current information and should change topic.

Furthermore, Local also explains that cases in which *oh* is followed by additional turn components are very numerous. The segment composed of [*Oh* + an assessment turn] usually starts a new topic right after the segment and is usually uttered with falling intonation. The composition of the turn combined with the falling intonation at the end of the *oh* segment further serves to highlight the start of the new topic. Indeed, whatever is uttered after the *oh* segment is usually uttered with a higher pitch contour in contrast with the falling intonation in the preceding *oh* segment.

For the case of *oh* plus partial repeat, Local indicates that such a segment is usually uttered with either rising or falling intonation depending on the type of action the speaker is waiting for in the rest of the sequence. For instance, Local noticed that *oh*-turns with falling intonation seem to encourage the news teller to go on the informing sequence. In other words, in this case, the *oh* with a falling intonation functions the same way as continuers.

Local then explains that in *oh*-responses to question-elicited informing, unlike many *oh*-tokens in other contexts, the *oh* is mainly uttered with rising intonation. It is terminated with complete glottal closure, is noticeably nasalized and is uttered as a monophthong. This kind of *oh*-response appears to be used to answer questions, the answers to which are self-evident.

Finally, Local analyzes the case of “*oh* and ‘surprise’” (Local, 1996, p. 201). In this context, Local simply explains that his data showed that *oh* was usually produced with rising-falling pitch.

The analyses of the four studies on *oh* and the two studies on *so* bring out the fact that CA (by itself or even associated with another analytic tool such as phonetics as in the above study by Local) represents a very appropriate approach if one’s goal is to analyze in great detail how discourse particles are used in oral discourse, and which interactional functions these discourse particles are used for.

2.2.2. CA studies on discourse particles in various other languages

2.2.2.1. Discourse particles in various languages (except French)

Studies on discourse particles have also been done in German. For instance, Golato & Fagyal (2008) explained that *ja*-‘yes’- is a particle usually used to show acknowledgement. It can also be utilized as a continuer. However, depending on different factors, a doubled *ja*, “pronounced either *ˆjaja*.(with a falling intonation) or *ja^ja*. (“uttered with a pitch peak on the second *ja*”) (Golato & Fagyal, 2008, p. 243) is not a “more intense version” (Golato & Fagyal, 2008, p. 241) of the action of “acknowledging”. Instead, these *jajas* have different interactional functions. Golato & Fagyal’s (2008) analysis not only takes into account the sequential

placements of the doubled token within a turn, but also takes into account phonetics. Generally speaking, this study shows that “response tokens provide information on the interlocutors’ stance on the utterance produced so far” (Golato & Fagyal, 2008, p. 242). Briefly, the results of the researchers are as follow. *^jaja*. “with pitch peak on the first syllable” (Golato & Fagyal, 2008, p. 247) and uttered with falling intonation usually appears in the conversation either as a single turn or at the beginning of the turn (Golato & Fagyal, 2008, p. 248). This response token is usually uttered to show that the information that has been shared by the previous speaker is already known to the speaker uttering the doubled token. Consequently, the use of this doubled token is also a way to stop the speaker who utters the already known information from going on with his/her speech. *Ja^ja*. “with pitch peak on the second syllable” (Golato & Fagyal, 2008, p. 251) “is always positioned in interactional environments in which the interactants’ intersubjectivity of common world view is fractured” (Golato & Fagyal, 2008, p. 252). In other words, the speaker of the doubled token takes as self-evident what is being told to him / her, or alternatively, he / she assumes to have greater epistemic rights to the information than the co-participant. This situation can end with a lack of understanding or “misalignment” (Golato & Fagyal, 2008, p. 252) that has to be taken care of with a repair sequence so that the participants can reach an understanding of the actual situation. This way, the participants can be realigned and, from there, go on with the rest of the conversation.

Studies have also been done in Russian. For instance, Bolden (2008a) shows that to re-open a conversation, the particle –to is used in closing environments. In Greek Christodoulidou (2008) studies the meanings of the particle *sig-* / ‘like hell’ / ‘yeah right’ / ‘big deal’-according to the position of this particle in a turn, or, more broadly, in a sequence.

2.2.2.2. Studies on French discourse particles

The literature on discourse particles in French is scarce, especially the discourse particles studies conducted within the methodological framework of CA. Actually, the only study that claims to be done from a CA perspective is on the discourse particle *bon*. Generally speaking, Saint-Pierre & Vadnais (1992) analyze the usage of *bon* in *québécois* French in a conversational context. More specifically, they explain how *bon* functions in conversation as *un modalisateur* / ‘a modulator’- (Saint-Pierre & Vadnais, 1992, pp. 243-245) as well as *un marqueur de structuration* / ‘a discourse structuring marker’, giving information on the structure of the dialogue. In their analysis, Saint-Pierre & Vadnais (1992) show that whatever the function of *bon* happens to be in the context of a conversation (that is, whether *bon* is used as a modulator or as a structuring marker), in order to determine its function, the analyst has to look back to contextual data since *bon* always refers to elements that are located either before or after the particle.

Saint-Pierre & Vadnais (1992) start their analysis by stating that *bon* is a particle that can be inserted in numerous points in an utterance. However, according to its position, the particle has different functions.

As a modulator, *bon* might be used when the speaker is expressing a thought that they are in the process of mentally constructing. Hence, the speaker might take time to think or might show hesitation through the use of *bon*. As for the functions of *bon* as a modulator according to the position of the particle, generally speaking, there are two case-scenarios. If *bon* is placed at the beginning of a turn, the particle might then be used to introduce an answer to a previous question. On the other hand, when *bon* is located at the end of a turn, then it is used to emphasize the content of the turn that *bon* punctuates. Finally, Saint-Pierre & Vadnais (1992) make allusion to two main sub-functions of *bon* as a modulator. First, *bon* can be used to express a judgment

(positive or negative) and a large array of feelings in reaction to preceding talk. Then, *bon* can also be used as a modulator of intensity (in the sense of “emphasis”). For instance, if *bon* punctuates an order, it could either intensify or hedge the order. According to Saint-Pierre & Vadnais (1992), if the nasalized sound is stretched, then *bon* will be more of an intensifier. In the case of the absence of this elongation, *bon* would be the element that conveys the act of hedging. Thus, as Saint-Pierre & Vadnais (1992) conclude, there are three important elements that an analyst should bear in mind when attributing a function to *bon*: (a) prosody, (b) the position of *bon* in the turn, (c) and the element that *bon* (usually retroactively) refers to.

As a structuring marker, *bon* could be attributed to seven different functions that can actually be reduced to five. Briefly, these five functions are as follows. First, the structuring *bon* is used to link various elements (generally, two elements) in a sequence of TCUs uttered by the same speaker. Then, the structuring *bon* is also used to bring global cohesion to a whole sequence. In this case, *bon* is usually located at the beginning of the last turn in the sequence. A third function of *bon* is as a marker of transition. In this case, *bon* is used at the beginning of an utterance to introduce a temporary digression that is usually linked to the previous element(s) in the sequence. The fourth function of *bon* would be that of an introduction of a new sequence that has no link whatsoever with the preceding sequence. Finally, *bon* can be used at the beginning of the last turn to close a sequence.

Saint-Pierre & Vadnais (1992) also make allusion to a study by Auchlin (1985) who focuses on *bon* as a tool to structure the process of sharing information in the context of a dialogic exchange. If the aforementioned studies give important insights on the use of *bon*, however, none of them include extracts of CA-style transcriptions, which are essential in an analysis done using CA concepts. More importantly, in Saint Pierre & Vaudnais (1992), the data

gathered are not naturally occurring data of everyday activities, but are instead set-up interviews. From a CA perspective, this method of obtaining data is problematic since there are factors that can alter the natural aspect of the conversation, i.e.: the interviewee might not talk as freely as s/he would be in naturally occurring talk-in-interaction. For this reason, the data gathered might not reflect the actual function(s) of *bon*, a particle mainly present in oral speech, hence, a particle that should be analyzed in naturally occurring speech. However, the aforementioned studies are a first step towards an understanding of terms such as *bon* that are mainly used in oral speech. These studies, though, highlight the fact that since the particles analyzed are mainly used in oral speech, they should be studied with data gathered from oral occurring talk, and not from invented dialogues from novels.

The following section (that corroborates this latter idea) will consist of a review of studies on one main French discourse particle, namely *enfin*, the data of which are based on intuition rather than on naturally occurring data. This section will then be followed by a review of numerous studies focusing on *hein*.

2.3. Some non-CA studies on French discourse particles

Numerous studies have been done on French discourse particles. However, these studies are not CA studies; most of them are quantitative studies done in the fields of linguistics or sociolinguistics. This review will highlight what I think are the strengths and the weaknesses of these studies, and demonstrate what I believe CA could bring to the analysis of the use of these particles.

The first of these particles, *enfin*, has been of great interest, especially in the field of sociolinguistics (Beeching 2007). The first and most common function of *enfin* is that of repair

(Beeching 2002, 2007). The second most common function of *enfin* is one that is related to a temporal meaning, that is, *enfin* may be the French equivalent of the English “at last” or “finally”, i.e., the introduction of the last point of a series of elements / facts / etc. The third function of *enfin* is the one that consists of introducing the conclusion of some stretch of discourse. In this sense, *enfin* is used at the beginning of a summary and can be translated by “to sum up”, “in other words”, or “in short” (Beeching, 2002, p. 128). *Enfin* is in this sense a tool to start a conclusion, or a synthesis of the elements that have been said so far and it is translated by “after all” (Beeching, 2002, p. 128).

Enfin also brings out a large array of feelings. It can for instance convey a feeling of relief. Beeching (2002) explains that in this context, *enfin* will most likely be translated by “at last”, such as in the following sentence: *Enfin, le silence!* / ‘Silence, at last!’ It can also convey a sense of resignation. Beeching (2002) explains that in this context, it is mostly translated by “well”, as in the following example: *Enfin, c’est la vie!* / ‘Well, that’s life’.

Enfin is also used to highlight the idea of objection. In this case, the particle is usually translated by “well”. In the same way, *enfin* can also bring out the feeling of impatience from the speaker. In this case, the particle could be translated by “...or what”.

Finally, *enfin* may bring out a feeling of surprise such as in *Mais enfin, c’est incroyable!* / ‘Seriously, it’s incredible’ (Beeching, 2002, p. 128).

The aforementioned studies have shed light on some important functions of *enfin*. However, if one’s goal is to analyze the uses of *enfin* as a discourse particle, one cannot rely on data that represent subjects’ intuitions, that is, questionnaires, interviews, etc., as it is the case in these studies. Moreover, if one’s goal is to accurately describe the actual use of these forms and

the social actions associated with their usage, then I believe that CA transcripts and an emic approach to the data would yield the better results.

Furthermore, Beeching referring to Schiffrin (1994, cited in Beeching 2002, p. 129) raised an important question that will be present for my study on *hein*, that is, the question of translation. To me, the question of translation implies the question of having a clear knowledge of the actual functions of the particle in all contexts possible. Beeching (2002) seems to share my point of view; when noticing that in the sources she had found on *enfin*, this particle has been mainly translated by *well*, Beeching (2002) states that “[t]he conversational use of *well* is very different from the corrective use of *enfin* (...), though, the suggestion that it [*enfin*] marks a discontinuity appears to hold true” (Beeching, 2002, p. 129). From this statement, it seems to me that at the basis of this translation-related difficulty lies the question of the actual functions of the occurrences of *enfin*. Because *enfin* is mainly an oral particle, if one’s goal is to find out the functions of *enfin*, one should gather occurrences of this particle in naturally occurring speech and analyze them in great detail from the interactants’ point of view in order to find out the actual functions of the particle used in discourse.

2.4. Literature review on *hein*

2.4.1. *Hein* in dictionaries

Delomier (1999) introduces her topic by referring to several meanings of *hein* found in different sources. She first states that the meaning(s) of *hein* according to *Le Petit Robert* is reduced to a “familiar interjection”. One can immediately notice how restrictive this definition is. First, does *hein* always convey a “familiar” meaning in conversation? Furthermore, the term

“interjection” refers to the nature of the word and not to a function per se. The following section based on the findings gathered in ten different studies on *hein* give some answers to these above questions.

2.4.2. Previous studies and findings on *hein*

Hein has been of some interest to researchers mainly in the field of sociolinguistics. In this section, I will be reviewing several studies on *hein* with the critical eyes of a conversation analyst. This section is divided in two parts.

The first section will consist of a detailed literature review of these studies, organized around the two main functions that *hein* appears to endorse according to these studies. In addition to the two functions listed above, I will also refer to a third function related to the findings of sociolinguistics studies. For instance, Beeching (2002, 2004) refers to how her studies on *hein* –along with other particles, allows her to provide some insights related mainly to ‘doing politeness’.

Finally, the second section will be devoted to a conclusion / discussion of these studies from a critical standpoint, that is, the standpoint of CA.

2.4.2.1. Detailed literature review of the previous studies

In this section, I present the literature review organized according to all the functions that *hein* appears to endorse in the various studies.

2.4.2.1.1. *Hein*: more than a filler? More than a mere colorful desemanticised particle?

At the outset of his study, Settekorn (1977) states that French particles have been neglected by researchers because these particles were considered as *Abtönungspartikeln* / ‘phrase or sentence coloring particles’, and the French particle *hein* was no exception, even though it performs many functions. Settekorn nonetheless stresses that research on these particles should not be limited to “a syntactic-semantic study ... [since it] is insufficient, both as to determining their function inside a single language and as regards to contrastive analysis” (Settekorn, 1977, p. 195). Rather, Settekorn emphasizes the necessity to investigate the functions of these communicative particles in speech situations since those particles are not simply present to “color”, or, in other words, to “decorate” discourse (Settekorn, 1977, p. 195).

Prior studies have identified two main functions of *hein*, namely a pragmatic function and a structural function, around which I will organize my review. Within these two broad functions, I will refer to multiple sub-functions. By “pragmatic function”, I refer to any functions that imply the establishment of a good communicative context. Furthermore, I would include under this pragmatic function any linguistic acts that consist of making sure that the conversation is going on in a way such that each party is able to take part in the unfolding of the conversation. In contrast, by “structural function”, I am targeting the uses of *hein* that have more to do with the structuring of one’s own speech, one’s own argumentation, bringing about the cohesion of a text, delineating ideas, etc. One could rightly object to this organization of the functions of *hein* by arguing that there is sometimes too fine of a line between certain sub-functions or by saying that some of them could certainly be sub-functions of both main functions. However, if the sub-functions were sometimes difficult to classify, all the articles bring out one main difference in the functions of *hein*: generally speaking, *hein* was attributed either what some called a pragmatic /

“enunciative” function or a more “argumentative” (Roventa-Frumusani, 1987, p. 142) / structuring function.

I would like to add that one function, the one that could be referred as doing emphasis, is a common factor in both pragmatic and structural functions. Roventa-Frumusani (1987) refers to this function of “insistence” and explains that *hein* can bring out a sense of insistence (that is, emphasis) to what is being said. In this case, *hein* fulfills an anaphoric function. Hence, “insistence” will be a recurring element throughout the entire presentation of the functions of *hein*, at least according to the studies I have reviewed.

2.4.2.1.2. The pragmatic function:

Under this first main function that I defined above, I counted eight sub-functions that are described as follows.

The first function is to establish communication with the interlocutor, establish conviviality, acknowledging the presence of the interlocutor in the course of the conversation and engaging this interlocutor in the conversation (Roventa-Frumusani 1987, p. 141). Delomier’s study (1999) corroborates this idea. She refers to J. Fernandes Vest (1994, cited in Delomier, 1999, p. 138) who, in an attempt to qualify *hein*, adopts the very general expression “enunciative particle” (p. 138). This expression, as Delomier (1999) explains, designates what D. Luzzati (1985, cited in Delomier, 1999, p. 138) calls “discursive crutch” and classifies *hein* as part of the discourse particles that he calls *les phatiques* / ‘phatics’, encompassing *hein*, *bon*, *quoi* and *eah*, particles that constitute a sort of oral punctuators. Luzzati (1985) explains that these particles do not really have a structural function. Rather, as Luzzati (1985, cited in Delomier, 1999, p. 138) states, “‘les phatiques’ are more used for establishing a communication than to communicating a

meaning” (my translation, p. 138). Delomier (1999) illustrates this point through an allusion to *hein* that is used in a stretch of discourse displaced in regard to the rest of the general ongoing discourse. She refers to a specific context, that of a very formal French TV-show about literature. Delomier (1999) explains that in the middle of this very formal TV-show, one of the interlocutors suddenly utters a short sentence using very familiar language and in a very informal way (conveyed by the tone of voice, gestures, etc.). This interlocutor punctuates his short sentence by *hein*. In this case, the function of *hein* is clearly to take into account the overhearer (i.e., the public) by winking at the audience, hence, acknowledging the presence of this audience, “establishing a communication” (Delomier, 1999) with this audience and making the situation less formal.

In the same study, Delomier (1999) also adds that *hein* can be used to show one’s closeness to someone else, to show that there is a consensus between the speaker and the listener. Léglise (1999, cited in Beeching 2002) adds that *hein* by itself could be a request for attention from the speaker to the interlocutor(s). Léglise (1999, p. 337, cited in Beeching, 2002, p. 82) also refers to *hein* as a particle to incite a participant to take an active part in the conversation.

As for Beeching (2002), she states that some past studies shed light on *hein* by stressing its pragmatic dimension: “it is this pragmatic aspect of *hein* which appears to be the most fruitful approach to the analysis of *hein* in the context of spontaneous spoken contemporary French” (Beeching, 2002, p. 154). For instance, according to Andrews (1989, p. 203, cited in Beeching, 2002, p. 155), *hein* is used by a speaker as a sign of acknowledgement of the presence of an interlocutor and, at the same time, as a way to provoke certain reactions from the interlocutor. Hence, *hein* is seen as a sign to engage the interlocutor in the conversation. Of course, as Beeching (2002, p. 155) explains, this “desire to engage can manifest itself in different types of

utterances; orders, questions and statements so that its [*hein*'s] function differs according to the type of utterance in which it occurs". For instance, when *hein* is following an order, its function is then to reinforce the order. If *hein* is added to a question, the function of *hein* could then be for the speaker to seek approval of the listener (see below). Generally speaking, according to Andrews (1989, cited in Beeching 2002), *hein* can also add a touch of hesitation or can stress the affective content of a question or a statement. Furthermore, *hein* can also be used to introduce "into the statement a provocative note" (Andrews, 1989, p. 204, cited in Beeching, 2002, p. 155) in order to challenge the listener to take the floor.

The second function is that of maintaining contact with the interlocutor(s) which Settekorn (1977) calls a "phatic function". As Settekorn (1977, p. 206) explains, *hein* is used by the speaker to indicate to the interlocutors that their presence is not ignored and, in some situations, that they are welcome to take the floor if they want to.

The third function of *hein* is an enunciative function, that is, keeping up good sociability throughout the conversation by "doing hedging." According to Roventa-Frumusani (1987), language conveys meaning through an operation of adjustment(s) between the speaker and the listener since the latter has to interpret what the former is saying. Between both persons, there are some *traces d'opérations énonciatives* / 'traces of enunciative operations' (Roventa-Frumusani, 1987, p. 141) that have to be taken into account. These operations consist of hedging, smoothing an order or other elements that are part of creating a way for the conversation to go on and to not stop abruptly. Roventa Frumusani (1987) further explains that these operations are the reason why the syntactic-semantic structure of what is said "cannot be dissociated from its enunciatively oriented determinations" (Roventa-Frumusani, 1987, p. 141). Hence, in such an interactive perspective, pragmatic connectors are considered as tools in the "transition of phase" (Roventa-

Frumusani, 1987, p. 141) between the act of expressing and the act of being talked to, in other words, “between the communicative pulse of the talker and the *réglage social* / ‘the social ruling / social tuning rules’” (Roventa-Frumusani, 1987, p. 141). In social interaction, one can see how delicate and difficult it is to achieve a balance between what one has to express and the social constraints that one has to follow in order to keep a good context of sociability. One can achieve this balance in several ways, with one being the use of pragmatic connectors such as *hein* that endorse an argumentative or interactive dimension.

Settekorn (1977) corroborates Roventa-Frumusani’s findings and explains that in problematic contexts, *hein* may endorse the function of what conversation analysts call “doing hedging”, in order to avoid what Settekorn calls ‘the worst possible readings’ of what has been said and the consequences of these ‘readings’ (Settekorn, 1977, p. 208), that is, the consequences of the disturbance of social constraints. In this sense, as Settekorn states, these particles are used to characterize the position of the speaker in regards to what is expressed.

This notion of “hedging” is also present in Beeching (2002, 2004, and 2007) who highlights that one of *hein*’s main functions is to soften a statement that could be considered as too strong by the interlocutor. In this case, *hein* is clearly used to protect sociability, or politeness, in its broader sense. In one of her studies, Beeching (2002) specifically introduces two main functions of *hein*; the “emphatic *hein*” and the “discoursal *hein*” (see below for an extended explanation of the “discoursal *hein*”). She explains that what she calls “emphatic exponents” have a strong potential to have an emotional impact on the listener in the sense that they might be face-threatening. For instance, this is the case when the speaker utters too strong a statement / assertion / judgment, etc. In this case, it is the task of the speaker to hedge the discourse. In the same study, Beeching explains that *hein* could, on the other hand, be used to do

the opposite of hedging in the cases of reinforced orders or reinforced interrogatives (Beeching, 2002, pp. 167-168). In these cases, one can see how the intonation with which *hein* is uttered could reinforce the strength of a point being made by the speaker.

The fourth function of *hein* is that of what I would label as a “reaction tool” to what has been uttered. It is also called “the emphatic *hein*” (Beeching, 2002). This *hein* is always uttered in final position and is used to emphasize the utterance that precedes it. It seems obvious that the very broad function of being a “marker of an emphatic statement” (Beeching, 2002, p. 159) is not specific enough to accurately describe all the varied actions that would have to be grouped into this category since, as Beeching explains: “[e]mphatic statements included what might be considered hyperbolic expressions, surprising facts, contradictions and complaints / feeling sorry for oneself” (Beeching, 2002, pp. 159-160).

The fifth function of *hein* is that of a marker of tag questions. First, one has to bear in mind that it is difficult to talk about tag-questions separately from the other functions of *hein* as a turn-terminator since tag-questions in general endorse many functions. However, there is certainly a place for tag questions related to the “pragmatic *hein*” since tag questions are linguistic acts which, among other functions, ensure that the conversation is going on in a way that every party is understanding what is happening in the conversation. I will thus briefly summarize elements that are to be found in Beeching (2002) and in Nässlin (1986). A more detailed section on tag-questions in French will be found in chapter 3.

The first part of Beeching’s study (2002) emphasizes the pragmatic, semantic and syntactic characteristics of *hein*. Beeching starts by highlighting the differences between the use of *hein* in tag questions in French and the tag questions in English. First, in French, *hein* does not vary. From this, Beeching concludes that there is no change in polarization noticeable in French

tag questions compared to the English tag questions that have either a positive or a negative polarization (for further information on English tags, see chapter 3). *Hein* also differs from English tag questions because “it is always pronounced with rising intonation” (Beeching, 2002, p. 154) in French tag questions. However, besides these dissimilarities, Beeching points out two similarities: “...like tag questions, it [*hein*] is generally used in utterance-final position and appears to share the pragmatic functions of hedging and facilitating tags” (Beeching, 2002, p. 154).

Maury (1973b) also refers to the function of *hein* as a tool to complete tag-questions. Maury (1973b) concludes that *hein* is similar to *n'est-ce pas*, since they are both particles to build tag questions in French. However, the difference would be that *hein* is described as much more familiar than *n'est-ce pas*. Hence, *hein* as a tag question is mostly described to be a particle that highlights the element that is at the origin of the interrogation, that is, the element that is placed in the main clause, immediately before the *hein* in tag questions. Various studies (Delomier 1999, Nässlin 1986 and Settekorn 1977) also stress the melodic aspect of this particle that is pronounced mostly with rising intonation.

In her study, Maury (1973b) finds that regardless of its intonation, when *hein* is at the end of a clause, it has a disjoint character compared to the melody of the sentence / clause preceding the particle. Maury (1973b) explains this phenomenon on the basis of the way the preceding clause has been perceived. If the previous clause has been perceived as a real question, then *hein* reinforces the interrogative aspect of the question by being uttered with a rising intonation. On a socio-psychological level, Maury (1973b) explains that when *hein* is used as a tag question, it can also convey a wish to be polite, that is, a wish to not impose one's point of view but rather to encourage the interlocutor to share his / her own point of view.

Finally, according to Nässlin (1986), the use of *n'est-ce pas* sets up the expectation for different actions from the interlocutor, whether it is an explanation, an approval, a disagreement, no reaction, etc. (Nässlin, 1986, p. 168). In written texts, the meaning of *n'est-ce pas* is quite ambiguous, just like the English tag. For this reason, Nässlin (1986) proposes one basic rule for the use of *n'est-ce pas*, according to which not *hein* (which is sometimes used instead of *n'est-ce pas* in spoken French) but only *n'est-ce pas* should be used as the translation of any English tags. Furthermore, this rule should not be limited to translations but should be applied to any piece of written French since, according to Nässlin (1986), the choice of words is much less free in written French than it is in spoken French (Nässlin, 1986, p.168). However, this rule does not restrain the use of *hein* in spoken French since, according to Nässlin (1986), *hein* is much more neutral than *n'est-ce pas* (Nässlin, 1986, p. 170). Hence, *hein* can be used in spoken French even to express what should be expressed by *n'est-ce pas* in written French.

The sixth function of *hein* is to obtain agreement from the interlocutor “in the broadest way,” which encompasses soliciting approval or seeking agreement from the interlocutor.

Along with Roventa-Frumusani (1987), one of the functions that Settekorn (1977) mentions for *hein* is the one called *recherche d'approbation discursive* / ‘seeking agreement / approval’ (Settekorn, 1977, p. 197), this expression being taken in its broadest way. Furthermore, Settekorn (1977) also refers to what he calls the “formative function” of *hein*. As a matter of fact, *hein* can be used in what is commonly called rhetorical questions, which are not real questions since the speaker is clearly accepting only an approbation of the statement made through a rhetorical question. The function of this type of question is similar to one of the function of tag questions since once again, *hein* would be used to seek the approval / the agreement of the interlocutor(s).

Along with Roventa-Frumusani (1987), Settekorn (1977) as well as Beeching (2002, 2004, 2007), Vincent's analysis (1999, cited in Beeching, 2002, p. 155) also shows that *hein* is used as a request for approval or a request for assent / consent. According to Vincent (1999), *hein* used as a request for assent / consent does not necessarily ask for an answer, even if it has an interrogative rising intonation. This type of request, though, endorses a large array of functions which include giving a more or less covert order.

Delomier (1999) corroborates the finding above by explaining that *hein* may be used to convey the wish to obtain the agreement of the interlocutor on the proposition that has just been uttered. To illustrate this last scenario, Delomier (1999) gives one of her examples recorded in the case of an emergency call. In this example, the dispatcher asks the caller to hold for a short moment, but in order to reassure the caller, the dispatcher uses *hein* right after *ne quittez pas* / 'don't hang up', which implies that the caller is being on hold but not abandoned. Hence, as Delomier (1999) explains, *hein* uttered with this intonation conveys the idea that the interruption is only temporary. Here, *hein* has a very strong enunciative function, that is, the dispatcher is foreseeing what the caller could think (i.e., that the interruption could be the end of the conversation). Hence, the dispatcher is using *hein* with a rising intonation to emphasize the *ne quittez pas* part of the discourse. In this institutional setting, the use of such a particle highlights not only the importance of particles such as *hein* in naturally occurring language, but also, in parallel, the importance of studying the ways people use those particles.

Finally, Delomier (1999) explains that occurrences of *hein* at the end of a turn accompanied with the intonation described above are also present in pre-closing sequences (in the case of the data gathered in emergency calls-911calls) forcing, in a way, the agreement of the interlocutor to end the conversation.

Seventh, *hein* can also be used for seeking confirmation or information checks. Delomier (1999) makes allusion to situations in which *hein* is still uttered with rising intonation, but at an intonation level which does not exceed that of the rest of the turn. In Delomier's data, there are two main cases to illustrate this scenario. In the first case, this specific intonation conveys the idea of an invitation open to the interlocutor to confirm that s/he shares a similar point of view with the speaker or owns a similar level of information, or a shared piece of information (what Delomier, 1999, refers to as "niveau de partage consensuel" p. 143). Furthermore, this intonation may also convey that one is dealing with an information check. It seems logical that this intonation accompanies these kinds of situations since they are all happening in the context of consensus. Hence, *hein* does not need to emphasize one part of the speech since the information that the speaker brings out is also well known by the interlocutor.

Finally, Delomier (1999) also briefly alludes to other intonation contours for *hein*, bringing out the opposite situation, that is, when *hein* is pronounced with falling intonation. According to Danon-Boileau & Morel (1992, cited in Delomier, 1999, p. 143), this implies that the speaker has given up on any anticipation that the listener is actually receiving and listening to the message. In this case, *hein* might even not be emphasized at all by any specific type of intonation, that is, *hein* might be uttered with the same intonation as the rest of the turn. This might imply that there is no new information to be shared and that the speaker and the listener have already agreed upon everything. Hence, no emphasis is needed on the utterance of *hein* at this point because the speaker is only repeating an already known and agreed upon piece of information.

The eighth function of *hein* is that of a repair initiator (called "request for reformulating or repeating" in the studies) to remedy problems of confusion, lack of hearing or understanding.

Before explaining any findings, I will first present a brief introduction to repair. First of all, a repair deals with problems of hearing or understanding (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977). Briefly, a repair sequence is composed of three steps. First, there is what is called in CA a “trouble-source”, then, a repair initiation and finally, a repair completion. *Hein* is part of the second step; it has the function of a repair initiator and it is usually uttered by one of the interlocutors, but not by the party who utters the trouble source. A more extended description of repairs in French will be given in chapter 3.

Delomier (1999) states that in her corpus of institutional data¹, *hein* as a repair initiator is not very much used in expert discourse (i.e., in institutional talk, using CA terminology). As for turn-taking attribution, Delomier (1999) explains that if the utterance containing *hein* is uttered by the same speaker in one stream of speech and if the interlocutor marks his / her agreement immediately after the turn containing *hein* by saying *d'accord* / ‘alright’ or *oui* / ‘yes’, then this is not a case of repair initiation. However, in the event of an interruption, if *hein* is not uttered by the original speaker and if its utterance is followed by the original speaker re-uttering his / her former question with the same intonation, in this case, *hein* is what is commonly known in CA as a repair initiation due to a trouble of hearing and / or understanding.

Finally, Beeching’s study (2002) focuses more on the appropriateness of the use of *hein*. This particle is generally considered very informal (hence, sometimes inappropriate) as a repair initiator. Beeching (2002) explains that it is true that in oral discourse, *hein* used either in tag

1 Delomier’s data is composed of data recorded in what CA would call institutional settings; she recorded information requests at the SNCF (The French national railway company), information requests at Air France and emergency calls.

questions or as a repair initiator is usually considered as very informal, if not rude, especially in institutional settings. Indeed, as Beeching explains: “[t]raditionally, *hein* was avoided when in polite company, a proscription enshrined in the parental structure: “Don’t say *hein*, say *pardon*”” (Beeching, 2002, p. 153).

2.4.2.1.3. The structural function

Under this first main function that I defined above, I counted four sub-functions that are described as follows.

The first kind is an anaphoric function: *hein* brings about a certain degree of insistence / emphasis on what has been said right before in the turn.

Fernandez (1994, cited in Beeching, 2002, p. 155) found that *hein* was very common as a device to stress a specific section in discourse when *hein* is placed at the end of this specific section.

Delomier (1999) corroborates this finding and explains that in her data, *hein* uttered at the end of a turn with intensity and rising intonation is also used to underline the importance of the information by catching the attention of the interlocutor. Actually, Delomier (1999) offers several interpretations of the case when *hein* appears at the end of a turn and is uttered using strongly rising intonation. First, her results show that in this case, *hein* is meant to highlight, through intonation, a fragment of the speaker’s discourse. The rising intonation might also be a strategy used by the speaker to express his / her intention to take the floor and to keep it. According to Danon-Boileau & Morel (1998 cited in Delomier, 1998), in this particular case, the rising intonation is accompanied by a very high intensity. Hence, in this last case, the use of *hein* has direct consequences on the structuring of the turn-taking process since the speaker finds his / her way to keep the floor.

Second, *hein* can also be used as a rethinking / reformulating / planning a sentence or a discourse.

Roventa-Frumusani (1987) found that *hein* can be used when a party is in the process of rethinking and reformulating what one has just said in order (a) to catch up with the stream of conversation and (b) go back in track, so that the coherence of the discourse is preserved. For instance, this could happen in the middle of an explanation when the speaker has just digressed and wants to go back to the original topic.

In her study, Delomier (1999) stresses the idea that the use of *hein* can also show a sign of lack of planning in the sentence. Hence, *hein* feels more like a crutch to think about what will be uttered in the rest of the sentence. For example, in this case, *hein* could be used by the speaker to think about the rest of the utterance either to stop a digression and go back to the main topic, or to articulate better or differently what has been said before. Delomier explains that, in this case, *hein* is uttered with “flat and low” intonation (Delomier, 1999, p. 144). According to Delomier (1999), this intonation of *hein* might imply that the speaker is concentrated on the process of formulating his / her thought as there was no interlocutors listening, that is, *hein* uttered that way becomes part of the process of hesitating, thinking, as one would talk to oneself to rehearse what has to be uttered in an effort to reassure oneself.

Third, in the context of argumentation *hein* is said to take over the function of structuring one’s argumentation, organizing, delineating and highlighting ideas.

Settekorn (1977) highlights that in the context of an argumentation, that is, when one gives a point of view and / or wants to highlight what has been said, *hein* can mark the embedded points of a whole argumentation.

Furthermore, Settekorn (1977) adds that in the same way, *hein* can also delineate the main ideas in a spate of talk. Indeed, *hein* appears to endorse the function of structuring, a function corresponding to punctuation signs, that is, *hein* can be used to delineate different ideas and different propositions and / or put them in relation with each other.

Lastly, Settekorn (1977) explains that *hein* is also one of the particles used in places where one is trying to structure his / her argumentation in a way to convey that one cannot reject the argumentation. This is because the use of *hein* conveys the idea that the argument is automatically supposedly validated by the interlocutors. Thereby, as Settekorn implies (Settekorn, 1977, p. 205), one can say that through the use of such particles as *hein*, the speaker eventually seeks approval from the interlocutors for a statement, a point s/he is making. Thus, when making his / her point, the speaker implies that other interlocutors might not share the same knowledge and / or the same point of view (Settekorn, 1977, p. 205).

After sharing some of her findings about the ‘emphatic *hein*’ (see above), Beeching (2002) introduces the second main category of *hein* that she has found in her data; the ‘discoursal *hein*’ (Beeching, 2002, p. 161). First, Beeching explains that “[b]y far, the largest category of statements terminated by *hein* were of the discoursal variety. By this, I [Beeching] mean that they mediated an on-going discourse and might be glossed: ‘Do you follow what I am saying so far?’” (Beeching, 2002, p. 161). According to her findings, Beeching (2002) explains several uses of this discoursal *hein*;

-When *hein* refers to one term in the preceding sequence

Given two utterances A and B with a *hein* produced in between these two utterances, one will find in utterance B a further elaboration on one term produced in utterance A. The reason for this mostly is for the speaker to make sure that the interlocutor is following what is said even if

this entails some redundancy. Beeching states (2002, p. 161) that while redundancy is common to all *heins* that she labels as discoursal, redundancy is the element that distinguishes discoursal *hein* from hyperbolic *hein*. One might object and say that this kind of *hein* should be considered as a pragmatic *hein*, and I have to admit that this would not be entirely wrong. However, the reason why I chose to classify this *hein* as a structural *hein* is that the speaker's main goal is to make sure to communicate a meaning that is important enough to be explained twice. This way, the speaker anticipates a situation of a possible pragmatic failure, hence, in parallel, s/he is trying to avoid a situation where a repair could be necessary. Thus, the speaker's main goal is to structure his utterance in a way to insure a successful communication of his/her idea.

-When discoursal *hein* refers to the whole utterance previously labeled 'A'

Given two utterances (A and B as above) and a discoursal *hein* placed between these utterances, one will find in utterance B either an elaboration or an illustration of the whole utterance A.

-When discoursal *hein* connects larger units of discourse

Given two utterances (A and B as above) produced by the same speaker with a discoursal *hein* between these two utterances, utterance B is sometimes neither an elaboration nor an illustration of utterance A, but the topic of conversation is the same before and after the *hein*. In this case, *hein* can have the function of structuring the lengthy discourse of the speaker and it appears that *hein* can also serve as keeping the listener's attention. Beeching adds that in this case, *hein* means 'Do you follow me so far?'" (Beeching, 2002, p. 163).

The fourth function of *hein* as a structural element is to bring about the cohesion of a text. Settekorn (1977) also mentions that even on a larger scale, *hein* (along with other particles)

“...bring about the cohesion of a text, and indicate that the propositions they refer to shall be understood as generalizing statements” (Settekorn, 1977, p. 195).

2.4.2.1.4. Sociolinguistic observations

In the second part of her article, Beeching (2002) describes ‘the sociolinguistic stratification of *hein*’ (p. 168). Briefly, Beeching found that “[q]uantitatively, men and women use *hein* to the same extent. However, (...) the mean usage for women exceeds the mean usage for men and when the occurrences of *hein* are categorized by function, a very different picture emerges” (Beeching, 2002, p. 168). Beeching found that men use hyperbolic *hein* twice as much as women do, whereas the results are completely reversed for the discoursal *hein*. However, overall, men still use discoursal *hein* almost as much as they use hyperbolic *hein* (that they use a little more). As for the women, “they show a much greater differential usage” (Beeching, 2002, p. 169); “their discoursal usage of *hein* is almost three times that of their hyperbolic usage and twice that of men” (Beeching, 2002, p. 169). From this, Beeching concludes that her findings highlight “the adversarial quality of men’s speech by comparison with the inclusive, solidarity and rapport-creating elements more characteristic of women’s speech...” (Beeching, 2002, p. 170). It appears that the least educated use *hein* twice as much as the most educated, while the 40+ age-group uses *hein* twice as much as the 20+ age-group. The participants under 20 use *hein* very rarely. When analyzing the link between the use of *hein* and education, Beeching’s hypothesis is that the results are not surprising since “*hein* is generally regarded as being a colloquial form of speech” (Beeching, 2002, p. 171). As for the reason why *hein* is far more present in the speech of the older participants, Beeching offers very subjective ‘tentative hypotheses’, acknowledging that the results are surprising and might have been altered by the

fact that the young people were watching their language in front of an older interviewer, since Beeching worked with a corpus made of audio recorded interviews.

Beeching (2004) found that over time, the use of *hein* became widely used by the most educated class. Hence, it appears that the particle has gradually been considered as “socially accepted” (Beeching, 2004, p. 62). It also appears that *hein* is no longer considered as a stigma flagging people who do not behave politely. That is, *hein* is no longer considered as a word that one can use only in very informal settings in which it does not matter if one says *hein* instead of its more prestigiously considered formal twin, *pardon*, when initiating repair. In an attempt to explain these results, Beeching suggests that there has been a change in behavior related to the mode of politeness in the most educated French people. In other words, Beeching explains that in this particularly educated group, there has been a “shift from a ‘distancing’ and ‘formal’ mode of politeness...to a more ‘solidary’ one, based on camaraderie” (Beeching, 2004, p. 62), and this shift might be noticeable through the ever-growing use of colloquial ‘politeness markers’ such as *hein...*” (Beeching, 2004, p. 62). However, Beeching (2004) states that it is only recently that one can see a sharp increase. Furthermore, Beeching (2004) suggests that this change might reflect a change of social stratifications, as well as a growing reflex of interaction between individuals belonging to different social classes mingling with each other.

Overall, Beeching (2004) found that the use of *hein* is now part of the vocabulary used by people of all social classes and people whose level of education differs. As for *hein* related to gender differences, Beeching (2004) explains that sociolinguists have so far mostly concluded that the use of *hein* could be interpreted “as gender dominance”, “because of women’s subordinate position in society” (Beeching, 2004, p. 72) since women use *hein* more than men do but use it differently than men do. Beeching (2007) however proposes that whereas men use

more the “discoursal *hein*” (Beeching 2007) that allows them to be more direct and provocative, women use it mainly to be tentative and to do hedging, that is, women appear to be more inclined to hedge what they say, to keep the dialogue as well as what is called in CA “the turn taking system”, running smoothly. These elements are of great importance for maintaining a positive context of sociability. Furthermore, according to Beeching’s (2004) findings, it also appears that women might have been an important starting factor in the “democratization” of hierarchies because of the frequency with which they have started using this particle to prize politeness instead of provocation. Hence, as Beeching (2004) explains: “The social semiotic attached to *hein* has changed and women are in the vanguard of such a change. A gradual democratization and loosening of hierarchies is afoot– and, if it is reflected in language, middle class women are making the first move” (Beeching, 2004, p. 72).

2.4.2.1.5. Conclusion on the functions of *hein*

To summarize, according to the studies that have been analyzed, *hein* endorses two main functions: the first one that I have called pragmatic function, the second, a structural function. Both functions have sub-functions. Under the pragmatic function, I counted eight sub-functions; (a) establishing a communication with the interlocutor, acknowledging the interlocutor’s presence in the course of the conversation and engaging the interlocutor in the conversation, (b) maintaining contact with the interlocutor, (c) doing hedging, (d) the emphatic *hein*, (e) *hein* as the marker of tag-questions, (f) seeking agreement, approval, (g) seeking confirmation, information check, (h) and finally *hein* as repair initiator. Under the structural functions, I counted four sub-functions; (a) anaphoric function (insistence on what has been said right before *hein* in the same turn), (b) rethinking / reformulating / planning a sentence or a discourse, (c)

structuring, organizing one's argumentation, delineating and insisting on ideas, (d) and bringing about the cohesion of a text.

Hence, as Delomier (1999) states, *hein* cannot be considered to be a particle without meaning. Rather, *hein* has very complex functions which have to be analyzed according to the context (with everything this term entails) in which this particle is uttered (Delomier, 1999, p. 145).

In an attempt to simplify the uses of *hein*, that is, to find a common unifying factor for all the uses of *hein*, Léglise (cited in Beeching, 2002) comes up with the following equation that clearly brings out the importance of the particle *hein* in oral discourse (Léglise, cited in Beeching, 2002, p. 156):

“Etant donné un dire P, *hein* fait accéder P au statut d'enjeu intersubjectif entre SO et SO1

(Given an utterance P, *hein* suggests that P may involve intersubjectivity between SO and SO1).

(SO = Speaker 1; SO1 = Speaker 2)”

As one can see through the above equation, the particle *hein* does endorse a very important function, with regard to the co-participation of the parties present in a conversation. *Hein* clearly represents an element used to establish communication with the interlocutor(s), to maintain this contact, but also to communicate meaning while keeping up with good sociability, hence, with the conversation per-se. Along with Beeching (2002), I would point out that Léglise's summary equation of *hein* does not exclude *hein* if its function is being part of a wide array of ways to either do hedging or saving face (Beeching, 2002, p. 157) or even reinforcing a request or an order, since all actions involve inter-subjectivity. However, since the uses of *hein*

imply inter-subjectivity, this alone can be a good reason to put forward that the most appropriate tool to document the uses of *hein* in oral discourse might be CA. As Beeching (2004, p. 71) acknowledges, whatever *hein*'s function is in the occurrence, this particle still belongs mostly to colloquial language, that is, to oral discourse. It is very rare to find it in a written text, hence, the lack of interest of some researchers ...and the need to study *hein*'s uses more strictly in oral discourse, since it is widely used in naturally occurring talk.

2.4.2.2. Discussion

In the studies above, the researchers demonstrate successfully that *hein* cannot be reduced to a decorating element in the speech. Also, most of the researchers are analyzing *hein* as a “terminator”, that is, they analyze cases where *hein* is at the end of a turn. For example, Gülick (1970, cited in Beeching, 2002, p. 154) reduces the functions of both *hein* and *quoi* to one main function namely that of a marker of closure, that is, *hein* and *quoi* stand at the end of an utterance, in the place of a period. Andrews (1989, cited in Beeching, 2002, p. 154) as well as Danon-Boileau & Morel (1992, cited in Beeching, 2002, p. 154) also conclude that *hein* and *quoi* are mainly considered as utterance terminators. Finally, for Luzatti (1985, cited in Beeching 2002, p. 154), *hein*'s function is “mostly a phatic one”. Hence, from the above findings, one can easily notice that many of the researchers focus on the “discourse-marking qualities of *hein*” (Beeching, 2002, p. 154), and the main function of *hein* appears to be “that of a terminator” (Beeching, 2002, p. 154). However, *hein* also occurs in “non- terminator” positions and the question that arises is what functions it has in such positions. Furthermore, all the studies related to the field of sociolinguistics are also limited since researchers in this field have an a priori research question as well as questionnaires, interviews, etc in lieu of naturally-occurring data. In

addition, some researchers (for instance Settekorn, 1977) use invented dialogues extracted from books in order to analyze the uses of *hein*. Moreover, in most articles, the analysis is completed from an etic point of view, thus it is not clear if the categories established by the researchers are indeed relevant to the participants in the interaction.

In addition, all researchers without exception mention the difficulties they faced in classifying the occurrences of *hein*, especially when *hein* is at the end of an utterance. For instance, to analyze the melodic variety of the pronunciation of *hein*, Maury (1973a) ran a listening test. First, the 15 participants had to listen to *hein* individually, without the preceding clause, and then, to the entire clause punctuated with *hein*. The participants had to choose whether what they were listening to an actual interrogation, a sign of continuity, a sign of finality or an exclamation. The main result was that the participants all agreed that it was impossible for them to classify *hein* without the preceding clause-and even with the preceding clause, it was hard for them to choose. The results were as follow: *hein* was generally seen either as a reinforcement of the interrogation or seen as an interjection. Hence, the researcher concluded that this test was too reductive and should be done again with more examples and more participants in order to locate more specifically the different functions of this particle, the functions of which the results of this test have reduced to mainly two. Even if this study had a very reduced number of conclusions, three main elements were highlighted by Maury (1973a). First, when doing a study on *hein*, one has to take into account the prosody since *hein*, as Maury (1973a) states, has a disjoint character with respect to the preceding clause. Furthermore, it is necessary to not reduce *hein* as a melodic element in the sentence. Rather, one has to analyze the relationships between the prosodic characteristics of *hein* and its functions. Finally, it would be necessary to more closely analyze possible interference / transfer between English *eh* and French

hein. As Beeching (2002), Maury (1973a) admits that sometimes, it is difficult to differentiate an emphatic *hein* from a discorsal *hein* since there seems to be a continuity rather than a clear division between these two functions. For instance, a discorsal *hein* can be uttered emphatically, that is, for instance, with a higher voice pitch or using the elongation of some sounds to emphasize one term. In this case, the emphasis is considered as a characteristic with which the *hein* is uttered, but the function of this emphatically uttered *hein* is still discorsive. As Beeching (2002) explains: “[i]t seems that all examples of *hein* are emphatic up to a point and some are relatively non emphatic (our discorsal...) while others are more emphatic, as in [the] hyperbolic [*hein*], surprise facts...” (Beeching, 2002, p. 165). To give a last example, I would add the case of Léglise (1985, cited in Beeching 2002). In order to attribute functions to *hein*, Léglise proceeded by using very general categories such as “research for approval” (Léglise, 1985, cited in Beeching, 2002, p. 158) or “emphasis” (Léglise, 1985, cited in Beeching, 2002, p. 158), which she then broke down into several “sub-categories” (Léglise, 1985, cited in Beeching, 2002, p. 158). For instance, the category “emphasis” was broken down into “invoking the listener’s understanding” (Léglise, 1985, cited in Beeching, 2002, p. 159) or “invoking the interlocutor’s sympathy” (Léglise, 1985, cited in Beeching, 2002, p. 159), etc. However, even with this system, it oftentimes seems that Léglise (1985, cited in Beeching, 2002) faced obstacles such as having various interpretations that she could apply simultaneously for one occurrence of *hein*. Generally speaking, her way to attribute a function to *hein* was to proceed by elimination. A sequential analysis, i.e., one that takes into account how a turn containing *hein* relates back to the prior turn and how the speaker in the next turn relates to the *hein*-turn, would help in categorizing the data samples. At the very least, one would arrive at categories relevantly oriented to by the members

of the interaction. Put differently, what is needed is an argumentation undertaken from a participant's point of view, that is, in an emic way.

Thus, one can now understand that *hein* represents a challenge for researchers seeking to analyze how and when speakers actually use it, and what its actual functions are, given all the factors that need to be taken into account. It would seem that CA represents the right tool to analyze *hein*, since CA attends to the questions that Delomier (1999) asks as well as the concerns that “le Petit Robert”, J. Fernandez Ves (1994, cited in Beeching, 2003) and Luzzati (1985, cited in Beeching, 2002) all raised. If not for adding new findings on *hein*, CA could at least be an additional tool to verify the previous findings. Furthermore, since *hein* is a particle used mainly in speech, it should be analyzed the way it actually appears in naturally occurring conversations. This is exactly the goal of CA: the analysis of phenomena happening in naturally occurring speech.

2.5. Conclusion

2.5.1. The relevance of my study

In my study, I will be analyzing *hein* according to the position of this particle in a turn. I decided to organize my findings this way since it appears to be the most suitable way to bring out its different functions in discourse. In my data, I analyze *hein* in four different positions: a) as a stand-alone particle, i.e., it is the only element in a turn; b) at the end of a TCU, that is, in tag position; c) at the conjunction of two latched TCUs uttered by the same party; and, finally, d) as an intra-TCU particle also. One may immediately notice that the prior research on *hein* has focused mostly on *hein* in tag position, and much less on the other positions.

2.5.2. Description of the data collected for the present study

The data for this study consist of four different data sets of videotaped and audio-taped, non-elicited mundane conversation, yielding a total of 6 hours of conversation. A total of seven speakers were taped in a context that always included food. Speakers included six family-members and one friend. Five participants out of seven were (native) speakers of French from the South-East of France. The other two participants were (native) speakers of Italian who have lived in France for over 50 years, and whose competence in French is native-like. Given that their use of the discourse particle *hein* did not differ from that of the other recorded speakers, they were included in the recordings. As for the age ranges, among all the participants, two were in their early twenties, one was in her thirties, another was in her forties, another was in his fifties, one in her sixties and one in his seventies. A more detailed description follows of the context in which the participants were recorded.

The first data set, called *Premier apéritif avec Roger et Mellie* / ‘First *apéritif* with Roger and Mellie’, involves 3 interlocutors who are family members, Roger (R), Mollie (M) and Valérie (V). They were recorded for about fifty-three minutes, one evening, having *apéritif* together before dinner.

The second set, called *Un long déjeuner tous ensemble* / ‘A long lunch all together’, involves mainly seven speakers: Roger (R), Mollie (M), Fabiola (F), Jonathan (J), Coré (C), Benjamin (B) and Valérie (V). Six of the seven participants are family members. The seventh, Jonathan, is a friend and also Fabiola’s boyfriend. They were recorded for a little over 3 hours having *apéritif*, a long lunch, dessert and coffee together.

The third set, called *Une après-midi thé pendant la confection d’un gâteau* / ‘An afternoon having tea while baking a cake’, is a recording of about one hour and two minutes with

mainly two participants, Mollie and Valérie, and occasionally a third one, Roger. The speakers all are family members. They were recorded having tea and baking a cake.

The forth set, called *Un diner avec Coré* / ‘A dinner with Coré’, involves four participants: Mollie, Roger, Coré and Valérie. The speakers are all family members. They were recorded for a total of one hour and twenty minutes while having *aperitif* and dinner together.

The data are transcribed according to the conversation analytic conventions described earlier (see chapter 1). In the transcripts, the first line is the French original, the second line is a word-for-word gloss, and the third line is an idiomatic English translation. When the gloss and idiomatic translation are the same, only two lines of transcript are used. For ease of reading, the English translation is in italics. All person and place references have been changed in the transcript.

Chapter 3: *Hein* as a Stand-Alone Particle

3.1. Introduction

As I previously mentioned, in my study, I analyze *hein* according to its position in a turn. In my data, *hein* occurs in four different positions: a) as a stand-alone particle, i.e., as the only element in a turn; b) at the end of a TCU, that is, in tag position; c) at the conjunction of two TCUs uttered by the same party; and, finally, d) within a TCU. In this chapter, I am discussing the form and function of *hein* as a stand-alone particle. There were a total of eleven instances of this type of *hein* in the corpus.

As the discussion will show, *hein* as a stand-alone particle functions typically as a repair initiator. Hence, this chapter starts out with an overview of repair in English and French, focusing in particular on prior work of other-initiated repair. I then discuss how *hein* is employed as a repair initiator, by presenting a data sample that shows the prototypical use of *hein* along with an analysis of this data sample, focusing mostly on the lines of interest. After this, I will refer to the existing literature that describes the same or similar functions in other languages, using mainly American English. This will allow me to draw a comparison between my findings and the ones in other languages. I will then discuss several additional features of *hein* that appear of importance in my study, illustrating these additional features by transcripts accompanied with their analysis. Finally, I will present two cases that illustrate two additional functions of *hein* as a stand-alone particle, that is, as an attention getting device and as an agreement pursuit marker. I will provide one relevant data sample for each of these 2 cases along with an analysis for each sample. In the last part, I will summarize the findings in light of the analyses that I will have conducted throughout this chapter.

3.2. Repair

In conversation, repair addresses problems in speaking, hearing and understanding (Schegloff *et al.*, 1977). A repair puts the current action on hold to deal with the problem. When the problem (referred to in CA as the trouble source) has been resolved, the action put on hold then continues. Repairs are different from corrections, as speakers are often seen to initiate repair although there was no prior error or mistake. In addition, speakers are often seen *not* to initiate repair despite the fact that there was an error or mistake in the prior utterance (Schegloff *et al.*, 1977).

Generally speaking, a repair sequence is composed of three main elements: the trouble source, the repair initiation and the repair completion. The first element is the trouble source present in the speech of the former or current speaker. There are different positions relevant to the trouble-source from which repair can be initiated. If repairs are self-initiated, they can be placed within the same turn as their trouble source. They might also be placed in that turn's transition space. Lastly, they might be placed in the turn subsequent to that which follows the trouble-source turn (Schegloff *et al.*, 1977). Alternatively, the repair is initiated by a party other than the speaker who uttered the trouble source. This practice is also known as other-initiated repair.

Finally, the repair is completed either by the speaker who uttered the trouble source (a practice otherwise known as self-completion), by the repair initiating speaker, or more rarely by another party. The latter two practices are labeled other-completion (Schegloff *et al.*, 1977). Research has shown that there is a distinction between self-completion and other-completion. That is, there is evidence that even in casual talk-in-interaction, "self correction and other-

correction are related organizationally, with self correction preferred to other completion” (Schegloff *et al.*, 1977, p. 362).

In English, if the repair is self-initiated, typical repair initiators are cut-offs, sound stretches, “uh”s, etc., “to signal the possibility of repair-initiation immediately following” (Schegloff *et al.*, 1977, p. 367). If the repair is other-initiated, typical repair initiators could be turn constructional devices such as “huh”, “what”, question words such as “who”, “where”, “when”, a partial repetition of the trouble-source turn followed by a question word, a partial repeat of the trouble source, or, lastly, an expression such as “Y’mean” followed by a candidate understanding of the prior turn. These repair initiators are listed here in increasing specificity with which they locate the trouble-source in the co-participant’s utterance. A *huh* is non-specific and could target both a hearing and a general understanding problem, whereas a partial repeat of a trouble-source actually points out to the co-participant what is troublesome.

Egbert (1996) has shown that general mechanisms in German are similar to the ones used in English, with the exception of individual mechanisms that can differ when specific elements of a given language are involved: “Repair is sensitive to the specific resources used by the speakers for a given language. Repair is also context-sensitive to situational characteristics to which it occurs” (Egbert, 1996, pp. 587-588).

The literature on repair in French is scant, having mostly been conducted in the fields of morphology, syntax and socio-linguistics. The literature that is CA-oriented encompasses various discourses particles (such as *hein* but also *enfin*, etc.) and treats both mundane talk-in-interaction and naturally occurring conversation in specific institutional settings (e.g., pedagogical, medical, etc.).

Maheux-Pelletier and Golato (2008) demonstrate that repair mechanisms in French are both context-free in that the repair devices available to speakers are the same across the languages, and context-sensitive in that they are specific to the linguistic features available in French. Other work has also shown similarities between French and English repair practices. For instance, Lyster and Ranta (1997, cited in Gascoigne, 2003, p. 71) found that non-native middle school learners interacting with native speakers employed three types of repair uptake: “1. repetition of native speakers feedback including the correct form; 2. incorporation, or repetition of the correct form, which is then incorporated into a longer utterance produced by the NNS and 3. self-repair, wherein the NNS self-corrects in response to the incorrect form.” However, as Gascoigne (2003) explains, Lyster and Ranta (1997) also had cases of “lack of repair” (Gascoigne, 2003, p. 74) that encompasses instances such as “[the] acknowledgement of the feedback without using it (e.g., yes) [or the] repetition of the initial error, [etc.]” (Gascoigne, 2003, p. 74). All of these repair uptakes have also been observed in American English. Eisenbeis (2003), also investigating repair and corrective feedback in a French institutional setting, similarly found that in students’ online interactions, most corrective moves or repair sequences are similar either to the ones in authentic talk-in-interaction or to ones occurring during more traditional in-class group-work. For instance, Eisenbeis (2003) found numerous self-initiated / self-completed repairs, which is similar to both traditional in-class group-work and to NS / NS interactions. Furthermore, similarly to NS / NS interactions, if a repair is other-initiated, the repair initiation is hedged for instance by means of a joke or an expression such as *tu veux dire X?* / ‘you mean X?’ (Eisenbeis, 2003 p. 129). In their study of repair initiations in interview settings in French-speaking Canada, Laforest and Vincent (1999) have shown that the setting can have an impact on the successfulness of the repair outcome. They showed that the constraint

placed on interviewers to phrase questions neutrally as to not give away answers, impeded their ability to clear up interviewee's misunderstandings or lack of understandings. Finally, Beeching (2001) demonstrates that the French discursive particle *enfin* can have a corrective function, especially in self-initiated / self completed repairs. Furthermore, she shows that "as a corrective, [*enfin* is used] in its mitigating or hedging capacity, as a mediator of social relations" (Beeching, 2001, p. 23). As Beeching (2001) explains, there are two main types of correctives introduced with *enfin*. First, there are correctives in which "*enfin* typically follows a phrase, either a noun or a verb phrase, and is followed by another 'correcting' or 'adjusting' phrase. In this context, *enfin* usually introduces an assertion into the syntactic structure (...)" (Beeching, 2001, p. 27). The second main kind of corrective is what Beeching refers to as "the 'echo / self-mimic' correctives" (Beeching, 2001, p. 32).

What is of particular interest to me in the context of this study is other-initiated, self-completed, next-turn repair. As previously mentioned, repair can be initiated by a participant other than the speaker who uttered the trouble source. In this case, the repair initiation typically occurs immediately after the trouble source (Schegloff *et al.*, 1977, p. 367). The turn following the repair initiation is the one that typically contains the repair completion by the trouble-source speaker.

As the following extracts and analyses will show, *hein* appears to be a specific type of repair initiator; that is, it seems to be what Drew (1997) refers to as one of the open class repair initiators. Basing his analyses on data gathered from naturally occurring telephone conversations, Drew (1997) explains that among various types of repair initiators, there are repair initiators that target very specifically what appears to be the source of trouble present in the previous turn. Alternatively, speakers sometimes choose a repair initiator that does not specifically point out

one element in the prior turn. Rather, the chosen repair initiator refers to the previous turn considered as a whole. Hence, the whole turn is referred to as being in some way problematic (Drew, 1997, p. 71). These latter repair initiators are called open class repair initiators such as ‘what?’, ‘pardon’, ‘sorry’, etc. Drew explains that open class repair initiators occur primarily in two environments. The first one involves a seemingly abrupt shift in topic. The second one focuses on apparently inapposite or even inappropriate second pair part by the interlocutor.

The first environment is referred to by Drew as “topical discontinuities” (Drew, 1997, p. 74). As Drew explains, his data show that trouble sources occur at what he calls “topical junctures” (Drew, 1997, p. 74), that is, at specific points where speaker A seems to abruptly change the topic that has been going on up to that point. Consequently, speaker B typically initiates repair with an open class repair initiator. The abruptness of the topic shifts that caused the repair initiation may be due to the fact that the turn that contains the topic shift was not marked by the speaker through lexical items such as “anyways” or “a propos”, etc. (Drew, 1997, p. 77). Because of this, those topical links, though obvious for speaker A, are not obvious at all for the recipient, i.e., for speaker B. What is of importance in this environment is that speaker A’s turn is only apparently topically disjunctive. In fact, if one looks at the previous turns or sequences, or merely at an earlier point of the sequence which the repairable turn is part of, one can see that this repairable turn “is fitted with or arises from the prior sequence whilst diverging from the topic immediately prior turn” (Drew, 1997, p. 81). Hence, the repair initiation occurs when and because speaker A and speaker B are on what Drew calls “different sequential tracks” (Drew, 1997, p. 82). In other words, whereas the repairable is sequentially connected (hence, coherent) from speaker A’s view of a prior sequence or merely of the ongoing sequence, this connection is opaque to speaker B.

The second environment is when a repair initiation occurs in response to “sequentially ‘problematic’ prior turns” (Drew, 1997, p. 83). In these cases, speaker B utters a first pair to which speaker A reacts with what is considered an inappropriate second pair part. As a result, speaker B, puzzled, utters an open class next turn repair initiator. Interestingly, Drew (1997) notices that in this kind of environment, as in the previous environment, miscommunication can happen. However, it is specifically in this second type of environment that the lack of contiguity can go as far as becoming “a matter of a certain lack of alignment between the participants” (Drew, 1997, p. 88). In other words, some cases analyzed by Drew (1997) reveal that “speakers may initiate repair in circumstances where they perceive that their co-participants do not fully align or affiliate with them” (Drew, 1997, p. 88). Finally, Drew (1997) alludes to some more common environments in which open class next turn repair initiators are also utilized. I will be referring in greater detail to these more common environments in the following sections of chapter 3.

3.3. A typical case of a repair sequence with *hein* as a repair initiator

The following segment is a prototypical case of the data samples that are part of my collection. I will be analyzing in detail the lines that are important in the context of the repair sequence encompassing the *hein*, whereas the other lines will merely be referenced in order to explain the context of the repair sequence. In the following excerpt, the speakers Mollie (M), Roger (R), and Coré (C) are about to have an *apéritif* before having lunch together. Prior to this segment, Molly has started looking for two kinds of *apéritif* drinks (whiskey and *pastis*).

FIGURE 3.1

01 M: [((noises of kitchen cabinets opened and closed by M))
[]

02 M: [(2.5) [(°eh ben°?)]
[(2.5) [(°and well°?)]
[(2.5) [(°well well°?)]
[]

03 C: [°allez papi assis-toi.°]
[°go grandpa sit down.°]
[°go ahead sit down grandpa.°]

04 M: le pasti:si:s il est i:ci,=mais pas le:: wi:sky.
the pasti:si:s it is he:re,=but not the:: whi:skey.
the pasti:si:s is he:re,=but the:: whi:skey isn't.

05 R: c'est pas grave.=
it's not serious.=
it's no big deal.=

06 R: =on prendra [tous les deux le pa:stis.
=one will take [all the two the pa:stis.
=we'll both [have some pa:stis.
[]

07 C: [mais c'est très bien ça.
[but it is very well that.
[but it's all good this way.

08 [((start of noise of chairs exchanged by V))
[]

09 M: [(0.8) wi:sky toi, ((looking at C, C not looking at M))
[(0.8) whis:key you,
[(0.8) a whiskey for you,

10 (1.4)

* end of noise of chairs being switched around

11 V: *là:::::..
the::::re.
the::::re you go.

12=> C: hein, ((looking at M))
[PRT,]

13 M: du wisky. ((holding a bottle of whiskey in her hand))
some whiskey.
a whiskey.

14 C: non non t'inquiète pas mamie=
no no yourself worry not grandma=
no no don't worry grandma=

FIGURE 3.1 (cont.)

- 15 M: =non?
=no?
- 16 C: °t'inquiète pas,mamie.=°
°youself worry not,grandma.=°
°don't worry, grandma.=°
- 17 C: °c'est très bien,°
°it's very well,°
°it's fine,°
- 18 M: d'a:ccord.
a:lright.

In overlap with some noise in which she is going through the cabinets looking for drinks to offer the co participants (line 1), Mollie announces that she can find the *pastis* but not the whiskey (lines 2 and 4). This statement is treated by the co participants both as an apology and as an offer. Roger reassures Mollie in line 5 and in overlap with Roger's acceptance of the whisky, Coré also reassures Mollie (line 7). Coré produces a positive assessment of the situation, thus one might say that C is accepting the offer of having some *pastis* (line 7). At this point, the sum of the previous elements demonstrates that Roger and Coré are acting towards closing the offering sequence, which should have an impact on Mollie's problematic situation stated in line 4. Technically, Mollie could give up looking for whiskey since Roger and Coré have agreed to *pastis*. However, the offer sequence is not over. Instead, Mollie, after apparently having found a bottle of whiskey, makes a second offer. In overlap with some noise from moving chairs (line 8), Mollie, while holding a bottle of whiskey, directs her gaze at Coré and offers him a whiskey (line 9). Instead of Coré's answer, there is a long pause (line 10) of 1.4 seconds during which the chairs are still being switched. Given Coré's gaze once can gather that his attention is captured by what Valérie (who is moving the chairs) and Roger (who is preparing the water for the *pastis*)

are doing, but not by Mollie holding a bottle and looking at Coré. Next, Valérie is still in the process of moving around two chairs, an action which comes to completion with Valérie's uttering of *là:::..* (line 11). It is only in line 12 where Coré orients to the still pending first pair part (i.e., the offer). Rather than accepting or declining the offer, however, Coré utters *hein* (line 12). Coré's action in line 12 is one of realizing that Mollie was talking to him (since Coré's *hein* is addressed to Mollie) and also one of initiating an open class repair (Drew, 1997). In the present instance, it is treated by Mollie as trying to remedy a hearing rather than an understanding problem, as Mollie is partially reiterating her previous offer (line 13). This successfully resolves Coré's trouble as he attends immediately to Mollie's offer by rejecting it (line 14). Here, Coré does not align with the preferred second pair part of an offer. However, one can see that his dispreferred response is hedged by the expression of reassurance: *t'inquiète pas mamie* / 'don't worry grandma'. To this dispreferred response, Mollie reacts immediately by partially repeating Coré's answer to Mollie's offer: *non?* (line 15). This *non?* with a questioning intonation seems to be a way to ask Coré for confirmation or disconfirmation of the answer. In other words, Mollie's action is to give Coré one more chance to give a preferred answer to the offer Mollie made. Hence, one can say that Mollie is taking action again to re-open the offer sequence. In the following turns (lines 16-17), Coré rejects the offer once again but does not express it directly. Instead, Coré is reiterating only the justification of his answer: to not worry because the situation is quite fine (line 17) the way it is. Following Coré's answer, in line 18, Mollie utters *d'accord* / 'alright' through which Mollie finally shows that she accepts the dispreferred answer as it is.

In this segment, we have seen a speaker using a stand-alone *hein* as a repair initiator. It demonstrates various features that hold across repair sequences (containing *hein* as an open class

repair initiator) present in most (if not all) data segments in the collection. I will first synthesize the relevant features related to the utterance of *hein*. Then, I will allude to the ones common to the trouble source before listing the main features present in the repair completion.

The features on the utterance of *hein* that appear relevant to the analysis are as follows:

- *Hein* is a stand-alone particle. *Hein* does not specify a particular word / expression as the trouble source in the prior turn. Hence, as I mentioned previously, *hein* is an “open class” repair initiator (Drew, 1997).
- *Hein* is uttered by the same party to which the preceding turn was addressed (which is the case in all instances but one that will be further analyzed later in the chapter). The person directly addressed in the prior turn initiates the repair, that is, non-addressed parties typically do not initiate repair, although such parties can initiate repair (Schegloff *et al.*, 1977).
- *Hein* is uttered with slightly rising intonation. In the data I collected, all the stand alone *heins* used as repair initiators were uttered with either slightly rising or fully rising intonation.
- In the figure above, *hein* is not particularly emphasized. Elsewhere in my collection of stand-alone *hein* used as a repair initiator, however, *hein* is always uttered with some emphasis, i.e., the nasalized sound is elongated or stressed. In CA terminology, one would say that except for this example, the utterance of *hein* as a stand-alone particle used as a repair initiator is otherwise unmarked. At this point, I cannot say whether there is a particular significance to the lack of emphasis in this specific exhibit. I would need a larger collection of data samples to address this issue.
- The utterance of *hein* is accompanied by embodied actions, which is a feature that appears consistent in all the data collected. In this case, like in most cases, the embodied action

consists of an eye-gaze action: Coré looks right at Mollie, who has been looking at him since the utterance of the repairable (treated as such by Coré who utters an open class repair initiator). As he is looking at Mollie whose gaze is on him, Coré realizes that Mollie is addressing her turn to him and that he is next in the turn taking system. Therefore, in this case as well as in other cases, the embodied action appears to be an element of importance in the turn taking system. In fact, in all cases, the embodied actions that accompany the utterance of the *hein* appear to demonstrate that the party who utters the *hein* makes him / herself available as a coparticipant. For instance, as it is the case in the above segment, the *hein* speaker redirects his / her gaze towards the speaker of the repairable. In one particular case, the *hein* speaker (Benjamin) goes as far as (a) changing his whole body posture, (b) redirecting his eye gaze towards the trouble source speaker and (c) holding on his participation in the ongoing conversation (that is, Benjamin stopped talking), all that in order to pay exclusive attention to the speaker of the trouble source (Mollie). Thus, in all the cases I collected, it appears that in addition to the utterance of *hein*, the embodied actions that accompany this utterance are conveying the availability of the *hein* speaker who is agreeing to become a coparticipant. This situation appears to be the same as a summons / answer sequence in which the answer shows the availability of the party who responded to the summons; in the case of a repair sequence with *hein* as a repair initiator, the ‘answer’, that is, the utterance of *hein* accompanied with some or all the embodied actions described above, shows availability also.

- *Hein* might not occur immediately after the repairable as shown in this example; there is a long silence and an event (Valérie is finishing to switch around 2 chairs) between the trouble source and the utterance of *hein*. Actually, in my segments, 4 *heins* out of 8 are not uttered immediately.

- In this case as in most cases, *hein* is treated by Mollie as a repair initiator and is attended to with a repair completion of some kind. This element will be analyzed in detail in the section devoted to the features of repair completion.
- One may imply that in addition to the function of initiating a repair, *hein* here appears to be “doing being surprised / puzzled”. As said in the analysis of the above fragment, *hein* is uttered in reaction to Mollie’s preceding turn in which Mollie re-opens an offer sequence that was closed right before this re-opening. This element will be further discussed in the section devoted to the trouble source. Briefly, though, Coré’s surprise is caused by what Coré could consider as the lack of appropriateness of re-opening the offer sequence that was considered closed for Coré but not for Mollie. Additionally, Coré’s lack of attention could also explain his surprise, or puzzlement at being addressed, which is conveyed by both the utterance of this *hein* as well as the shifting of Coré’s gaze from a point in front of him to Mollie.

The features of the trouble source are as follows. First, the utterance (that is eventually treated as a trouble source) is addressed to the speaker who utters the *hein*, which is the case for seven out of eight data samples. The data sample for which this does not hold will be analyzed in more detail in the next section.

- Since some of the trouble sources contained incomplete turns, I inferred that an analysis of the components of this trouble source seemed appropriate. The components of the trouble source in the analyzed segment form one incomplete turn. This element is not unusual in the other collected segments; in two cases of repair initiations, each trouble source is composed of one incomplete turn; in three cases of repair initiations, each trouble source is composed of one complete turn; and in three repair initiations, each trouble source shows two complete turns. However, regardless of whether the trouble source is composed of complete turns, this element

does not appear to prevent the eventual completion of the repair: seven out of eight repairs can be considered as successfully completed and in the case of the repair that was not successfully completed, the trouble source was composed of one complete turn. Hence, from a CA standpoint, one can say that the use of (a) complete turn(s) or (an) incomplete turn(s) in the trouble source does not have consequence on the unfolding of the repair sequence. Overall, the data I gathered do not show a systematic connection between the fact that the trouble source is composed of one or more incomplete turn(s) and the presence of an open class next turn repair initiator *hein*.

- The utterance of the trouble source is accompanied with embodied actions, in this case eye gaze: Mollie, the trouble source speaker, looks at Coré while asking him a question. However, her eye gaze is not reciprocated by Coré who first looks behind and then in front of him. This lack of reciprocation might be due to Coré's having treated Mollie's utterance (line 09) as a trouble source. My data show that the lack of eye gaze reciprocation is present in five out of eight cases containing a stand-alone *hein* as a repair initiator. Hence, at this point of the analysis, one may wonder whether the embodied actions, particularly eye gaze, that accompany the utterance of the trouble source may have a significant meaning. Indeed, in the five instances in which the eye gaze is not reciprocated, the trouble source speaker is talking to a disengaged co-participant, which is relevant in the context of this analysis since a disengaged co-participant is a participant who not only does not look at the speaker but also who does not (or barely) pay attention to what is said (Goodwin, 1979). In several studies (Goodwin, 1979, 1980), it has been shown that (a) there is a preference by a speaker to be looked at by the co-participant who is being addressed and that (b) "gaze is [usually] used by recipients for displaying to a speaker whether or not they are acting as 'hearers' to the speaker's utterance" (Goodwin, 1980, p. 281). Hence, in face-to-face talk-in-interaction, gaze is an element of importance and in this condition,

it is not a surprise that a speaker has ways to request the gaze of the recipient. Goodwin (1979) has shown that, for instance, to request the gaze from the recipient, a speaker could stop talking and restart his / her utterance. Hence, the gaze of a hearer shows that the utterance has been attended to properly. If this is not the case, one can understand the relevance and the need of a repair initiation generally speaking but more specifically the need of an open class repair initiator; if the supposed hearer (as Coré in the above example) has not been acting as an actual hearer and has not been attending the utterance that was addressed to him/her, the whole utterance becomes a trouble source.

- As with all the trouble sources in my data, this trouble source is uttered in an unusual contextual environment, physically and linguistically (or, more accurately, sequentially) speaking. As I mentioned in the analysis of the fragment above, the circumstances of the trouble source utterance are as follows: in the previous turn, an offer sequence has just been closed. Hence, from a CA standpoint, Coré might not have expected this new question since it has now lost its relevance with respect to the unfolding of the conversation. This case seems to partially fit the second environment Drew (1997) alludes to, that is, when a repair initiation occurs in response to “sequentially ‘problematic’ prior turns” (Drew, 1997, p. 83). As Drew (1997) explains, in these cases, speaker B’s surprise arises “from some more ‘local’ sense of the repairable turn’s lack of ‘appropriateness’ or pertinence in terms of what came before.” (Drew, 1997, p. 83) However, this case is different that the environment that Drew describes in that the puzzled recipient, Coré, utters an open class next turn repair initiator in reaction to a first pair part and not to a second pair part; specifically, Coré reacts to Mollie’s re-opening of the offer sequence (line 9) that has already been resolved (line 7). As Drew explains, “(...) from the point of view of the recipients, the prior repairable turns may appear not properly to take into account

–or not to be appropriate next’s to- the prior turn-but-one, i.e., the turn preceding the repairable” (Drew, 1997, p. 83). In the above fragment, Coré shows surprise in regard to the last turns uttered to him. Additionally, the trouble source is uttered in overlap with a source of noise and Coré appears to focus on the action rather than on what Mollie says to him. Generally speaking, the circumstances in which this trouble source is uttered are such that there is a legitimate reason for the trouble source to be problematic. Specifically, the context in which the trouble source is uttered is such that it might actually raise a problem in hearing or understanding for the interlocutor who is uttering the repair initiation. Indeed, in all the data samples, the circumstances in which the trouble source is uttered are such that there might be a connection between these circumstances and the need of a repair initiation. The listing of the circumstances present in my data appears to concur with this conclusion. It is important to highlight that for each fragment, most of the time, the circumstances in which the trouble source is uttered might be multiple. Drew (1997) makes allusion to some of these circumstances. After explaining the two specific environments in which one can find an open class next turn repair initiator, Drew (1997) lists more common environments in which these repair initiators are also present. Drew’s (1997) (non-exhaustive) list (encompassing both specific environments as well as the short list added after the description of these particular environments) converges with some of the findings that I drew from my segments. For instance, Drew (1997) listed first the context in which for some reason participant B simply cannot hear what speaker A is saying. My data show a variety of cases that concur with this finding: there is one case in which the general high level of noise might also be the element that could prevent the trouble source from being heard well; another case shows that the problem might be merely due to the low voice of the speaker of the trouble source; and my data also show 2 cases in which there is physical distance between the

interlocutor and the speaker of the trouble source. These circumstances all describe an instance in which the participant might simply not be able to actually hear what is said to him / her. Then, Drew (1997) refers to the scenario in which a third party interrupts the talk between two or more other people. My data show similar scenarios, in that I found two instances in which the participant who is being addressed is taking part in another conversation. Being unable to attend to the utterance that was addressed to him / her, the participant consequently utters a *hein*. As for the two main environments that Drew (1997) analyzes in his study, there is one case in my findings that corresponds to the second environment, specifically the case present in the above fragment (figure 3.1). Furthermore, I have found 3 instances that show that the trouble source starts a sudden change of topic, as well as one specific instance corresponding to the first environment that Drew (1997) describes in his study. This instance will be further analyzed later in this chapter. Finally, Drew (1997) also makes reference to other contexts that are not present in my segments, while my data also show contexts that Drew (1997) does not discuss. For instance, I noticed a case in which an utterance is treated as a trouble source because all the speakers who are taking part in the conversation are not at the same level of knowledge, and the repair initiation serves to bring everyone's knowledge at the same level. This particular case is presented below (figure 3.4) and analyzed as a particular case in which the party who utters the *hein* is not the party to whom the immediately preceding turn is addressed. I also gathered two instances in which the trouble source appears either not specific enough, or else incomplete. Lastly, there are four cases in which the interlocutor to whom the trouble source is addressed might be focusing on another element, whether this element is linguistic (an utterance uttered by another interlocutor that is different from the interlocutor uttering the trouble source), human (a

party doing something in particular in the room) or merely an object part of the interactional cues (such as an object placed on the table).

Finally, below are the features of the repair completion: In most cases (five out of eight), the repair is completed in the next turn immediately after the utterance of *hein*. This is the case in the above fragment. In most of my collected data, the components of the repair completion appear to be common as well, that is, in most of the collected data, the components of the repair completion appear to have a similar pattern: my data show that a repair completion (or a possible repair completion) uttered after the open class next turn repair initiator *hein* is usually a partial repeat of the trouble source. For instance, in the above case (figure 3.1), Mollie repeats the main element *whiskey*. Mollie's utterance is also accompanied with a gesture (she is holding what appears to be a bottle of whiskey in front of her). In two instances in the collected data, the repair completion takes a different shape than an exact or partial repeat of what was said in the turn treated as the repairable. One of these instances is present further below (see figure 3.4) and the other fragment that illustrates this particular scenario is as follows (figures 3.2 and 3.3).

Prior to this segment, Fabiola and Coré have just entered the dining room. Roger is already there, standing in front of his chair (seat #5). Tweetie, the dog, is sitting in chair #4. Roger is getting ready to serve the aperitif, which he has announced right before the beginning of the segment. Jonathan is still in the corridor and Mollie is in the kitchen. Coré and Fabiola are both standing in the space labeled as "F and C" in figure 3.2. They are both about to pick their seats and sit down.

FIGURE 3.2

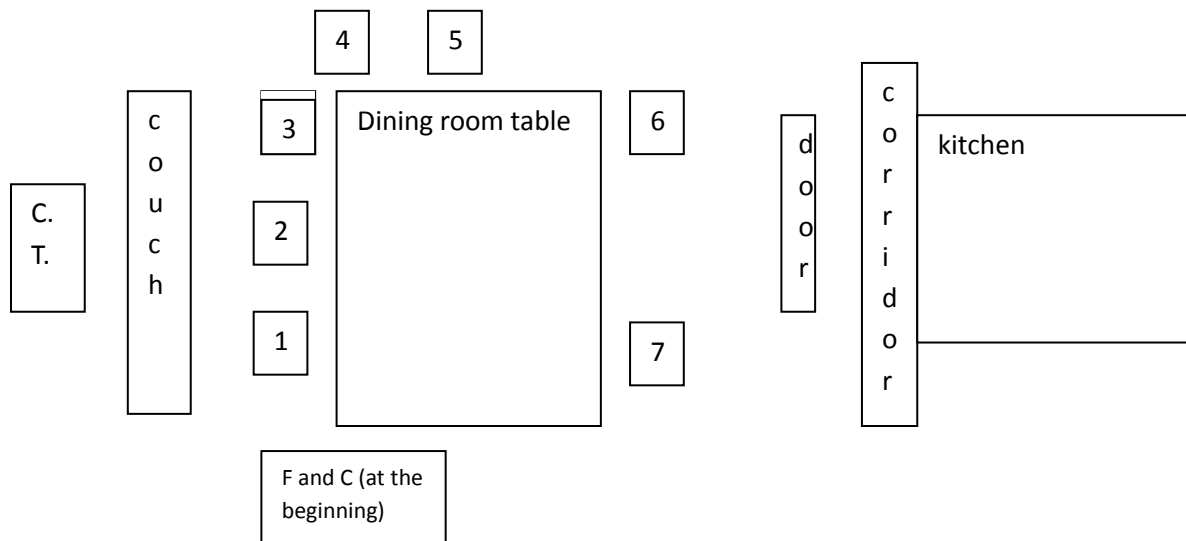


FIGURE 3.3

- *C is stepping aside and makes an inviting gesture with his left hand towards F*
- 01 C: **assis-toi? maman::.=*
seat down yourself? mo::m.=
seat down? mo::m.=
- *R is standing behind his chair (#5) and looks towards the corridor since J is still in the corridor. Talking to J.*
- 02 R: *=*jonathan?*
*=*jonathan?*
- *talking to J*
- 03 R: **qu'est-ce que tu:: préfères.=*
what you:: prefer.=
what do you:: prefer.=
- 04 *((Fabiola slides between the couch and the row of chairs and she pulls towards her the chair #1 in above figure))*

FIGURE 3.3 (cont.)

**C slides between F and the couch. He stands behind F(who is still standing), in the space between seat #1 and seat #2. C talks to F but does not look at her and F does not look at C either*

05 C: =>*tu veux t'asseoir avec.-<
=> you want to yourself sit with.-<
=> you want to sit next to.-<

**to J*

06 R: *un p[asti:s?]
a p[asti:s?]
[]
[*to R]

07 J: [*ouais:..]
[yeah:..]

**to R*

08 J: [*très léger?]
[very light?]
[]

**F is proceeding to sit down and C points at the chair that F picked (#1)but C thinks aloud. He does not look at F and does not directly addresses this line to F but to himself*

09 C: [*°tu veux t'asseoir là,°]
[°you want to yourself sit there,°]
[°you wanna sit there,°]

10 (0.3)

**C is standing behind F. F turns around and directs her gaze at C. F talks to C*

11=> F: *hein::?=
[PRT::?]=

**C points at the chair next to F (chair#2)*

12 C: =*[°jonathan? i' s'as][seoit ici?°]=
= [°jonathan? e' himself si][ts here?°]=
= [°jonathan can si][t here?°]=
= [][]=
= [*J talks to R][]=
13 J: = [* noyé::?][aveceuh de]=
= [drow::ned?][withuh some]=
= [drow::ned?][inuh]=

FIGURE 3.3 (cont.)

14 J: [**J talks to R*]
 =[*l'eau? ça]fera=
 =[water? it]will be=
 =[water? it']ll be=
 []
 [**C points at the chair #3.*]
 [*C talks to F*]
 15 C: =[*[°]et moi j'm'asseois là.[°]<]=
 =[*[°]and me I myself sit there.[°]<]=
 =[*[°]and I will be sitting right there.[°]<]=

 [**R to everyone around the table*]
 16 R: =*alors.=
 = so.=

 [**to R*]
 17 J: =*l'affaire.
 = the deal.
 = just perfect.

 [**to everyone around the table*]
 18 R: *alors.=
 so.=

 [**to everyone*]
 19 R: *[euh euh euh] euh
 [uh uh uh] uh
 []
 [**F loo[king at C,]shrugging.*]
 20 F: *[°]ah [bon::.[°]]
[°]uh [ri::ght.[°]]

 [**To F. R is pointing at where F sat (chair#1)*]
 22 R: *s-i-i-i tu es là?
 s-o-o-o you are there?
 s-o-o-o you'll be sitting there?

 [**To R. Looking at R*]
 23 F: *ah ben [je sais pas,]
 uhm well [i don't know,]
 []
 24 R: [jonath]an=
 [jonath]an=

FIGURE 3.3 (cont.)

25 R: **R points at the seat next to F (chair #2)*
 = *il est [là-bas,=
 = he is [over there,=
 = he will be sitting [over there,=
 [
 [*Looking at R
 26 C: =[*et jonathan il est là oui,
 =[and jonathan he is there yes,
 =[and jonathan will be there yes,

In this instance, the repair sequence starts with a speaker (Coré) inviting another party (Fabiola) to pick a seat around the table (line 1). Once Fabiola seems to have picked her seat (line 4), Coré, who is standing next to Fabiola, proceeds to list in a low voice which seat is attributed to whom according to the choice Fabiola has just made (lines 5 and 9). Fabiola then treats Coré's utterance as a trouble source; she turns around towards Coré and utters the open class next turn repair initiator *hein* (line 11). Coré attends to Fabiola's *hein* not by repeating the repairable but by continuing his listing while looking directly at Fabiola who is reciprocating Coré's gaze (lines 12 and 15). At the end of the listing, one knows that Coré has successfully completed the repair since Fabiola utters *ah bon./* 'uh, right.' (line 20). In other words, Fabiola's issue has been resolved by Coré's answer. Hence, the only difference between this case and the others is the way the solution to the repair is delivered. Additionally, I would like to highlight the way this repair sequence is functioning with respect to the action of listing itself. As I previously showed, it is after the utterance of the first element listed by Coré (line 9) that Fabiola (line 11) initiates repair. Then, Coré successfully completes the repair by adding two elements to his list (lines 12 and 15). It has been noted for English (Jefferson 1991; Lerner 1994) that lists typically contain three elements. Jefferson explains, "(...) list completion can constitute utterance completion; i.e., point at which another can or should start talking. Crucially, forthcoming

completion is projectable from the point at which a list is recognizably underway; given two items so far, a recipient can see that a third will occur, and that upon its occurrence utterance completion can have occurred whereupon it will be his turn to talk”(Jefferson, 1991, p. 73). In this French example, Fabiola exhibits the same orientation to the list. She also treats the utterance as complete after the third element. A larger amount of data would be necessary to determine whether list constructions in French mirror those of English.

To resume the list of the main features of the repair completion, as figure 3.1 suggests, one can also notice the following elements:

- The repair completion is usually marked in various ways; for instance, Mollie stresses her utterance. In other cases, my data show elongated sounds, stresses, higher voice pitch, etc.
- In most cases, the repair completion is produced with falling intonation.
- Finally, the collected segments show that the use of an open class next turn repair initiator calls for a self-completed repair, that is, the speaker who utters what is treated as the repairable is also the speaker who completed the repair. My data show that it is the case in seven instances out of eight. The case of the fragment in which this feature is not present will be further discussed in another section of this chapter.

In the collected data, repair sequences with *hein* as a repair initiator might not always occur like the prototypical example described above. As in all repair sequences, there are cases with additional features. These features are relevant in terms of turn taking and have substantial implications for the repair sequence itself. Briefly, there are three cases that I will discuss as follows: for each fragment, after a brief description of the additional features I will be focusing on, I will provide an analysis, highlighting one or more of these additional features. This analysis will be followed by a synthesis in which I will explain to what extent the additional feature(s)

highlighted in each case is similar to or different from the prototypical case first described, and what the implications / impacts of the presence of these features are on the sequence in which they take part.

The first case that has one particular feature is the only case in which the speaker who utters the stand-alone particle is not the party to which the preceding turn is addressed.

In the segment below, Jonathan (J), Coré (C), Fabiola (F) and Roger (R) are around the table, prior to the *apéritif*. Mollie (M) is still in the kitchen and enters the living room at the end of the segment.

It is important to note that prior to this segment, Jonathan (J) has been staring for a long time at the microphone placed on the table in front of him. When Fabiola (F) looks at him, Jonathan points at the microphone twice and looks back at Fabiola. There seems to be a very brief exchange of words between Jonathan and Fabiola but their conversation is not audible. Shortly thereafter, Coré (C) turns his head towards Jonathan. Coré has his elbows on the table and his hands folded at the level of his chest. The following extract starts immediately thereafter.

FIGURE 3.4

- *J looks at C and points at the microphone while C follows J's gesture*
- 01 J: >o*c'est quoi.o<
>o*it is what.o<
>o*what's that.o<
- *C is looking at the microphone while J and F look at C*
- 02 C: *ça c'est le.=
*that it is the.=
*that's the.=
- *C looks at J*
- 03 C: >=c'est *le micro ?<
>=it is *the mike ?<
>=it's *the mike ?<

FIGURE 3.4 (cont.)

*C looks at J while doing the « voilà » gesture (open hands palms up) and crossing his hands back.

04 C: *c'est pour entendre..
*it is to h.ea::r..
*to h.ea::r: we:ll.

05 (0.4)

*C articulates this word only with his lips; the word is not audible at all

06 C: *voila
*there you go

*noise of chair being pulled by M

07 (*0.1)

*M, standing, looks with a clueless facial expression while pulling her chair towards herself

*C, smiling at J *C gently []
 elbows J []
 []

08 C: *sois(.)pas ↑ti↑mi::↓de *jo:na::tha::[:n. []
*be(.)not ↑shy::↓ *jo:na::tha::[:n. []
*don't(.)be(.) ↑shy::↑ *jona::tha::[:n. []
 []
 [*J,C and R]=
 [smile]=
09 F: [*hi hi hi]=

*M looks at the scene, puzzled.

10=> M: =*hein::?=
=*PRT::?=

*C addresses J while smiling, unfolding his hands, palms up, talking with a « joking intonation »

11 C: =*laisse-toi aller[:. []
=*let yourself go[:. []
=*loosen u[:p. []
 []

12 R: [o*ha ha hao]
 *R finishes opening the champagne bottle

*F, smiling, leaning towards M who looks back at F

13 F: °*il est impressionné par le micro. (.) qu'i'y a°
°*he is intimidated by the mic. (.) that there is°
°*he's intimidated by the mic. (.) tha's there°

FIGURE 3.4 (cont.)

14 (0.2)
 **looking at J*
 15 M: **.h ah:?.h.h*

While simultaneously looking at Coré and pointing at a microphone on the table, Jonathan is asking about the nature of the device (line 1). Coré starts his answer in line 2 but then produces a word search which is quickly resolved in line 3. The upward intonation at the end of Coré's turn (line 3) might show that Coré is not finished with his explanation after this particular turn (line 3). Simultaneously Coré is asking for confirmation or understanding from the coparticipant. Coré then further explains (line 4) the function of the device, his words being accompanied with the proper gesture that indicates the end of an explanation or the end of a clarification: Coré does a common *voilà* gesture, that is, he is opening his hands, palms up. After a short pause (line 5), Coré verbalizes the meaning of his gesture by actually mouthing *voilà* in a non audible voice. The *voilà* on line 6 further indicates the closure of the explanation².

In line 7, Mollie is coming into the room and looks at Fabiola, Jonathan and Coré with a quizzical expression while she proceeds to pull a chair towards herself. Hence, Mollie who was not initially present in the interaction, witnesses the following scene that is directly related to what is going on through lines 1-6. In line 8, Coré gives an order to Jonathan, pressing Jonathan

² One may again see similarities between French and in English list construction (Jefferson 1991). What Coré does lines 3 and 4 can be considered as 'listing'; he first explains the nature of the device (first item on his list) and then further explains the function of the device (second item on his list). However, the coparticipant is still not reacting. Then, Coré's actions (his gesture accompanying the mouthing of a device of closure- *voilà*) appear to be the equivalent of a phenomenon that Jefferson (1991) has identified in listings in English. In effect, as Jefferson states, sometimes, speakers search for a "third list item" (Jefferson, 1991, p. 77) and the list ends with "an announcement of discovery that the two prior items are, after all, array exhaustive" (Jefferson, 1991, p. 77). This phenomenon seems to fit with what Coré is doing line 5; Coré terminates his listing with a third and last item reflecting that there is no more to be said.

to “not be shy”. However, Coré’s words are accompanied with relevant embodied actions that demonstrate that Coré is joking: Coré starts by smiling, then he elbows Jonathan and he also speaks with a joking intonation. Line 9 demonstrates even more the joking character of Coré’s utterance (line 8) since while Fabiola is laughing, the other parties who witnessed the entire scene (Roger, Coré and even Jonathan himself) smile.

Line 10 is the particular line of interest since it is where Mollie produces the stand-alone *hein*. The particle is stressed by the lengthening of the nasalized sound. Also, this utterance is accompanied with a relevant embodied action: Mollie looks at all the parties with a puzzled look which conveys a sense of surprise. Fabiola leans towards Mollie who looks back at Fabiola while Fabiola is giving Mollie a partial explanation of Coré’s joke (line 8). Fabiola’s utterance (line 13) shows that Fabiola treats Mollie’s *hein* as a repair initiator and it also means that Fabiola targeted line 8 as being the trouble source for Mollie. After a brief pause (line 14), Mollie finally claims understanding with the change-of-state token (Heritage, 1984) *ah* (line 15). This is additional evidence that her stand-alone *hein* was a repair initiator and that the repair has been successfully completed by Fabiola.

What is of particular interest here is that contrary to the other examples where *hein* is uttered by a party who has been addressed in the turn preceding the utterance of *hein*, Mollie has not been previously addressed. Thus, this case shows that both addressed and non-addressed parties can use *hein* in order to initiate repair. Finally, in the case above, where we have a non-addressed party initiating repair, we can see that the repair initiation is not immediately addressed by the other coparticipants; in line 11, Coré continues his joke by uttering more instructions of how Jonathan should behave. Then, in line 12, Roger is showing his receptiveness to the joke by laughing while he finishes opening the champagne bottle. It is only in line 13 that

Fabiola completes the repair by explaining to Mollie her own interpretation of what is going on; Jonathan is shy because of the microphone. In this case, the repair completion is not, as in the other cases, a repetition of the trouble source; since Mollie was not present during the prior part of the conversation, a mere repetition of the trouble source would not give to Mollie enough information for her to have a global understanding about what has been going on interactionally. Hence, Fabiola delivers a summary targeting the main topic of the unfolding conversation up until the point Mollie entered the dining room.

The following excerpt shows that the repair initiation with *hein* may not result in the resolution of the trouble source and a second repair initiation might be necessary. Because of its very nature, that is, the characteristic of being one of many open class repair initiators (Drew, 1997), *hein* might not be the ideal repair initiator in some cases such as the following case.

Prior to this segment, Valérie thanked Coré for having helped her to retrieve some of her audio data. Coré told Valérie that she does not need to thank him since he considers what he did as “only natural” (see figure 3.5, line 02). However, Valérie keeps thanking Coré (while toasting).

In the segment below, the turns of interest are in lines 16 and 18; the *hein* in line 6 will be analyzed in a different segment.

FIGURE 3.5

**C looks at V then at M who is starting to sit down*

01 C: >*mais c'est.-< ne me remercie pas,
 >*but it's.-< do me thank not,
 >*but it's.-< don't thank me,

02 C: c'est normal? °tatie°.
 it's normal? °aunty°.
 it's only natural? °aunty°.

03 (0.4) ((M finishes to sit down))

FIGURE 3.5 (cont.)

**V, still standing, looks at C. R turns his head towards C and starts opening his lips. C gazes in front of him*

04 V: ↑**ben?(0.2)écoute.*
 ↑**well?(0.2)listen.*
 ↑**but?(0.2)listen.*

**V holds her appetizer and flags it twice in front of her while uttering this term*

05 (.)*tu as été *super patient?↑*
 (.)*you have been super patient?↑*
 (.)*you've been very patient?↑*

**R and M are looking at C*

06 R: =**hein co:ré:..=*
 =**[PART]co:ré:..=*

**C looks at the appetizers. R starts to reach C's right hand with his left hand*

07 C: =**mais c'est ça qu'i' faut.=*
 =**but it's that that's necessary.=*
 =**but that's the way to go.=*

08 =*faut jamais [s'aggraver.]=*
 =*necessary never [oneself aggravate.]=*
 =*no need [to drive yourself nuts.]=*
 []=
 [**R reaches C's hand]=*
 [*looking at C who looks]=*
 [*back at R while getting]=*
 [*another appetizer]=*

09 R: [**mais t-. mais?]=*
 [**but y-. but?]=*

**V looks at C while eating her appetizer*

10 V: =**tu as été*
 =**you have been*

FIGURE 3.5 (cont.)

11 V: <SU(.) [PER [patient:..>]
 <SU(.) [PER [patient:..>]
 <VE(.) [RY [patient:..>]
 [[]
 12 C: [>*c'est [pas vrai? [c'que j'dis?]
 [*C looks [[]
 [at R [[]
 [>*it is [not true? [what I say?]
 [>*isn't that [right? [or what?]
 [[]
 [*R looks at C]
 13 R: [*ouais? mais-]
 [yeah? but-.]

*V looks at R, R and M look at C and
 C looks back at R (through lines 14-18)

14 (.) *mais comme i'dit co:ré:..
 (.) *but as e'says co:ré:..
 (.) *but as co:ré: always says.

15 (1.0)

16=> C: hein:?=
 [PRT:?=

17 R: =comme tu dis.
 =as: you say.
 =as: you always say.

18=> C: de qu[oi,
 of wh[at,
 wh[at.
 []
 [*M looks at C and then back at R

19 R: [*a:ve:cque ↑papy↑?
 [*wi:thuh ↑grandpa↑?

20 on arrive à ↑tout↑ faire.=
 one manages to ↑everything↑ do.=
 we can solve ↑anything.↑=

21 C: =ah: oui:.. [((starts smiling and laughing))
 =oh: ye:s. [
 =oh: yea:h. [
 []

22 [((R, M and V look at each other
 [and laugh)) (0.4)

FIGURE 3.5 (cont.)

23 C: [*ah ↑ça↑ on est.
 [*ah ↑that↑ one is.
 [*ah ↑in this case↑ we are.
 24 [((R, M and V keep on laughing)) (1.5)
 25 C: [*invincible.
 [*unbeatable.
 26 [((laughs continue))

Briefly, one can first notice that just as in the typical cases of *hein*, the *hein* in line 16 is uttered by the same party to which the preceding turn was addressed, that is, Coré. The stand-alone particle is also uttered with upwards intonation and *hein* is emphasized (see the elongation of the nasalized sound). Coré's *hein* is a non-specific repair initiator. It is uttered in reaction to Roger's preceding turns (lines 13-14). One can imply from the content of R's turn as well as the turn shape (it is a semantically incomplete TCU) that this turn needs completion by the speaker himself or by the other interlocutors. In line 14, Roger appears to be pre-announcing what Coré always says. Roger's gaze while uttering lines 13 and 14 combined with the long silence in line 15 may demonstrate that Roger is attempting to elicit the statement from Coré. However, either because Roger's pre-announcement is problematic (it is very broad), or because Coré is having a hearing problem, Coré initiates repair in line 16 with *hein*. As all the other *hein* analyzed so far, Coré's *hein* is a non-specific repair initiator. Roger orients to this *hein* as a repair initiator since in line 17, he reiterates what he had said in line 14; that is, while he does not repeat his previous utterance word by word, the content is absolutely the same. In other words, Roger's pre-announcement, whether it is an eliciting pre-announcement or not, is still as vague as it was line

14. However, one can also argue that Coré's choice of utilizing an open class repair initiator such as *hein* (line 16) might not be a good strategy since it does not point out clearly what the trouble source actually is. Again, Roger's turn (line 17) is still received by Coré as problematic since in line 18, Coré utters *de quoi*, a very common adverbial expression in spoken French which, when used by itself in a turn, has a similar meaning as *hein* and which can function as a repair initiator. However, it can also function as a "go-ahead" device, in the same way as Egbert *et al.* (2009, p. 125) show in their study about *Was denn*, / 'What.' Specifically, this device can function as a go-ahead to a pre-announcement (e.g., "You know what?" – "What?"), especially when uttered with a falling or slightly rising intonation, the way *de quoi* is here. This interpretation would make sense in the context of this exchange since as I previously mentioned, Roger's turns (lines 13-14 and 17) perform the function of a pre-announcement. Roger actually does appear to treat Coré's utterance as a go-ahead since he proceeds to say in lines 19-20 what he may have been trying to elicit from Coré. Hence, this confirms that Coré's turn (line 18) not only has the function of a repair initiator but it also does actually function like a go-ahead; Roger seems to treat it as such since he proceeds to say the twice elicited statement (lines 19-20). Roger's turn (the answer) functions as giving an announcement / answer (that had already become an inside joke within the participants prior to the recordings of the data) to Coré's *de quoi* / 'what.' and also as a solution for the awaited repair completion. The content of Roger's turn is fully approved by Coré as well as the other participants in the conversation (lines 21-26) and the slight topic shift started with Roger's statement (lines 19-20) goes on for a while after this segment. Lastly, in this case, it appears to be a case of a topical discontinuity (Drew, 1997, p. 74). As mentioned before, in these instances trouble sources occur at "topical junctures" (Drew 1997, p. 74), that is, at a specific point where speaker A seems to abruptly change the topic that has been going on up to that point.

As Drew (1997) mentions, the turn that contains the topic shift (Roger's turn) is not particularly marked and not prefaced by "lexical markers of topical discontinuity" (Drew, 1997, p. 76).

Furthermore, if one looks closely, Roger's turn is connected to the initial topic that I would refer to as "problem solving" since this fragment starts with Valérie thanking Coré for having helped her solve a problem. However, if, for Roger, this topical link is obvious, it is not the case for Coré who initiates a repair with an open class repair initiator, which is the typical kind of repair initiator used for such environment according to Drew (1997, p. 77).

In this sequence, what is of particular interest is that some open class repair initiators common to several languages (such as *hein* / *de quoi* in French, *was denn* in German and *what* in English) may have additional functions beyond being repair initiators. Depending on the intonation and the overall sequential environment, they might fulfill the equivalent of a go-ahead action to pre-sequence initiating actions (Schegloff, 2007).

The following is a case in which the repair sequence is never completed, that is, a case that appears to show that the mere utterance of the stand-alone particle *hein* does not guarantee a repair completion. In the analysis of figure 3.6, I will focus on the *hein* in line 45.

Prior to the segment below (Figure 3.6), Roger, Molly, Fabiola, Jonathan and Coré have started to have an *aperitif* while waiting for Benjamin and Lili who is Benjamin and Coré's little sister. In the context of this fragment, it is important to mention that when Benjamin arrives (line 11), he is very exhausted, for he taped all night long a wedding ceremony followed by a reception and all the parties address this element in what I will refer to as the main conversation present in this transcript.

Below (figure 3.6) is the diagram of the dining room table at which the interactants were seated

FIGURE 3.6

The table is arranged as the diagram below:

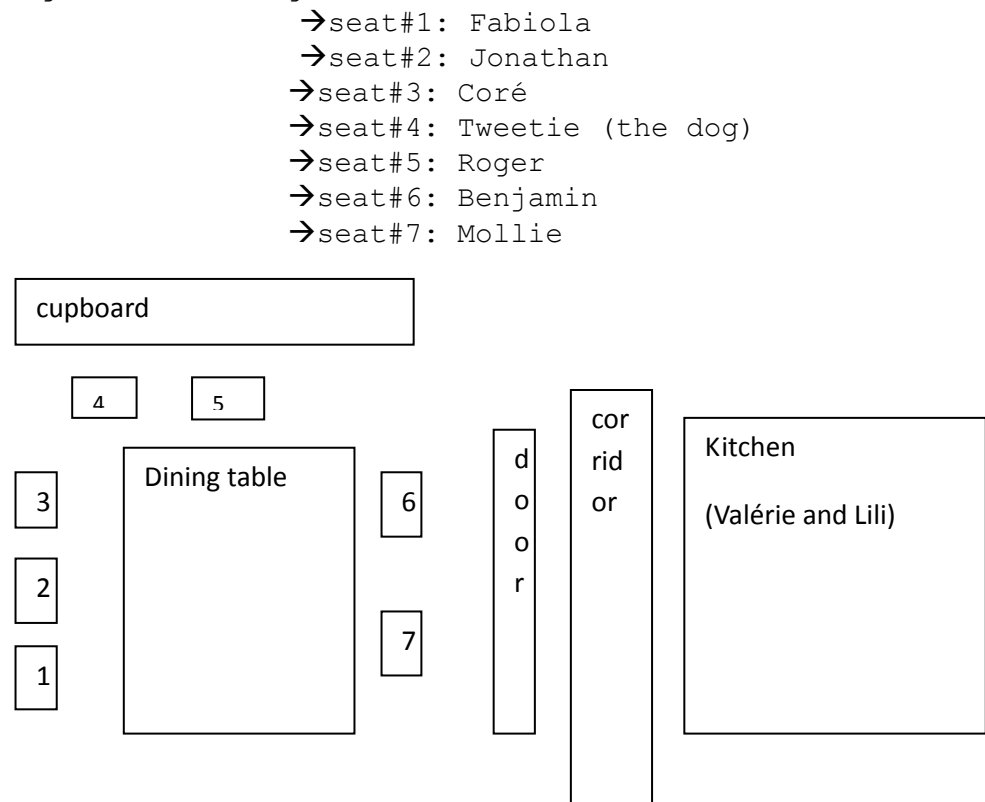


FIGURE 3.7

**R, M, J and F look at C. C looks back at R and at his plate while eating*

01 R: >*moi je le savais pas?
 > me I it did know not?
 > I did not know?

**Coré's girlfriend*

02 qu'*a(.)malia i've-i venait pas.<
 that a(.)malia she d-she did come not.<
 that a(.)malia was-was not coming.<

03 (0.4)

**looking at R*

04 C: *mais si:? j't'a-j'l'avais dit.
but of cou:rse? I ya ha-I it had told.
 but? I told y-I had said so.

**C points his chin towards M. R shifts his head towards M and then in front of him*

FIGURE 3.7 (cont.)

05 [>*à mamie.<]
 [> to grandma.<]
 [> to grandma.<]

**looks at her plate*

06 M: [*hi:er à] midi. i'me l'avait dit.
 [ye:sterday at] noon. he me it had told.
 [ye:sterday at] lunch. he told me about it.

07 (0.4)

**F looks at her ring on her right hand*

08 F: *elle est allée chez:(.)sa:(.)t↑an↑te.
 she is gone to: (.)he:r(.)↑aun↑t's.
 she went to: (.)he:r(.)↑aun↑t's house.

**R looks at the dining room door and sees Ben
 in the corridor*

09 >*j'crois.<
 >I b'lieve.<
 >I think.<

**C looks at F *name of a town*

10 C: [*ouais.](.) à *chomérac.=
 [yeah.](.) in chomérac.=
 [yeah.](.) in chomérac.=
 []
 **looking at B entering the room and smiling.*

11 R: [*ah?]

**shifts briefly his gaze towards the door (where
 B is), then to his plate*

12 C: [=*ouais. >à un anniver]saire.<
 [=yeah. >at a birth]day.<
 [=yeah. >at a birth]day party.<
 []
 **R half standing to kiss B (who is coming towards him)*

13 R: [*vois mon grand.]
 [see my tall one.]
 [here comes my big boy.]

**R and S kiss on the cheek (until end of line 17)*

14 *alors.
 so.

15 (1.0)

16 R: tu as bien <réveillé?>
 you have well <a:wa:ke?>
 you are fully <a:wa:ke?>

FIGURE 3.7 (cont.)

17 (1.7)

18 R: *B, smiling, goes towards M to kiss her on the cheek
 *p[as bien] encore non?= ((smiling))
 n[ot well] yet no?=
 n[ot quite] yet right?
 []
 [*smiling]

19 B: [>°*non°.<]
 [>°*no°.<]
 [>°*not quite°.<]

20 J: =mais::::.
 =bu::::t.

*B kisses M on the cheek (until end of line 28).
 R sits back down

21 R: [*h.h. ah ah ah ah ah ah ah ah
 []
 [*F looks at R until end of line 26

22 F: [(↑*ben vois::::↑)?=
 [(↑well see::::↑)?=
 [(↑listen to thi::::s.↑)?=
 []

23 R: [((R keeps laughing))
 []

24 F: [=<c'est ↑moi↑ qui ai fait sonner son
 [=<it is ↑me↑ who have made rin:g his
 [=<↑I↑ was the one who made his c↑ell↑ rin:g.
 []

25 R: [((R keeps laughing))
 [] []

26 F: [port↑able.↑] parce [que je s]avais pas.=
 [c↑ell.↑] be [cause I did kn]ow not.=
 [] be [cause I didn']t know.=
 [] []
 [*R stops] []
 [laughing] []

27 R: [h.h.h.*] []
 [] []
 [] [*name of a character from a comic
 [] [book, famous for his "front lock"
 [] [of blond hair]

28 M: [bon↑jour] [*tintin.↑] (M. gazes at B until
 [h↑i] [tintin.↑] line 46)
 [] []

29 B: [>°bonjour.°<]
 [>°hi.°<]

FIGURE 3.7 (cont.)

- 30 F: =si> >i'fallait qu'j'l'a:ppelle.=
 =if> >'t was necessary th't I 'im ca:ll.=
 =if >I had to ca:ll'im.=
- 31 =ou [pas::?<]
 =or [no::t?<]
 []
 [*J looks at B who walk towards Coré
- 32 J: [*i's'est-,]i's'est couché,
 ['e himself is-,]'e himself is come to be:d,
 [when 'e went,]to be:d,
- 33 j'étais levé moi.=
 I was up me.=
I was already up.=
- 34 F: =et oui?=
 =and yes?=
 =that's right?=
 =
- 35 J: [=>°alors°<=]
 [=>°so°<=]
 []
- 36 R: [=ah ah=]((very loud))
 []
 [*B slides behind R's seat to get to Coré
- 37 F: [=à six-]à six [heu:res, ou::.]
 [= at six-]at six [hou:rs, o::r.]
 [= at six-]at si:x,[o::r.]
 []
- 38 B: [ah ah ah ah]((slight laugh))
- *F looks at J
- 39 F: =>↓*que'que chose↓[comme ça?] hein?<=
 =>↓*som'thing↓ [like that?] [PRT?]<=
 []
- 40 B: [ah ah ah ah]((slight laugh))
- *J looks in front of him and then at R and M
- 41 J: *six heures et.(.) quart? six heures
 six hours and.(.) quarter? six hours
a.(.)quarter past.six? six

FIGURE 3.7 (cont.)

42 et de [mie. >quand il est]allé
and ha[lf. >when he is]gone
thir [ty.>when he]went
[]
[*looking at R, holding a piece of ham in front
[of him, showing it to R]
43 C: [>*°c'est ça qui est bon.°<]
[>°it is that that is good.°<]
[>°that's what's good.<°]
44 J: s'cou [cher.<]
himself to [bed.<]
to [bed.<]
[]
[*looking at C who starts to stand up to
[greet B who made his way next to Coré.
[B and C kiss on the cheeks until line 54.
45=> R: [°*hein°,]= ((looking at C))
[°PRT°,]=
[]
[*M looks at F who looks at J. M makes a
[gesture with her right index above her
[head to "reproduce" B's "front lock"
46 M: [*il a]=[la petiteuh::..]
[he has]=[the little/uh::/.]
[he's got]=[a little/uh::/.]
=[]
=[*nickname
=[for Benjamin
47 C: =[>ça va *ben?<]
=[>it goes ben?<]
=[>what's up ben?<]
48 M: [coue:tte co:mme:*tintin?]
[front lo:ck li:ke/uh/ tintin?]
[]
49 R: [ah ah ah ah ah [ah ah]
[]
50 C: [>la forme?<]((to B, smiling))
[>the shape?<]
[>in shape?<]
51 B: ((laughing slightly))
52 R: oh:::.

*R looks at B, smiling. B looks back at R along with
Everyone else, smiling

53 [il faut te ré:↑vei:ller:↑=
[it is necessary you w↑a:ke yourse:lf u:p?↑=
[you gotta w↑a:ke u:p?↑=
[]

54 F: [il a fait la fête.]
[he has done the party.]
[he partied.]

55 R: =un peu. hein? ah ah
=a little. [PRT?] ah ah

*C looks at B going to his seat

56 C: *alors c'te CVR, elle marche?
so th's CVR, it walks?
so th's CVR, it works well?

104

Benjamin and Coré kiss on the cheeks until line 54 and, in addition to the embodied action, that is, the kissing on the cheeks, Coré initiates a verbal greeting sequence with Benjamin right after Roger utters the *hein*. Hence, this last element might well suggest one of the reasons why Coré did not complete the repair: while Roger was uttering the *hein*, Coré's focus had already shifted to initiating his next action, that is, starting a greeting sequence with Benjamin. Additionally, from the elements present in the transcript, there is for instance evidence that the *hein* (as well as the trouble source) is uttered with a low voice. Hence, taking into account this element in addition to the elevated level of noise created by the participants taking part in the main conversation, one may infer that Roger's *hein* might very well not have been heard by Coré. In any case, this fragment shows a case of a repair initiation that does not receive a response either because it was not heard or not attended to since Coré gets involved in a parallel situation. Such situations are rare but they happen (Schegloff *et al.*, 1977). Hence, as explained in the core of the analysis, it seems that this fragment highlights the importance of the context (or, in other words, the circumstances) in which *hein* is uttered since this very context has an impact on the repair sequence itself.

3.4. *Hein* used for functions other than repair

In my collected data of *hein* as a stand-alone particle, there are 3 instances where the *hein* clearly appears to have functions other than that of a corrective one. However, the function of these instances of *hein* is not clear since in each case, I am lacking a vital element without which an analysis based on CA cannot be accomplished. In the first case (figure 3.8), a coparticipant's orientation to the *hein* appears to be missing because the speaker is not responding at all. In the other case (figure 3.9), I am confronted with a similar problem since the coparticipant is a dog.

As the analysis of these two figures will show, I could only determine that *hein* might have the function of a summons or perhaps that of an agreement pursuit marker.

3.4.1. *Hein* as an attention getting device

I will now be presenting the analysis of the segment (figure 3.8) in which the function of the stand-alone particle might serve the function of capturing a participant's attention. In the analysis of figure 3.8, I will focus more particularly on the stand-alone *hein* in line 6.

In this following fragment, Valérie and Mollie are sitting in the kitchen, with the television playing in the background. Tweetie, the dog, who has been sick for a while, is sitting on Mollie's knees. Suddenly, Tweetie starts to move around. This is when the following segment starts.

FIGURE 3.8

```

01      T:      *Tweetie is starting to get agitated
              *.h h .h h ((T sounds as if he can't catch his breath))

02      M:      *M looks at T getting more and more agitated
              *oh .h:. oh .h:..↑oh↓beh dis donc-?-euh.↓
              oh .h:. oh .h:..↑oh↓well say thus:?:uh.↓
              oh .h:. oh .h:..↑oh↓what has gotten into you:?:..↓

03      (2.5) ((V walks towards M and T and pets T on the head))

04      V:      °he he.° ((stifled laugh))

05      (2.2) ((V walks towards the sink, turning her back to M
              and T while M, still holding T-who is still
              agitated- on her lap, goes on watching TV))

06=> V:      hein:?
              [PRT:??]

07      (0.7)

```

FIGURE 3.8 (cont.)

**M looks at T and V is still
turning her back at M and T,
since V is standing in front of
the sink.*

08 V: ↑il en a?↑↓de <l'énergie.*>↓
↑he some has?↑↓some <energy.>↓
↑he sure has?↑↓some <energy.>↓

09 (1.5) ((M keeps on looking at T who is agitated))

**V is now gazing at M and T and M looks at T,
then she looks in front of her, with a thinking
face as V turns once more her back at M and T*

10 V: >le< *pe(.)ti(.)tout,
>the< li(.) ttitle,
>the< li(.)ttitle (.) one,

11 T: ((breathing loudly)) (4.5)

**M stands up, puts T down and V looks back at M and T*

12 M: *mais ↑dis:?↑
but ↑say:?↑
but ↑wait:?↑

13 M: ↓c'est l'heure de ton mé↑do↑↓c-euh↓ toi.
↓it's the ti:me of your m↑e:ds↑↓ you.
↓it's ti:me to take your m↑eds↑↓ you.

14 oh↑::↓::..
hey↑::↓::..

When Tweetie starts getting agitated and moving around (line 1), Mollie's reaction is that of surprise; she verbally shows this surprise through a series of interjections (line 2). As for Valérie, after giving a quick pet on Tweetie's head (line 3) and laughing briefly (line 4), she moves away from what I would call the 'interactive space', that is, she walks away from the table, towards the sink, turning her back to Mollie and Tweetie (line 5). Line 6 is the line of interest. Valérie, still facing the sink and with her back to Mollie and Tweetie, utters a *hein* with rising intonation. I believe that both the body posture and the intonation with which *hein* is uttered represent important elements in the context of this analysis. Indeed, since Valérie is not

able to establish any eye contact with Mollie, this *hein* that stands out by its rising intonation might be analyzed as a means for Valérie to get her coparticipant's attention. Thereby, this *hein* might have the function of a summons, that is, Valérie might be asking for Mollie to show her availability as an active co-participant in the conversation. However, it seems that Valérie's attempt fails since her *hein* is followed by a silence (line 7). Nevertheless, Valérie still proceeds with her utterance (lines 8 and 10), that is, she gives her point of view regarding Tweetie's level of energy with respect to Tweetie's immediately preceding behavior. One may notice that at the end of line 8, there is a transition relevance place at which Valérie pauses. Hence, Mollie has the opportunity to take the floor if she wanted to. She could for instance agree or disagree with Valérie's statement. However, once again, Mollie does not react. Lastly, when Mollie finally takes the floor lines 12-14, it is not addressed to Valérie and does not seem to be in reaction to what Valérie has said, even though the topic is still linked with Tweetie's health; Mollie is simply remembering aloud that she ought to give Tweetie his dosage of medication.

Hence, in the above case, one can only state that the function of *hein* as a stand-alone particle is not that of repair initiation. I argued that *hein* might be considered as a summons (or any kind of attention getting device) to attract the co-participant's attention. However, if it is the case, the attempt fails.

3.4.2. *Hein* as a possible agreement pursuit marker and / or a possible summons

In this section, I present an analysis of a segment (figure 3.9) in which the function of the stand-alone particle is not entirely clear. It can be viewed as an agreement pursuit marker, or as a summons.

Prior to this segment, Valérie has been holding Tweetie, her dog, in her arms. Valérie is sitting with Tweetie in a small space between the kitchen wall and the kitchen table. Because Tweetie is showing signs of discomfort (as Valérie mentions before the fragment below), Valérie decides that Tweetie would be better off on Mollie's lap. Thus, Valérie invites Tweetie to ask Mollie for permission to sit on Mollie's lap (lines 1-4 in the following figure).

In this fragment, I will present a detailed analysis of lines 9 and 14. The *hein* in line 6 will be further analyzed in the following chapter.

FIGURE 3.9

```

          *V holds T in her arms. She is standing, on her way to
          where M is sitting. M is watching TV
01  V:  >*tu vas faire-.<
        > you go do-.<
        > you wanna do-.<

02      (.)

03      >twee-< <twee↑tie↑ fait du transat=
        >twee-< <twee↑tie↑ lays on the recli:ning chair=
        >twee-< <twee↑tie↑ is chilling out=

04      =chez ma↑man↑?>
        =at m↑om's↑?>
        =on m↑om's knees↑?>

05      (1.0) ((M's gaze is shifting from the TV to V and T.
                M makes the "come here"/"give it to me"
                gesture))

06  V:  ↓hein↓ ↑mon ché↓ri.
        [↓PRT↓] ↑my swee:↓tie:.
        [↓PRT↓] ↑swee:↓tie:.

07      (0.6) ((V is not moving, still looking at T, while M
                repositions herself on the chair and looks back
                at the TV.))

08      (1.0) ((V gives one kiss to tweetie))

09=> V:  hein:?
        [PRT: ?]

10      (0.2)

```

FIGURE 3.9 (cont.)

11 V: va demander.=
go ask.=
let's ask.=

*M shifts her gaze towards V and T and makes the
"come here"/"give this to me" gesture.

12 M: =*envoie-moi ça.
= send to me that.
= deli:ver the pa:ckage.

13 (0.9) ((Molly looks back at the TV-which she does until
line 27 and V still does not move))

14=> V: ↑he:in::?↑
[↑PRT::?↑]

15 (0.4)

16 V: ↓tweetie fait du transate=
↓tweetie lays on the reclining chair=
↓tweetie is chilling out=

=chez ma↓m↑an?↑
=at m↓o:↑:m' s?↑
=on m↓o::m' s↑knees?↑

17

18 (1.0)

19 V: ↑d'a:ccord?↑
↑alri:ght?↑

20 (1.2)

21 V: ↑d'a:ccord?↑
↑alri:ght?↑

22 (1.3)

23 V: ((gives 3 kisses to tweetie))

24 (1.1)

*V makes her way to M and bends her knees to
delicately give T to M, which ends line 27

25 V: *lâ↑:::↓:::re.
the↑:::↓:::re.

26 (0.7)

FIGURE 3.9 (cont.)

*M shifts her gaze and now looks at V and T, she opens
her arms to get ready to receive T on her knees

27 V: ↑*vois qui je te ↓do:nne.
↑ see who i you ↓gi:ve.
↑ look who i'm ↓gi:vin:' ya.

28 (0.7) ((T is getting stabilized on M's knees))

29 V: eh eh eh eh eh eh

The fragment starts with an invitation in the shape of a question; Valérie invites Tweetie to ask permission of Mollie to sit on her knees. This invitation appears to have an additional function, that of asking for agreement from both co-participants (lines 1 to 4). The second pair-part from Mollie occurs right away line 5 in the shape of a non verbal response. Mollie shifts her gaze and does a ‘come here’ gesture. She also readjusts her posture on the chair while moving the chair away from the table to welcome Tweetie. However, Valérie does not react immediately to Mollie’s second pair part; rather, Valérie remains in the same position as before, looks at Tweetie and addresses her next line (line 6) to Tweetie, apparently seeking agreement from the dog for the move (see Chapter 4 for discussion). Through Valérie’s behavior, it seems that Mollie’s agreement does not suffice since Valérie appears to still ask for Tweetie’s agreement in line 9, when Valérie utters what could be an agreement pursuit marker. Even after Mollie’s words and gesture to confirm her agreement (line 12), Valérie continues to use the agreement pursuit marker addressed to Tweetie (line 14). This goes on even in lines 19 and 21 with one additional agreement pursuit marker, *d’accord* / ‘is it-it is alright’. The addition of all the elements that delay Valérie’s action of giving the dog to Mollie might explain the fact that Molly eventually shifts her gaze back towards the TV (from line 13 to line 26). Valérie obtains Mollie’s gaze again by moving towards her and using an imperative *vois* / ‘look’ (line 27). Finally, Valérie gives the dog to Mollie and once again, Mollie shows her agreement through her gestures and body

posture, as described in the transcript. I argue here that the *hein* functions as an agreement pursuit marker similar to German *ne* (Harren, 2001; Golato, 2005).

As in the previous example (figure 3.8), the attribution of a set function to the stand-alone particle in figure 3.9 is arguable since there is an ambiguity due to the ‘dialogue’ between 2 parties, one of them being a dog. Hence, as I stated before, an analysis from a member’s perspective is not possible and future research will have to address if a stand-alone *hein* can also be used as a response pursuit marker.

The two fragments above (figures 3.8 and 3.9) have addressed cases in which *hein* as a stand-alone particle clearly does not endorse the function of a repair initiator. I have argued that in figure 3.8, *hein* might have the function of an attention getting device whereas in figure 3.9, *hein* might be an agreement-pursuit device. However, as previously mentioned, the problem related to the co-participant(s) in both fragments represents an obstacle to the attribution of a specific function to *hein* when this particle is not a repair initiator. Hence, future research with a larger collection of data samples is needed in order to confirm or to disconfirm these additional functions of *hein* as a stand-alone particle.

3.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued that the main function of *hein* as a stand-alone particle is that of a repair initiator. In repair sequences, *hein* is what Drew (1997) labeled as a next turn open class repair initiator. In other words, contrary to other repair initiators that point out with precision the element treated as the trouble, *hein* as a stand-alone particle refers to the whole utterance as being the cause of trouble. As I showed through the analyses, one can find *hein* as a repair initiator the same environments as identified by Drew (1997) for next turn open class repair

initiators. I also highlighted that like in German (Egbert *et al.*, 2009, p. 125) and in English (Schegloff, 2007), my data show that *hein* as well as *de quoi* can function simultaneously as repair initiators as well as go-ahead devices. Additionally, I also argued that there are cases in which *hein* as a stand-alone particle is clearly not used as a repair initiator; my data show that *hein* might have the function of an attention getting device and a possible agreement pursuit marker as well as a possible summons. However, because of the lack of reaction of the co-participant(s) in one instance and the fact that the co-participant is a dog in the other instance, it is difficult to determine a definite function of *hein* when the stand-alone particle is not used as a repair initiator.

Chapter 4: *Hein* at the End of a Turn Constructional Unit

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the forms and functions of *hein* at the end of a TCU, that is, in tag position. There were 47 cases in which *hein* was in tag position, and in the majority of cases the particle has the function of an agreement pursuit. However, this *hein* is also used to stress the TCU that is preceding this particle. In other cases, this particle is utilized as a device to intensify a hedge, to stress an expression that conveys an acknowledged truth, to check a piece of information and, lastly, to insure the attention of co-participants in the conversation.

This chapter starts out with an overview of tag questions in English and French, focusing in particular on prior findings related to their functions. I then discuss how *hein* at the end of a TCU is employed as an agreement pursuing device. I present a data sample that shows the prototypical use of *hein* along with an analysis of this data sample, focusing mostly on the lines of interest. I then discuss several additional features of *hein* that appear of importance in my study. Finally, I summarize the findings in light of the aforementioned analyses.

4.2. Tag questions

Tag questions have been extensively studied in English in the fields of sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, discursive psychology and conversation analysis (Andersen, 1998; Hepburn & Potter, 2007, 2010, 2011, Holmes, 1982; Hudson, 1975; Nässlin, 1986; and Tottie & Hoffman, 2006, 2009). Before presenting the findings of these studies, it is first necessary to describe the formal properties of tags and to list some common features of tag questions. As Tottie and Hoffmann (2006) explain, in English a “tag question consists of two clauses, an *anchor* and a

tag. The subject in the anchor can be a full noun phrase, a pronoun, or *there*, but in the tag, it must be either a personal pronoun, *there*, or *one*” (Tottie & Hoffmann, 2006, p. 283). For instance, in the following example: *You are tired, aren't you?*, the anchor would be: *You are tired* and the tag would then be: *aren't you*. Tottie & Hoffmann (2006) further explain that the anchor may have certain marks of hesitations when the tag question serves the purpose of checking information (Tottie & Hoffmann, 2006, p. 284).

One common feature of tag questions is polarity (Andersen, 1998; Holmes, 1982; Hudson, 1975; Nässlin, 1986; Tottie & Hoffman, 2006, 2009). Constant polarity tag questions have the same polarity in the anchor and in the tag particle. In other words, if the tag is negative, the tag particle will also be negative. On the other hand, reversed polarity tags do not have the same polarity in the anchor and in the tag particle; if the anchor consists of a positive clause (a clause without a negation), the tag particle will contain a negation. As Nässlin (1986, p. 167) explains, in English, there are 4 types of interrogative tags.

1a: He is, isn't he? (positive clause + negative tag = reversed polarity question)

1b: He isn't, is he? (negative clause + positive tag = reversed polarity question)

2a: He is, is he? (positive clause + positive tag = constant polarity question)

2b: He isn't, isn't he? (negative clause + negative tag = constant polarity question)

Constant polarity questions (such as 2a and 2b, above) do not express a speaker's stance toward a situation, that is, constant polarity questions seem to be open to a *yes* or a *no* answer. These questions can also convey surprise (Nässlin, 1986). According to Tottie & Hoffman (2006, 2009), in both oral and written English, constant polarity tag questions are rather rare compared to reversed polarity questions. In written English, constant polarity tag questions are mainly used to convey the fact that the speaker has arrived at a certain conclusion by inference (Tottie &

Hoffmann, 2009, p. 312). They may also convey sarcasm or irony (Tottie & Hoffmann, 2009, p. 313). Reversed polarity questions clearly convey the speaker's stance toward a given situation. For instance, imagine a French teacher saying to a student whom she is helping with an essay "You are not going to use the *imparfait* in this sentence, are you?" This utterance clearly conveys the negative assertion: "You are not going to use the *imparfait* in this sentence." In other words, the RPQ asked by the teacher clearly conveys an implicit "no" answer (Koshik, 2002).

Along with polarity, tag questions are generally seen as involving an interlocutor in the conversation in various ways. As Andersen (1998) explains, "[i]t is usually claimed that tags are, in and of themselves, aimed at triggering a verbal contribution from the hearer, specifically, a contribution which either confirms or rejects the claim that is made in the previous proposition (i.e. in the preceding referentially meaningful unit)" (Andersen, 1998, p. 2). Typically, utterances containing tag questions are positively conductive, which means that the expected response is a confirmatory one (Andersen, 1998, p. 1).

Many researchers of sociolinguistics (Andersen, 1998; Beeching, 2002, 2004; Moore & Podesva, 2009) attribute functions to tag questions that centrally concerned with gender, generations, community and politeness. For instance, as I previously mentioned in chapter 2, Beeching investigates the different usages of *hein* in tag position according to gender (Beeching 2002). To remind the reader, for instance, Beeching (2007) however states that compared to men women use the particle *hein* mainly to be tentative and to do hedging in order to keep the dialogue running smoothly. Andersen (1998) is conducting a study in order to draw conclusions on whether tag questions are eliciting an answer and whether the patterns that Andersen expose are linked to the use of tag question with respect to generations. Andersen concludes that not all tags elicit answers and that older generations are more enclined to answer tag questions than

younger generations. Lastly, Moore & Podesva (2009) analyze the differences related to the stylistic composition of tags produced by high school girls in northwestern England in order to highlight the difference of group identity.

Previous studies have shown that tag questions are used to perform a large array of functions. However, as Tottie & Hoffmann highlight, “[t]he [very] multi-functionality of tags is a problem for any classification” (Tottie & Hoffmann, 2006, p. 299). Most of the studies on tags highlight the function of acknowledging the presence of the co-participant and inviting him / her “to respond, to contribute or to continue to contribute to a conversation” (Holmes, 1982, p. 53), in other words, “to involve the interlocutor in the conversation” (Tottie & Hoffmann, 2006, p. 311). Holmes refers to this particular type of tags as “facilitating tags” (Holmes, 1982, p. 53). This function is related to the response elicitation studies by Andersen (1998). As Andersen (1998) explains, “[i]t is of course reasonable to assume that there is a fairly close connection between the use of a tag question and a speaker’s intention to elicit a response, given that tags are interrogative in form, and that they have a certain capacity, at least, to perform directive speech acts (i.e., speech acts of ‘asking’)” (Andersen, 1998, p. 3). However, as Andersen’s (1998) study shows, “data partly confirm and partly disagree with the assumption that tags are meant to elicit talk” (Andersen, 1998, p. 4). Andersen explains that this does not necessarily mean that speakers of tag questions fail to elicit a reaction from co-participants. Rather, it suggests that the speaker who utters the tag question might not expect or allow for a reaction from the co-participants in the conversation. And even if it is true that tag questions are turn-yielding most of the time, it might not be the speaker’s intention to exit from a turn and let another party take the floor (Andersen, 1998). An additional function of tags that is described in the studies on tags previously cited is that of expressing the speaker’s attitude (Tottie & Hoffman, 2009), for

instance, when tags are used to stress one part of the discourse. In addition, tags can be used as a device to express uncertainty, that is, to ask for confirmation (Andersen, 1998; Holmes, 1982; Tottie & Hoffmann, 2006, 2009). Tag questions are also well known for their function of hedging, that is, they are used “to soften criticism or complaints” or to “soften directives” (Holmes, 1982, pp. 59-60). In other words, they are “protecting solidarity” (Holmes, 1982, p. 62). On the other hand, some tags are qualified as “peremptory” (Algoe, 1990, cited in Tottie & Hoffman, 2006, p. 298). Algoe explains that “[a] peremptory tag immediately follows a statement of obvious or universal truth, with which it is practically impossible to disagree (...) The tag is often a put down on the addressee” (Algoe, 1990, pp. 447-448, cited in Tottie & Hoffman, 2006, p. 299). This is related to another but more rare function of tags, which are “challenging or aggressive or antagonistic tag questions” (Tottie & Hoffmann, 2006, p. 311). These tags are characterized by Andersen (1998, p. 3) as “aggressive or hostile” (For a similar argument, see Holmes (1984)).

Lastly, Andersen (1998) highlights the different types of answers that follow the tag questions in his study. The following list of answers as well as explanations (when necessary) and examples are quoted directly from Andersen (1998, pp. 6-7);

“A wide variety of forms may be used to confirm or reject a claim and are reported as responses (...). A convenient classification may be the following:

Minimal responses: yeah, yes, mm, right, etc.

Repetition of entire proposition

A: You’re not open on Saturday are you?

B: **We’re closed Saturday.**

Elliptical repetition of proposition

A: She wouldn’t do that **would she?**

B: **She would.**

Repetition of propositional element

A: You're almost fluent in English **aren't you?**

B: **Almost.**

(Near-) synonymous expression

A: But that's really **quite quite bad**, isn't it?

B: **Dreadful**³, poor parents.

Implicature

A: You missed a lot did you?

B: **Only the first lesson**, which is...

(Implicature: **no**, rejection)

Responses expressing reduced commitment / uncertainty

A: Well that's Russell isn't it?

B: Yeah **I suppose it is.**

Lastly, the findings of Hepburn & Potter (2007, 2010, 2011) are of interest since their research is conducted within the framework of discursive psychology, which employs CA as one of its methodologies. Their corpus consists of calls from a child protection helpline. Hepburn & Potter (2007, 2010, 2011) mainly focus on one element that has been proven challenging to the child protection officers (CPOs), that is, being confronted by callers who show signs of crying. CPOs use different techniques, among them tags, to handle these difficult situations. Hepburn & Potter (2007) refer to a practice that entails the use of emphatic utterances that take the form of a declarative to which a tag question is added (such as 'your are upset about your friend's situation, aren't you?'). This type of utterance "project[s] agreement and downgrade[s] the CPO's epistemic priority in assessing the caller's [epistemic authority] (...) in first position"

³ One can notice that in this case, the 'near synonymous expression' (Andersen, 1998, p. 6) is an upgrade.

(Heritage & Raymond, 2005, cited in Hepburn & Potter, 2010, p. 75). With this technique, the CPOs attempt to offer a turn that is affiliative (that is, empathetic) and that encourages the caller to react. This corroborates Heritage's (2002) findings in the context of news interviews: "statements with negative tags are treated as less assertive and are more likely to be treated as a question to be answered rather than an assertion to be agreed or disagreed with" (Heritage, 2002, cited in Hepburn & Potter, 2010, pp. 72-73). Another practice that appears challenging for the CPOs is to manage advice resistance (Hepburn & Potter, 2011) from the caller without provoking the termination of the call. This practice can be described as follows. First, the CPO transforms the previously-given advice into as idiomatic a phrase as possible. Then, this idiomatic expression is combined with a tag question in a way that leads the caller to confirm the new version of the previously rejected advice. In other words, the tag sets up a preference for agreement. In this case, the use of a declarative + tag can be "used in a way that is both coercive [because it is an attempt to alter the recipient's conduct] and invasive, by virtue of their interactional reconstruction of features of the recipient's psychology" (Hepburn & Potter, 2011, p. 6).

The literature on tags in French is very scarce and not enlightening regarding the functions of tag questions. My conclusions related to the functions of tag questions in French are all presented in chapter 2, when I explained the previous findings on *hein*. Formally speaking, French tags consist of a main clause (whether it is positive or negative) + *hein* or *n'est-ce-pas*. Hence, the feature of polarity is not present in French tags. For this reason, it is more difficult to interpret their meaning. However, as Nässlin (1986) highlights, tags are not as much used in French as in English. Instead, it is more common in French to replace a tag with an adverb or a simple assertion. Finally, as Morin (1973) reports, according to Lakoff (1971, cited in Morin,

1973, p. 97) in spoken French, *n'est-ce pas* is not used even though it is a tag particle that is found in all French textbooks. However, Lakoff does not say that *n'est-ce pas* is replaced by *hein*. Instead, Lakoff (1971) states that in French, the particles *oui*, *si*, and *non* are actually used and that “they correspond exactly to the English positive and negative tag questions, *si* being a variant of *oui* used after morphologically negative sentence” (Lakoff, 1971). The examples below support these claims. Each example is being directly quoted in Morin’s (1973, p. 97) study:

Il est nerveux ce matin, non?

‘He is nervous this morning, isn’t he?’

Il n’est pas nerveux ce matin, si?

‘He is not nervous this morning, is he?’

Il est nerveux ce matin, oui?

‘He is nervous this morning, is he?’

Il n’est pas nerveux ce matin, non?

‘He is not nervous this morning, isn’t he?’

Hence, as Lakoff (1971) highlights in his work, French tag questions would be similar to the tag questions in English in the sense that the French particles could attribute polarity to French tag questions. However, one must bear in mind that it is doubtful that in 1971, Lakoff had the corpus linguistics technology to substantiate this claim. This could explain why my findings do not corroborate Lafoff’s (1971) findings. In effect, in all of my transcribed data, there is only one instance that corresponds to this way the tag question is formulated.

Prior to the segment (figure 4.1) below, Roger, Molly, Fabiola, Jonathan and Coré have started to have *aperitif*. When Benjamin arrives, he is very exhausted, for he had taped a wedding ceremony followed by a reception and then spent the entire night making a film out of it. All participants are addressing Benjamin’s tiredness by gently and humorously teasing him. The first

person teasing Benjamin is Roger in line1. This fragment is extracted from a sample that has been previously analyzed in the previous chapter (see figure 3.7).

FIGURE 4.1

```

1    R:    [*R half standing to kiss B (who is coming towards him)
        [*vois mon grand.          ]
        [ see my tall one.          ]
        [ here comes my big boy.]

        *R and S kiss on the cheek (until end of line 17)
2    *alors.
        so.

3    (1.0)

4    R:    tu as bien <réveillé?>
        you have well <a:wa:ke?>
        you are fully <a:wa:ke?>

5    (1.7)

6=> R:    *B, smiling, goes towards M to kiss her on the cheek
        *p[as bien          ] encore non?= ((smiling))
        n[ot well          ] yet no?=
        n[ot quite         ] yet uh?
        [                   ]
        [ *smiling          ]
7    B:    [>°*non°.<        ]
        [>°*no°.<          ]
        [>°*nope°.<        ]

```

In the fragment above, Roger first simultaneously acknowledges the arrival of Benjamin and welcomes Benjamin (line 1). In line 2, Roger starts a new sequence with *alors* / ‘so’ that is a preface to the following question that is uttered line 4 after a silence. This silence might be due to the fact that both co-participants greeting each other, that is, they kiss each other on the cheek. It might also be due to the fact that Benjamin is waiting to hear what is yet to come after the adverb *alors* / ‘so’ which usually prefaces a statement or question (Auchlin, 1981). After the silence (line 3), Roger asks Benjamin whether he is ‘fully awake’. This question is a first pair part. Hence,

there should be a second pair part forthcoming. However, the second pair part does not come: Roger's question is followed by a longer silence (line 5). Again, this might be due to the fact that the two co-participants are still busy greeting each other by kissing on the cheek. Hence, in line 6, Roger offers a candidate answer in the form of a tag question where the tag particle is *non?* / 'no?'. Benjamin treats Roger's tag question as an agreement pursuit (the tag question has a constant polarity which usually elicits an agreement) and, smiling, answers with a minimum response: *non* / 'no'. As previously mentioned, this is the only case where any of the particles referred to by Lakoff (1971) are used in my corpus. Future research based on a larger collection of tags with *si* / *non* is needed in order to determine any differences between the use of these particles in tag position and *hein*.

4.3. Functions of *hein* in tag position

4.3.1. Agreement pursuit

In tag position, my collected data show that *hein* can have five main functions. I found that the function that appears to be the most present is that of agreement seeking. Out of 46 instances of *hein* at the end of a TCU, about 36 instances show that *hein* has the function of agreement pursuit as shown in the data segment below.

In the following extract, Mollie (M), Roger (R), Fabiola (F), Jonathan (J) and Coré (C) are sitting around the dining room table having *apéritif*, while waiting for Benjamin (B) and his little sister Lili to arrive. A fresh bouquet of flowers is sitting on the piano that is in the room. In my analysis, I will mainly focus on the analysis of lines 5, 7, 12 and 13, 18 and 19.

FIGURE 4.2

01 **looking at the bouquet on top of the piano*
 F: *tu as fait un super [bouquet, maman:..
 you made a great [bouquet, mo:m.
 [
 02 *[R is entering the room*

**everyone but R is looking at the bouquet*
 03 *qu'est-ce qu'il est beau,=
 how it is beautiful,=
 how beautiful,=

**R is looking at the bouquet*
 04 M: =*c'est papa.
 = it is da:d.
 = da:d did it.

05=> F: ben: [c-]c'est: super joli.hein,=
 we:ll [it-]it i:s rea:llly beautiful. PRT=
 we:ll [it-]it i:s rea:llly beautiful. [PRT]=
 []
 06 R: [ah:]((smiling))

**R, still smiling, looking at F*
 07 R: =*t'as vu: hein:?
 = you saw: PRT?
 = see:[PRT]?

08 [(0.2)

09 F: [((whistling))]
 []
 10 R: [c-com] bien de=
 [h.-h.ow] many=
 [h.-h.ow] many=

11 R: =qualités des fleurs [qu'on a:?
 =varieties of flowers [that we ha:ve?
 =varieties of flowers [we ha:ve?

12=> F: *[*F looking at the bouquet*
 [*a:h il est beau ce
 [a:h it is beautiful this
 [a:h this bou:quet: IS just

13=> F: bou:quet:.hein,
 bou:quet:.PRT,
 beautiful. [PRT],

FIGURE 4.2 (cont.)

14 (0.2)

15 F: franchement? euh::
 seriously? hu::m

16 (0.4)

17 *V is in the corridor, about to enter the room*

18=> V: **F is looking at V*
 *ouais, il est
 yeah, it is
 yeah, it is

19=> V: ma [gnifique:.hein.
 won[derful. PRT.
 won[derful. [PRT].
 [
20 F: [**F is looking at V*
 [*il est beau, ce bou:quet.=
 [it's beautiful, this bou:quet.=
 [it IS a beautiful bou:quet.=

21 V: =il est vraiment magnifique.
 =it is rea:lly wonderful.

Noticing a bouquet of flowers on top of the piano, Fabiola (line1) pays a compliment to Mollie about the bouquet. Fabiola stresses the first two letters of the evaluative term super / ‘great’. Meanwhile, in line 2, Roger is entering the room. Everyone around the table is now looking at the bouquet. However, what is noticeable is that no one is producing a second pair-part. Studies (Golato, 2005; Pomerantz, 1978; Wieland, 1995) have shown that after the utterance of a compliment, what would be relevant next would be either an agreement from one (or several) of the co-present parties or a second pair part from the compliment recipient (i.e., ‘maman’). In the case of this fragment, though, neither the agreement nor the response is forthcoming (perhaps due to the fact the Roger entered the room). In line 3, Fabiola pays a second compliment about the bouquet, emphasizing the new evaluative term beau, / ‘beautiful,’.

Immediately afterwards, Roger also turns his gaze to the bouquet. Mollie produces a correction addressed to Fabiola, that she did not make the bouquet but that her dad (Roger) did. Line 5 is one of the lines of interest here. Fabiola briefly acknowledges the correction uttering *ben:* / ‘we:ll’. Immediately afterwards, she reiterates the compliment, this time addressing it to Roger and upgrading her assessment with the adverb *super/* ‘rea:lly’. Her upgraded assessment is followed by *hein* uttered with rising intonation, thereby explicitly pursuing a response. In overlap with the beginning of Fabiola’s turn, Roger (line 6) utters an *ah:* / ‘ah:’, smiling. Roger certainly heard Fabiola’s assessment (line 3), Mollie’s correction (line 4) and sees that everyone is looking at the bouquet (line 3). Hence, one can say that Roger’s uttering of the lengthened *ah:* while smiling might have the mere function of noticing with satisfaction that his bouquet had been noticed and positively assessed by Fabiola, hence, accepting Fabiola’s compliment. In other words, Roger receives Fabiola’s assessment as a compliment addressed to him, and this *ah:* is a second pair part to Fabiola’s assessment. Right after Fabiola utters her second upgraded assessment (line 5), Roger, still smiling, goes on with his second pair part. He reinterprets the compliment (the bouquet of flowers), referring to the large variety of flowers, in the form of a question addressed to Fabiola (lines 7 and 10-11). Roger’s utterance may be an explanation of why the bouquet is beautiful (because of the variety of flowers available). Hence, his second pair-part appears understandable and relevant. Thereby, Roger’s action is one of agreeing with Fabiola’s assessment followed by *hein* (line 5), aligning with her and leaving the opportunity for Fabiola to comment on his reinterpretation. In line 7, Roger utters what appear to be at this point the first part of a question followed by *hein*, the second part being lines 10 and 11. (Roger’s *hein* (line 7) does not appear to be at the end of a TCU. Rather, it falls in the categories of ‘intra-TCU *hein*’ and will be analyzed as such in chapter 5). Then, after a very short pause (line 8) and in

overlap with Fabiola's whistling of admiration (line 9), Roger completes the second part of his reinterpretation (lines 10-11) in the form of a question (Roger asks Fabiola whether or not she noticed the variety of flowers that the bouquet is made of). Thus, through lines 7 as well as lines 10 and 11, Roger's actions corroborate Pomerantz's (1978) explanation related to compliments' responses. Pomerantz explains that compliments' recipients are under a double constraint. Since compliments are assessments, the preferred action is to agree with the assessment (in effect, accepting the compliment). However, interactants are also expected to avoid praising themselves. There are several compliment responses that are available to compliment recipients in order to comply with these two constraints, such as giving an interpretation of the compliment or giving a compliment history or account (Pomerantz, 1978). In lines 12 and 13, Fabiola provides an implicit (since she does not explicitly refer to the variety of flowers) agreement with Roger's interpretation in the form of an additional compliment followed by *hein*, hence, aligning with Roger's interpretation. This compliment is once again particularly emphasized because the evaluating term *beau* / 'beautiful' is entirely stressed. As for the *ah* that starts Fabiola's turn, its presence might be due to Fabiola's noticing of the actual large variety of flowers, a fact that Roger has brought up in lines 10 and 11. After neither receiving a second, agreeing compliment from the coparticipants (Golato, 2005) nor a compliment response from Roger (Pomerantz, 1978; Wieland, 1995), Fabiola's turn in line 15 consists of a term of insistence that emphasizes even more her previous turn. After a short pause (line 16), one of the other coparticipants finally provides a second compliment: Valérie (lines 18-19) shows agreement with Fabiola's previous compliment and aligns with her. Valérie's turn (line 18) starts with *ouais* / 'yeah'. After this agreement token, Valérie makes a very positive assessment that, compared to Fabiola's, is upgraded by the use of the evaluative term *magnifique* / 'wonderful', emphasizing it by the

lengthening of the last syllable. Here again, Valérie's turn is of particular interest since it is followed by *hein* (line 19). Given that this is a second compliment aligning, a response from the compliment recipient would be due now, and not necessarily a response from the first compliment speaker. However, with the addition of *hein* at the end of her turn Valérie is in fact eliciting a response from the first compliment speaker. In line 20, Fabiola shows agreement with Valérie by reiterating the assessment she made in lines 12 and 13. In line 21, Valérie acts the same way, that is, she makes a new compliment, upgrading the assessment through the stressed adverb *vraiment* / 'rea:lly'.

This fragment alone shows 3 cases of *hein* at the end of a TCU (lines 5, 12-13 and 18-19) in which *hein* is used as a device to seek agreement in the context of sequences of compliment giving. Most importantly, one can attribute this function to *hein* because of the way the co-participants treated the utterance of these compliments followed by *hein*. In effect, compliments in multi-party talk and assessments in general automatically invite agreement. However, the particle plays an important role in getting the other parties to react. As one can see in the above fragment (lines 1 and 3 for instance), an assessment alone does not automatically get a reaction from the co-participants. However, as seen in line 5 of the above segment, Fabiola pursues a response from the party to whom the compliment is attributed, and does so through the utterance of another assessment followed by *hein*. It is then that Fabiola's utterance gets a response.

From this instance and all the additional data samples containing [TCU + *hein*] as a means to pursue agreement, the main features of *hein* can be described as follow.

First of all, in most cases, *hein* is stressed through the elongation of the nasalized vowel or through the emphasis of the whole utterance of the *hein*. *Hein* is rarely unstressed. Furthermore, *hein* is typically uttered with either slightly rising or fully rising intonation. These features

attributed to *hein* so far are very tightly linked with *hein*'s function of getting a reaction from the co-participant(s) in the conversation. Since this particle plays such an important role, it seems obvious that its utterance should be marked in order to be noticed and to effectively perform its function of reaction trigger.

The main element I have noticed with respect to the function of the TCU that precedes the *hein* is that this TCU often contains an assessment, as in figure 4.1. Out of 36 instances of agreement pursuit, I have found 17 instances in which the TCU preceding the *hein* contains an assessment. The second pair part to an assessment is another assessment (Pomerantz, 1984). When a coparticipant fails to produce a second pair part (for whatever reason), the second pair part is relevantly absent. A speaker may then repeat the initial assessment. However, a tag question actively highlights even further that a response is being pursued.

In twelve other instances where *hein* was in the anchor position of tag turns, I have established that *hein* performed the following functions: putting forward information, giving a point of view, reporting a state of affairs, stating a universal truth, etc. This list of actions is not surprising since, particularly because they are in the form of a tag question (that is, because they are followed by *hein*), these actions are typical actions that elicit a response (that is, a reaction from the other co-participants). Below (figure 4.3) is one example that illustrates the use of *hein* at the end of a TCU that consists of a universal knowledge, that is, a paradigm that is impossible to object to.

The context of the following segment (figure 4.3) is as follows. After video-taping a wedding ceremony and the reception which followed, Benjamin had worked all night to compile a short movie of the wedding and reception.

FIGURE 4.3

- 01 B: **B holding his coffee mug *R looks at B*
**eh oui, après avoir fait *la brin:gue:,*
well yes, after having done the pa:rty:,
yeah, when the pa:rty:'s over,
- 02 B: **R looks back in front of him*
*i faut ↑tout *ranger l'matériel.↓*
one needs ↑everything put away the equipment↓
gotta put away ↑all the equipment.↓
- 03=> R: **R starts looking at Benjamin and gradually shifts his*
gaze towards Jonathan
**ah::.. mhais ça ↓c'est comme↓↑tout? hein?↑=*
ah::.. bhut that ↓it's like ↓↑everything? [PRT]?↑=
ah::.. but that's ↓just like↓↑ everything else? [PRT]?↑=
- 04 J: *mhm mm*
mhm mm

In lines 1 and 2, Benjamin comments on the necessity to return to the wedding venue to collect and put away the equipment he used to video-taped the wedding ceremony. In line 3, Roger appears to treat Benjamin's comment as a complaint and use an idiomatic expression followed by a tag question to admonish Benjamin. Roger's starts his utterance with the change-of-state token *ah::..*, followed by the statement of a common knowledge that comes from common sense, in the form of an idiomatic expression: 'that's just like everything else'. One may notice the emphasis on the idiomatic expression: the first word-*ça* / 'that', that is the most important word since it refers to the whole utterance uttered by Benjamin-lines 1 and 2, is particularly stressed. The last word of the TCU-*tout* / 'everything' that is another very important word as for the content of this expression is also very much stressed; it is uttered with a high pitch of voice and it ends with rising intonation. This statement is followed by *hein*, that is also very much stressed since it uttered with rising intonation. Most importantly, the idiomatic expression is treated by Jonathan as an agreement pursuit since he utters a confirmation token.

As Hepburn & Potter showed in cases of advice resistance (2011), in this case, both the idiomatic expression expressing an acknowledged truth and the tag particle that follows it are eliciting an agreement from the co-participant. In the above case, it is Jonathan who reacts since at the point that Roger finishes his utterance, he does not look at Benjamin anymore; his gaze has shifted to Jonathan. Finally, Roger's turn followed by Jonathan's agreement closes the topic.

As a final point, my data also show that in the case of agreement pursuit, the TCU preceding the *hein* could also be an adverb or an adverbial expression (2 instances), a candidate answer to a question (2 instances) and a directive (3 instances).

A number of different observations can also be made about the type of response that a *hein* elicits. I will be presenting two main types of observations. I will first be focusing on the actual elicitation power of tag questions in agreement pursuit sequences. As I will show, there are cases in which the agreement is immediately forthcoming, while in other cases the speaker of the [TCU + *hein*] encounters obstacles to obtain a reaction from the co-participants. Hence, I will present one instance for each main scenario, focusing on how each scenario has an impact on the turn design as well as on the unfolding of the sequence in action. In the second part, I will be focusing on the kind of answers that [TCU + *hein*] has elicited. Here, I will be drawing a comparison with the list that Andersen (1998) made from his own findings.

As argued above, [TCU + *hein*] asks for an answer, it elicits a contribution of a co-participant. It is hence frequently used in situations when a response or an aligning turn from a coparticipant is (over)due. However, as my data show, the actual elicitation power that has been attributed to tag questions entails different situations with respect to the unfolding of the ongoing sequence at talk to which [TCU + *hein*] is part of.

My data show several instances where the agreement (or the disagreement) is immediately forthcoming, as in the instance below (figure 4.4). Prior to this segment, Roger explained to Jonathan that once he stopped smoking cigarettes, he was advised by his doctor to replace cigarettes with smoking pipes. However, after a while, Roger stopped smoking pipes. Roger explains his reasons for doing so in the segment below. During the whole conversation, Benjamin looks alternatively at Jonathan and Roger while sipping his coffee and rubbing his left cheek.

FIGURE 4.4

**R looks in front of him. J looks at him.
This is going on through lines 01-07*

01 R: **et:::::
an:::::d*

02 *(1.0)*

03 R: *et:: >et 'près?<
an::d >and 'fter?<*

04 *(1.0)*

05 R: *j'ai abandonné la ↑pi↓pe.=
I gave up the ↑pi↓pe.=*

06 *=quante je suis allé en amérique.=
=when I went to america.=
=when I first went to the sta:tes.=*

07 *=*pou:quoi:: (0.4) dans les avions.
= be:cau::se (0.4) in the panes.*

08 *(.)*

**R looks at J. J and B look at R.*

09 R: **tu pouvais ↑pas↑ fumer la pipe.
you could ↑not↑ smoke the pipe.
you could ↑not↑ smoke a pipe.*

10 *(0.3)*

FIGURE 4.4 (cont.)

11=> R: **R looks serious and points his right index finger up*
**à ce moment on fumait*
at that moment people smoked
back then smoking was allowed

12=> *dans les avions. >hein,<*
in the planes.>[PRT,]<

13 *(.) ((R relaxes his face and smiles))*

14=> J: *mhm. ((J slowly slowly nods once while looking at R.*
J has a surprised tone of voice while uttering
his turn))

15 *(2.2)*

**B stops scratching his face, widens his eyes open,*
makes a "surprised" face, looks at R who looks back at B

16 B: **dans les avions? (.) ah ouais?=
in the planes? (.) ah yeah?=
in the planes? (.) really?=

*R looks at B, making a very serious face.
J and B both look at R*

17 R: *=*ah oui:?
= rea:lly.*

18 *(0.2)*

19 R: *>oui oui.<
>yes yes.<*

From line 1 until line 10, Roger explains to Jonathan and Benjamin that he gave up pipe smoking when starting to fly to the United States. In line 10, there is no uptake on the story. In lines 11 and 12, Roger provides some (historical) background information, potentially for the coparticipants to better understand the import of his story and to be better able to respond. This TCU is followed by the particle *hein* uttered with slightly rising intonation. Roger's tag question is inviting an agreement, an action that Jonathan performs in line 14 with the utterance of an affirmation token and a head nod. Jonathan's answer shows that Roger's utterance has been

treated like an agreement pursuit. Jonathan's answer is almost immediately forthcoming, that is, right after a micropause. When after some delay (line 15), Benjamin initiates repair and follows it up with a marker of disbelief, Roger emphatically confirms

Whereas in the preceding example I showed that answers to agreement pursuit could happen with only minimal delay after the tag, the following example will show a different scenario. Here, the speaker (Fabiola) has to manipulate her turn (as I will show in the analysis) to finally elicit a reaction from the co-participant (Jonathan). This fragment is extracted from a sample that has been previously analyzed in chapter three (see figure 3.7).

In this instance, the lines of interest are 37-44. The excerpt is again from the gathering where Benjamin had arrived exhausted due to the fact that he had to work late the night before.

FIGURE 4.5

32 J: [**J looks at B who walk towards Coré*
 [**i's'est-*, [*i's'est couché,*
 [*'e himself is-*,]*'e himself is come to be:d,*
 [*when 'e went,*]*to be:d,*

33 j'étais levé moi.=
 I was up me.=
I was already up.=

34 F: =et oui?=
 =and yes?=
 =that's right?=
 =

35 J: [=°alors°<=]
 [=°so°<=]
 []

36 R: [=ah ah=]((very loud))
 []
 [**B slides behind R's seat to get to Coré*

37 F: [=*à six-]à six [heu:res, ou::.]=
 [= at six-]at six [hou:rs, o::r.]=
 [= at six-]at si:x,[o::r.]=
 []=
 []=

38 B: [ah ah ah ah]=((slight laugh))

FIGURE 4.5 (cont.)

**F looks at J*

39 F: =>↓*que'que chose↓[comme ça?] hein?=<
=>↓*som'thing↓ [like that?] [PRT] ?=<
[]

40 B: [ah ah ah]((slight laugh))

**J looks in front of him and then at R and M*

41 J: *six heures et.(.) quart? six heures
six hours and.(.) quarter? six hours
a.(.)quarter past.six? six

42 et de [mie. >quand il est]allé
and ha[lf. >when he is]gone
thir[ty.>when he]went
[]
[*looking at R, holding a piece of ham in front
[of him, showing it to R]

43 C: [>*°c'est ça qui est bon.°<]
[>°it is that that is good.°<]
[>°that's what's good.<°]

44 J: s'cou [cher.<]
himself to [bed.<]
to [bed.<]
[]

Upon Benjamin's arrival, all participants are addressing Benjamin's tiredness. In lines 32-33, Jonathan makes a statement that conveys an estimation of the time at which Benjamin went to bed. That is, Jonathan assumes that he (Johnathan) was already awake when Benjamin went to bed. Fabiola agrees with Jonathan's statement in line 34. She then further unpacks Johnathan's statement, by providing a candidate understanding of the approximate time Benjamin went to bed. This candidate is produced in the form of a question addressed to Jonathan in lines 37 and 39. These two lines are the main lines of interest in the context of this analysis. In line 37, the end of Fabiola's turn is projectable right after she utters *six*/ 'six'. And at that point, Benjamin comes in with laughter (line 38) but he does not utter an agreement and neither does Jonathan. Hence, Fabiola proceeds to continue her turn, first by inserting a very much elongated

coordination conjunction *ou::* / 'o::r.' (end of line 38). Then, in line 39, Fabiola proceeds to continue her turn, building it as an alternative question with *ou que 'que chose comme ca?* / 'or something like that?'. By means of this alternative question, Fabiola completes her turn and provides another transition relevance place for someone to come in with an agreement or a disagreement. Again, neither one nor the other is happening. However, Fabiola's utterance is followed by a *hein* that is not only uttered with rising intonation but is also stressed, which conveys the fact that Fabiola is eliciting an answer. Here, the *hein* constitutes a device of active pursuit. Then, finally, Jonathan produces a second pair part. Jonathan's utterance (lines 41-42 and 44) performs the action of attending to Fabiola's agreement pursuit and the primary action of agreeing with Fabiola's utterance. Jonathan directs his gaze at Mollie and Roger, the two co-participants for whom this information is really news (Goodwin, 1979). Jonathan does not give a minimum answer, that is, he does not utter a straight forward 'yes'. Rather, he clarifies Fabiola's approximation of the time at which Benjamin must have gone to bed by giving a more specific time frame that includes Fabiola's estimation of that time (line 37). Hence, Jonathan's answer still aligns with Fabiola's and one can say that Jonathan gives the confirmation that was asked from Fabiola: Benjamin went to bed around 6am. Thus, this instance is again a case in which *hein* is performing the function of agreement pursuit when the co-participant has not provided a response earlier. The lack of response of the co-participant(s) had a direct impact on the turn design of Fabiola's turn, in that Fabiola had to repair her turn by adding an increment in the shape of a question followed by *hein* to actually elicit a response from the co-participant to whom she addressed her turn, that is, Jonathan.

In the previous two cases, the speaker of the agreement pursuit received a response. However in some cases the reaction from the co-participant(s) never comes, even though the

hein is present. The following segment present 3 cases of [TCU + *hein*] where *hein* functions as an agreement pursuit particle. Two out of the three cases illustrate a failure of the agreement pursuit sequence. The first one is a scenario that illustrates the lack of answer because of an interrupting sequence, in other words, a digression. The second instance shows that the agreement pursuit simply fails. The third instance illustrates a successful agreement pursuit.

Prior to this segment, Valérie has been told by the other participants that Jonathan has a race car (a Ford Escort-line 2 in the transcript). Since Valérie has never seen the car, Jonathan shows her a picture of the car on his phone. The segment below starts with Valérie's reaction when she sees the picture.

FIGURE 4.6

- *J is handing the phone to V who points at the picture of the car. J and F look at V*
- 01 V: *eh: ben,
we:ll well,
oh: wow,
- *F looks at V who looks at the picture*
- 02 F: >*ford es[cort.<]
> ford es[cort.<]
[]
[*V is still looking at the picture
- 03 V: [*EH::]BEN::?
[WE::L]WE:::L?
[OH::]WO:::W?
- *V, shaking her head, looks at J while J looks at the picture himself. F looks at J*
- 04=> V: ↑*c'est un↑ joli. bé↑bé↑?
↑it's a↑ beautiful. ba↑by↑?
↑it's one↑ hell of a ba↑by↑?
- 05=> V: ↓que vous avez là.↑hein,↑
↓that you+formal have there. ↑[PRT],↑
↓that you've got yourself there. ↑[PRT],↑
- *informal version of 'you'*
- 06 J: *eh eh que *tu?
**J looks at V and hands her the phone back*
eh eh that you?

FIGURE 4.6 (cont.)

07 J: ah ah [ah] ah ah ah ah
[]
08 M: [meh]

**J takes the phone back and looks at F*
09 J: [*ah ah ah ah ah.
[
[**V raises her left arm in a solemn way*
10 V: [pardon. que ↑*tu↑ as là.
[sorry. that ↑you↑'ve got yourself there.

11 V: eh eh eh [eh eh
[
[**F looks at her plate*
12 F: [*ben ↑oui,↑=
[well ↑yes,↑=
[well ↑of course,↑=

13 V: [= .hhhh
[
[**F looks at J*
14 F: [=>↓°*tu peux bien° l'tu↓↑toyer,=
[=>↓°you can well° 'm say↓ ↑'tu',↑=
[=>↓°you should° say↓ ↑'tu',↑ ↓to him↓=

15 F: =↑qua [↓°mê:me° .↓]
=↑com' [↓°o:n° .↓]

16 J: [ouais.]
[yeah.]
[]
[**V looks at F who looks at her glass*
17=> V: [*c'est un]↑joli↑ euh.=
[it's a]↑beautiful↑uh.=
[it's]↑hell of↑uh.=

**V looks at J*
18=> V: =*c'est un joli ↑bébé↑? hein?
=it's a beautiful ↑baby↑? [PRT]?
=it's hell of a ↑baby↑? [PRT]?

19=> V: vous devez-. euh- [tu+informal] dois=
You+formal must-.uh-[you] must=
[]
20=> F: [tu+informal]
[you]

FIGURE 4.6 (cont.)

*V moving arm in circles
F smiles

21=> V: =*l'astiquer ↑sou:vent? hein?↑=
=it shine ↑o:ften? [PRT]?↑=
=shine it ↑o:ften? [PRT]?↑=

22 V: =[.h h]
=[]
=[*J turns off his phone until the last line

23 J: =[>*ah b- quante] [je so:rs.<]=
=[> oh w- whenuh] [I go ou:t.<]=
=[] []=

24 V: [il faut que j']=
[it needs that I]=
[I have to]=

25 V: =[m'<habitué>]au-[°au 'tu'.°]
=[myself<get used>]to-[°to the 'tu'.°]
=[<get used>]to-[°to the 'tu'.°]
=[] []

26 J: [quand,-] [quand on so:rt.]=
[when,-] [when we go ou:t.]=

27 J: =quand on so:rt.
=when we go ou:t.

*R looks at J

28 R: *et tu la mets ↑où?↑uh.↓
and you it put ↑where?↑uh.↓
and ↑where?↑uh.↓ do you park it.

In the segment, Valérie first reaction is that of admiration through her interjections (lines 1 and 3). Lines 4 and 5 are the first lines of interest in this segment. In these lines, Valérie pays a compliment to Jonathan about his car. Valérie uses the evaluative term 'joli' and as her first turn goes on, she increases her pitch. Furthermore, she emphasizes the very positive term she uses to refer to the car, that is, *bé↑bé↑?* / '*ba↑by↑?*' by stressing each syllable, by increasing her pitch and by the rising intonation that punctuates this TCU. Her compliment is followed by the particle *↑hein,↑* that is particularly stressed and uttered with even higher voice. Hence, she is actively inviting an answer. Moreover, as I explained in the analysis of figure 4.2, a compliment is

usually a first pair part. Hence, a second pair part from the compliment recipient is to be expected (Pomerantz, 1978). However, Valérie's compliment is not addressed by Jonathan or by any other co-participants. Rather, what is forthcoming right after the compliment is a correction; when Valérie paid the compliment to Jonathan, she used the formal 'vous' to address Jonathan. Hence, right after the compliment, Jonathan first laughed slightly before gently and humorously correcting Valérie; he prompts her to address him with 'tu'. Hence, in line 10, Valérie, laughing, first apologizes and then corrects herself by repeating the part of her previous utterance (line 5) that contained the *vous*, replacing it by *tu* that she emphasized. Valérie repeats her compliment (lines 17 and 18), this time, using the 'tu' form. In line 17, Valérie starts to utter her previous compliment again. One may notice that without changing the term she uses to qualify the car (that is, she still uses the evaluative term ↑*joli*↑), Valérie still upgrades the original compliment (lines 4 and 5) by further stressing the evaluative term while she is uttering it. Specifically, she utters *joli* with a much higher pitch. After a self-initiated repair (line 17) Valérie rushes through the turn transition (line 18 is uttered in latched position) to pay a second, complete compliment, followed once again by *hein?*. Again, the compliment is not answered. It is true that Valérie starts a new TCU line 19 but Valérie's utterance line 19 is not in latched position and thus there was a turn transition relevance place for a coparticipant to have come in (which would have resulted in overlap). Hence, Valérie's first pair part line 18 clearly lacks a second pair part, thus the compliment sequence is incomplete. As I previously mentioned in the analysis of figure 4.2, this may be explained by Pomerantz's (1978) explanation related to compliments' responses. Pomerantz explains that compliments' recipients are under a double constraint. Since compliments are assessments, the preferred action is to agree with the assessment (in effect accepting the compliment). However, interactants are also expected to avoid praising themselves.

There are several compliment responses that are available to compliment recipients in order to comply with these two constraints. It has been noted in the literature (Golato 2005), that compliment recipients sometimes ignore a compliment in order to deal with the two constraints. Valérie starts a new TCU in line 19 that is addressed to Jonathan. Again, Valérie starts her utterance with a self-initiated self-completed repair and goes on with an assumption that takes the form of a question addressed to Jonathan regarding how often Jonathan takes care of his car. This question is followed with *hein* (line 21). This time, Jonathan utters a second pair part that is appropriate to the first pair part. His answer (lines 23, 26 and 27) is not a minimal answer but it addresses Valérie's question: Jonathan 'shines' his car when he goes out.

I will now present a case in which in spite of several attempts to seek agreement, the speaker never receives a second pair part. Prior to this segment, Roger has started to tell a story that happened years ago, when Benjamin was younger. Roger and Benjamin were mushroom hunting on a private property. Because Benjamin was talking very loudly, they came to the attention of the landlords. The landlord took his four-by-four and proceeded to chase Roger and Benjamin who were illegally on his property. It is at this point that the fragment starts. This is where Fabiola takes the floor line 12.

FIGURE 4.7

		<i>*R looks at J who looks back at R. Everyone around the table is smiling</i>	<i>*R raises his hand gradually up to. R is still looking at J who looks back. F is also looking at R. M is holding her laugh, looking at F</i>
01	R:	<i>*il a pris le quatre quatre. he took the four by four. 'e he took his four by four. 'e</i>	<i>*y ↑mon:↓tait: comme= ↑wen:t↓ u:p like= ↑was clim:bing↓u:p like=</i>
02		<i>=ça. =that. =this.</i>	

FIGURE 4.7 (cont.)

- 03 B: eh .h
eh .h
- *R looks at J who now looks at his scoop of ice-cream, getting ready to eat some*
- 04 R: *mais:: à nous,=
bu::t to us,=
bu::t,to us=
- *R looks at J, smiling. B and C are smiling also. M is looking at F with a big smile.*
- 05 R: =*y nous ont pas attrapés.[va,
= 'e us did not catch. [go,
= 'e didn't catch us. [that's for sure,
[
[.h
[.h
- 06 M:
- 07 R: eh [eh.]
eh [eh.]
[]
*[*F does the 'aïe aïe aïe' gesture]*
- 08 B: [*eh]eh.
[eh]eh.
- *M puts her hand on her mouth and speaks, smiling. She looks at R who looks back at M. Everyone else is back to eating their ice-cream. While eating, B and C are still smiling.*
- 09 M: †*oh† mon dieu.
† oh† my god.
- *M, F, B, C and R are smiling while eating*
- 10 B: °*on a fait°=
° one has done°=
° we got caught in°=
- 11 =[une <cou:rse pou:rs]uite.>=
=[a <ra:ce pu:rs]ui:t.>=
=[a <cha:]se.>=
[]
*[*taking a scoop of her ice-cream. Everyone else is eating and still smiling*
- 12=> F: [*ils sont mauvais, hein?]
[they are bad, [PRT]?]
[they are evil, [PRT]?]

FIGURE 4.7 (cont.)

*looking towards M, B and R but no one reciprocates
her gaze

13=> F: = *`tention, hein?
= careful, [PRT]?
= seriously, [PRT]?

14 (1.0) ((everyone is eating. Noises of spoons against
the glass-made ice-cream scoops))

*looking towards R and B

15=> F: *i sont mau[vais.]
th' re e[vil.]
[]

Here, in line 12, Fabiola utters a first assessment of people who do not like when other people go mushroom hunting on their private property. Her assessment is followed by *hein* with rising intonation. As I previously established, this technique would usually pursue a second pair part, which is not forthcoming in this case. This may be due to the fact that Fabiola not only does not look at anyone when she is uttering her assessment, but also that all the participants are busy eating. Fabiola then emphasizes her first assessment with the utterance of an emphatic expression followed by *hein* in line 13. This time, she looks at her audience and *hein* is emphasized. It is uttered with a rising intonation and with particular stress. However, no one reciprocates her look and once again, the second pair part is not forthcoming. Again, this may be due to the fact that all the other participants are still busy eating. Hence, after a silence, line 14, Fabiola re-utters her previous assessment (line 13). However, this time, Fabiola utters it in the form of a statement (with a falling intonation) and she does not add the particle. Hence, Fabiola's last utterance is not uttered in a way that is overtly inviting her co-participants to react, even though there is still a possibility of reaction since an assessment is usually asking for a second pair part. Hence, one may imply that since Fabiola's first two assessments followed by the particle did not obtain the expected reaction from her co-participants, she is now downgrading her pursuit to save face. In

any case, this fragment illustrates one instance where in spite of actively pursuing a reaction using the particle *hein* in different forms (not as stressed at first and uttered in a particularly stressed way, afterwards), the second pair part is not forthcoming. Lastly and most importantly, the last version of the assessment, that is, the version uttered without the *hein* highlights even more the use of *hein* after an assessment. It appears that *hein* at the end of an assessment is a device that appears more inviting for a reaction from the other co-participants in the conversation than an assessment itself. However, as I previously mentioned in other examples, even if it appears more inviting and more actively asking for a reaction from the co-participants in the ongoing conversation, the addition of *hein* after an assessment does not always guarantee a reaction.

I will now be focusing on the kind of answers that [TCU + *hein*] has elicited. For this specific part, I will be drawing a comparison with the list that Andersen (1998, pp. 6-7) made from his own findings. First, for the reader's convenience, I have re-inserted below the list of the different types of responses (without the examples) that Andersen (1998) found in his own data.

The list is as follows;

Minimal responses: yeah, yes, mm, right, etc

Repetition of entire proposition

Elliptical repetition of proposition

Repetition of propositional element

(Near-) synonymous expression

Implicature

Responses expressing reduced commitment / uncertainty

As I previously mentioned, my collected cases show that both agreements and disagreements can take different forms; there are minimal answers (a mere ‘yes’ or ‘no’) or more elaborated answers encompassing justifications, repetition of the whole TCU or of parts of the TCU that preceded the *hein*, etc. There is not one kind of answer that stands out more than another. However “minimal responses” (Andersen, 1998, p. 6) are less present than one might expect.

First of all, similar to Andersen (1998), I have examples of minimal responses such as ‘yes’ or ‘no’. In the following example (figure 4.8), Mollie and Valérie are talking about American food. Mollie makes a negative assessment about American food with which Valérie agrees with a minimal response (lines 14 and 15).

FIGURE 4.8

**M looks at V who looks back at V.*

11 M: **y'a rien de.*
're has nothing of.
they have nothing.

12 *(0.5)*

**M makes a face and M and V both shake their head 'no'*

13 M: **pas trop valable. hein,*
not too valuable. [PRT],
that's really good. [PRT],

**V still shakes her head 'no'*

14=> V: **non, non.=*
no, no.=

15=> V: *=[non.]*
=[no.]
=[they don't.]
=[]

My data also show examples of repetition of the entire proposition being repeated, as shown in the fragment below. Prior to this segment, Valérie had invited Coré to taste the walnut wine she is having for *aperitif*. The segment below starts with Coré’s assessment of the walnut

wine, an assessment with which Roger disagrees. Mollie and Valérie are having a separate conversation related to the ingredients needed to make the walnut wine.

FIGURE 4.9

```

01=>  C:  c'est-c'est très doux, hein,
        it's-it's very sweet,[PRT],

        *R looking at C
02=>  R:  [  *a:prè:s je te-]=
        [the:n I(verb?)you-]=
        [                                     ]=
        [*V looking at M   ]=
03     V:  [* .mhm mhm          ]=

04=>  R:  =non::.[c'est pas très-   ]=
        =no::. [it's not very-    ]=
        [                                     ]
        [ *M looking at V   ]
05     M:  [o*du bon vin.o        ]
        [o*some good wine.o]

06          ((V nodding while looking at M))

        *R looking at C, R shakes his head "no"
07=>  R:  =*c'est pas très doux,=
        = it's not very sweet,=

```

In line 1, Coré utters an assessment of the walnut wine, highlighting the fact that it is very sweet, followed by *hein*. The particle is not particularly stressed and *hein* is uttered with slightly rising intonation. In line 2, Roger is starting a TCU and interrupts himself and proceeds to show his disagreement with Coré's assessment in lines 4-7. Roger overtly shows his disagreement by means of various elements. First, line 4 is in latched position; Roger is rushing to utter his disagreement. The second sign of Roger's strong disagreement is to be found in turn-initial position (line 4); Roger's first TCU is the utterance of *non::* / 'no::' that is particularly stressed through the elongation of the vowel. Furthermore, in line 7, Roger uses the same words that Coré used in his assessment (line 1) inserting a negation and stressing the two main terms that Coré previously used, that is, *très doux* / 'very sweet'. One may also notice that Roger's turn is

accompanied with relevant embodied actions; he looks at Coré and shakes his head. All of these elements demonstrate that Roger clearly does not align with Coré's assessment. This lack of alignment has an impact on the rest of the sequence that involves Roger and Coré, since Coré will proceed to justify his assessment until line 24.

As Andersen (1998) found in his data, my data also show examples of (near) synonymous expression. The instance below, taken from 4.2 above, illustrates this case.

FIGURE 4.10

```

12=>  F:                                [*a:h il est beau ce
                                           [ a:h it is beautiful this
                                           [ a:h this bou:quet: IS just

13=>  F:  bou:quet:.hein,
          bou:quet:.PRT,
          beautiful. [PRT],

14      (0.2)

15      F:  franchement? euh::
          se:riously:? hu::m

16      (0.4)

17      V is in the corridor, about to enter the room

          *F is looking at V
18=>  V:  *ouais, il est
          yeah, it is
          yeah, it is

19=>  V:  ma [gnifique:.hein.
          won[derful. PRT.
          won[derful. [PRT].
          [
          [*F is looking at V
20      F:  [*il est beau, ce bou:quet.=
          [ it's beautiful, this bou:quet.=
          [ it IS a beautiful bou:quet.=

21      V:  =il est vraiment magnifique.
          =it is tru:ly wonderful.

```

The reader may recall from the discussion of 4.2 that lines 13 and 14 are Fabiola's implicit agreement with Roger's reinterpretation in the form of the compliment. This agreement takes the form of another compliment followed by *hein*. The change-of-state token (Heritage 1984) *ah* that starts Fabiola's turn might be due to Fabiola's noticing the large variety of flowers as pointed out by Roger in the previous line. After neither receiving a second, agreeing compliment from the coparticipants (Golato, 2005) nor a compliment response from Roger (Pomerantz, 1978; Wieland, 1995), Fabiola's turn in line 15 consists of a term of insistence that further emphasizes her previous turn. After a short pause (line 16), one of the other coparticipants finally provides a second compliment: Valérie (lines 18-19) shows agreement with Fabiola's previous compliment and aligns with her. Valérie's turn (line 18) starts with *ouais* / 'yeah'. After this agreement token, Valérie makes a very positive assessment that, compared to Fabiola's, is upgraded by the use of the evaluative term *magnifique*: / 'wonderful', emphasizing it by the lengthening of the last syllable. Here again, Valérie's turn is of particular interest since her turn is followed by *hein* (line 19). Given that this is a second compliment aligning, a response from the compliment recipient would be due now and not necessarily a response from the first compliment speaker. However, with the addition of *hein* at the end of her turn Valérie is in fact eliciting a response from the first compliment speaker. In line 20, Fabiola shows agreement with Valérie by reiterating the assessment she made in lines 12 and 13. In line 21, Valérie acts the same way, that is, she makes a new compliment, upgrading the assessment through the stressed adverb *vraiment* / 'tru:ly'.

Andersen (1998) makes allusion to implicature, instances of which my data also show. One such instance is in the segment below (figure 4.11). As was the case for figure 4.5, the segment below is extracted from a sample that was present in chapter three (see figure 3.7).

FIGURE 4.11

- 32 J: [**J looks at B who walk towards Coré*
 [*i's'est-,]i's'est couché,
 ['e himself is-,]'e himself is come to be:d,
 [when 'e went,]to be:d,
- 33 j'étais levé moi.=
 I was up me.=
I was already up.=
- 34 F: =et oui?=
 =and yes?=
 =that's right?=
 =
- 35 J: [=°alors°<=]
 [=°so°<=]
 []
- 36 R: [=ah ah=]((very loud))
 []
 [**B slides behind R's seat to get to Coré*]
- 37 F: [=*à six-]à six [heu:res, ou::.]
 [= at six-]at six [hou:rs, o::r.]
 [= at six-]at si:x, [o::r.]
 []
- 38 B: [ah ah ah ah]((slight laugh))
- *F looks at J*
- 39=> F: =>↓*que'que chose↓[comme ça?] hein?=<
 =>↓*som'thing↓ [like that?] [PRT]?=<
 []
- 40 B: [ah ah ah]((slight laugh))
- *J looks in front of him and then at R and M*
- 41 J: *six heures et.(.) quart? six heures
 six hours and.(.) quarter? six hours
a.(.)quarter past.six? six
- 42 et de [mie. >quand il est]allé
 and ha[lf. >when he is]gone
 thir [ty.>when he]went
 []
 [**looking at R, holding a piece of ham in front*
 [*of him, showing it to R*]
- 43 C: [>*°c'est ça qui est bon.°<]
 [>°it is that that is good.°<]
 [>°that's what's good.<°]
- 44 J: s'cou [cher.<]
 himself to [bed.<]
 to [bed.<]

Upon Benjamin's arrival, all participants are addressing Benjamin's tiredness. In lines 32-33, Jonathan guesses when Benjamin went to bed. That is, Jonathan assumes that he was already awake when Benjamin went to bed. Fabiola agrees with Jonathan in line 34. She then further unpacks Johnathan's statement, by providing a candidate understanding of the approximate time Benjamin went to bed. This candidate is produced as a question addressed to Jonathan in lines 37 and 39. Finally, Jonathan produces the second pair part (lines 41-42 and 44). Jonathan attends to Fabiola's agreement pursuit. He gazes at Mollie and Roger, the two co-participants for whom this information is really news (Goodwin, 1979). Jonathan does not give a minimum answer such as 'yes', but instead he clarifies Fabiola's approximation of the time at which Benjamin must have gone to bed by giving a more specific time frame that includes Fabiola's estimation of that time (line 37). Thus, Jonathan's answer still aligns with Fabiola's and one can say that Jonathan gives the confirmation that was asked from Fabiola: Benjamin went to bed around 6 am.

The previous discussion demonstrates that my data have certain similarities with Andersen's (1998). Similar to English speakers, French speakers also use minimal responses, which was to be expected since to some extent, tag questions are yes/no questions. Furthermore, my data also show instances of partial or total repetition of the prior proposition, (near) synonymous expressions as well as implicature. I believe that I have one instance of what Andersen (1998) refers to as reduced commitment since in my fragment, the tag question is answered with another question that is *ah oui?* / 'yes?'. However, I do not have any instances of elliptical repetition of the proposition, which makes sense since in French, the tag particle is invariable.

I have also found additional elements that are not present in Andersen's (1998) list. I will present these elements below. First of all, I have found minimal answers followed by an

objection (or what could also be considered as an objection in the form of a complaint). This happens especially in a context in which the participants are at odds with each other for different reasons. This is the case in the fragment below.

FIGURE 4.12

- 13 B: [papy euh.]
[grandpa uh.]
- *everyone looks at B. B puts his index finger up and looks at R who reciprocates his gaze*
- 14=> B: *l'an prochain faut aller en Italie. hein,
the year next needs to go to italy.[PRT],
next year we have to go to italy. [PRT],
- *R looks at B*
- 15 R: *oui.
yes.
- 16 (0.3)
- *R looks in front of him, sounds slightly exasperated until the end of line 20*
- 17 R: *mais::.. eh ↑oh?↑
bu:::t. hey ↑oh?↑
- *C smiles and looks at B*
- 18 C: *moi ch'rai en moto,
me I'll be on motorcycle,
I'll ride my bi::ke,
- 19 R: ça fait déjà [un ↑mo↑ment↑↓qu'on dit.↓l'a]nnée=
it makes already [a ↑mo↑ment↑↓that one says.↓the y]ear=
it's already been[a ↑whi↑le↑↓ that we say. n]ext=
[]
[*reproducing noise of a]
[motorcycle]
- 20 C: [*ouhahahahahahahahahahah]

FIGURE 4.12 (cont.)

- 21 R: =[prochaine. l'année prochaine.
 =[next.the year next.
 =[year. next year.
- *B smiles and looks at R who looks back and smiles*
- 22 B: [*ouais mais j'ai pas d'vacances.
 [yeah but I have not any vacation.
 [yeah but I don't have any vacation time.

In lines 13 and 14, Benjamin makes a request followed by *hein*. This utterance is treated like an agreement pursuit by Roger who first shows agreement (line 15). However, after a short pause (line 16), Roger starts a new utterance that appears to be an objection: mais::: eh ↑oh ?↑ / 'bu:::t. hey↑ oh?↑'. In addition to the stressed elements, the last word is uttered with rising intonation. In line 18, Coré announces enthusiastically that he will take his motorcycle but no one reacts to Coré's announcement. Rather, in lines 19 and 21, Roger, sounding slightly exasperated, complains that the journey to Italy has been delayed. This implies that Roger is not to be blamed for postponing the journey to Italy. The sequence ends with Benjamin, smiling and uttering a justification: he does not have vacation time. Hence, in this instance the answer to the *hein* turn is mitigated. In addition, it can be considered as a long answer. This kind of answer did not seem to be present at all in Andersen's (1998) data.

Elaborated answers were absent from Andersen's (1998) list. It would be surprising if tag questions in English never were answered with an elaborated answer or a specific answer adding new information into the conversation. While there is a fair number of minimum answers in French, there is also a good number of more developed answers as in the following instance (figure 4.13). After Valérie's question (lines 19 and 21), Jonathan develops his answer on how often he actually polishes his car, even though he has to repeat his answer twice to talk in the

clear (lines 26, 27). The segment below is extracted from a sample that was presented earlier in this chapter (see figure 4.6).

FIGURE 4.13

```

19=> V:  *vous devez-. euh- [*tu] dois=
          you must-.uh-    [you] must=
                               [  ]
                               [*in] formal 'tu'
20=> F:                                [*tu]
                                       [you]

          *V moves her arms in circles while F smiles
21=> V:  =*l'astiquer ↑sou:vent? hein?↑=
          =it shine ↑o:ften? [PRT]?↑=
          =shine it ↑o:ften? [PRT]?↑=

22    V:  =[          .h h]
          =[          ]
          =[ *J turns off his phone until the last line
23    J:  =[>*ah b- quante] [      je so:rs.<]=
          =[> oh w- whenuh] [      I go ou:t.<]=
          =[          ] [          ]=
24    V:                                [ il faut que j']=
                                       [it needs that I]=
                                       [      I have to]=

25    V:  =[      m'<habitue]>]au-[      °au 'tu'°.°]
          =[myself<get used>]to-[      °to the 'tu'°.°]
          =[      <get used>]to-[      °to the 'tu'°.°]
          =[          ] [          ]
26    J:  [      quand, - ] [ quand on so:rt.]=
          [      when, - ] [ when we go ou:t.]=

27    J:  =quand on so:rt.
          =when we go ou:t.

```

Lastly, my data also show cases in which the answer is silent and involves only embodied actions such as nodding. Since Andersen (1998) used only audio recordings, he was not able to analyze such instances. This highlights the potential importance of embodied actions; not only embodied action can add meaning to the utterance they accompany but they are also by themselves a way of conveying meaning generally speaking. This leads me to highlight the

necessity of video-recording data in addition to audio-recording them when one wishes to analyze in detail the meaning of each action.

4.3.2. Stressing, putting emphasis on important information, insisting on taking the floor

The second main function of *hein* at the end of a TCU is to put emphasis on important information, which has also been shown to be a function of tags in English (Tottie & Hoffman, 2009). As I will bring out in my discussion, stressing encompasses additional actions such as insisting on one's point of view and forcing agreement from the co-participant(s) in the context of an argument. Lastly, as I will also show, being successful in taking the floor and keeping it can also be an action that can be qualified as stressing.

In this section, I will start with the presentation of an extract (figure 4.14) in which *hein* in tag position is used as a device to highlight some particularly important information. I will then analyze a segment (figure 4.15) in which an argument is taking place in which each participant is insisting on his / her own point of view and pursuing it. Lastly, I will be analyzing a case (figure 4.16) in which two co-participants appear to be at odds because of their wish to take the floor and to keep it.

In the following segment, the stress is put on important information that stands out within the overall discourse. In this segment, Valérie is writing down a cake recipe that Mollie is dictating. Of interest are lines 15-16 and 18-19.

FIGURE 4.14

*V writes in a notebook (which goes on throughout the
extract) while M is watching TV
01 V: *pre↑miè↑rment↑? ↓les ingrédients.
f↑i↑r↑st? ↓the ingredients.

FIGURE 4.14 (cont.)

- 02 V: tu vas me dire.↓
you are going me to tell.↓
you're gonna tell me.↓
- 03 (0.7)
- 04 V: tu vas me dire les ingrédients.
you are going me to tell the ingredients.
you're gonna tell me the ingredients.
- 05 (0.2)
- 06 V: qu'i faut pour euh:..
that it needs to u:hm.
that I need to u:hm.
- 07 (0.5)
- *M shifts her gaze to the
notebook in which V has
been writing
- 08 V: pour *la fai:re-pour *le fai:re
to it-fem. ma:ke-to it-masc ma:ke
to ma:ke it-to ma:ke
- 09 V: ce délicieux gâteau.
this delicious cake.
- 10 V: a[lors.]
s[o.]
[]
[* V is still writing while M looks at the notebook
- 11 M: [*°y° faut]
[°it°needs]
[°you°need]
- 12 M: <deux ↑cents↑ ↓gra:mmes.↓ de farine,>
<two ↑hundred↑↓gra:ms.↓ of flowe:r,>
<↑seven↑↓oun:ces↓. of flowe:r,>
- 13 V: deux cents grammes de farine.
two hundred grams of flower.
seven ounces of flower.

FIGURE 4.14 (cont.)

- 14 V: et [tu m'as,-
and [you me have,-
and [you've,-
[
- 15=> M: [↑deux-cents↑ ↓grammes.↓
[↑two hundred↑ ↓grams.↓
[↑seven↑ ↓ounces.↓
- 16=> M: de su[cre,] [mais ↑moi↑]=
of su[gar,] [but ↑me↑]=
of su[gar,] [but ↑I↑]=
[] []=
[*while writing, V put her left index up until 1.21
- 17 V: [*alors,] [alors,]=
[so,] [so,]=
- 18=> M: =j'en mets pas tant
=i of it put not as much
=I personally don't put as much
- 19=> M: du sucre. [hein,]
some sugar. [[PRT],]
sugar. [[PRT],]
[]
- 20 V: [allors attends maman.
[s]o wait mom.
- 21 V: tu m'as dit, que *la cuillère à soupe,
you me have told, that the spoon to eat soup,
you told me, that the tablespoon,
- 22 (.)
- 23 V: *était de vingt-cinq
was of twenty-five
could hold about one
- 24 V: [grammes.]
[grams.]
[ounce.]
[]
[*M nods 'yes' once
- 25 M: [*vingt cinq] grammes.
[twenty five] grams.
[about one] ounce.

FIGURE 4.14 (cont.)

- 26 V: c'est ça,
it's that,
that's right,
- 27 M: ra:se.
to the brim.
- 28 V: vingt-cinq gra:mme,
twenty five gra:ms,
about one oun:ce,
- 29 (0.2)
- 30 V: cuillère à sou:pe.
spoon to eat sou:p.
tablespoon.
- 31 V: et::: he::m, attends.=
an:::d uh:::, wait.=
- 32 V: =>cuillère à sou[pe.]
=>spoon to eat sou[p.]
=>tablespoo[n.]
- 33 M: []
[pa]reil
[sa]me
[sa]me amount
- *M shifts her gaze back at the TV
- 34 M: *pour ↓le su:cre.↓
for ↓the su:gar.↓
of ↓su:gar.↓
- 35 V: pareil pour le su:cre,
same for the su:gar,
same amount of su:gar,
- 36 V: mais toi tu mets::
but you you pu::t
but you pu::t
- 37 V: tu en mets ↑moins↑ de su:cre.
you some put ↑less↑ of suga:r.
you put ↑less↑ suga:r.
- 38 M: moi, j'en mets que
me, i some put only
I put only

FIGURE 4.14 (cont.)

- 39 M: ↑cent-vingt-cinq gra:mmes,↑
 ↑one hundred and twenty five gra:ms,↑
 ↑four oun:ces,↑
- 40 V: donc je vais mettre
 so i am going to put
 so i'm gonna write down
- 41 V: <cent [vingt-cinq.]>
 <one hundred and [twenty-five.]>
 < fo[ur.]>
 []
- 42 M: [et quatre]sachets de levure,-
 [and four]packs of yeast,-
- *M shifts her gaze to the cupboard where the ingredient
 the name of which she is looking for is.
- 43 M: *de-de-de sucre vanillé.
 of-of-of vanilla sugar.

Prior to this segment, Mollie mentioned the amount of flour needed. In this segment, lines 15, 16, 18 and 19 are the lines of interest. In these lines, Mollie first tells Valérie the amount of sugar that is actually needed to make the cake. At the point when Mollie's TCU is projectable, Valérie attempts to take the floor line 17. However, Mollie starts a new TCU. In overlap, Valérie makes a second attempt to take the floor by repeating the one term she uttered at the end of Mollie's first TCU, that is, *alors*, / 'so,'. Mollie appears to disregard Valérie's competition for the floor. Instead, Mollie goes on, stressing the beginning of her TCU: *mais* ↑moi↑ / 'but ↑me↑'. It appears that this technique discourages Valérie. Mollie is rushing through her next TCU (line 18 is in latched position with line 16) in which she provides information which seems important in the context of the conversation. This fact is conveyed through Mollie's insistence to go on with her TCU, but also through the emphasis with which she utters the main element of her utterance: she does not put *as much* sugar as there is in the original recipe (lines 18-19). She punctuates her utterance with *hein*., thereby eliciting an agreement from Valérie. Given that this agreement

pursuit is produced in an environment in which a contrastive statement has been made that features various stressed elements, this agreement pursuit may be heard as further emphasizing the prior utterance. Given these features, it is noteworthy that Valérie does not immediately produce an agreement. Rather, Valérie initiates a repair on information that Mollie apparently has told her in the past (lines 20-24). Mollie completes the repair in lines 25-27. Then, Valérie repeats aloud the piece of information that has now been confirmed by Mollie while writing it in her notebook (lines 27-32). Research (Sacks *et al.*, 1974) has shown that issues in hearing and understanding have priority for speakers over other currently ongoing actions. This explains why there is no agreement immediately forthcoming. After the completion of the repair, Mollie repeats the amount of sugar she needs to make the cake (33-35), which resumes the prior action. In lines 36-37, Valérie also links back to the prior action by repeating the information from lines 18 and 19. In other words, in lines 36-37, Valérie states the fact that Mollie uses less sugar than indicated in the original recipe. Mollie treats Valérie's utterance as an indirect question to ask for the amount of sugar that Mollie herself uses and she lists the amount. While writing Valérie repeats the piece of information that Mollie has just told her (lines 40 and 41) and Mollie indicates that she adds vanilla sugar to the original recipe (lines 42-43).

The fact that it is Valerie, and not Mollie, who reiterates the contrast between the original recipe and Mollie's adaption in lines 36-37, indicates that Mollie succeeded in stressing the contrast. As mentioned above, Mollie emphasizes her utterance through syntactic and intonational means. In addition, she attaches an agreement pursuit to it. The *hein* can be seen as an attempt to put the coparticipant under a heightened constraint to attend to the utterance which stands in contrast with another piece of information. It is in this way, that it also functions to emphasize the utterance.

In the following fragment (figure 4.15), *hein* at the end of a TCU also appears in a context where a contrast is highlighted. The context is that of an argument in which two speakers have opposing views on one specific topic. Here again, speakers are attaching an agreement pursuit precisely to those turns that state opinions contrary to those of their coparticipants. By trying to force the coparticipant to agree with the opposing opinion, *hein* is a vehicle for each party to insist on and highlight her own point⁴. In the following segment, two participants, Mollie and Valérie, feel differently about eating American meat. French food is referred to in the segment as food from “here” and American food is referred to as food from “over there”. The first 23 lines are given for contextual information.

FIGURE 4.15

- *V looks at the cracker that she is about to eat
while M puts drops on Tweetie's eyes*
- 01 V: **non c'est ↑quand je euh,=
no it's ↑when i uhm,=
seriously it's when i uhm,=*
- 02 V: *=c'est marrant.
=it's funny.*
- 03 V: *c'est-c'est quand je mange
it's-it's when I ea:t*
- 04 V: *les petits, euh mm=
the little, uhm mm=*
- *V cuts the cracker she has in her hands in two*
- 05 V: *=les petits amuse-gueules ici,
=our littl' appetizers he:re,*
- 06 V: *que je m'aperçois combien, euh.
that I myself see how much, uhm.
that I realize that, uhm.*

⁴ I would like to thank Andrea Golato for observing how the *heins* in 4.15 and 4.16 come to be heard as insisting and emphasizing.

FIGURE 4.15 (cont.)

07 (2.5) ((V picks cracker's crumbs on the table with her
finger and eats them while she is still looking
at the piece of cracker in her hand))

08 V: les ↓amuse-gueules↓ ↑là-bhas↑,
the ↓appetizers↓ ↑over therhe↑,
↓appetizers↓ ↑over therhe↑,

*V looks disgusted

09 V: *sont ↓vr(h)ai↑ment p(h)as b(h)ons.
are ↓r(h)ea:↑lly n(h)ot g(h)ood.
are ↓r(h)ea:↑lly n(h)asty.

10 (1.0)

11 M: *y'a rien de.
're has nothing of.
they have nothing.

12 (0.5)

*M makes a face and M and V both shake their
head 'no'

13 M: *pas trop valable. hein,
not too valuable. [PRT],
that's really good. [PRT],

*V still shakes her head 'no'

14 V: *non, non.=
no, no.=

15 V: =[non.]
=[no.]
=[they don't.]
=[]
=[*looks at V]=

16 M: =[>↑*je veux pas.↑<]=
=[>↑ I want not.↑<]=
=[>↑I don't want to.↑<]=

17 M: =↑c'est pas pour cri:ti:[que. hein,↑
=↑it's not for criti[c. [PRT],↑
=↑I don't mean to critici[ze.[PRT],↑
[]

18 V: [↑non?=
[↑no?=
[]

FIGURE 4.15 (cont.)

- 19 V: =mais je sais bien?↑
 =but I know well?↑
 =I know what you mean?↑
- *M resume taking care of Tweetie's eyes
 and looks at Tweetie*
- 20 M: [*voi:là:. hein,]
 [the:re you go:. [PRT],]
 [o:kay:. [PRT],]
 []
 [*V looks at the 'cheetos' *equivalent of
 [on the table] 'cheetos']
- 21 V: [*regarde. par e]xemple une *croustille,
 [see. for in]stance a cheeto,
 [look. for in]stance take a cheeto,
- 22 V: i [ci. c'est ↑tout↑ na↑tu↓re:l.]
he[re. it's ↑all↑ na↑tu↓ra:l.]
he[re. it's ↑entirely↑ na↑tu↓ra:l.]
 []
 [*V looks at M who looks pensive
- 23 M: [↑*si↑ quand on est arri]vé? euh::.
 [↑yes↑ when we arri]ved? uh::.
 [wait ↑yes↑ when we arri]ved? uh::.
- 24 M: qu'est-ce qu'on a mangé de bon.
 what we ate of good.
 what did we eat that was good.
- 25 M: (.)
 style="padding-left: 100px;">**looks at V who looks back at M*
- 26 M: un bon *stea:ke,
 a good stea:k,
 a nice stea:k,
 style="padding-left: 100px;">**V has an ironic tone of voice. She looks
 right at M with a disapproving look.
 M looks back at V. This lasts until line 31*
- 27 V: *ouais,
 yeah,
- 28 (0.2)

FIGURE 4.15 (cont.)

- 29 V: c'est plein d'<[hor] mones.>
 it's full of <[hor] mones.>
 but it's full of <[hor] mones.>
 []
- 30 M: [et,-]
 [and,-]
- 31 V: c'est plein d'horm↑o↑nes leur viande.=
 it's full of horm↑o↑nes their meat.=
 their meat is loaded with horm↑o↑nes.=
- 32 M: **M raises her right arm* **M shrugs*
 =>*et ben oui? m'enfin. bon, ben.< **moi* je:..
 => and well yeah? well. good,well. <me i:..
 => well it's true? but. ↑any↓ways. <personally:..
- 33 M: **M does the 'never mind' gesture*
 moi j'y- *j'habitrais [aux états unis? moi]=
 me I there-I would live [in the States? me]=
 if I-I'd be the one living[in the States?]=
 []
 [**shakes her head*]
 ['no']
- 34 V: [**mhm mm*]
- *M looks at V. V looks back and continues to shake her head 'no'*
- 35 M: moi j'en mangerais? **hein*,
 me I some would eat? [PRT],
 no doubt I would eat some? [PRT],
- 36 (0.4)
- 37 M: des steakes=
 some steaks=
 some of their steaks=
- *M puts the drops back in their box. V looks at M while she is still nodding 'no'*
- 38=> M: =*pac'que moi je les trouve ↑bons↑? *hein*,
 = because me I them find ↑good↑? [PRT],
 = because I really ↑like↑ them? [PRT],
- *V looks right at M who looks back at V*
- 39=> V: *oui, mais.=
yes, but.=

FIGURE 4.15 (cont.)

- *M raises her right arm and hand. M looks straight at V who looks back at M*
- 40=> M: =>°mais°<*moi hormones
=>°but°<me hormones
=>°but°< as far as I am concerned hormones
- 41=> M: [ou pas hormones. hein,]
[or no hormones. [PRT],]
[]
- 42=> V: [ça fait-ç-ça nous]=
[it makes-'t-it us]=
[it makes-'t-it makes people]=
- *V makes the 'aïe aïe aïe' gesture (vigorously shakes her left hand). V looks at M and M looks back at V*
- 43=> V: =*fait grossir. hein,
=make put on weight.[PRT],
=put on weight. [PRT],
- 44 M: (m?)
- 45 V: [ça °fait°-
[it °makes°-
[it °makes° us-
- *M shrugs*
- 46 M: [et ben oui? *m'enfin.
[and well yes? but.
[well true? but at the end of the day.
- *M does the 'never mind' gesture*
- 47 M: *toute. façon, hein,=
anyways,[PRT],=
- 48 M: =au point où j'en suis,=
=to the point where I am,=
=to the point where I'm already at,=
- 49 M: =et une purée à l'ail.
=and some mashed potatoes with garlic.
=and garlic mashed potatoes.

Up until line 23, Valérie and Mollie have been talking about American food. Their conversation has unfolded to the point where they both agree that American appetizers are not that good. In overlap with Valérie, Mollie thinks aloud (lines 23-24) and finally makes a positive

assessment about American steaks. Valérie shows disagreement in the shape of a minimal answer: *ouais*, / ‘yeah,’. Linguistically, this answer shows agreement. However, Valérie’s embodied actions (Valérie looks at Mollie with a disapproving look) and her tone of voice that has a touch of irony both convey that Valérie disagrees with Mollie. In other words, she does not align with Mollie. Furthermore, after a brief pause, Valérie gives a justification for her disagreement (line 29): American meat is full of hormones. Valérie stresses the word *hormones* / ‘hormones’. In overlap with Valérie’s justification, Mollie makes an attempt to take the floor and to start another TCU but she stops (line 30) and after a brief silence, Valérie repeats her previous justification, still emphasizing the same word (line 31). From lines 31-38, Mollie gives a mitigated agreement. She agrees with Valérie on the fact that there are hormones in American meat but she states her own point of view: hormones or not, she would not mind eating meat. Line 38 is another line of interest; Mollie gives a justification as for why she would still eat American meat in spite of the presence of hormones in it: she finds American steaks good. In her account, Mollie is trying to make a strong case by emphasizing the positive evaluative term ↑*bons*?↑ / ‘↑good↑?’ in many ways: it is stressed, uttered with a high pitch and with rising intonation. This evaluative term is followed by *hein*, also stressed. Furthermore, Mollie uses two pronouns to refer to herself, that is, not only does she use *je*, the French subject pronoun, but she also uses *moi*, / ‘myself.’ It is as a disjunctive pronoun used to stress the subject of a sentence in the context of antagonistic situations (Ollivier & Beaudoin, pp. 278-281). Here, Mollie knows that Valérie does not agree with her since Valérie has been shaking while Mollie has been stating and justifying her point of view. It is clear that Valérie is not going to align with Mollie. At this point one may infer that this *hein*, uttered right after the evaluative term, is not only part of Mollie’s attempt to pursue agreement but also to emphasize her point to a co-participant who is

not agreeing with her. As Valérie's reaction also shows, Mollie's primary goal is to seek agreement from Valérie. However, because Mollie is seeking agreement although it is pretty clear at this point of the argument that Valérie has a different opinion, one may say that additionally to seeking agreement, Mollie's utterance could be seen as insisting on her point, hence, as stressing her point. Thereby, if one agrees with this line of thinking, one may see how, in parallel, this additional function attributed to Mollie's utterance entails attributing an additional function to the *hein* that follows Mollie's TCU. In other words, *hein* may also be considered as a device used to stress the TCU that precedes it. As I previously mentioned, sequentially speaking, Mollie's *hein* fulfills the primary function of an agreement seeker. That Valérie treats it as such in line 39 seems to confirm this line of thinking. In line 39, Valérie gives a mitigated answer. The first element of her turn is *oui* / 'yes', which is a sign of agreement. However, the second element is *mais* / 'but', a term that announces the start of an objection. This is a prototypical way of marking disalignment (Steensig & Asmuß, 2005). In latched position, Mollie rushes to take the floor as soon as Valérie has uttered *mais* / 'but'. Foreseeing Valérie's possible disagreement, Mollie starts a very straight forward and elliptical statement (lines 40 and 41) the content of which is meant to be a repetition of one of her previous and more elaborated statements (lines 32 to 37). Mollie's statement is accompanied with embodied action: she raises her right arm and hand while uttering her statement and she looks right into Valérie's eyes. In lines 40 and 41, Mollie's increment *hormones ou pas hormones* / 'hormones or no hormones' is followed once again by *hein* and it is placed interruptively. In other words, Mollie's increment followed by *hein* is an agreement pursuit but it also shows Mollie's insistence on pursuing her own point of view. In overlap with Mollie's strong statement, Valérie's turn in line 42 emphasizes her disagreement with Mollie's line of thinking. Valérie continues the utterance

she has started line 39 by giving an account for her disagreement with Mollie's statement. Sidnell (2011) points out that tag questions can be followed with bits of further talk. These bits of talk are referred to as "post-tag-question talk" (Sidnell, 2011, p. 155). The segment featured above also contains post-tag-question talk in lines 40-41 when Mollie adds her increment *hormones ou pas hormones* followed by *hein*. Sidnell further explains that "post-tag-question talk is [most often] overlapped by a next speaker who has apparently treated the tag question as constituting TCU completion" (Sidnell, 2011, p. 155). Note that this is the case in the French example above as well when Valérie starts her turn (line 42) in overlap with Mollie's post-tag-question talk. Valérie manages to start a justification (line 42) in overlap with Mollie's utterance and her utterance (lines 42 and 43) is also followed by the particle *hein*. In other words, through her utterance, Valérie is finally able to take the floor, to keep it and to make her point. After a false start (line 42), she self completes her repair and restarts her TCU that she finishes line 42. Her statement is emphasized by the accompanying gesture (she does the very popular French 'aïe aïe aïe' gesture⁵) as well as her eye gaze: she looks at Mollie who looks right back at her. One cannot say how Mollie treats Valérie's utterance since Mollie's utterance is not audible. However, Valérie reiterates the start of her justification (line 45) in overlap with Mollie's next TCU (line 46) in which Mollie first agrees with Valérie's statement; she stresses the main agreeing and produces it with rising intonation: *oui?* / 'yes?'. However, as many times before, this first agreement is followed by a term that demonstrates that a mitigated answer is to be expected; while shrugging, Mollie's first agreement is followed by *m'enfin.*, that is the literal equivalent of the English 'anyway' but that can also be translated by 'but'. Hence, Mollie treats Valérie's

⁵ "Meaning: Uh oh, someone's in trouble! Method: Right hand palm facing your chest, fingers apart, shake it loosely up and down" (Edis, 1986, p. 10). The reader will see a demonstration of this gesture at the following electronic link: <http://french.about.com/library/weekly/aa020901o.htm>

utterance as agreement seeking, but once again, she is about to make a statement that conveys the idea that however valid Valérie's justification is, Mollie would still eat meat if she were in America. As Steensig & Asmuss (2005) have shown in their study on German and Danish conversations, participants show their lack of alignment with another party with a yes answer followed by an objection. Both Mollie and Valérie deploy that same technique to defend their point of view and show a lack of alignment with each other's point of view. However, a larger collection of samples in French is needed to see if this is a systematic and frequent technique in French conversation.

In this extract, it is sequentially clear that Mollie and Valérie disagree with each other. Each turn that contains a *hein* is seeking agreement. However, it also appears clear as the conversation unfolds that the participants are aware that they disagree and that none of the participants are going to give in to the other's point of view. In other words, because of the position of these utterances in the unfolding of the conversation, they also perform the action of insisting. Hence, the TCUs followed by *hein* seem to mainly perform the function of stressing; Mollie would eat American meat because she likes it, regardless of the presence of hormones whereas Valérie does not eat American meat because of the very presence of hormones (see lines 27, 29, 31, 34, 35-gloss, 38-gloss, 39, 42-43 and 45 in the transcript as well as the above analysis related to these lines). Each participant uses several calculated means to convey her point of view and to give an account for having a specific point of view. In other words, what both participants are mainly doing is defending their point of view and insisting on it.

The fragment below (figure 4.16) interestingly illustrates the function of stressing as a means to take the floor and to keep it. In the following example, the lines of interest are lines 52-55. Prior to the segment below, Roger, Molly, Fabiola, Jonathan and Coré have started to have

aperitif while waiting for Benjamin and his sister Lili. As previously mentioned, when Benjamin arrives (line 11), he is very exhausted, for he had videotaped a wedding ceremony and reception and then worked all night editing the video. All participants are addressing Benjamin's tiredness by gently and humorously teasing him. This is the context in which the lines of interest in this analysis (lines 53 and 55) are uttered by Roger.

FIGURE 4.16

```

14      *R and S kiss on the chick (until end of line 17)
      *alors.
      so.

15      (1.0)

16  R:  tu as bien <réveillé?>
      you have well <a:wa:ke?>
      you are fully <a:wa:ke?>

17      (1.7)

      *B, smiling, goes towards M to kiss her on the cheek
18  R:  *p[as bien          ] encore non?= ((smiling))
      n[ot well          ] yet no?=
      n[ot quite         ] yet uh?
      [                  ]
      [ *smiling         ]
19  B:  [>°*non°.<          ]
      [>°*no°.<          ]
      [>°*no °.<         ]

20  J:  =mais::::.
      =bu::::t.

      *B kisses M on the cheek (until end of line 28).
      R sits back down
21  R:  [*h.h. ah ah ah ah ah ah ah ah
      [
      [ *F looks at R until end of line 26
22  F:  [(↑*ben vois::::↑)?=
      [(↑well see::::↑)?=
      [(↑listen to thi::::s.↑)?=
      [
23  R:  [(R keeps laughing))
      [

```

FIGURE 4.16 (cont.)

- 24 F: [=c'est ↑moi↑ qui ai fait sonner son
[=<it is ↑me↑ who have made rin:g his
[=<↑I↑ did make his c↑ell↑ rin:g.
[
- 25 R: [((R keeps laughing))
[] []
- 26 F: [port↑able.↑] parce [que je s]avais pas.=
[c↑ell.↑] be [cause I did kn]ow not.=
[] be [cause I didn']t know.=
[] []
[*R stops] []
[laughing] []
- 27 R: [h.h.h.*] []
[] []
- 28 M: [bon↑jour] [*tintin.↑]
[h↑i] [tintin.↑]
[] []
- 29 B: [>°bonjour.°<]
[>°hi.°<]
- 30 F: =si> >i'fallait qu'j'l'a:ppelle.=
=if> >'t was necessary th't I 'im ca:ll.=
=if >I had to ca:ll'im.=
- 31 =ou [pas::?<]
=or [no::t?<]
[]
[*J looks at B who walk towards Coré
- 32 J: [*i's'est-,]i's'est couché,
['e himself is-,]'e himself is come to be:d,
[when 'e went,]to be:d,
- 33 j'étais levé moi.=
I was up me.=
I was already up.=
- 34 F: =et oui?=
=and yes?=
=that's right?=
=
- 35 J: [= >°alors°<=]
[=>°so°<=]
[]
- 36 R: [=ah ah=]((very loud))
[]
[*B slides behind R's seat to get to Coré
- 37 F: [=*à six-]à six [heu:res, ou::.]=
[= at six-]at six [hou:rs, o::r.]=
[= at six-]at si:x, [o::r.]=
[]=

FIGURE 4.16 (cont.)

38 B: [ah ah ah ah]=((slight laugh))

*F looks at J

39 F: =>↓*que'que chose↓[comme ça?] hein?=<
=>↓*som'thing↓ [like that?] [PRT]?=<
[]

40 B: [ah ah ah]((slight laugh))

*J looks in front of him and then at R and M

41 J: *six heures et.(.) quart? six heures
six hours and.(.) quarter? six hours
a.(.)quarter past.six? six

42 et de [mie. >quand il est]allé
and ha[lf. >when he is]gone
thir [ty.>when he]went
[]
[*looking at R, holding a piece of ham in front
[of him, showing it to R]

43 C: [>*°c'est ça qui est bon.°<]
[>°it is that that is good.°<]
[>°that's what's good.<°]

44 J: s'cou [cher.<]
himself to [bed.<]
to [bed.<]
[]
[*looking at C who starts to stand up to
[greet B who made his way next to Coré.
[B and C kiss on the cheeks until line 54.

45 R: [°*hein°?]= ((looking at C))
[°[PRT]°?]=
[]
[*M looks at F who looks at J. M makes a
[gesture with her right index above her
[head to "reproduce" B's "front lock"

46 M: [*il a]=[la petiteuh::.]
[he has]=[the little-uh::.]
[he's got]=[a little-uh::.]
=[]
=[*nickname
=[for Benjamin

47 C: =[>ça va *ben?<]
=[>it goes ben?<]
=[>what's up ben?<]

48 M: [coue:tte co:mme:*tintin?]
[front lo:ck li:ke-uh tintin?]
[]

49 R: [ah ah ah ah ah [ah ah]
[]

50 C: [>la forme?<]((to B, smiling))
[>the shape?<]
[>in shape?<]

51 B: ((laughing slightly))

52=> R: oh:::

*R looks at B, smiling. B looks back at R along with
Everyone else, smiling

53=> R: [*il faut te]ré:↑vei:ller:?=
[it is necessary you]w↑a:ke yourse:lf u:p?=
[you gotta]w↑a:ke u:p?=
[]

54=> F: [il a fait la fête.]
[he has done the party.]
[he partied.]

55=> R: =↓un peu. hein? ah ah
=↓a little. [PRT]? ah ah

*C looks at B going to his seat

56 C: *alors c'te CVR, elle marche?
so th's CVR-a kind of bike, it walks?
so th's CVR-a kind of bike, it rides well?

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(Sacks *et al.*, 1974). Hence, they both finish their turns. Fabiola finishes before Roger; Roger's first TCU ends at the end of line 52 with the utterance of *ré:↑vei:ller:?* / 'w↑a:ke u:p?'. Roger stresses the word while uttering it; he uses devices such as the elongation of the vowels, a higher pitch, as well as rising final intonation. Roger could have stopped right there since he had a complete TCU, which would still have made him speak in the clear after Fabiola while making his utterance stand out (in comparison with Fabiola's utterance) through the stressing devices listed above. However, he then adds an increment to this turn (line 55): *↓un peu.* / '↓a little.', thereby coming out even more as the speaker who insists on being heard and ends up talking in the clear. He then adds the *hein?* / '[PRT]?' which elongates the turn even further and which is also particularly emphasized and uttered with rising intonation that is usually used to invite other co-participants to take the floor. Hence, in this particular instance, this particle is a perfect device to establish oneself as the rightful speaker that others will have to respond to. In this extract, *hein* is then used to insist on the preceding TCU by inviting the other co-participants to take the floor and to express (preferably) their agreement. As in the other cases I presented in the category, this data segment shows speakers at odds with one another. Contrary to the preceding case, the speakers in this segment are not arguing. Rather, they are competing for the floor.

When used as an emphatic device, *hein* is usually stressed. In addition, it is uttered with slightly rising intonation or fully rising intonation. *Hein* is preceded by an anchor that is particularly stressed in various ways not only linguistically but also through embodied actions. Furthermore, it appears to be in contexts where participants are at odds with one another or are otherwise making contrastive statements.

The type of tag in figure 4.14 can be compared with the type of tag in English that Tottie & Hoffman (2009) found in their study, that is, tags that express a speaker's attitude towards a

topic by stressing particular information. As for the tags in figure 4.15 (and the others in the collection), I would not qualify them as “challenging” (Tottie & Hoffmann, 2006, p. 311) since they are not hostile. I would not qualify this type of tag as “peremptory” either (Algeo, 1990, pp. 447-448, cited in Tottie & Hoffman, 2006, p. 299), since these tags do not contain a statement of universal truth. However, this type of tag is strongly charged. It is true that *heins* are primarily agreement seeking tags but the way they are placed in the unfolding conversation and the reaction they elicit from the co-participant(s) clearly highlight their main function, that is, emphasizing what precedes it. In other words, each participant clearly wishes to make a point and can even be said to be fighting for their position. Lastly, this pursuit agreement device has been shown to be efficient at manipulating the turn taking system and the turn at talk itself so that a speaker can establish him/herself as the rightful speaker.

4.3.3. Device to intensify the act of hedging

My data show that *hein* at the end of a TCU is sometimes utilized as a device for intensifying the act of hedging dispreferred actions such as giving a negative assessment or making a request. In effect, by means of the particle itself, the speaker attempts to lead the other participants to agree with the [hedged TCU + *hein*]. This way, if the co-participants agree with the [hedged TCU + *hein*], not only do the co-participants agree with what could be a face-threatening act but they also endorse the point of view of the speaker of [TCU + *hein*]. One may see how by using the particle to this end, the speaker performs a manipulative, coercive action. I will be discussing the main features of *hein* in this type of environment at the end of the presentation of both instances.

The example that illustrates this function is extracted from figure 4.15. Whereas the second portion of it was illustrating the function of stressing, the first part of the segment (from line 1 to line 22) highlights mostly the function of hedging. For the reader's convenience, this part of the transcript is presented again below.

In this part of the transcript, the lines of interest are mainly lines 17 and 20. However, I will also include the analysis of lines 11 and 13 that perform the function of agreement seeking in order to highlight the difference between the tag particle *hein* that performs mainly the function of agreement seeking (such as lines 11 and 13), and the same particle that performs mainly the function of stressing the action of hedging (lines 17 and 20).

FIGURE 4.17

- *V looks at the cracker that she is about to eat
while M puts drops on Tweetie's eyes*
- 01 V: **non c'est ↑quand je euh,=
no it's ↑when i uhm,=
seriously it's when i uhm,=*
- 02 V: *=c'est marrant.
=it's funny.*
- 03 V: *c'est-c'est quand je mange
it's-it's when I ea:t*
- 04 V: *les petits, euh mm=
the little, uhm mm=*
- *V cuts the cracker she has in her hands in two*
- 05 V: *=*les petits amuse-gueules ici,
=our littl' appetizers he:re,*
- 06 V: *que je m'aperçois combien, euh.
that I myself see how much, uhm.
that I realize that, uhm.*
- 07 *(2.5) ((V picks cracker's crumbles on the table with her
finger and eats them while she is still looking
at the piece of cracker in her hand))*
- 08 V: *les ↓amuse-gueules↓ ↑là-bhas↑,
the ↓appetizers↓ ↑over therhe↑,
↓appetizers↓ ↑over therhe↑,*

FIGURE 4.17 (cont.)

09 V: **V looks disgusted*
 *sont ↓vrhai↑ment phas bhons.
 are ↓rhea:↑lly nhot ghooD.
 are ↓rhea:↑lly nhasty.

10 (1.0)

11 M: **M looks at V who looks back at V.*
 *y'a rien de.
 're has nothing of.
 they have nothing.

12 (0.5)

13 M: **M makes a face and M and V both shake their head*
 *pas trop valable. hein,
 not too valuable. [PRT],
 that's really good. [PRT],

14 V: **V still shakes her head*
 *non, non.=
 no, no.=

15 V: =[non.]
 =[no.]
 =[they don't.]
 =[]
 =[*looks at V]=
 16 M: =[>↑*je veux pas.↑<]=
 =[>↑ I want not.↑<]=
 =[>↑I don't want to.↑<]=

17 M: =↑c'est pas pour cri:ti:[que. hein,↑
 =↑it's not for criti[c. [PRT],↑
 =↑I don't mean to critici[ze. [PRT],↑
 []
 18 V: [↑non?=
 [↑no?=
 19 V: =mais je sais bien?↑
 =but I know well?↑
 =I know what you mean?↑

Valérie starts the conversation with a negative assessment about American appetizers; she compares French and American ‘cheetos’, highlighting the fact that it is when she eats *les petits*

amuse-gueules ici / ‘our littl’ appetizers he:re’ (line 5) that she realizes that *les* ↓*amuse-gueules*↓↑ *là bhas*↑, / ‘↓appetizers↓↑ over therhe↑,’ (line 8) are ↓*vrhai*↑*ment phas bhons*. / ↓*rhea*:↑lly nhasty.’ After Valérie’s assessment about American appetizers and a silence (line 10), Mollie takes the floor and aligns with Valérie. In line 11, Mollie starts a very negative assessment with one extreme case statement (Pomerantz, 1986) that she emphasizes: ‘they have nothing’. She then pauses (line 12) at a point where there should be a reaction from Valérie, that is, a reaction to the extreme case statement uttered by Mollie. However, Valérie does not react either linguistically or through embodied actions. In reaction to Valérie’s silence, Mollie downgrades the beginning of her assessment by means of the adverb of quantity *pas trop* / ‘not too much’. She also pursues a response by uttering the tag *hein* with slightly rising intonation (line 13). Valérie treats Mollie’s utterance as an agreement pursuit since her answer shows agreement. Hence, lines 11 and 13 present a classic example of agreement pursuit like the ones I have described earlier in this chapter. In lines 14 and 15, Valérie aligns with Mollie’s negative assessment by repeating *non* / ‘no’ three times. In overlap with Valérie’s last ‘no’, Mollie starts a TCU but drops out, possibly due to the overlap. She self-completes the repair in line 17, one of the lines of interest for the purpose of this analysis. Mollie clearly states that she does not criticize for the sake of criticizing. Several elements demonstrate the care and the force with which Mollie conveys this idea. First, she talks at a higher pitch, potentially to keep the floor. She also stresses several vowels in her utterance. The turn in line 17 is also in latched position to the prior abandoned turn that was uttered in overlap. This latching highlights the importance of this utterance for Mollie. Hence, so far, the devices used by Mollie merely demonstrate that it is important to her to highlight the fact that she does not wish to criticize American food. However, her saying with such care that she does not mean to be criticizing (while that is what she is

clearly doing starting line 11) may be considered as a hedge in itself. Furthermore, one may consider that this hedge is further stressed by Mollie when she utters the *hein*. To be more specific, the *hein* at the end of Mollie's utterance is the device used by Mollie to seek Valérie's agreement. If Valérie were to agree, then Valérie would absolve Mollie from making a face threatening act. This scenario is precisely what happens. Valérie's utterance (lines 18 and 19) starts in overlap with Mollie's preceding utterance when the end of the turn is projectable (right before the *hein*). In other words, Valérie rushes to show with emphasis her understanding that Mollie does not want to criticize American food just for the sake of criticizing. Hence, Valérie's reaction is precisely the type of agreement that Molly's *hein* was eliciting. Put it differently, by agreeing with Mollie's statement, Valérie is also endorsing the content of the utterance. In sum, all these elements so far highlight that the function of Mollie's *hein* at the end of line 17 is a means she uses to primarily pursue agreement and, in parallel, to stress her hedged negative assessment of American food.

In the literature (e.g., Holmes, 1982) *hein* is often called a hedging device. However, I have shown in this data segment that *hein* per se is actually not performing the action of hedging. Rather, *hein* is a device that intensifies the action of hedging that the turn preceding the *hein* actually performs.

4.3.4. Facilitative tag in long tellings

As Holmes explains, facilitative tags are tags that are used to show solidarity, that is, to "reach out to addressees and encourage them to respond" (Holmes, 1982, p. 53). Holmes adds that "the addressee's response may be a substantial one" (Holmes, 1982, p. 53) or a very minimal one, such as a simple 'yes', a nod, a continuer, etc. However, even if I only have a small number

of instances that show straightforward facilitating tags (Holmes, 1982, p. 53), my data show that *hein* at the end of a TCU is also sometimes a way to merely acknowledge the presence of the co-participant. Holmes (1982) does not specify the interactional environments in which such *heins* occur. My corpus shows that this kind of *hein* typically occurs in the context of story tellings, such as in the segment below (figure 4.18) or in longer tellings. CA work on other languages (Schegloff, 1981) has shown that speakers often elicit a response from their co-participants in such contexts.

Prior to this segment, Roger explained to Jonathan that he (Roger) had stopped smoking cigarettes. His doctor convinced him to do so because the doctor noticed that Roger had a bad cough. Roger also explained his relationship with the family doctor; Roger has been working at his family doctor's office as well as at his doctor's private house. As a result they eventually got to know each other pretty well and the doctor would feel free to give health-related advice to Roger.

FIGURE 4.18

- *J and B look at R. R looks at the table cloth, seemingly gathering crumbs on the table*
- 01 R: *et a:près:
and a:fte:rwards?
and the::n?
- 02 je v-.< †je suis retourné
I a-.<†I am returned
I a-.<†I went back
- 03 à chez lui=à la maison?
to at him's=to the house?
to his place=to his house?
- 04 (0.9)
- 05 R: °à°< mé:na:re:?
°at°< mé:na:re's?

FIGURE 4.18 (cont.)

- 06 **B looks away*
 *alors i' m'a di::t
 so he told me↑
- 07 (1.1)
- 08 R: >↓*pou:quoi moi=
 >↓why: me=
 >↓be:cause as far as I am concerned=
- 09 =à chez le do:teur,<
 =at at the docto:r,<
 =at the docto:r's,<
- 10=> quand on travaillait, hein?↓
 when one was working, [PRT]?↓
 for as long as I was a worker, [PRT]?↓
- 11 J: °mhm° ((nods))
- 12=> R: on allh.ait pas sou:↑vent:? hein↑?
 one wh.ent not o:ft↑e:n? [PRT]↑?
 I dh.idn't go there o:ft↑e:n? [PRT]↑?
- 13 J: mhm ((nods))
- 14 R: ↓moi j'ai-j'ai- je c-suis commencé chez les-
 ↓me i've-i've- i s-am started at the-
 ↓personally i've-i've- I s-started to the-
- 15 chez les do:teurseuh.
 at the docto:rsuh.
 to the docto:rsuh.
- 16 (0.4)
- 17 R: .h depuis le temps que
 .h since the time that
 .h since
- 18 je suis à la re↑traite↑?
 i am at the re↑tirement↑?
 my retirement↑?
- 19 J: ((nods silently))
- 20 R: ↓autrement::.. avant::..
 ↓otherwi::se. befo::re.

FIGURE 4.18 (cont.)

21 (0.5)

22 R: <vairamment> quand on avait
 <solely> when one had
 <only> when we came down with

23 [une gri::pe.] fo::rte=
 [a flu::e.] stron:g=
 ve::ry nasty [flu::.=]
 []
 24 J: [((silently nods))]

25 R: >=[quelque] chose de.↓<=
 >=[some-] thing of.↓<=
 >=[some-] thing really.↓<=
 =[]
 26 J: =[mhm mm]

27 J: =>ouais ouais<
 =>yeah yeah<

Before line 1, Roger has already been engaged for a while in telling this story. Jonathan has been listening to Roger's story from the beginning, providing various continuers. From lines 1-5, Roger explains that after he had already stopped smoking cigarettes, he met with Doctor Ménare again. Roger is about to report what the doctor told him when meeting at his house (line 6) but after a long silence (line 7), Roger looks at Jonathan (line 8) and digresses. Instead of reporting what the doctor said, Roger starts giving a justification for why he met the doctor at the doctor's house and not in his office (from line 8 until line 27) before continuing to talk about the conversation with the doctor (not displayed). In line 8, Roger indicates that he is sharing a personal story: *pou:quoi moi* / 'be:cause as far as I am concerned'. In addition, Roger, who has not been looking at Jonathan, reciprocates Jonathan's gaze, thereby actively engaging him as a coparticipant. When the digression starts, Roger starts using the particle (see line 10). Roger utters a TCU in which he specifies that he is talking about times prior to his retirement: *quand on travaillait* / 'for as long as I was a worker'. Jonathan treats it as a response pursuit by uttering a

continuer in a low voice and nodding (line 11). After Jonathan's reaction, Roger completes his utterance (that he started line 8) with another TCU stressed in various ways and followed by *hein*. The particle is once again uttered with rising intonation and with a higher pitch, thereby inviting the coparticipant to respond. And Jonathan does so with a continuer thereby encouraging Roger to go on with his story. Roger indeed proceeds to develop this utterance from line 14 until line 28. As I previously mentioned, it is at the very point when Roger starts his digression that he is actively seeking a response from his co-participant. Jonathan shows that he is an active listener by uttering continuers. These have an impact on the rest of the conversation since they invites Roger to go on with his story telling (Schegloff, 1981). This shows in detail how it is that *hein* can function as a facilitative device. While Holmes (1982) states that *hein* functions as a facilitative tag and while Settekorn claims that *hein* functions as a "phatic tag" (Settekorn, 1977, p. 206), that is, a tag that has the same functions as Holmes' facilitative tag, my data show that they typically appear in long tellings, specifically in sequentially complex situations to insure the participant's attention as well as to acknowledge their presence in such context.

4.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown that *hein* at the end of the TCU can have various functions. I have explained that most of the time, *hein* performs the function of an agreement pursuit. Furthermore, *hein* can also be used as a device to stress an important piece of information, to highlight one's point of view or even to insist on taking and keeping the floor. I have then shown how *hein* at the end of a TCU could also be utilized as a device to intensify the action of hedging that is being performed in the TCU itself. Lastly, I have explained that *hein* could be a facilitative particle in long tellings.

Some of these functions have already been mentioned in prior research. For instance, the function of *hein* as a marker of tag questions has been brought out in most of the previous studies on *hein* and particularly in Delomier (1999), Nässlin (1986) and Beeching (2002). Delomier (1999) highlighted that *hein* in tag position can perform the function of obtaining agreement and seeking confirmation (or disconfirmation). Furthermore, Roventa-Frumusani (1987) made allusion to *hein* as a device to emphasize one's discourse, to acknowledge the presence of the interlocutor and to establish contact with this interlocutor. This function was also mentioned by Settekorn (1977), Holmes (1982) and Beeching (2002). Beeching (2002) explains that *hein* in final position can perform the function of "marker of emphatic statement" (Beeching, 2002, pp. 159-160). The function that is mentioned most in past studies, though, is that of doing hedging. For instance, Roventa Frumusani (1987) explains how *hein* (along with other pragmatic particles) is key to "social tuning rules" (Roventa-Frumusani, 1987, p. 141) in that the particle contributes to achieve a balance between what one has to express, and the social constraints that one has to follow in order to keep a good context of sociability. Settekorn (1977) corroborates Roventa-Frumusani's (1987) findings. This notion of hedging is also present in Beeching (2002, 2004, 2007) who highlights that one of *hein*'s main functions is to soften a statement that could be considered as too strong by the interlocutor. In this case, *hein* is clearly used to protect sociability, or politeness, in its broader sense. Beeching (2002) also explains that *hein* could, on the other hand, be used to do the opposite of hedging in the cases of reinforced orders or reinforced interrogatives (Beeching, 2002, pp. 167-168). In these cases, one can see how the intonation with which *hein* is uttered could reinforce the strength of a point being made by the speaker.

What my work has contributed is to show in more detail that the main function of tags in discourse does not appear to be that of hedging, or that of establishing communication and maintaining contact with the interlocutor(s). Rather, the most present function of *hein* is that of agreement pursuit. Furthermore, while I have shown that tags can be either facilitative or phatic, I have also shown that in my data, these types of tags appear in a specific context, namely in long tellings and specifically in complex situations (and, more specifically, mainly long tellings containing reported speech). In my data, *hein* is also used as an emphatic device. However, I have shown that speakers do not only use *hein* to stress the part of the discourse that immediately precedes or succeeds the particle. Rather, if the particle is used to emphasize information, I have also shown that it was in a particular context, that is, a context in which two elements are at odds with each other.

Finally, I cannot agree with the function of *hein* as a hedge. My analyses have shown that the function of hedging is done in the TCU preceding the *hein* and that the particle is present to reinforce the act of hedging present in the immediately preceding TCU.

Chapter 5: *Hein* in Other Positions

In the previous chapter I analyzed *hein* in tag positions. In this chapter, I treat the case of *hein* at the conjunction of two TCUs in latched position uttered by the same party. I also treat the case of *hein* within a TCU. In my data, I have found four instances of *hein* at the conjunction of two TCUs in latched position uttered by the same party, and three instances of intra-turn *hein*.

5.1. Functions of *hein* at the conjunction of two latched TCUs uttered by the same party

I define *hein* at the conjunction of two latched TCUs uttered by the same party as follows. The speaker who utters the first TCU followed by *hein* does not leave any time for another party to take the floor at the transition relevance place. Rather, the speaker rushes through after the utterance of *hein* to utter another TCU. These instances deserve to be studied separately from instances of *hein* at the end of a TCU for two reasons. First, they all appear to be sequentially different from any of the instances of *hein* discussed in the previous chapter. Second, they also appear to perform different functions. In these instances, the TCU that is uttered after the *hein* is produced with a rush-through of the turn transition relevance space (Sacks *et al.*, 1974). In addition, the talk after the *hein* is directly linked with the part that is uttered before the *hein*. Most importantly, this kind of *hein* is to be found in one particular context, namely in dispreferred environments.

There were 4 instances of *hein* at the conjunction of two TCUs. As I previously mentioned, in this position the particle has the general function of connector in dispreferred contexts. Specifically, the particle connects what is considered to be a dispreferred and

sometimes face-threatening action with a softening, mitigating action in order to maintain social solidarity.

In this part, I will be focusing on two particular instances that illustrate the function of *hein* in this position and in such contexts. Briefly, the first example illustrates a case of giving an account after a request whereas the second example presents a case of a compliment before an admonishment. After the presentation of both instances, I will detail the main features of ‘*hein* at the conjunction of 2 TCUs’.

5.1.1. Giving an account after a request

Requests are dispreferred actions and as such are typically mitigated by hedges, delays, and accounts (Davidson, 1990; Lerner, 1996a; Schegloff, 1995; Taleghani-Nikazm, 2006). In the segment below, we can see that this is also the case in French. Prior to this segment, Roger (R) and Coré (C) had agreed on what they wanted to drink for the *apéritif*. In this segment, lines 8, 9 and 11 are of interest.

FIGURE 5.1

01	V: mhu,= muh,=
<i>*R is measuring the pastis dosage for C</i>	
02	R: *allez mon coré*.:= let's go my ((name)).= <i>come on core: dear let's get on with it.=</i>
03	C: [=allez. [=come on.. [
04	V: [=<moi je vais vous lai:sser? je: re:vien:drai [=<me i am going you lea:ve? i: wi:ll co:me ba:ck [=<i'll leave you alo:ne? i:'ll be: ba:ck

FIGURE 5.1 (cont.)

05 V: **V is speaking with a full mouth*
 *a:près,>=
 a:fterwards,>=
 la:ter,>=

06 R: =d'a::cco:rd.
 =a:lri:ght.

07 R: nous on va prend- l'apé:riti:f.
us one is going to h.av- the apé:riti:f.
we are going to h.ave an apé:riti:f.

08=> C: voi:là:. <bien: frai:s,hein.>=
 the:re you go:.. <we:ll fre:sh, PRT>.=
 the:r:e. <with ni:ce and cool water, PRT>=

09=> C: =parc- >i fait.<[i-i fait.]
 =bec- >t-is. <[t-t is.]
 =bec- >t-is. <[t-t is.]
 []

10 R: [on se l'a mérité:..]
 [one oneself it dese:rved.]
 [we dese:rve it.]

11=> C: un: peu: chau:d, là,
 a: li:ttle ho:t, over there,
 a: li:ttle ho:t, now,

12 (0.2)

13 R: *R is pouring pastis in C's glass
 *oh oui,il est [frais.
 oh yes,he is [fresh.
 oh yes,it's [nice and cool.

14 [((noises of water being poured))

In line 2, Roger announces the beginning of an action through his first word: *allez* / 'let's get to business' and this action involves Coré. While verbally announcing the start of the action he undertakes, Roger is also physically accomplishing this action by preparing a shot of *pastis* to pour in Coré's glass (line 2). In the same line, Roger is noticeably aiming to capture Coré's

attention. He uses an address term and stresses it. In line 3, Coré repeats the preceding *allez*. This turn shows two different elements. First, that Roger has successfully captured Coré's attention since Coré is reacting, and also that Coré agrees with starting the *apéritif*. In overlap with Coré's turn, Valérie is taking leave (lines 4 and 5), which is validated by Roger (line 6). Then, Roger announces again that he and the other participants are proceeding with the *aperitif* (line 7). In line 8, Coré first shows his agreement with Roger through his first TCU: *voi:là:*. Then he produces what could appear to be a request: *bien: frai:s*, / 'ni:ce and cool' followed by *hein*. The stress on the consonants and the fact that Coré is speaking slowly, might be an indication of his insistence on this request. One can notice that the *hein* is placed directly between Coré's request and an account for this request. Requests are dispreferred first pair parts (Davidson, 1990; Lerner, 1996a; Pomerantz, 1984; Schegloff, 1995; Taleghani-Nikazm, 2006) which are frequently hedged with accounts and explanations as in the present example. Coré rushes through the turn-transition relevance space after *hein* thereby leaving no opportunity for the co-participant to agree with him. In overlap with Coré, right at the moment at which Coré is involved in a short word search, Roger produces a turn in overlap that syntactically completes Coré's account (albeit differently than how Coré ultimately completes his utterance). The fact that Roger fits his utterance to Coré's shows that he is aligned with Coré and his request. This seems to be a typical case of what Lerner (1996b, 2002) refers to as collaborative completion. After Coré has brought his account to completion, a brief silence (line 12) occurs during which Roger is getting ready to pour the helping of pastis in Coré's glass. Roger then confirms Coré's request by reassuring him that the water is fresh (line 14).

5.1.2. Compliments as components of dispreferred first pair parts

As Golato has shown for German, “[w]hen analyzing compliments with respect to preference organization, it becomes apparent that compliments frequently occur in dispreferred environments” (Golato, 2005, p. 95). Such dispreferred environments are rejections, disagreements, admonishments, etc. In the context of dispreferred environments, compliments are placed before or after the dispreferred action. In these contexts, compliments usually have the function of mitigating face-threatening acts thereby maintaining social solidarity between the participants (Golato, 2005, p. 96). In French, compliments seem to have a similar function.

Prior to this segment, while waiting for Benjamin to arrive, Roger, Molly, Fabiola, Jonathan Coré and Valérie have been sitting around the table, starting to have *apéritif*. Benjamin finally arrives, very exhausted, for he had spent the previous night taping a wedding ceremony followed by a reception. In this segment, I will focus on the analysis of lines 12 and 14.

FIGURE 5.2

- | | | | |
|----|----|--|-------------------------|
| | | <i>*R, raises the whisky bottle,</i> | <i>*R points at the</i> |
| | | <i>looks at B and touches his</i> | <i>bottle of whisky</i> |
| | | <i>arm to capture B's attention.</i> | <i>and looks at B</i> |
| 01 | R: | <i>*tu veux un <u>pastis</u>? ou tu veux un *wh<u>isky</u>.=</i> | |
| | | <i>you want a <u>pastis</u>? or you want a wh<u>isky</u>.=</i> | |
| | | <i>you want some <u>pastis</u>? or you want some wh<u>isky</u>.=</i> | |
| | | <i>*B smiles and rubes his left eye as if awakening</i> | |
| | | <i>while M reaches at the champagne bottle and</i> | |
| | | <i>places it on the table next to B, looking at B</i> | |
| 02 | B: | <i>=*ouh: là:::,</i> | |
| | | <i>= wo:w the:::re,</i> | |
| | | <i>= wo:::w,</i> | |
| | | <i>*F looks at B</i> | |
| 03 | F: | <i>*ah ah [ah ah</i> | |
| | | <i>[</i> | |
| | | <i>[*R looks at the champagne bottle and then</i> | |
| | | <i>[looks at B who is still rubbing his eye</i> | |
| 04 | R: | <i>[*O-OU un verre de [champagne.=]</i> | |
| | | <i>[O-OR a gla:ss of [champa:gne.=]</i> | |
| | | <i>[</i> | <i>]</i> |

FIGURE 5.2 (cont.)

05 M: [**M looks at B*]
 [**champagne.=*]
 [*champagne.=*]

**F and M look at B, both slightly laughing*

06 F: =*un c(h)a:fé:?oui?
 = a c(h)o:ffee:?yes?
 = or *c(h)offee*:?rather?

07 F: [ah ah]
 []
 [**B, still rubbing his eye,*]
 [looks briefly at the]
 [champagne bottle]

08 B: [>°*ben°< du champagne.]
 [>° well°< some champagne.]
 [>° uhm°< champagne.]

09 (.)

**R puts the whisky bottle on the table and
 grabs the champagne bottle to serve B*

10 R: *du champa-. allez.
 some champ-. let's go.
 champ-.ok.

11 ((noises of the champagne bottle clicking against
B's glass as R pours the champagne)) (0.4)

**F looking at B*

12=> F: >*il est très bon.< hein?=
 > it is very good.< [PRT]?=
 > it's very good stuff.< [PRT]?=

**C looking at B*

13 C: [=>°*soyons fous.°<]
 [=>° let us be crazy.°<]
 [=>° let's enjoy.°<]
 []

FIGURE 5.2 (cont.)

[*F looks at her glass of] *F makes a thinking
[champagne and touches it] face

14=> F: [=>*seulement il faut le<]boi:r-*euh::,
[=> only it is necessary it<]to drin:k-uh::,
[=> but you really gotta<]drin:k it-uh::,

*B looks down and stares at his glass and at his plate

15 B: *allez.
let's go.

*R removes the cork of the champagne bottle

16 R: *allez.=
let's go.
ok.

*M grabs her glass of champagne and looks at F

17 M: =*très frais.
= very fresh.
= very nice and cool.

((noise of glasses clicking)) (0.3)

*F is looking at her glass

19 F: *doucement? aussi?
sl̥o::wly? also?

*F is looking at B while R is serving the champagne to B.

20 F: ↓*je vais pas me faire[a-]>avoir?<=
↓ I will not me make [t-]>have?<=
[] *into getting
[] dizzy/drunk
↓ I'm not gonna get [t-]>*tricked?<=
[]
[*C looks at B]

21 C: [>° moi c'est-°<]
[>° me it's-°<]
[>° it-°<]

*C looks at B (see below)

22 C: =*moi c'est j moins un?
= me it is the day minus one?
= it's the day minus one for me?

By line 11, it has been established that Benjamin wants some champagne for *apéritif*. Line 12 is a line of interest in the context of this analysis. Addressing her turn to Benjamin, Fabiola first utters a positive assessment of the champagne followed by *hein*. However, right after the *hein*, she rushes to her next TCU (line 14) that starts with a term that usually implies a contrast: *seulement* / ‘but’. In line 14, right after having uttered a compliment, Fabiola performs the action of admonishing Benjamin to actually drink the champagne. At the end of line 14, Fabiola is engaged in a word search (a self-initiated repair) that is supposed to qualify the way Benjamin should drink the champagne. Line 17, Mollie (the host) provides Fabiola with a candidate solution with a lot of emphasis and holding her own glass of champagne. However, in line 19, Fabiola adds to Mollie’s candidate answer her own increment, *douce↑ment? aussi? / ‘sl̩o::wly? also?’. The word *aussi* / ‘also’ indicates that Fabiola is not correcting Mollie. Rather, this term indicates that she is simply adding to what Mollie has previously said.*

Returning to the *hein* turn, it appears that this fragment is an instance of giving a compliment in a context that could be face threatening since Fabiola utters what can be considered as a reserve: following her positive assessment Fabiola states that the champagne might make one feel sick (that is, dizzy or even drunk) if one drinks it too fast. Fabiola supports her point of view by stating that in the past, she actually had such an experience (line 20 onward). Fabiola’s utterance of her reserve, which concerned one negative characteristic of the champagne, could possibly be considered as an overall negative assessment of the champagne. Seen in this way, the utterance of this reserve could be face threatening to the hosts. The care with which Fabiola self-completes her own word search paying special attention to not correct Mollie is additional evidence of Fabiola’s wish to soften her admonishment. One may also notice that in lines 12 and 14, Fabiola first utters a positive assessment of the champagne, hence,

indirectly paying a compliment to the hosts. Specifically, her first TCU is the compliment followed by *hein*. It is only after she utters this compliment that she proceeds to admonish with her second TCU. Research in German has shown that a strategy of uttering a compliment that mitigates a dispreferred action in a first pair part may be used by a participant who aims to hedge the following dispreferred action. In the context of this fragment, admonishing is what Schegloff calls a “sensitive or delicate conversational action”, as Schegloff also refers to when he explains the function of requesting (Schegloff, 1996, p. 83). However, one may also agree that Fabiola succeeds in conveying her warning to Benjamin without disturbing social solidarity. Now, it is true that Fabiola’s turn is not responded to by any of the co-participants whereas in the preceding example, Roger attended to Coré’s request by aligning with him. However, Fabiola goes on with a telling immediately after she is done uttering her first [TCU + *hein*]. Hence, this could explain the lack of reaction of the other co-participants, that is, no one shows signs of agreeing, disagreeing, objections, etc. In other words, no one aligns or misaligns with Fabiola’s story. However, one has to bear in mind that Fabiola does not give them the time or the space to react to her positive assessment since she rushes through to be able to warn Benjamin.

Taking into account both previous instances (figures 4.7 and 4.8), the main features of *hein* at the conjunction of two TCUs are as follows. *Hein* is between 2 TCUs, one of which performs a dispreferred action (such as requesting, admonishing, etc.) and the other performs a preferred action (such as giving an account, paying a compliment, etc.). In all four cases in the collection, the function of *hein* in this position never failed. In other words, as the unfolding conversation shows, the speaker always managed to keep face and social solidarity is always maintained. It is quite interesting to see that similar findings have been established in English as well as in other languages such as German.

5.2. Functions of intra-TCU *hein*

In this section, I discuss my collection of intra-TCU *hein*. As mentioned earlier, an intra-TCU *hein* is a *hein* that is uttered before a TCU has come to completion. In this position, the particle appears to fulfill two main functions. Among the seven instances in the collection, two appear to have the function of stressing the term that immediately precedes the *hein*. My data also show five instances in which *hein* might first appear to be a *hein* at the end of a TCU. However, as the speaker goes on with his/her utterance, adding increments, this *hein* becomes retroactively an intra-turn *hein*. In these cases, *hein* appears to be used as a device to do thinking in order to build and elaborate the rest of the speaker's discourse. Thus, it seems that an intra-turn *hein* may be attributed the very general function of organizing discourse.

The research on intra-turn *hein* as I defined it is non-existent. This is not surprising since prior research (Beeching 2002, 2004, 2007, for instance) has investigated *hein* only at the turn level and not at the TCU-level. Hence the types of instances that I am investigating were subsumed under another category. The research here demonstrates though that attention to the specific position of a discourse particle in an utterance allows the researcher to make more detailed and accurate claims about its function.

As previously mentioned, an intra-turn *hein* fulfills the very general function of organizing discourse. I will however make allusion to the two sub-functions that I described in the introduction of this section. First, I will present a segment in which an intra-turn *hein* is used as a device to stress the term that immediately precedes it. Then, I will refer to the case of a retroactively intra-turn *hein* used as a device by the speaker to elaborate the continuation of his/her discourse.

5.2.1. Intra-turn *hein* used as a device to emphasize the term(s) that immediately precede(s) it

There are 2 instances of *hein* within a TCU where the *hein* emphasize the term or the clause that precedes the particle. The following segment illustrates this use of the intra-turn *hein*. In figure 4.9 (below), Roger used *hein* as a means to emphasize the most important parts of the doctor's discourse that had been addressed to him long ago and that led him to stop smoking cigarettes.

FIGURE 5.3

- (*proper name)R is talking to J who looks at him
R is looking straight in front of him
- 01 R: c'est *ména:re: qui m'a fait peu:reuh.=
it is ména:re: who me made fea:r.=
it's ména:re: who sca:red me.=
- *R is still looking in front of him and J is
looking at R.
- 02 *=>i'm'a dit,<=
=>he me told,<=
=>he asked me,<=
- *R tries to reproduce Dr Ménare's voice and
hardens his face features((face muscles tensed, R is
frowning and he pinches his lips)) into
making a "severe" face. R is looking in front
of him and L looks at R
- 03 =*qui c'est qui tou:sse: comme: ça.
= who it is who is cou::ghing thi:s way.
= who on earth has such a ba:d cou::gh.
- *R is still looking in front of him
and J is still looking at R
- 04 *aloreuh j'ai dit c'est moi?
so i said it is me?
so i said it's me?
- 05 (0.2)
- *R is trying to reproduce Dr Ménard's voice. *R looks at J
who looks at R
- 06 R: *>°ah°< mais::: (.) quanteuh j'ai fini(.)*les clients?
>°ah°< bu:::t(.)when i am finished (.) the clients?
>°ah°< bu:::t(.)when I am done(.)with the patients?

FIGURE 5.3 (cont.)

- 07 ((R is looking at J and makes the typical gesture
for "come on in")) (1.2)
- 08 R: **R is looking at J who is looking at R*
*vous venez.
you come.
you come in.
- 09 (0.5)
**R looks in front of him and
makes a "severe" face. J looks at R*
- 10 R: >alors i'm'a dit.< *ouh:..:
>so he me told.< ugh:..:
>so he told me.< ugh:..:
**R is making a "severe" face, he alters his
voice but less than before.
R looks in front of him and J looks at him.
This goes on through lines 11-13*
- 11=> R: >i'm'a dit< *vos poumons,>hein.<
>he me told< your lungs,>[PRT].<
>he told me< your lungs,>[PRT].<
- 12 >°entre les°< <pein:tu:res>
>°between the°< <paints>
>°between the°< <paint fumes>
- 13=> R: et les <ci:ga:re:ttes.> hein.
and the <ci:ga:re:ttes.> [PRT].
and the <ci:ga:re:ttes.> [PRT].
**R turns his head towards J who looks at R.
R is still making a "severe" face and continues
altering slightly his voice
This goes on through lines 14-16.*
- 14 *faites attention? pou:quoi:..
be ca:refu:l? b'cau:se:..
- 15 (1.2)
- 16 R: mais:: >i'm'a dit.< à vôtre place:..
bu::t >he me told.< in you:r pla:ce.
bu::t >he told me.< if i we::re you:..

FIGURE 5.3 (cont.)

**R stops altering his voice, stops making a "severe" face, smiles slightly and looks back in front of him. J is still looking at R. This goes on through lines 17-20*

17 >moi je m'-.< *pouquoi
 >me i w-.< b'cause
 >i personally w-.< b'cause

18 je le connaissais bien.ménare.=
 i him knew well.ménare.=
 i knew him well.ménare.=

19 =moi j'avais fait sa maison::?
 =me i had made his hou::se?
 =i had built his hou::se?

20 je travaillais pour lui::?
 i was working for hi::m?

In lines 1-11, Roger tells Jonathan about the circumstances that led the doctor to notice that Roger had a bad cough, which then triggered the talk between the doctor and Roger. From line 11 on, Roger mainly reports the doctor's words, which is indicated at the very beginning of line 11, at the start of Roger's TCU: *i'm'a dit* / 'he told me'. Roger reports that the doctor expressed concern about his lungs: *vos poumons*, / 'your lungs' and this term is followed by *hein*. First, one can notice the emphasis with which the reference to Roger's particular organ is uttered. In effect, the word is stressed in two places. In addition, the term *poumons* / 'lungs' is also uttered with rising intonation. Furthermore, this term is also highlighted by the fact that the surrounding talk in line 11 is uttered at a faster speed, which makes the utterance of *poumons* / 'lungs' stand out. Lastly, as Roger starts uttering this term, his embodied actions change: he makes a 'severe face' and alters his voice to sound like the doctor, which, again, highlights even more the utterance of this specific term. The sum of all these elements contribute to make the term *poumons* stand out for the listener, who is primarily Roger (since Roger was the one to

whom the doctor directed his discourse) but also Jonathan, who looks at Roger when he utters this term. As previously mentioned, this term is followed with the particle *hein* uttered with downward intonation. As was the case with *hein* being a contributor of hedging in the previous chapter, it seems that in this case, *hein* does not do the intensifying per se, since the incomplete TCU that precedes it performs this action. However, when Roger utters the *hein* at this very point of his telling, he directs his listener's attention (as well as at the time the doctor told that to Roger, the doctor particularly required Roger's attention) to the prior action. It is thereby stressed. After mentioning these particular organs, Roger reports that the doctor mentions two elements that can damage them. These are found line 12 and 13; >°entre les°< <pein:tu:res> / '°between the°< paint fumes> (line 12) *et les* <ci:ga:re:ttes.>hein. / ' and the <ci:ga:re:ttes.> [PRT]. (line 13). In line 12, first 'damaging' element, that is, <pein:tu:res> / 'paint fumes> is emphasized by the slower pace with which it is uttered, and the elongation of two vowels. Furthermore, this term also stands out because the rest of line 12 is uttered with a lower voice and at a quicker pace. As for line 13, the element that particularly stands out is <ci:ga:re:ttes.>. This term is highlighted compared to the rest of the line. As with the first previous term, this one is uttered with a slower pace and with every vowel except for the last one elongated. Furthermore, this term is followed by the intra-turn particle hein, that is stressed and uttered with downward intonation. Here, *hein* is positioned right after two key elements in this part of the conversation; both elements are possible damaging elements for Roger's lungs and the following line proves it. In line 14, Roger reports that the doctor afterwards admonished him: *faites attention?* / 'be ca:refu:l?'. Hence, once again, in the same way that the previous *hein* was used as a way to stress the immediately prior action, this *hein* seems to perform the same function. These kinds of *hein* appear not only to highlight but also to punctuate chunks of discourse that

seem the most important. Hence, one can say that this *hein* is used as a means of structuring the unfolding discourse.

5.2.2. Building a turn as a continuation

An intra-turn *hein* may also retroactively unfold while a TCU is in the process of being completed. Unlike in the above case, this intra-turn *hein* is not used to highlight parts of the discourse that are specifically important. Rather, the speaker first appears to utter a complete utterance that is composed of a TCU followed by *hein*. Then, for various reasons, the speaker goes on with his / her discourse while the remaining part of the turn is structured as a completion of the prior TCU. I have 3 examples of this type of *hein* in my data. The following segments illustrate this particular use of *hein*.

In the following instance (figure 5.4), after uttering the TCU followed by *hein*, Roger, utters the remaining part of the turn that is structured as a completion of the prior TCU. As the discussion will show, the design of the turn has an impact on the sequence since the speaker is managing a silence occurring after the utterance of the initial TCU followed by *hein*. In my data samples, I have counted two instances of such intra-turn *hein*.

FIGURE 5.4

```

07=>   R:   *R, still smiling, looking at F
          =*t'as vu: hein:?
          = you saw: PRT?
          = see:[PRT]?

08      [ (0.2)

09      F:   [ ((whistling)) ]
          [
10=>   R:   [c-com           ] bien de=
          [h.-h.ow          ] many=
          [h.-h.ow          ] many=

```

11=> R: =qualités des fleurs [qu'on a:?
=varieties of flowers [that we ha:ve?
=varieties of flowers [we ha:ve?
[
[*F looking at the bouquet
12 F: [*a:h il est beau ce
[a:h it is beautiful this
[a:h this bou:quet: IS just

13 F: bou:quet:.hein,
bou:quet:.PRT,
beautiful. [PRT],
14 (0.2)
15 F: franchement? euh::
se:riously:? hu::m
16 (0.4)
17 V is in the corridor, about to enter the room
[*F is looking at V
18=> V: *ouais, il est
yeah, it is
yeah, it is
19=> V: ma [gnifique:.hein.
won[derful. PRT.
won[derful. [PRT].

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whistling of admiration (line 9), Roger completes the second part of his reinterpretation of Fabiola's first compliment in the form of a question (lines 10-11). Roger asks Fabiola whether she noticed the variety of flowers that the bouquet is made of. Grammatically *c-combien de qualités des fleurs qu'on a:?* / 'we have m-many varieties of flowers don't we?' is a direct object complement. The addition of a direct object as an increment to the previous TCU transforms the previous tag-*hein* into an intra TCU *hein*. By structuring the remaining part of his turn as a completion of the prior TCU followed by *hein*, Roger gives the coparticipants another chance to respond. Furthermore Roger's turn design sequentially and retroactively deletes the silence line 8. This sequential deletion allows Roger to keep face when the first part of his turn is not receiving a second pair-part. Eventually, Roger's attempt to lead the co-participants to react is successful. First, Fabiola (lines 12, 13, 15), then Valérie (lines 18 and 19) both respond to Roger's whole utterance by giving positive assessments of the bouquet.

As the previous instance shows, among other functions, intra-TCU *hein* seem to fulfill one particular function. When the *hein* has been produced prior to the increment's production, *hein* has the general function of an agreement pursuit marker. Given that the speaker is continuing his / her turn when a reaction that was pursued is not forthcoming, one may assume that this technique is, to some extent, employed by the speaker to keep face. In other words, the speaker whose first turn seems to have been ignored keeps face by continuing to be an active participant in the ongoing conversation and to lead interlocutors to utter one (or more) second pair part(s).

The following example of intra-turn *hein* seems to be slightly different from the one shown above in the sense that in the case below, the speaker does not build the remainder of his utterance as a consequence of not getting a reaction from the co-participants. Rather, the *hein*

becomes an intra-turn *hein* because Roger's talk appears to follow the trajectory of his thoughts.

In figure 5.5, I will focus particularly on lines 41, 42 and 43.

Prior to this segment, Roger had explained to Jonathan that he stopped smoking cigarettes. His doctor convinced him to do so because he had noticed that Roger had a bad cough. Roger had also explained his close relationship with the family doctor (Roger has been working at his family doctor's office as well as at his private residence). In the following segment, Roger remembers the conversation that he and the doctor had after Roger had stopped smoking and immediately after Doctor M. had advised him to do so. At this point, there are 3 parties around the dining room table: Roger, Jonathan and Benjamin.

FIGURE 5.5

- 28 R: **R looks in front of him.*
*.h: et après j'ai::.
.h: and afterwards I ha::ve.
.h: and then I di::d.
- 29 (0.3)
- 30 R: ** J looks at B sipping his coffee*
*((*loud noise of tongue clapping on the palate))*
- 31 R: **J looks back at R who still stares in front of him*
*je l'ai revu?
I him have seen again?
I saw him again?
- 32 (0.5)
- 33 R: >alors i'm'a dit.<
>so he me has told.<
>so he told me.<
- 34 (0.5)
- 35 R: **B looks back at R who still stares in front of him*
*ça va milleur↑↓uh↓ depuis le temps
it goes better↑↓uh↓ since the time
you must feel better↑↓uh↓ since

FIGURE 5.5 (cont.)

- 36 que vous fumez plus.
 that you do not smoke anymore.
 you've stopped smoking.
- 37 (0.7)
- *R looks again at the table cloth seemingly gathering
 crumbles with his finger.*
- 38 R: ↓>°*alors° j'ai dit↓<
 ↓>°so° I have said↓<
 ↓>°so° I said↓<
- 39 ↑oui?↑ mais qua'mê::me.
 ↑yes?↑but still.
- 40 >j'ai dit.<
 >I've said.<
 >I said.<
- 41 R: **R is slowly rocking his head from left to right*
 *des fois::, hein,
 so::metimes, [PRT],
- 42 quant-on parte en <va:↑can::↓ces.>
 when one goes on <va:↑ca↓tio::n.>
 when we go on <va:↑ca↓tio::n.>
- 43 et tout le monde i'<fu:::me.>
 and all the world it <smokes.>
 and everyone <smokes.>
- 44 (1.0)
- 45 R: >↑et i'm'a dit?↑<
 >↑and he me has told?<
 >↑at this point he told me?↑<
- 46 (1.0)
- 47 R: **R looks at J*
 >*essayez de fumer
 > try to smoke
 > try smoking
- 48 un peu la pi:pe::<
 a little the pi:pe.<
 pi:pe and see.<

The *hein* at the end of line 41 is, at this point of the conversation, a tag-*hein: des fois::*, *hein*, / ‘sometimes, [PRT],’. However, Roger goes on with his discourse, and the remaining part of the turn is structured as a completion of the prior utterance. As I previously said, the difference I see between this case of intra-TCU *hein* and the others is that at the point when Roger utters the first TCU followed by *hein*, his utterance does not necessarily ask for a second pair part. When Roger builds the remainder of the turn as a continuation of his prior talk, his discourse reflects the trajectory of his thoughts. Hence, in the above case, I would say that this intra-turn *hein*, to some extent, seems to perform the functions that were listed in previous research related to *hein* at the conjunction of 2 turns, that is, structuring discourse (Roventa-Frumusani, 1987; Delomier, 1999).

5.3. Conclusion

The three instances of intra-turn *hein* in my data seem to be related to the findings that other researchers have categorized under the rubric of *hein* at the conjunction of two turns (Beeching, 2002; Fernandez, 1994, cited in Beeching, 2002, p. 155; Settekorn, 1977). A turn, however, can consist of several TCUs. As the discussion in this and in the previous chapter has shown, a *hein* that is located between two complete TCUs by the same speaker has different functions than a *hein* that is located within a TCU. Hence, a detailed analysis of discourse is necessary to redefine the functions of these *heins*, as I did in this chapter for *hein* at the conjunction of two latched TCUs and intra-TCU *hein*.

Conclusion

In this study, I analyzed the forms and functions of the French discourse particle *hein* from a conversation analytic standpoint. In chapter one, I presented the methodological approach that I used for conducting the present study. I highlighted the ethnomethodological essence of CA and its stance on gathering, transcribing and analyzing data.

In chapter two, I presented prior research on conversation analytic studies of English discourse particles, specifically upon *so* and *oh*. Next, I turned to CA studies on discourse particles in German, Russian, and Modern Greek. I then reviewed studies on French discourse particles that were conducted from a variety of methodological perspectives. The literature review ended with a summary of the prior work conducted on *hein*.

In the analytic chapters of the dissertation, I analyzed *hein* in four different sequential positions: *hein* as a stand-alone particle, *hein* at the end of a TCU, *hein* at the conjunction of two latched TCUs uttered by the same party, and *hein* within a TCU. In chapter three, I first established the forms and functions of *hein* as a stand-alone particle. In this position, *hein* appeared mainly in repair sequences and performed the function of a non-specific repair initiator (Drew, 1984). As a stand-alone particle, *hein* was also used as an attention getting device, as well as an agreement pursuit or a summons. In chapter four, I analyzed *hein* at the end of a TCU. In this position, this particle performed the function of an agreement pursuit marker. In addition, it was used to emphasize prior talk or to reinforce the act of hedging performed within the preceding TCU. In longer and / or complicated tellings, it also served as a facilitative tag. In chapter 5, I presented *hein* at the conjunction of two latched TCUs uttered by the same speaker and also *hein* within a TCU. I argued that when it stands at the conjunction of two TCUs, *hein* appears to link two different actions, one of them being a delicate (Schegloff, 2007) or

dispreferred action(as it is the case of a request, for instance). Finally, when *hein* is located within a TCU, it appears first as located at the end of a TCU and then, retroactively, becomes an intra-TCU *hein* as the speaker structures the remainder of his / her turn as a continuation of what seemed, at first, a complete TCU followed by the discourse particle.

This study allowed me to make a contribution to the literature on *hein*. As previously mentioned in my literature review, *hein* has been studied mainly at the end of a turn (Delomier, 1999, for instance), but it has also been observed at the beginning of a turn and as a stand-alone particle as well. Some studies (for instance, Settekorn, 1977) have also noted that *hein* can occur at the conjunction of two turns. However, previous studies have defined a turn as a speaker's entire utterance, and have not made a distinction between turn and TCU. As I discuss below, this distinction has allowed me to make new and more nuanced observations. For instance, this distinction has allowed me to observe that *hein* can occur intra-TCU. In this newly defined sequential position, it serves specific functions that it does not serve in other positions. The two main functions that this intra-TCU *hein* performs are stressing the immediately preceding term(s), and building a turn as a continuation for various reasons (such as keeping face while giving the interlocutors an additional chance to take the floor). Admittedly, the collection of intra-TCU *hein* is small and the findings will have to be corroborated with a larger corpus.

Other findings of mine were also possible due to the ethnomethodological character of CA. By using authentic discourse and analyzing my data from the participants' point of view, I was able to confirm and refine some prior work and point out that previous findings need to be reconsidered.

Thus, as I was analyzing *hein* at the end of a TCU, my data showed that its main function in this position was not to hedge the preceding talk, as previous findings (Roventa-Frumusani,

1986; Beeching, 2002, 2004, 2007, etc.) had concluded. Rather, the function of this particle at the end of a TCU is mainly that of an agreement pursuit marker. Moreover, my work indicated that speakers typically place a turn followed by tag-*hein* when a prior utterance of theirs has not yielded a response from a coparticipant. By repeating their prior utterance and by adding a tag-*hein*, they are placing their coparticipants under a double constraint to respond.

While tag-*hein* predominantly was used as an agreement-pursuit, it was also used in hedging sequences. Unlike prior research (Roventa-Frumusani, 1986; Settekorn, 1977, for instance), however, the conversation analytic approach allowed me to clarify that it is not the particle *hein* that performs the action of hedging. The hedging act is accomplished by different means (stressing some specific sounds, rising intonation, high pitch of voice, use of a certain vocabulary, etc.) within the TCU preceding the *hein*. By actively seeking an agreement with the hedge, *hein* is more appropriately defined as a device to reinforce the act of hedging and to elicit an answer.

As mentioned above, prior research has not made a distinction between the notions of turn and TCU. Thus, previous research speaks of *hein* as located between two turns uttered by the same party, regardless of whether the talk before the *hein* is a complete TCU and regardless of whether the talk after the *hein* constitutes an independent TCU or a continuation of the prior TCU. Yet, my work has shown that these structural distinctions have an impact on the function of *hein*. Previous research stated that *hein* between two turns is usually used (a) to stress a specific section in discourse located right before the *hein* (Fernandez, 1994, cited in Beeching, 2002, p. 155); (b) to do rethinking / reformulating / planning a sentence or a discourse (Roventa-Frumusani, 1987; Delomier, 1999); (c) to structure one's argumentation, that is, to organize and delineate ideas (Settekorn, 1977); (d) to mediate an on-going discourse - in this case, it might be

glossed: ‘Do you follow what I am saying so far?’ (Beeching, 2002); and (e) to refer to one term in a preceding sequence or to refer to a whole utterance (Beeching, 2002). My research, in contrast, has shown that a) and d) can both be attributed to tag-*hein*. Furthermore, a) can also be associated with intra-turn *hein*, along with b) and c). In addition, I have shown that depending on the action carried out in the sequence in which *hein* is uttered, tag-*hein*, *hein* between two latched TCUs uttered by the same party and intra-turn *hein* have additional functions. For instance, intra-turn *hein* is used in contexts where a sought-after agreement is not forthcoming. This leads the speaker to build the remainder of his/her turn as a continuation of the previous TCU followed by *hein*. A tag-*hein* is used as an agreement pursuit marker specifically in assessment sequences and as an emphatic device in sequences in which participants are misaligned. Lastly, *hein* between two latched TCUs uttered by the same party is used to link a delicate or dispreferred action with a mitigating action. This demonstrates the importance of specificity with regard to establishing the position of a particle in discourse while also considering the action performed by the surrounding talk.

One last important finding of mine that was possible due to the ethnomethodological character of CA and the detailed transcripts and analyses is that the particle *hein* appears to be mainly used in discourse for sequential-oriented matters. In the case of *hein* used as a stand-alone particle, I have shown that my findings corroborated Drew’s findings (1997) in that *hein* is used for non-specific repair, hence, in the context of sequential misalignments. Furthermore, in tag positions, especially after assessments, my data showed that the presence of *hein* can prompt one (or more) participants to respond. In multiple instances, an assessment alone appears to not suffice to get the participants to respond. The *hein* then actively pursues a response.

As I previously mentioned, I have found a similar sequential matter in the case of some of the intra-turn *heins* present in my collection. I have shown that sometimes, a speaker utters a TCU followed by *hein* that asks for a second pair part but this second pair part is not forthcoming. Instead, a silence occurs. In this case, the speaker utters the remainder of his/her turn as a continuation (and completion) of the previous TCU followed by *hein*. Performing this action allows the speaker to give the interlocutors an additional opportunity to react. Furthermore, this attributes the silence retroactively attributed to the speaker (and not the coparticipants). In other words, this action sequentially deletes the silence between the TCU followed by *hein* and the rest of the speaker's turn. At last, the facilitative tag appears to be organizational in nature. As I have shown, in such contexts, the particle has one main function; it represents a device used to actively seek a response from the coparticipants. Whether minimal (e.g., nodding or uttering a continuer) or more elaborated, the response works as both a proof that the coparticipants are active listeners.

My findings are in agreement with previous studies on *hein* which have shown that it is not a desemanticised particle. Dictionary entries notwithstanding (Le Petit Robert, for instance), my transcribed data do not contain any uses of *hein* as an interjection. This begs the question of how accurate the functions of other discourse particles are that are described in dictionaries. Future research can shed light on that.

My findings suggest several possible avenues for future research. First, there is a need to seek additional confirmation and further sharpened the results concerning *hein* at the conjunction between two latched TCUs uttered by the same party, as well as cases of intra-TCU *hein*. Additional data could also shed light on instances of *hein* at the beginning of a TCU. The current

study has focused on mundane conversation. It would be of interest to compare the use of *hein* in mundane talk-in-interaction with its use in various institutional settings.

Another avenue of future research would lie in comparisons with other languages. My data presently show that *hein* at the end of a TCU is seldom used as a device for confirmation check. However, the studies on tag questions in English show that this function is one of the primary functions of tag questions in English (Tottie & Hoffmann, 2006, 2009). It seems that this difference in use does not appear to be related to the functions *per se* (that all functions of tags in one language also occur in the other). Rather, the difference appears to be related to the frequencies of these functions. As my data show for the case of facilitative tags for instance, it seems that in spoken French this function is much less present than in spoken English. The same conclusion applies to information checks. It would be of interest to investigate by which means the functions that are commonly accomplished by tags in one language are accomplished in the other language.

Additionally, my interest in pedagogy and in implementing authentic material in the classroom leads me to one further possible avenue of future research. In the interest of conveying French culture in the classroom through the teaching of authentic French, I would like to find ways to be able to teach, with CA, the findings obtained through my studies.

My last point could be referred to simultaneously as an avenue for future research and as a limitation of CA. By this, I mean that I would like to end this conclusion by talking about a possible bridge between CA and translation, which is admittedly a bridge that has yet to be built. In effect, throughout my transcripts, I chose not to translate all the particles. In order to be able to translate all particles appropriately, one would first need to know how the function expressed by

a particle in a given language is expressed in another language. I believe that this and other ideas relating CA to translation might be worth pursuing.

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