Repair receipts in Norwegian Sign Language multiperson conversation

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ABSTRACT

This paper describes practices for repair receipt in sequences of other-initiation of self-repair in informal Norwegian Signed Language multiperson conversation. Its main foci are how signers mark their (now-)understanding by employing upward or downward nods and withdrawal of mutual gaze and upper body. The multimodal analysis is illustrated with multilinear, glossed transcripts, comic-strip inspired graphic transcripts and video-clips. The analysis is conducted on a collection of 112 cases of other-initiation of self-repair. A simple quantitative breakdown shows the distribution of different embodied practices across different sequential positions, and some deviant cases are described. Among the findings is that even though these explicit repair receipts sometimes occur as responses to non-closing (failed) self-repairs, they are far more common in the closing cases. Whether the trouble-source turn is a first-pair part, a second-pair part or a telling also influences whether an explicit repair receipt is produced. Data are in Norwegian Sign Language with English translations.

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1. Introduction

Research on conversational repair, and especially other-initiation of self-repair (OISR) has been conducted on spoken languages since the seventies (See e.g., Albert and de Ruiter, 2018; Benjamin, 2013; Bolden, 2013; Boström, 2021; Clark, 2020; Crawley, 2016; Dingemanse et al., 2014; Dingemanse and Enfield, 2015/2016; Hayashi et al., 2013; Jefferson, 1972; Jefferson et al., 2018; Kitzinger, 2012; Lee and Hong, 2020; Mazeland and Zaman-Zadeh, 2001; Mortensen, 2016; Oloff, 2018; Schegloff et al., 1977; Svennevig, 2008; van Arkel et al., 2020) and a small but growing body of work on signed conversation has also been published (Byun et al., 2018; Dively, 1998; Enfield et al., 2013; Floyd et al., 2015; Girard-Groeber, 2014, 2018, 2020; Manrique, 2016, 2017; Manrique and Enfield, 2015; Skedsmo, 2020a, 2020b, 2021a, 2021b). Similar actions in conversation are conducted through different practices in different languages, and while visual and embodied features are being given an increased amount of attention in recent spoken language research (Nevile, 2015) the visual modality carries the whole load in signed languages. Still, comparative study conversational repair in different languages (Dingemanse et al., 2014; Dingemanse and Enfield, 2015; Dingemanse and Enfield, 2015/2016) point toward a "pragmatic universals hypothesis" over a "pragmatic diversity hypothesis" (Dingemanse et al., 2015, p. 9). Treating and researching signed languages as any other language proves beneficial for research. One example is the *freeze-look* practice, discovered and named by Manrique (2016, 2017) in Argentine Sign Language and consequently found also in spoken language interaction (Bédi, 2020; Oloff, 2018).

The canonical OISR-sequence consists of three turns; a trouble-source, a repair-initiation, and a self-repair, before sufficient intersubjectivity is restored and the conversation can go on. The fourth, or subsequent turn, referred to as "T+2" in a special issue of *Open Linguistics* on OISR (Dingemanse and Enfield, 2015/2016) is the turn which signals whether the self-repair sequence is treated as successful, either by mere restored progress or by the repair-initiator[1] providing some signal of understanding, or as failed, by constituting a new repair-initiation. This turn has not been offered a lot of attention, except for a few studies (Jokipohja, 2023; Golato, 2010; Golato and Betz, 2008; Gudmundsen and Svennevig, 2020; Koivisto, 2019; Manrique, 2017).

Restored progress is in itself treated as implicit evidence that the trouble is solved (Albert and de Ruiter, 2018; Clark, 1996; Macbeth, 2011) but often the repair initiator provides some kind of explicit or "proper" repair receipt (Koivisto, 2019, p. 401) composed of one or several practices, signaling now-understanding (Koivisto, 2015). The practices often include, or solely consist of, embodied actions commonly associated with the vocal "oh", that Heritage (1984) coined a "change-of-state token", such as a backward movement of the head or upper body and a withdrawal of mutual gaze.

This paper examines what repair initiators do after other-initiated self-repairs in a core collection of 112 cases of OISR in Norwegian Sign Language (NTS). The OISR sequences have previously been investigated with special attention to the formats of repair-initiations (Skedsmo, 2020b) and the different trajectories of multiple repair-initiations (Skedsmo, 2020a). The current study identifies different practices for receipting self-repairs, as well as how their distribution correlates with different sequential positions of the trouble-source the repair-initiation was targeting. The following section will account for the data and the methods of the study. The next section will give a brief review of the literature on repair receipts from conversation analytic studies. Next, a qualitative analysis with examples of various formats of repair receipts, such as upward and downward nods, and withdrawal of gaze and upper body will be offered, with examples transcribed with multilinear, glossed transcripts and with comic-strip inspired graphic transcripts[2] (Laurier, 2014, 2019; Skedsmo, 2021a). Videoclips of the sequences in full speed and half speed are available for viewing at Open Science Framework (OSF).[3] The next section provides a numerical breakdown of repair receipts following the 112 OISRs, and a description of deviant cases. Then follows a discussion of the findings and a conclusion.

2. The practices of repair receipt in conversation

Heritage's (1984) seminal paper on "oh" as a change-of-state token emphasizes OISR sequences as one sequential environment for actively claiming (delayed) understanding of the other's utterance. The oh-preface is also used for signaling newsworthiness, unacceptability or disalignment (Dingemanse et al., 2016; Heritage, 1984). The practices examined in this study are not exclusively used for closing ongoing OISR sequences. Upward/downward nods and withdrawal of gaze and upper body has numerous functions in NTS as in other signed and spoken languages. Nodding generally functions as back-channeling and go-ahead signals (Greer et al., 2009; Sorjonen, 2002) and withdrawal of gaze is common in floor-taking and floor-holding (Auer, 2021; Baker, 1977; Kendon, 1967). Repair receipts or tokens of now-understanding has been studied in spoken Finnish (Koivisto, 2015, 2019) and in spoken Norwegian conversations between Norwegians and foreigners learning the language (Gudmundsen and Svennevig, 2020). The latter study investigates embodied practices, which include raising the head and leaning backward. Hansen (2022) examines interpreters' embodied displays of trouble in hospital encounters where the interpreting service is video mediated. These include head pokes and forward leans, often accompanied by, or followed by, vocal repair-initiations. When the trouble seems to be solved, "[t]he interpreter releases the position" (Hansen, 2022, Fg. 3.2 and 3.3), which requires moving the head and/or upper body backward. Dively's (1998) account of "no-handed signs" (in American Sign Language) includes a sign she calls OH-I-SEE, described as a "gradual upward thrust of the head and then a downward head movement" (p. 142). Backward movements of the head and upper body and withdrawals from mutual gaze are also found among other bodily practices by Oloff (2013) investigating embodied withdrawals from overlapping talk. These embodied withdrawals in spoken (French) interaction tend to be done progressively and subsequent to the vocal exit of the overlapping talk. They are treated as displays of definitive abandonment of the turn they suspended. Investigating repair receipts in the NTS data, we also find these physical behaviors that can be viewed as movements away from the interlocutor(s), like backward/sideways leans, upward nods and also withdrawal of gaze. Among the conclusions in an extensive study of gaze in spoken (Italian) interaction Rossano (2012) we find that gaze withdrawal tends to close the ongoing interactional project or is treated as displaying a specific understanding of this current course of action. In an examination of gaze and nodding related to the employment of "okay" in German spoken language, Helmer et al. (2021) finds that when "okay" closes sequences and larger activities, and especially when the "okay" is prefaced by a change-of-state token, signaling new or corrected understanding it is recurrently accompanied by upward nods and withdrawal of gaze. This supports the findings of Goodwin (1981) and Goodwin and Goodwin (1987) about withdrawal of gaze displaying disengagement or diminished participation in the ongoing interactional project.

Applied on repair receipts, gaze withdrawal understood as bidding to close the ongoing course of action goes well with the presupposed preference for progressivity (Clift, 2016; Sidnell and Stivers, 2012; Stivers and Robinson, 2006) and the claim

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[1] In this paper "repair initiator" refers to the *person* initiating repair, and not to this person's repair-*initiation* (see e.g., Benjamin, 2013; Robinson, 2006).
[2] See transcription conventions (Appendix B and C).
[3] https://osf.io/acfxm/?view_only=2aa16d9accc3451a8f4a8a453a65632d.

that conversationalists generally strive to keep repair work at its easiest, and least costly to the conversation and its participants (Clark and Brennan, 1991; Dingemanse et al., 2015; Pomerantz, 1985; Svennevig, 2008). Announcing trouble of perceiving or comprehending can be face-threatening (Antaki, 2012; Goffman, 1967) to both the trouble-source utterer and the repair initiator, something that might motivate the repair initiator to swiftly get out of the way and signal that no further side sequences (Jefferson, 1972) are required. Another point, made by Oloff (2013) is that change-of-state tokens often are produced overlappingly with the interlocutor's utterance, and that conversationalists tend to employ embodied withdrawal to exit an overlapping sequence.

3. Data, method, and presentation

The data for this study consists of six 10-min extracts from six different multiperson[4] conversations between adult, deaf, NTS signing, coworkers, recorded at their workplaces during 2018 and 2019 with no other people in the room. All the recordings are of informal (lunch) break conversations, most of them with consumption of food and drinks. All 16 participants have signed informed consent forms, allowing me to display uncensored photos and video clips. The 60 min are part of a larger collection consisting of 3 h and 38 min of dual camera recordings. For a more detailed account for the participants, their linguistic backgrounds, and ethical and technical details about data collection, see Skedsmo (2020a, 2020b, 2021b).

This study is conducted following the methodological traditions of conversation analysis (CA) (Sacks et al., 1995; Schegloff, 1987, 2007; Sidnell and Stivers, 2012). One crucial point in CA is the emic perspective (Pike, 2015 [1954]) and the *next-turn proof procedure* (see e.g., Dingemanse et al., 2015; Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998; Reber, 2012; Sacks et al., 1974; Sidnell and Stivers, 2012), focusing not on how the analyst interprets and imagines the conversationalists' intentions, but rather on how they treat each other's utterances and practices judging by how they respond to them. The practices of other-initiating self-repair are employed for various other purposes other than solving communicative trouble, like e.g., displaying interest, disalignment or marking newsworthiness ("What?") and can hence be treated as such by responding with a confirmation, proffering further details, mitigations, or arguments instead of a self-repair. In some cases, what looks like e.g., an expression of newsworthiness is treated as a repair-initiation by responding with a repeat or a clarification. Such cases were included in the core collection of OISR cases. Conversely, cases where recognizable repair-initiating practices are produced but no follow-up self-repair or new repair-initiation is provided, were excluded.

The data in this study are the video files, not the actual events and certainly not transcriptions or annotations of them. Both annotating in ELAN (Crasborn and Sloetjes, 2008; Sloetjes and Wittenburg, 2008) and multilinear transcribing (see e.g. Heath and Luff, 2012a; Heath and Luff, 2012b; Heath et al., 2010; Mondada, 2011, 2018, 2019) in Jefferson inspired conventions (Jefferson, 2004) constitute valuable contributions to the process of analysis, but when investigating video recorded conversational practices of signed languages the recordings themselves are the object of investigation. However, since relatively few readers and researchers know this particular signed language, video clips alone, even when subtitled in English, are not sufficient to bring clarity. The examples in this paper are therefore provided also with Jefferson inspired multilinear transcriptions and comic-strip inspired graphic transcripts.

4. Repair receipts in the NTS data

The different practices of repair receipt investigated in this study are upward and downward nods, withdrawal of gaze and upper body,[5] and lexicalized items. The extracts chosen often display several formats for repair receipt, and the various practices will be presented across the different extracts in the next subsections.

4.1. A comprehensive example

Theis first example is retrieved from three carpenters' lunch break. (One is seated across the table, not visible in the graphic transcript and not taking part in the extract, other than as a ratified participant.) Abe (line 1, panel 1, see Appendix C) asks Ben how much time that remains of his apprenticeship. Rather than offering a straight answer, Ben (l. 2, pa. 2) informs Abe how much time he has completed so far. Abe (l. 4, pa. 3) other-initiates self-repair, providing a candidate offer (Dingemanse et al., 2016), suggesting Ben has half a year left. Ben does not explicitly disconfirm the candidate offer, but instead initiates a third position repair (Egbert, 1996; Ekberg, 2012; Kitzinger, 2012; Schegloff, 1992, 2000), informing that the total number of years are four. Overlapping with Ben's third position repair (l. 5—6, pa. 5—6) Abe opens his mouth, does a large upward nod, leaning his upper body backward and to his left, and withdraws from mutual gaze. Abe first shuts his eyes and then gazes up and forward while signing RIGHT. In addition to these signals, claiming now-understanding, Abe also demonstrates his realization by stating that Ben is [an] adult (and hence follows a four-year program).

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[4] Following Bolden (2011) and Egbert (1997) this paper uses the term "multiperson" over "multiparty", focusing on the different persons' contributions to the conversation, rather than parties', potentially consisting of several persons.

[5] Oloff (2013) coins the concept of "embodied withdrawal". Withdrawals of upper body in the NTS data always include withdrawals of gaze, but not the other way around. Both practices are embodied, but they are here separated into withdrawals of gaze and of upper body.

Extract 1: Multilinear transcript (See transcription conventions in Appendix B)

```
1. Abe     Gaze: Ben------------------------------------------------
           Sign: ONE YEAR LEFT TRAINING TIME HALF YEAR TIME YOU_____
           Trns: Do you have one year left of your apprenticeship, or half a year?

2. Abe     Gaze: Ben------------------------------
           Sign: (holding YOU)_____

3. Ben     Gaze: Abe---down-------------Abe---------
           Sign: (0.7) LEARN PAST-TO-NOW ONE YEAR HALF
           Trns: I have done one and a half year till now

4. Abe     Gaze: ------------------------------------------
   OISR →  Sign: ONE YEAR HALF? ONE… HALF YEAR LEFT POINT-you
           Trns: One and a half? So you have one… half a year left, then?

5. Ben     Gaze: ----------------------------------------------------------------
           Sign: (1.2)        FOUR PAST-TO-END MEANS LEFT THREE YEAR
           Trns:         It's four years totally so I have three years left

6. Abe     Gaze: --------------------------------shut—up/front----------Ben-----
  Rep.rec.→ Rcpt:                         open mouth,large back-tilt, nodx5
           Sign:                          RIGHT! ADULT ADULT YOU RIGHT
           Trns:                          Oh, right! You're an adult. Right.
```

Graphic transcript of Extract 1 (See transcription conventions in Appendix C)

This repair receipt, "third position receipt" (Koivisto, 2019, p. 400) or "sequence-closing third" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 185) (l. 6, pa. 6) is composite (Enfield, 2009), by consisting of an upward nod, withdrawal of gaze and upper body, and then explicitly accounting for the hitherto missing or forgotten information, followed by downward nods. As such this example is rather comprehensive. Other examples of repair receipts in the data are produced with only one or two of these practices, or none at all, except restoring the progress of the conversation.

4.2. Nodding and embodied withdrawals

Nodding intrinsically is a tilting movement both upward/backward and downward/forward, so the difference between an upward and a downward nod will be the initial movement. A large portion of the repair receipts contain both upward and downward nodding, mostly with one initial upward nod, followed by one or more downward nods. Extract 1 follows this pattern, but also contains other practices, such as withdrawal of gaze and upper body, and lexicalized items like RIGHT and ADULT. The trouble-source in Extract 1 is an answer to a question. The repair-initiation is a candidate offer which becomes disconfirmed

through a third position repair, providing the information needed for Abe to sort out why his candidate offer was wrong. We do not know if Abe's change-of-state regarding Ben's education plan was one of recalling previously known facts or one of receiving news.

It seems like the (large) upward nods in NTS repair receipts are most commonly employed as change-of-state tokens. In Extract 1 the upward nod appeared in a sequence where a candidate offer repair-initiation was rejected, i.e., the suggestion was disconfirmed. The next example, Extract 2, comes from a discussion about electric vehicles and their driving range, and the candidate offer repair-initiation is here confirmed. The first series of repair receipt practices (following an OISR) include no upward nod, but a downward nod, withdrawal of gaze, and a mouth gesture ("ooo"), which in this context can be understood as an interjection signaling a negative surprise or a stance toward what is being told (See Skedsmo, 2020b for more details on this nonmanual practice). Then follows an elaboration from the utterer of the prior trouble-source, which again can be understood as a third-position repair, treating the "ooo"-response as inapt.

Extract 2 (See transcription conventions in Appendix B)

```
1. Bill     Gaze: Cyd--------Forward-----------------------------
            Sign: THINK GOOD GO-THERE BECOME ONLY ONE WAY NOT MORE
            Trns: Thought it'd work, but it was only enough for one way.

2. Cyd      Gaze: Bill---------------------------Bill's sign
            Sign: (nod)212 POINT(down right)? 2_____
            Trns: Mhm. That one is 212? Or 2…

3. Bill     Gaze: Cyd------------------------------------
            Sign:                 (weak mouthing:) 100
            Trns:                                  100

4. Cyd      Gaze: Bill
   OISR →   Sign: 100?__
            Trns: 100?

5. Bill     Gaze: Cyd--------blink---------------blink---
            Sign: 100 (shrugging) PALMS-UP  OLD TYPE
            Trns: 100. I know. It's the old type.

6. Cyd      Gaze: Bill-----------food-Bill—food-----------
Rep.rec.→   Recp:                -gaze,nod,  "ooo"
            Sign: ___          (mouthing only:"ooo")
            Trns:                            ooo…

7. Bill     Gaze: Cyd-------left-Cyd--------------------
3ʳᵈ pos.rep.→ Sign: int-point NISSAN HAVE-NOT NISSAN
            Trns: You know, we didn't have the Nissan

8. Cyd      Gaze: Bill----------------------------------
            Sign:                         (shakes head)
            Trns:                              No

9. Bill     Gaze: Cyd-------------------------------------down--
            Sign: BEFORE_____point RENAULT int-point nod
            Trns: back then. This was the Renault, you know.

10.  Cyd    Gaze: Bill-----------food-Bill—food----------food------
Rep.rec.→   Recp: upnod                 nod nod int-point,-gaze
            Sign:     BEFORE             nod nod int-point
            Trns: Oh, back then, yeah, yeah, right
```

Graphic transcript of Extract 2 (See transcription conventions in Appendix C)

Bill (line 1, panel 1) tells Cyd about the day he attempted to drive one of the company's electric vans to another city. He thought the battery would last for a roundtrip, but it did not. Cyd asks Bill (l. 2, pa. 2) about the km range of the vehicle and suggests that it is 212. Bill (l. 3, pa. 3) replies that it is 100. His mouthing of "hundred" is very vague, and Cyd (l. 2, pa. 4) changes his gaze toward Bill's manual sign (100), which indicates that he is having trouble perceiving the number. Cyd (l. 4, pa. 5) other-initiates repair by the candidate offer "100?", and Bill swiftly self-repairs confirming with a new "100". Bill's shrugging and palms-up (Cooperrider et al., 2018; McKee and Wallingford, 2011; Mesch, 2016), here translated into "I know" indicates that he treats Cyd's question not only as a repair-initiation, but also as a question-formatted news-receipt (Dingemanse, 2015). Cyd (l. 6, pa. 6) withdraws his gaze toward his own food and starts rearranging his chopsticks while mouthing an "ooo" (l. 6, pa. 7—8), here understood as a reaction to the van's low driving range. Bill (l. 5, pa. 8) starts signing again, and Cyd turns his gaze toward him still holding the mouth gesture. Bill clarifies that the car in question was "the old type". Cyd (l. 6, pa. 9) nods and withdraws his gaze again. Bill, still monitoring Cyd, then says "You know, we didn't have the Nissan back then" (l. 7, pa. 10), which is either a piece of new information or serves as a reminder to Cyd. Cyd first (l. 8, pa. 10) shakes his head to agree. Overlapping with Bill's turn-final hold (Girard-Groeber, 2014) of the sign BEFORE ('*back then*') Cyd (l. 10, pa. 12) produces an upward nod and other-repeats BEFORE, while keeping his gaze toward Bill. Bill (l. 9, pa. 13) adds that the car in the story was "the Renault". Cyd (l. 10, pa. 14) maintains gaze toward Bill, nods twice and produces an interactional point (Ferrara, 2020) toward Bill with his chopsticks (Here translated into "right".). Next (l. 10, pa. 15) they both redirect their gaze toward their food.

In Extract 2, Bill seemingly treats Cyd's receipt to the initial self-repair (downward nod, withdrawal of gaze and the "ooo" mouthing possibly signaling disbelief or surprise) as inapt. Bill then clarifies which car he was talking about, which generates a more canonical change-of-state token, an upward nod and the other-repeat of "back then", which can be understood as pointing out that the low driving range was not all that strange, as the story (and the car) turned out to be quite old.

4.3. Lexicalized items

As we have seen in Extract 2, sometimes the NTS signer's repair receipts include discourse markers like palms-up and interactional pointing. Other cases, like Extract 1, also include lexicalized signs or sign-like gestures. Distinctions between gestures and signs in signed languages have been discussed as problematic by several scholars (See e.g., Ferrara, 2020; Kendon, 2008; Kusters and Sahasrabudhe, 2018; Perniss et al., 2015). It is not clear how to make the distinction, or even if a such distinction is useful. Also, the very notion of *lexicalization* has been problematized with regard to signed languages (Lepic, 2019). When I here categorize certain practices as lexicalized items, I refer to what Johnston and Ferrara (2012) describe as "[f]ully-lexical signs [that] constitute the listable lexicon of a [signed language] in the strictest sense of the word" (p. 236). Given the ambiguity of such categories I will not attempt to provide any numeric breakdown of these lexical items, but there are examples of explicit signing, like YES, RIGHT, and even "UNDERSTAND I" ('*I understand*'). We also find the sign SÅNN, similar to the Norwegian expression "sånn" ('*like that*'), or "sånn, ja" ('*like that, yes*') which has a lot of similarities with the German "achso" (Golato, 2010; Golato and Betz, 2008) referring outward to the state of a matter, instead of inward, reporting on an internal experience of comprehension, like e.g., the English "I see". The SÅNN receipt appears a few times, following multiple OISR-sequences like in Extract 3.[6] Prior to this extract, Adam has mentioned that he and Barb are going to attend a meeting after lunch.

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[6] For details on this extract with focus on the trajectory of the multiple repair sequence, see Skedsmo (2020a).

Extract 3 (See transcription conventions in Appendix B)

```
1.    Barb  Gaze: Adam-forward-------------food---------Adam--
            Sign: PRINT OUT PAPER POINT(there)(takes big bite)
            Trns: I have printed the papers. They are over there.

2.    Adam  Gaze: Barb-------------------------------------
 OISR →     Sign:                        (      FL 1.8        )

3.          Gaze: Barb---------------------
 OISR →     Sign:(sideways head tilt, lifts upper lip and lowers eyebrows)
            Trns: Huh?

4.    Barb  Gaze: Adam-------------------------------------
            Sign: (chewing)DO-NOT-KNOW PRINT ALL PAPER
            Trns: I wasn't sure, so I printed all the papers for the

5.          Gaze: Adam------------------------
            Sign: MEETING CLOCK 12 WE-TWO (wiping fingers with napkin)
            Trns: meeting we have at 12 o'clock.

6.    Adam  Gaze: Barb-------------
Rep.rec.→   Sign: (weak nod)(FL 1.4)


7.          Gaze: Barb-------------------------------
 OISR →     Sign: YOU BRING PAP* PAPER?
            Trns: You bring pap… papers?

8.    Barb  Gaze: down---------Adam--
            Sign: (wipes mouth, chews) (signing with mouth shut:)

9.          Gaze: Adam-----------------------------------------------
            Sign: I HAVE PRINT PRINT OUT ALL STATUS REPORT TO  MEETING
            Trns: I have printed out all status reports for the meeting

10.   Adam  Gaze: Barb -----------------------------shut----table--------
Rep.rec.→   Sign:     (Overt nodding with raised eyebrows)  SÅNN    JA
            Trns: mhm, mhm, mhm, mhm, mhm, mhm.     Oh, yes, "Like that"

11.         Gaze: table------------------------------------------Barb--
Rep.rec.→   Sign: (moves wrapping paper and wipes table with his hand)

12.   Barb  Gaze: Adam-----------------------------------------------
            Sign:                                            DO-NOT-KNOW
            Trns:                                            I didn't know

13.   Barb  Gaze: Adam----------------------------forward
            Sign: I SHALL I READ ON LAPTOP OR PAPER
            Trns: whether to read on my laptop or paper,

14.         Gaze: -------------Adam-
            Sign: READY IS-THERE(forward)
            Trns: so I've got them ready over there.

15.   Adam  Gaze: Up/front------down/left-
Rep.rec.→   Sign: SÅNN JA LOOK LATER
            Trns: "Like that", Yes, I'll look into it.
```

Graphic transcript of Extract 3 (See transcription conventions in Appendix C)

The extract starts with Barb announcing to Adam that she has printed all the papers (l. 1, pa. 1). While Barb takes a bite of her baguette, Adam (l. 2, pa. 2) produces a freeze-look response for 1.8 s, i.e., keeping his gaze toward Barb and otherwise keeping body and face completely still (See Girard-Groeber, 2014, 2020; Manrique, 2016; Manrique, 2017; Manrique and Enfield, 2015; Oloff, 2018; Skedsmo, 2020a, 2020b, 2021a, 2021b for more details on this repair initiating practice). Barb looks, down as she is eating, and Adam's freeze-look does not lead to immediate self-repair. When mutual gaze is reestablished, Adam (l. 3, pa. 3) upgrades to an explicit, nonmanual repair-initiation, lifting his upper lip and frowning. Barb's self-repair (l. 4—5, pa. 4) starts with an account of *why* she printed the papers, which indicates that she treats the repair-initiation(s) to be about *acceptability* (Benjamin and Walker, 2013; Kendrick, 2015b; Pomerantz, 1984; Rossi, 2015; Svennevig, 2008). Then Barb goes on with specificities on what meeting she is referring to, which is more suited to solve troubles of understanding. This "mixed" self-repair (Benjamin, 2013, p. 36; Skedsmo, 2020a, 2021b) is followed by Adam providing a subtle repair receipt; a weak nod (l. 6, P 5), but he keeps his gaze toward Barb and does another freeze-look, lasting for 1.4 s (l. 6, pa. 6). This freeze-look is also upgraded (l. 7, pa. 7), this time with a candidate offer repair-initiation with other-repeats. Barb then wipes her mouth (l. 8, pa. 8), still chewing, and signs rhythmically with her mouth shut (l. 9—10, pa. 9) that she has printed out all the status reports for the meeting. Adam nods six times with wide open eyes and raised eyebrows, almost one nod per sign. When Barb reaches "status reports" Adam quickly provides a bundle of repair receipt practices (l. 9—10, pa. 10—12). He withdraws his gaze, and signs while his gaze sweeps across the table from left to right, SÅNN JA ('*like-that, yes*'). He also withdraws his upper body backwards and to his right, touches the paper wrapping from his baguette and shuffles it away from himself (l. 11, P13). Barb then (l. 12—15, pa. 14) provides more details on her reasons for printing the reports, and Adam (l. 15, pa. 15—17) again withdraws gaze and upper body, first he stretches his upper body backward, gazing up in front of him, while again signing SÅNN JA. Then he leans his body over to his right, away from Barb, looking down to his right, restoring progress by responding that he'll look into it (after lunch).

Both Extract 1, 2 and 3 show upward nods, downward nods and withdrawal of gaze and upper body. Extract 1 and 3 show lexicalized items, such as RIGHT and SÅNN JA. In both Extract 2 and 3, we see the trouble-source utterer expanding after the repair initiator has nodded downward. In Extract 2, Cyd withdraws gaze, and it might be the "ooo" mouthing that leads Bill to clarify at what time the story took place and what car he was referring to. In Extract 3, Adam's weak nod (l. 6, pa. 5) might temporally serve as a repair receipt, but Adam keeps his gaze toward Barb, produces a freeze-look and then an explicit, restricted repair-initiation, other-repeating that she is going to bring papers. By doing this Adam demonstrates that he has understood what Barb is signing, but the question formatting indicates that he is having trouble figuring out why (See § 5.1). The referential difference between Barb's first self-repair (l. 4—5, pa. 4) and the second one (l. 9—10, pa. 9) is the term "status reports", and it is at the mention of those that Adam signals now-understanding. The fact that Barb expands after this, by elaborating on why she decided to print the documents is interesting, but not exceptional in the NTS data. "Post-receipt expansions" occur several times, especially following multiple OISR-sequences, and are sometimes produced by third parties.

### 4.4. Gaze withdrawals are not merely symptoms

Even though withdrawals of gaze are not uncommon in spoken language interaction, it must be noted that in signed languages they do not merely mark a bid for closure. A withdrawal of gaze (and upper body) effectively reduces the possibilities of visual perception for as long as it lasts. This gives the withdrawer limited control of how or even if the withdrawal, and what more is expressed during it, is perceived, or reacted upon by the other(s). Extract 4, which is the last few seconds of a longer stretch of conversation discussed in Skedsmo (2021a) shows an interactant receipting with withdrawal, and then, as the repairing interlocutor looks down, summons him, and does another receipt. The participants have been discussing how to toggle between the front and back camera on an iPhone during FaceTime, and Abe has responded by giving a demonstration of how to do it in Messenger. Finally, Ben (L1, P1) declares on behalf of Carl[7] that it was FaceTime they were discussing.

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[7] This third-party, third-position repair is briefly described in an endnote in Skedsmo (2021a), where also the full extract can be found.

Extract 4 (See transcription conventions in Appendix B)

```
1. Ben      Gaze: Abe----------------------own phone--
            Sign: POINT(Carl) MEAN POINT(Carl)FACE-TIME HOW TURN CAMERA
            Trns: He's asking how to switch the cameras in FaceTime.

2. Abe      Gaze: Ben-Ben's phone-forward up-Ben----------------------
Rep.rec.→   Sign: (       0.7   )      (lifts head, leans back, open mouth)
            Trns:                              Oh!

3. Carl     Gaze: Ben's phone---Abe------------------------------------
            Sign:            (touches Ben's lower arm x3)
            Trns:                        Hey, hey, hey.

4. Ben      Gaze: Own phone-------------------------------------------

5. Abe      Gaze: Ben-----------------------------
Rep.rec.→   Sign: YES YES SÅNN(touches Ben's shoulder)
            Trns: Yes. "Like that"          Hey.

6. Carl     Gaze: Abe----------------------------

7. Ben      Gaze: Own phone----------------------

8. Abe      Gaze: Ben-------------------------------------------------
            Sign: (cl)CAMERA-TO-FACE CAMERA-FROM-FACE CAMERA-TO-FACE
            Trns:         Switching between front and back camera,

9. Carl     Gaze: Abe-------------------------------------------------

10.  Ben    Gaze: Abe-------------------------------------------------
            Sign:                                          (nod)
            Trns:                                          Mhm.

11.  Abe    Gaze: Ben----------------Own phone-------
Rep.rec.→   Sign: MEAN POINT(Carl)(open mouth nodding)
            Trns: he means?          Oh! Right.

12.  Ben    Gaze: Abe----------Own phone--------------
            Sign:         (nod)
            Trns:         Mhm.

13.  Carl   Gaze: Abe-------------------------------
            Sign:         HEY HEY
            Trns:         Hey, hey.
```

Graphic transcript of Extract 4 (See transcription conventions in Appendix C)
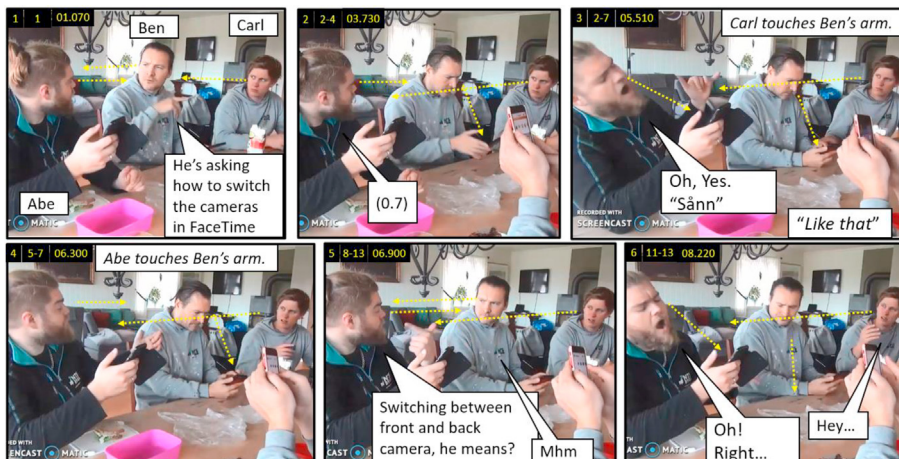
Abe (l. 2, pa. 2) first pauses for 0.7 s with his gaze toward Ben, while Ben moves his gaze toward his own phone (l. 2—4, pa. 2). Abe then (l. 2—7, pa. 3) opens his mouth, withdraws his gaze and upper body, away from Ben and Carl and signs YES and SÅNN. Carl is now looking at Abe and touching Ben's arm, probably to direct Ben's attention toward Abe's repair receipt. Not having Ben's gaze toward himself, Abe touches Ben's arm, and gets his attention (l. 5—7, pa. 5). Abe then produces a candidate offer repair-initiation, asking if it was the switching between front and back camera Carl was referring to, and Ben nods back (l. 8—13, pa. 5). Abe (l. 11, pa. 6) then produces another repair receipt, in approximately the same way as he just did.

Carl touching Ben when Abe is receipting, and Abe summoning Ben, and then re-doing the repair receipt indicates that these practices are not merely private, emotional outbursts of a Wittgensteinian ability to "go on" (Wittgenstein, 1958, §146—154), but practices of interactional import, both to the person receipting and to the other interlocutors.

5. Numeric distribution of practices

The 112 OISR cases studied here, had already been coded according to the schema developed by the contributors to the special issue of *Open Linguistics* on "Other-initiated repair[8] across languages" (Dingemanse et al., 2016; Dinge-manse and Enfield, 2015/2016) for other studies (Skedsmo, 2020a, 2020b, 2021a, 2021b). For the current study of repair receipts, a lot of the coding had to be revisited and reconsidered, and new coding categories were added. The cases were divided into "closing" and "non-closing" cases. The closing cases consist of those repair-initiations that singlehandedly solicit a self-repair leading to restored progress, and of the final repair-initiation in multiple OISR sequences.[9] The non-closing cases are the repair-initiations that do not instantly lead to a self-repair restoring the progress of the conversation but are instead followed by one or more subsequent repair-initiation as parts of multiple OISR sequences (Kendrick, 2015b; Levinson, 2015; Schegloff, 2000; Skedsmo, 2020a). Inspired by Koivisto (2019), these two categories were split into subgroups according to the sequential position of the trouble-source turn. Turns in conversation are typically organized in adjacency pairs (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2007; Stivers, 2012) where first-pair parts (FPP) such as a question or an offer are followed by a second-pair part (SPP) such as (accordingly) an answer or an acceptance/refusal. Another recurring activity in the data is storytelling (Schegloff, 2007; Stivers, 2012), in which the various elements or sequences are neither FPPs nor SPPs. Tellings, as anything else in conversation, contain potential trouble-sources that might need to be sorted out before the telling can proceed. As already mentioned, the data are from six different conversation with totally 16 different conversationalists. Still, the numbers are small and idiolects and individual variations may obviously have an impact on the numeric distribution.

Table 1 shows these two categories and their six subcategories the, and whether or not any explicit repair receipting practices were provided.

Table 1
Distribution of repair receipts across closing and non-closing cases and where the trouble-source is an FPP, SPP or part of a telling.[a]

	Total OISR-cases		Explicit repair receipts	
	112	*100%*	66	*58.9%*
Non-closing OISR sequences	**48**	***42.9%***	14	***29.2%***
Trouble-source turn is first-pair part	6	*5.4%*	0	*0.0%*
Trouble-source turn is second-pair part	30	*26.8%*	7	*23.3%*
Trouble-source turn is part of telling	12	*10.7%*	7	*58.3%*
Closing OISR sequences	**64**	***57.1%***	50	***78.1%***
Trouble-source turn is first-pair part	9	*8.0%*	4	*44.4%*
Trouble-source turn is second-pair part	32	*28.6%*	27	*84.4%*
Trouble-source turn is part of telling	23	*20.5%*	22	*95.7%*

[a] The first column of percentages show how many percent of the total number of OISR cases each subgroup represent. The rightmost column shows how many percents of the cases within each group and subgroup were followed by explicit repair receipts. The percentages are given one decimal. This is not to enhance accuracy, but to avoid summing errors due to rounding off.

Out of the 112 repair-initiations, 66 (58.9%) lead both to a self-repair and subsequently to a repair receipt. As Table 1 shows, there are factors that heavily correlate with whether or not an explicit repair receipt is produced. One influential variable is whether the repair-initiation is categorized as a closing case, or a non-closing case. The non-closing cases constitute 48[10] of

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[8] There is a certain inconsistency within this niche of research on conversational repair and repair-initiation. All the articles in the special issue have headings claiming to investigate "other-initiated repair", while they almost solely focus on practices for other-*initiating* (self-)repair, and not practices for *doing* repair.

[9] Koivisto (2019) noted a preference for repair receipts closing up multiple OISR sequences. 28 of her 68 cases occurred following multiples. In the NTS data 22 out of 66 receipts are following last-of-multiple cases. There are 27 last-in-multiple cases, i.e., 22 out of 27 last-in-multiple OISRs had repair receipts.

[10] In Skedsmo (2020a), non-closing cases are reported to be 49 (*n* = 112), but careful, subsequent reconsideration of the video data required one recategorization.

the 112 cases (Skedsmo, 2020a). Only 14(29.2%) of these were followed by a repair receipting practices. Among the 64 closing cases in the data 50 cases (78.1%) led to some sort(s) of repair receipt in addition to the restored progress of the conversation. Table 1 also shows that whether the trouble-source turn is an FPP or an SPP or a part of a story also correlates with whether a repair receipt is provided.

Table 2 shows the various practices for repair receipts, i.e., *if* or *by which practice(s)* the repair initiator signaled now-understanding after the trouble-source utterer's self-repair. The categories of repair receipt practices investigated here, are downward nods, upward nods, withdrawals of gaze/shut eyes, and upper body withdrawals (see next section). None of the practices were exclusively employed in any of the categories or subcategories. Some cases contained all practices, while others included only one or none at all, except the implicit receipting function of a restored progress.

Table 2
Distribution of various receipting practices across closing and non-closing cases and where the trouble-source is an FPP, SPP or part of a telling[a].

Total OISR-cases	All repair receipts		Upward nods		Downward nods		Gaze with-drawal/shut eyes		Upper body withdrawal	
	66	100.0%	36	54.5%	33	50.0%	45	68.2%	40	60.6%
Non-closing	14	*21.2%*	11	*78.69%*	11	*78.6%*	8	*57.1%*	3	*21.4%*
TS=FPP	0	*0.0%*	0	*0.0%*	0	*0.0%*	0	*0.0%*	0	*0.0%*
TS=SPP	7	*10.6%*	6	*85.7%*	4	*57.1%*	3	*42.9%*	0	*0.0%*
TS= Telling	7	*10.6%*	4	*57.1%*	5	*71.4%*	3	*42.9%*	1	*14.3%*
Closing	50	*75.8%*	25	*50.0%*	22	*44.0%*	37	*74.0%*	34	*68.0%*
TS=FPP	4	*6.1%*	1	*25.0%*	1	*25.0%*	4	*100.0%*	0	*0.0%*
TS=SPP	27	*40.9%*	15	*55.6%*	12	*44.4%*	19	*70.4%*	18	*66.7%*
TS= Telling	22	*33.3%*	9	*40.9%*	8	*36.4%*	14	*63.6%*	16	*72.7%*

[a] All percentages except first column show how many percent of the cases within each group and subgroup that were followed by the different receipting practices. Hence summing the percentages wil not give 100%.

The following two subsections will describe typical tendencies in the findings, while the next will highlight a few deviant cases with regard to potential motivations not to produce these more or less overt repair receipts.

5.1. Non-closing cases

When a repair-initiation or a self-repair fails and are followed by one or more subsequent repair-initiations they belong in the category of non-closing cases. Unsurprisingly, Table 1 shows us that few of non-closing cases are followed by repair receipts such as nodding, withdrawal or lexicalized items such as "I get it". Table 2 shows that out of the 14 cases with any sort of receipting practice, only six of them contain gaze withdrawal and only one of these also include upper body withdraw. If we look at the cases where the trouble-source turn is an FPP (e.g., a question), none of them lead to receipt. Table 1 shows that among the 30 non-closing OISR cases where the trouble-source turn is an SPP, we find 7 cases where some receipting was done. Table 2 tells us that these practices includes up-/down-nodding and 3 cases with gaze withdrawal. The third sequential position is when the trouble-source turn is part of a telling. Here, we find in Table 1 that the repair initiator provides repair receipts in 7 of the 12 cases, even though the self-repair does not restore the progress of the conversation. One of these non-closing cases also contains withdrawal of gaze and upper body. These receipts typically are situations where the repair initiator confirms an instalment of repair, but solicits more, or as in Extract 3 (l. 6/P 5) where it seems likely that the repair initiator (Adam) understands and perceives what is said in the self-repair, but is having trouble identifying what is signaled or proposed, c.f., the Austin/Clark ladder of joint action (Clark, 1996; Dingemanse et al., 2014). It is necessary to remember that interactional practices rarely are exclusively dedicated to performing certain actions. Just as repair-initiations can serve as (question-formatted) news-receipts (Dingemanse, 2015), repair receipts can also double as signals of newsworthiness and (dis)alignment, e.g., conducted by up/downward nods, withdrawal of gaze and upper body etc.

5.2. Closing cases

From Table 1 we see that among the 64 repair-initiations followed by a self-repair restoring the progress of the conversation, we find 50 cases (78.1%) of explicit repair receipt. The 9 cases where the repair-initiation is targeting an FPP stands out, though. Here, only 4 contains a repair receipt. The data suggest that when the trouble-source is an FPP the repair initiator is (slightly) more likely to signal understanding by simply providing a fitted SPP, like an answer. This finding corresponds with those of Koivisto (2019) on spoken Finnish. Interestingly, even though Table 2 shows that the nodding is sparse, and there is no upper body withdrawal in this subgroup, we find that all 4 cases include a withdrawal of gaze. This means that the repair initiators withdraw gaze as they start their SPP response. This turn initial embodied gesture has, in spoken language research, been associated with wordsearch (Goodwin, 1981) and search for recognition (Kendrick, 2015a). Gaze aversion has been observed by Baker (1977) as one of several practices in American Sign Language for indicating a shift from recipient status to signer status and for displaying cognitive planning and holding of the turn, something that is also found in spoken language

interaction (Kendon, 1967; Kendrick et al., 2023). (See also Kaukomaa et al., 2014 on gaze withdrawals combined with turn opening frowns in Finnish spoken conversation.)

When isolating the closing cases where the trouble-source is an SPP or a telling, we find three quarters of the repair receipts of the total dataset. Among the cases where the trouble-source is an SSP ($n = 32$), we find in Table 1 that 27 (84.4%) of these cases leads to one or more repair receipt practices. Out of the 23 cases where the trouble-source is a telling, 22 cases (95.7%) contain repair receipts. As Table 2 shows, there are high occurrences of both upward and downward nods and withdrawals of gaze and upper body. These findings are not very surprising, so it is relevant to have a closer look at the six closing cases where the repair initiator does *not* provide a repair receipt.

5.3. Closing cases with no repair receipt

This subsection will describe the six deviant closing cases where the trouble-source is an SPP or a telling and the repair initiator still does not provide a repair receipt, but instead moves directly on to other actions.

Five out of the six deviant cases, and the analyses of them, have been considered sensitive and possibly face-threatening (Goffman, 1967) to the participants, their friends/family or to people referred to but not present. Even though all participants generously gave consent allowing photo and video material in publications, they have been anonymized for these reasons. Instead, I will provide simplified text illustrations of the exchanges, using only English translations with the sensitive parts removed, and the sequential position of the absent repair receipts marked with arrows.

5.3.1. Deviant case 1: Entering repair-initiation
One closing case that does not lead to any explicit receipt, is when A[11] makes a joke about a person not present being available as a romantic match for B. C, who did not watch A's teasing from the start, initiates repair toward A asking who they are talking about. A repeats the person's name, C makes another repair-initiation with a candidate offer on the person's profession, gets this confirmed and then immediately turns to B to take part in the teasing. This kind of "entering repair-initiation" is previously found to be used by unaddressed participants (Beukeleers et al., 2020; Holler and Kendrick, 2015) for entering someone else's conversation (Bolden, 2011; Egbert, 1997), and moving into that ongoing course of action might overshadow the relevance of receipting toward the repairing person.

1. A: [NAME] is available, you should go for [pronoun]!
2. B: (smiles and looks down)
3. C: Who?
4. A: [NAME]
5. C: The [PROFESSION] one?
6. B: Yeah.
7. A: →   (smiles and turns to B) Yeah, [pronoun] could teach you about… (teasing B)

Deviant case 1: Entering repair-initiation

5.3.2. Deviant case 2 and 3: Misalignment, epistemic authority, and freeze-look
Two deviant cases appear back-to-back in one stretch of conversation. They both serve as examples of how practices for OISR also serves as vehicles for other actions, and that it is often ambiguous both to the conversationalists and the analyst whether a repair-initiation is concerned with signaling trouble of understanding or perception or other actions. As previously mentioned, the criteria for inclusion in this core collection of OISR cases is the next-turn proof procedure, whereby the focus is on whether the utterances are treated as repair-initiations or not. In conversations, there are other projects at play than merely exchanging information and understanding each other, such as making fun of each other, positioning oneself and the other(s), establishing, challenging and maintaining epistemic and deontic authority (Landmark et al., 2015) etc., which can influence what the conversationalists do subsequent to a self-repair.

A and B are discussing an uncertainty regarding specific details about a future event at their workplace, and B points A to "the annual plan". A responds first with a freeze-look (0.7sec) and then the sign WHAT (the only occurrence of this sign as an OISR in the data), after B's self-repair A does not receipt the repair, but instead other-corrects B by replacing (Kaur, 2020) "the annual plan" with "the program"

1. A: Is it the same time?
2. B: Go check the annual plan
3. A: (freeze-look, 0.7) What?
4. B: The annual plan. It says what time it is too.
5. A: →[1]   No. Not the annual plan. The program.

Deviant case 2: Misalignment, epistemic authority, and freeze-look

The second vacant slot, where a repair receipt could have been, follows immediately after this one. The repair-initiation is in the format of freeze-look and the self-repair is done by adding more specificity. As Manrique (2016) notes, this off-record or implicit practice of other-initiating self-repair by a notable absence of action does not need to be accounted for. A moves directly to misaligning with B's suggestion, saying that A has not seen any such information in that plan.

---

[11] The A, B and Cs in these illustrations do not correspond alphabetically with the pseudonyms in any of the other extracts, e.g., Alf, Bill and Cyd.

6. B: I erm… I mean the spring plan.
7. A: (freeze-look 2.4)
8. B: erm… for 2019. It's on the board over [there.   ]
9. A: →² [No. I've never seen that]
10. B: It says there what time it is
       (The argument continues. B eventually gets sent off to examine the plan. When B returns
       after 30 seconds without the relevant information A again explains what kinds of
       information is and is not in the annual plan.)

Deviant case 3: Misalignment, epistemic authority, and freeze-look

Looking back into Table 1 we find nine closing cases where the trouble-source were FPPs. Out of the five cases that did not include a repair receipt, three cases were freeze-look cases. Freeze-look repair initiators are free to act as they have not done anything − which indeed they have not.

5.3.3. Deviant case 4: Joke taken seriously

In a discussion about a work party where also the employees' partners are invited, A asks B whether B is coming. B replies that B will be attending alone. A first produces a freeze-look (1 s), and then upgrades to an overtly shocked facial expression and the candidate offer repair-initiation "Singel??". B treats the utterance as a proper repair-initiation and repeats that B will be coming alone. A's response to the self-repair is a big smile, while keeping gaze at B, and a suggestion that B takes control of the partner and demands attendance to the party. B does not smile or by any other means signal appreciation of the joke.

1. A: Are you coming?
2. B: I'll be coming alone.
3. A: (freeze-look, 1 sec.) (shocked face) Single??
4. B. (serious face) Er[m…. I'll come alone, yes.]
5. A: →   [smiling at B   ] (makes joke about forcing partner
       to go)

Deviant case 4: Joke taken seriously

It can of course be discussed whether A's smile could count as a repair receipt, but deviant case 1 and 4 are the only examples in the data where a smile without any nodding or withdrawal can be interpreted as a receipt to a self-repair, and in deviant case 1 the smile is directed at another than the trouble-source utterer.

5.3.4. Deviant case 5: Confirmed candidate offer facilitates re-definition of action

Candidate offer repair-initiations are "risky business" (Antaki, 2012, p. 531), as the repair initiator reveals their possibly wrong understanding of the trouble-source turn. On the other hand, when a candidate offer is confirmed the repair initiator is not in a change-of-state situation. Depending on how the candidate offer is designed (Antaki, 2012; Jokipohja 2023) can refrain from receipting and hence treat the candidate offer as something else than a repair-initiation, like a suggested description or a stance toward something.

A is watching B and C discussing the changes in the system for deaf education in Norway. The government schools for the deaf have been shut down, but then B mentions a new school that A claims not to have heard of before. B explains that it is not an independent school for the deaf, but a unit for deaf, housed inside a public school, and some of the teachers from the old school for the deaf started working there. A says, "So, it's kind of a 'step back' (?)". B confirms with a "Yes." A, then, not having to change state, keeps gaze at B and elaborates that the school is not really a school for the deaf, without any initial nodding or other receipting practices.

1. B: …and some of the teachers from the old deaf school came over to work there.
2. A: So, it's kind of a "step back" (?)
3. B: Yes
4. A: →   That's not a school for the deaf

Deviant case 5: Confirmed candidate offer facilitates re-definition of action

This way the candidate offer format for initiating repair is risky, considering the possibility that the candidate might be disconfirmed. If the candidate is however confirmed, the reward is that offeror is free to go on and treat the prior turn as something else than a trouble-solving device. Of course, we do not know A's intention with the candidate offer, and there is no clear question formatting to be seen.

5.3.5. Deviant case 6: Pursuing adequate response with other means than repair-initiation

Extract 5 is a small segment (10 s) of a rather long (1 min., 16 s) series of trouble-solving activity, containing several complex multiple OISR-sequences. Here, Ann, Bo, and Cora are discussing a course they have been planning, and Ann urges Bo to make sure they avoid double-booking the classrooms they need for their *lecture*, as there is another course, referred to as *network(course),* going simultaneously. Gaze directions are seen as crucial for the development of this stretch of talk and marked in the graphic transcript. Also, for that reason, the graphic transcript is made with a rather high granularity (Deppermann, 2013) i.e., many panels per time unit. In any face-to-face encounter, directions, frequencies, and duration of interlocutors' gaze are considered significant (Kaneko and Mesch, 2013; Kendon, 1967; Kleinke, 1986). In signed conversation, gaze is obviously crucial but, as mentioned, not only to display interest or to monitor the other's facial expressions and embodied conduct, but to perceive what is said. In this extract Ann and Bo at times act as if Bo perceives and understands Ann's utterances by his peripheral vision (See Skedsmo, 2021a for a less optimistic view on perception of signed utterances in peripheral vision). The extract starts when Bo has stated that it is possible to swap rooms for the two courses. Cora expresses alignment and turns passive for the rest of the extract.

Extract 5 (See transcription conventions in Appendix B)

```
1. Bo        Gaze: down at papers----------------------------------------Ann
             Sign: POINT-papers MEAN I (moves papers)
             Trns:  here. This means that…

2. Ann       Gaze: Bo-----------------------Cora—Bo-----------------------
             Sign:                              HEY WATCH-OUT NOT  CRASH_
             Trns:                         Hey. Watch out. Don't double-book.

3. Cora      Gaze: Bo---------------------------Ann--------------------
             Sign:                   YES YES  SWAP YES YES YES
             Trns:                   Yes, yes, you can swap. Yes, yes.

4. Bo        Gaze: Ann--------------
             Sign: (Freeze-pose 1.2)

5. Ann       Gaze: Bo---------------
             Sign: (holds CRASH)_____

6. Cora      Gaze: Ann-------(Bo)---

7. Bo        Gaze: Ann------------------------------------------
             Sign: NO-NO NETWORK  AND LECTURE SAME TIME(-neg)
             Trns: No. Network and lecture are not at the same time.

8. Ann       Gaze: Bo------------------------------------------
OISR →       Sign: _____LECTURE_____SAME?_____
             Trns:             The lecture is at the same?

9. Cora      Gaze: Bo------------Ann-----------------------------

10.   Bo     Gaze: papers-------
             Sign: NO-NO
             Trns: No, no.

11.   Ann    Gaze: Bo----------
             Sign: (holds SAME)_

12.   Ann    Gaze: Bo--------------------------------------------
             Sign: HEY HEY WATCH-OUT CRASH BECAUSE   HEY    HEY    HEY
             Trns: Hey, watch out for double-booking, because, hey, hey

13.   Bo     Gaze: Papers----------------------------------------
             Sign:                   POINT(at papers) POINT(Ann)
             Trns:                        (here)          You
```

Graphic transcript of Extract 5 (See transcription conventions in Appendix C)
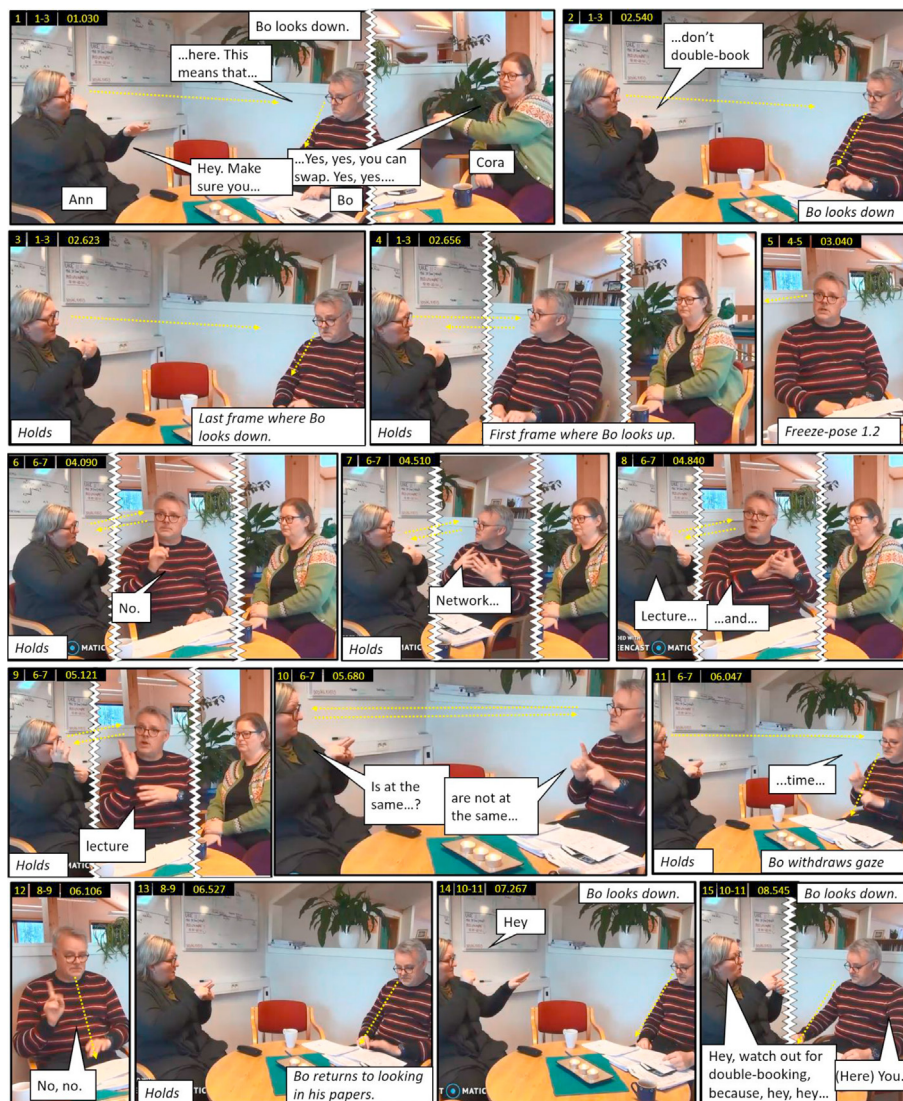
Ann's warning about double-booking (l. 2, pa. 1–3) is produced while Bo is gazing down toward his papers. Ann's gaze is fixed on Bo, and she is doing a turn-final hold[12] (l. 2, 5, 7, pa. 3–7). Bo looks down throughout Ann's utterance and when he looks up toward her (l. 1, pa. 4) he does a freeze-pose[13] (l. 4, pa. 5) for 1.2 s. This notable absence of action does not lead to Ann self-repairing or Bo upgrading to an explicit repair-initiation. Ann keeps her turn-final hold, and Bo (l. 6, pa. 6) responds with a "No". Bo continues (l. 6, pa. 7–11) by stating that the Network course and the lecture they have planned are not happening at the same time. When Bo has uttered "NETWORK", but before his turn is completed, Ann (l. 7, pa. 8–10) overlappingly other-initiates self-repair, asking if the lecture is at the same time. Bo, then (l. 8, pa. 12) withdraws his gaze and disconfirms her candidate offer with a "No, no.". Ann (l. 9, pa. 13) does not release her turn-final hold of SAME and does not provide any repair

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[12] The sign Ann is holding can be translated with "crash" or ("collide"), and corresponds with similar Norwegian words, used metaphorically when two or more parties have booked the same room.

[13] The behavior is here referred to as "freeze-pose", instead of "freeze-look", because the latter term usually refers to the occasions when this (non-)action leads to repair work. In this case it does not.

receipt. Neither does she upgrade or produce a new repair-initiation. Instead, she starts over again (l. 10, pa. 14–15, urging Bo to make sure the rooms are not double booked, and starts expanding on of why she thinks this is crucial. There are several ways to interpret what is going on in Extract 4. Ann might start over again because she does not trust that Bo has perceived her utterance through peripheral vision. It has been observed in several societies that speakers routinely restart their (spoken language) utterances when the addressee is not looking at them (Goodwin and Heritage, 1990). Ann's restart can however also be seen as a third-position repair, treating Bo's reassuring response as inapt. The restart and the expansion on possible problems with room booking, not shown in the extract, can indicate that she treats Bo's quick response as premature, as she has not yet made her point. The extract nevertheless serves as an example of how unfinished business can move on without necessarily adhering to the most common trajectories of multiple OISR sequences (See Skedsmo, 2020a for three different such trajectories).

6. Discussion and conclusion

This study has shown that there is a variety of practices performed as repair receipts in informal multiperson conversations in Norwegian Sign Language, such as upward and downward nods, withdrawal of gaze and upper body, along with lexicalized items such as RIGHT and "SÅNN (JA)". Combinations of practices are also common. None of these practices are considered unique for repair receipting, but rather resources for signaling (now-)understanding, go-ahead signals (Ford et al., 2002; Greer et al., 2009; Sorjonen, 2002), and change of state. Out of the 112 repair-initiations in the data, there are tendencies regarding which cases that lead to an explicit repair receipt, and which do not. The non-closing cases generally lead to more repair work and hence more rarely contain repair receipts, even though there are many examples of partial or temporary receipting before new repair-initiations are produced. The closing cases overwhelmingly come with one or more receipt practice, but also here exceptions are found. Another way of dividing the cases is by the trouble-source turn's sequential position. When the trouble-source is a question or other first-pair part (FPP) the next to come is most likely to be a fitted second-pair part (SPP) which demonstrates that the progress is restored. It is in the closing cases where the trouble-source is a SPP or a telling that the majority of the repair receipts are found. Here, 84.4% of the SPP-cases and 95.7% of the telling-cases, are followed by explicit repair receipt practices.

It has been reported in several studies that interactants demonstrate a preference for progressivity (Clift, 2016), and for sorting out trouble by "try[ing] the least complicated and costly remedy" first (Pomerantz, 1985, p. 156). Several researchers have remarked that this preference seems not to be about what is easiest for the repair initiator, but rather that this person seek to minimize the collaborative effort (Clark and Brennan, 1991; Clark and Schaefer, 1987; Dingemanse et al., 2015). The findings in this study contribute to the understanding of the motivation for signaling now-understanding: that no more effort is called for, and that the conversation or the telling can go on unhindered. However, these repair receipts are, as we have seen, recurrently not kept to a minimum. They are rather produced with several receipting practices such as upward nods, downward nods, withdrawal of gaze and upper body and lexicalized items.

Trouble of understanding can in many cases be considered face-threatening, or even related to embarrassment (Goffman, 1956). When the repair receipting interlocutor withdraws their gaze, we recurrently see that they are not merely withdrawing it, but rather shift their gaze to something else, like their food (Extract 2) tidying up the table (Extract 3) or looking at their own phones (Extract 4). As Goodwin (1981, 1984) and Rossano (2012) note, looking at objects in the environment relevant for competing activities, such as drinking or eating, is not as problematic as generally looking away. Several gaze-withdrawals in the data seem to be made relevant by the withdrawer as purposeful gaze shifts. (The final gaze withdrawal in Extract 3 is integrated in Adam stretching his body.) This indicates that the withdrawal of gaze generally is a practice that needs to be accounted for, i.e., a dispreferred action. Still, the withdrawal seems to serve as an efficient receipt practice, allowing restored progress of the conversation. This ambiguity makes it relevant to discuss the motivations for repair receipting — and not receipting.

The article "What gets accomplished through over-exposed correction?" (Bolden et al., 2022) investigates cases where self-initiated self-repair (self-corrections) are not kept at their minimum, but are "over-exposed", and as such re-positioning the (misspeaking and subsequently) repairing utterer as aware, polite, and competent. Along the same lines, we might discuss

what gets accomplished through over-exposed repair receipts. Overt marking of now-understanding will potentially draw attention to the recent problems of understanding and thus threaten the repair initiator's face even more than already done. On the other hand, over-exposed repair receipt signals now-understanding and reestablishes the understander as competent. An additional effect of the over-exposed repair receipt can also be to draw attention to the problem itself as an external matter or as a problem belonging to the trouble-source utterer: something unintelligible that is now overwon. This way, the over-exposed repair receipts position the repair initiator as rather innocent. In contrast, under-exposed repair receipts, or no receipt at all, like in Deviant cases 1, 3 and 5 above, can serve as practices for claiming or maintaining epistemic authority or symmetry.

The repair receipts practices, and especially the embodied withdrawals in the NTS data seem to function both as "celebrations" (Gudmundsen and Svennevig, 2020, Abstract) of the overwon hurdles, and as bids for closure of the repair work by getting oneself out of the way for the progress of the conversation (or story). We do not know if the withdrawals of gaze are symptoms of embarrassment, but the findings indicate that the participants often make their withdrawals relevant by shifting gaze toward competing activities, such as eating, checking the phone, tidying the table, and stretching their body, and thus simultaneously display an altered focus and reduced participation in the ongoing repair project. On the other hand, the findings suggest that the practices of repair receipt are not to be seen merely as symptoms of (late) understanding, but as interactional practices that are of great import both for the receipting participant to display and for their interlocutors to monitor.

Declaration of competing interest

Data availability

The author does not have permission to share data.

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Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2023.07.015.

Appendix

Appendix B. Transcription conventions for multilinear transcripts

Gaze-tier (upper tier)
Name------	Interlocutor is gazing toward another person for as long as the dashes show.
Direction----	Interlocutor is gazing in the direction noted for as long as the dashes show. Directions are e.g., down.
Shut----	Interlocutor is closing eyes more than a brief blink. Dashes indicate for how long the eyes are shut.

Sign-tier (second tier from top of each section/line):
SIGN	Sign from Norwegian Sign Language glossed with an English word in uninflected form.
point (Name)	Pointing toward another interlocutor, or to indicate references like "them", "there" etc.
int-point	Interactional pointing
I	Pointing toward self.
[angled brackets]	Indicating simultaneous actions across the lines.
SIGN_____	Turn-final holding of last part of sign for as long as the underline shows.
(Action)	schrugging or other non-manual or manual actions not otherwise listed here.
(down right)	Directions of a signs articulation where relevant.

SIGN!	Emphasized pronunciation of sign.
SIGN?	Question-marked pronunciation (eyebrows lowered or raised).
FL (0.7)	Freeze-look response for 0.7 s.
(0.7)	Pause for 0.7 s.
SIG*	Aborted sign (Translated as "Sig …").
OISR→	Indicate other-initiations of self-repair.
Rep.rec.→	Indicate repair receipt practices.
3rd **pos. rep.** →	Indicate third-position repair.

A separate tier for repair receipt practices ("Rcpt") is inserted when needed.

The translation tier ("Trns") shows a translation to English and is for comprehension purposes only. The placement and order of the words do not necessarily represent the signing.

> Grey background indicates lines occurring simultaneously, to display gaze, overlapping signing etc.

Appendix C. Transcription conventions for the graphic transcripts

The small black fields in the upper left of each panel (picture/frame) show a) panel number, b) corresponding lines in the multilinear transcription and c) time code (seconds and thousands) of the frame-grab used in the panel.

Following regular comic-book conventions, speech-bubbles are timely organized top-to-bottom, i.e., the first utterance is positioned above the next.

Jagged lines across a panel, means the panel is composed of two or more images showing simultaneous events, to save space.

Overlapping speech bubbles show overlapping talk.

Caption boxes with italics point out actions taken in the panels.

Yellow, dotted arrows indicate gaze directions where relevant.

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