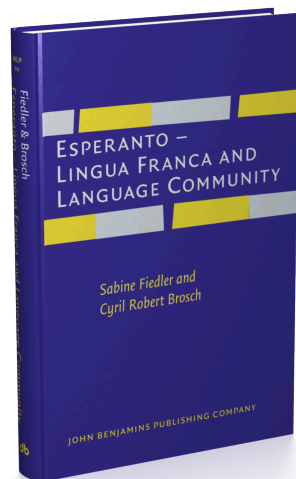


Working towards mutual understanding Repairs

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Esperanto – Lingua Franca and Language Community

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Working towards mutual understanding: Repairs

19.1 Introduction

Esperanto is acquired and used as a second language and therefore spoken with different levels of proficiency. Its speakers come from a multitude of linguistic, cultural and educational backgrounds. These two factors pose a challenge for mutual understanding in communication. On the other hand, as we have seen in the previous chapter on metacommunication, its speakers are characterised by high degrees of communicative awareness and of motivation to make their communicative exchanges successful. We might therefore expect them to employ strategies for preventing and resolving non-understanding. These include a technique called “repairs”, which has been the focus of conversation analysis in recent decades. Schegloff (2000, p. 207) defines repairs as “practices for dealing with problems or troubles in speaking, hearing, and understanding the talk in conversation”. Since the seminal study by Schegloff et al. (1977) that dealt with English-language repairs, the phenomenon has been analysed in a range of languages (e.g. Finnish, French, German, Spanish, Hebrew, Japanese, Russian, Chinese).⁸⁴ A number of cross-linguistic investigations have addressed the question of the extent to which the characteristics of repairs depend on the morphosyntactic structures of languages (e.g. Fox et al., 2009a; Fox et al., 2009b; Németh, 2012). In recent years, researchers have turned their attention to repairs in English as a lingua franca (e.g. Mauranen, 2006; Kaur, 2011a, b; Watterson, 2008).

The following example can serve as an illustration of the topic discussed in this chapter. It is a contribution to a discussion during an interlinguistics conference in which a Cuban speaker refers to a paper on the further development of Esperanto.

- (97) *Ĉu ekzistas esploroj por eviti la eh dialektiĝon de::de Esperanto (de) la lingvo mem. Ĉar ekzemple eh, kiel dirite antaŭe, ni venas el pluraj landoj (.) kaj ni havas niajn bazajn esprimojn en niaj (.) gepatraj lingvoj kaj: tio faras, ke ekzemple multaj homoj eh prenas en konsideron (.) kiam oni parolas, oni multfoje esprimas eh frazojn, kiuj jam estas eh faritaj en naciaj lingvoj kaj eh mi volus scii ĉu ekzistas*

84. For a survey see Kitzinger (2013).

esploroj. Mia esperantista vivo estas tre juna, estas tri jaroj kaj kelkaj monatoj nur. Mi ne scias, ĉu ekzistas esploro, ĉu ekzistas verkoj por eviti la (.) dialektiĝon de de Esperanto. Kaj mi parolas pri tio: mi volas (.) trovi kernaĵon eh aŭ kernon, kiu estu gvidilo por mi por scii: tio estas la bazaj esprimoj de nia lingvo Esperanto kaj ke ne temas pri naciaj bazaj esprimoj. Ĉar mi ekzemple havis jam la sperton, ke mi parolis kun eŭropanoj, (.) eh: mi ne diru eŭropanoj, mi diru alilandanoj kaj-, por fari eh ĝenerale, kaj mis- eh mi aŭskultis eh proprajn naciajn bazajn esprimojn kaj mi diris: bone, eh eble mi komprenas, kion vi volas diri, sed vere mi ne centa- mi ne sentas, ke tio estas Esperanto, ĉar mi mem povus diri (.) de la hispana lingvo aŭ de la kuba hispana varianto mi povus elĉerpi kelkajn (.) bazajn esprimojn, kiujn nur kubanoj komprenus. Pro tio mi ŝatus respondon, havi respondon al tio.

[Are there any studies to avoid the uh emergence of dialects of of Esperanto (of) the language itself. Because for example uh, as said before, we come from several countries (.) and we have our basic expressions in our (.) mother tongues and this makes that for example many people uh include (.) when one speaks one often expresses uh phrases which have been uh made already in national languages and uh I would like to know whether there are studies. My Esperanto life is very young, it's only been three years and some months. I don't know if there is a study, if there are works to avoid the (.) emergence of dialects of of Esperanto. And I speak about this: I want (.) to find a core thing uh or a core that might be a guide for me to know: these are the basic expressions of our language Esperanto and not basic expression of national languages. Because I for example have already experienced that I spoke to Europeans (.) uh I should not say Europeans, I should say people from other countries, to put it uh generally, I h- uh I heard uh (their) own national basic expressions and I said: good, uh perhaps I understand what you want to say, but truly I do not vee- I don't feel that this is Esperanto because I myself could say (.) from the Spanish language or the Cuban Spanish variety I could extract some (.) basic expressions that only Cubans would understand. That's why I would like an answer to have an answer to this.] [143 (spa; pres/disc; Lille) 93:33–96:34]

The question was posed in a spontaneous way, without any apparent written preparation.⁸⁵ The sequence includes expressions of hesitation (*eh*) and short pauses (marked by (.)), which are typical of this kind of oral communication. The speaker uses a number of techniques to attend to possible trouble in understanding. We find, for instance, a repetition of the preposition *de* in line 1, which might have the function of “buying planning time”. The speaker is obviously searching for a suitable word to express what he has in mind, namely ‘Esperanto as a linguistic system’

85. We can of course not exactly say to what extent the question was immediately triggered by one of the conference presentations before and formulated *hic et nunc* or preformulated due to the speaker's previous preoccupation with the topic.

(in contrast to, say, Esperanto as a community, idea, etc.), and he finally decides to clarify this by the addition (*de la lingvo mem* ‘of the language itself’). Having repeated the purpose of his request (*mi volus scii ĉu ekzistas esploroj* ‘I would like to know whether there are studies’) in line 5/6, he finds it necessary to add a reason why he needs information about the topic and has not been able to acquire this information about it so far – by saying that he has been an Esperanto speaker for only a relatively short period of time.⁸⁶ In this sentence he offers a synonym to aid comprehension (*ĉu ekzistas esploro, ĉu ekzistas verkoj* ‘if there is a study, if there are works’). As he is not interrupted by the chair, he starts reformulating his question in line 8, introducing this part metacommunicatively (*kaj mi parolas pri tio* ‘and I speak about this’). This second part presents, in principle, the same content as the one before, but is more detailed due to personal experience and example. In line 8 the speaker carries out a self-repair (*kernaĵon eh aŭ kernon* ‘a core’; consisting of the root *kern-* ‘core’, the ending *-o* for the noun and the suffix *-aĵ-* ‘thing’, with the latter being possible but not necessary to express the meaning ‘something related to a core’). The self-repair in line 11, (*eŭropanoj* [.], *eh: mi ne diru eŭropanoj, mi diru alilandanoj kaj-, por fari eh ĝenerale* ‘Europeans [.], uh, or I should not say European, I should say people from other countries to put it uh generally’), which is metacommunicatively marked again, and the one in line 15 (*de la hispana lingvo aŭ de la kuba hispana varianto* ‘from the Spanish language or the Cuban Spanish variety’) are focused on the content rather than on the form. The speaker generalises his statement in the first case (*eŭropanoj – alilandanoj* ‘Europeans – people from other countries’), whereas he imposes a lexical restriction in the second (*hispana – kuba hispana* ‘Spanish – Cuban Spanish’). His last self-repair (*mi ŝatus respondon, havi respondon* ‘I would like an answer, to have an answer’) takes the form of adding a word.

This initial example is revealing in a number of senses. In general, it does not differ much from what we might find in mother-tongue communication or talk in another foreign language (apart from the fact perhaps that someone who had learned English, French or German for three and a half years would not be able to express themselves so well). The conversation includes different types of repair, such as repetitions and rephrasings, which refer to either linguistic form or content. Furthermore, it illustrates that ‘repair’ – in contrast to the word’s actual meaning – does not presuppose that a mistake was made and has been corrected now. In fact, all occurrences initiated as problems by the speaker here (*kernaĵon, eŭropanoj* instead of *alilandanoj, la hispana lingvo, mi ŝatus respondon*) are suitable and correct expressions. Finally, the example illustrates that repairs are often ‘flagged’,

86. As this type of conference generally brings together specialists in the field of Esperanto studies, this purpose (of preventing criticism) is at least one possible function of the statement.

i.e. signalled, for example by hesitation markers or by metacommunicative utterances. This chapter will describe repair actions such as those in this first example in more detail and give an overview of repairs that are characteristic of Esperanto communication.

The findings reported emerged from the analysis of 257 randomly chosen instances of repair that were identified in a sub-corpus of six hours that was compiled on the basis of the dataset described in Chapter 5, including a representative selection of genres (see Table 1). Overall, repair proves to be a frequent strategy in Esperanto. One instance of repair was carried out every 84 seconds (or 1.4 minutes), with high rates especially in discussions after lectures and presentation, in classroom interaction and at touristic events. This seems to demonstrate relatively high frequency in comparison to studies, for example, on English as a lingua franca.⁸⁷

Table 10. Number of repairs in various genres

Genre (see Table 1 in Chapter 5)	Instances of repair per hour
Presentation	37
Informal or small talk	41
Discussion	57
Touristic or cultural event	61
Conversation and talk in educational context	61

Complete understanding, as communication research has shown, is an idealisation. Smith (2009, p. 17) points out:

Although we may never be able to totally understand another’s feelings and perspectives in a cross-cultural situation ..., we can attempt to increase our likelihood of understanding or at least decrease the possibility of our misunderstanding by developing a greater awareness of three of the dimensions of understanding (intelligibility, comprehensibility and interpretability).

In Smith’s framework, intelligibility refers to people’s ability to identify words and utterances, and comprehensibility to the understanding of the meaning of these

87. Smit (2010, p. 189), in her investigation of English as a lingua franca in higher education, found that a repair was carried out every 69 seconds (341 instances in 393 minutes) and regards this result as high frequency when compared to Dalton-Puffer (2007), for example, who mentioned a number of 300 instances in 560 minutes. We are aware that a comparison is only possible to a limited extent due to the different fields of usage (in the case of Smit [2010] and Dalton-Puffer [2007] the datasets are restricted to classroom interaction, which according to our findings is a domain with high frequencies of repair) and because of partly diverging definitions of repair. The examples chosen to illustrate different types and features of repairs in this chapter originate from the entire dataset described in Chapter 5.

words and utterances. The third component, interpretability, refers to the recognition of the content or purpose of an utterance, i.e. it is concerned with their pragmatic implications.

Esperanto is generally characterised by high degrees of intelligibility. This is mainly due to its phonological characteristics, such as flexibility of phonetic realisation (see Chapter 9). Nevertheless, our dataset contains four occurrences where the lack of intelligibility causes repairs. In three of these cases, it is above all the speakers' peculiar word stress (influenced by their French mother tongue) that makes their speech unintelligible. The fourth is example (144) below.

Misunderstandings can have various reasons. In Example (98), a classroom situation, a student asks about the term *sufiksoido*. He wants to know whether the element *-id* in this word relates to the meaning of the suffix *-id* in Esperanto (offspring) or whether the term expresses the meaning 'suffix-like' or 'quasi-suffix'. The teacher does not understand what the pupil is getting at, so that the problem cannot be solved within the interaction between the two speakers. Similarly, in Example (99) an answer is misunderstood as a question for clarification.

(98) A: *Demando.*

B: *Jes?*

A: *Ĉu tiu -ido estas nia -ido, "descendantato de la sufikso"?*

B: *Do kio, la lingvo Ido?*

A: *Ĉu estas "ido de sufikso" aŭ ĉu estas pseŭdo-sufikso?*

B: *Tio estas eh: en tiu sama kategorio kiel -ul kaj -ej, ĉar ĝi memstare ankaŭ funkcias, ĉu ne?*

A: *Jes, mi-, en tiu vorto sufiksoido: "pseŭdo", ne "filo de"?*

[...]

B: *Mi ne uzis "pseŭdo-sufikso", ĉu ne, pro tio mi ne enmetas*

A: *Sed tiu persono, kiu baptis ilin, sufiksoidoj, kion ili volas diri, kvazaŭ-sufiksoj?*

[...]

B: *Tiuj, kiuj konsideras tiujn elementojn, -ul, -ej, -id kaj aliaj eh: sufiksoidoj, tio estas kvazaŭ-sufikso; tio enfazas, ke ili estas efektive tre similaj al radiko, tute same kondukas, ĉu ne?*

[A: A question.

B: *Yes?*

A: *Is this 'ido' our -ido, "offspring of the suffix"?*

B: *So what, the language Ido?*

A: *Is it "offspring of a suffix" or is it pseudo-suffix?*

B: *This is uh: in that same category as -ul and -ej, because it also functions independently, doesn't it?*

A: *Yes I-, in this word sufiksoido: "pseudo", not "son of"?*

(...)

B: I did not use *pseudo-suffix*, did I, therefore I don't insert

A: But the person who christened them pseudo-suffixes, what did they want to say, quasi-suffix? (...)

B: Those who consider those elements, *-ul*, *-ej*, *-id*- uh: suffixoids, this quasi-suffix; this emphasises that they are in fact very similar to a root, (that they) behave quite similarly, you know.]

[31 (por-hun; edu; Poznań) 86:20–87:37]

(99) A: *Ĉu vi aŭdis pri "redundo"?*

B: *Jes.*

C: *Ripeto de*

A: (louder) *Redundo. Kion tio signifas?*

C: *Ripeto*

(A asks on)

[A: Have you heard of "redundancy"?

B: Yes.

C: Repetition of

A: (louder) Redundancy. What does that mean?

C: Repetition]

(A asks on)

[20 (hun-?-por; edu; Poznań) 15:23–15:35]

All told, examples of misunderstanding are very rare in our dataset, which is surprising considering the huge amount and variety of interactions between speakers of different linguo-cultural backgrounds that it contains. There is not a single case of a communicative situation in our dataset in which speakers give up and resort to their mother tongue because they are not able to resolve their problems in understanding, something that has been described as happening occasionally in the use of English as a lingua franca (Björkman, 2013, p. 137; Firth, 1996, p. 254). Instead, Esperanto speakers try to secure understanding pre-emptively, for example by means of metacommunicative signals, as shown in the previous chapter, or by repair work, as will be described in the following.

19.2 Types and structure of repairs

Schegloff et al. (1977) make a fundamental distinction between the initiation and the production of a repair, as the person who performs the repair is not necessarily the one who initiates it (see Table 11). In the majority of cases repair is *self-initiated*, i.e., as we have seen in the introductory example (97), the speaker cuts off his talk to replace a word (*kernaĵon*) or phrase (*la hispana lingvo*) with more suitable ones (*kernon*, *la kuba hispana variantanto*) or to insert a word (*havi*) that had been omitted. In *other-initiated* repair, someone other than the original speaker initiates the repair.

An example is (100), where a recipient repeats his question highlighting the question word (*kiam* ‘when’) and giving a candidate answer (*kiam li estis infano* ‘when he was a child’), in this way prompting an answer. As regards the production (or completion) of the repair, it is, however, the speaker who provides the repair solution himself, which is why Excerpt (100) is an example of other-initiated self-repair. By contrast, in (101) the speaker initiates a repair by searching for a specific word and another speaker accomplishes the repair by offering it. Excerpt (101) is therefore an example of *self-initiated other-repair*. In the same way that self-repair can issue from either self-initiation or other-initiation, other-repair can issue from self-initiation or other-initiation (Schegloff et al., 1977, pp. 364f.). Chapter 19.3 is about repairs in Esperanto talk and will provide examples of all four constellations. We should already mention here, however, that in overcoming misunderstandings in communication interactants generally prefer self-repair.

Table 11. Types of repair

Self-repair	Other-repair
Self-initiated (e.g. a speaker replaces a word with a more suitable one)	Self-initiated (e.g. a speaker lacks a word and asks for assistance)
Other-initiated (e.g. someone asks a speaker for an explanation)	Other-initiated (e.g. someone corrects a speaker’s grammar mistake)

- (100) A: *Mi vizitis [...] ankaŭ la Einstein-Museum.*
 B: *ah*
 A: *Estas du* └ (muzeoj)
 C: └ *Kiam li loĝis en Berno?*
 A: *Jes, li loĝis tie, kaj ()*
 C: *Sed KIAM, kiam li estis infano?*
 A: *Ĉirkaŭ nul kvin, nul kvin estas tiu mirinda jaro, kiam li publikigis la specialan teorion (...)*
 [A: I visited (...) the Einstein Museum as well.
 B: *ah*
 A: There are two └ (museums)
 C: └ When did he live in Bern? (Obviously understood as a temporal subclause: when he was living in Bern?)
 A: Yes, he lived there, and ()
 C: But WHEN, when he was a child?
 A: Around 05, 05 is that wonderful year when he published his special theory (...)]
[37 (swe-deu-hun; infl; La Chaux-des-Fonds) 7:10–36]

- (101) A: *Vi prenas esperantikan vidpunkton, eble neŭtraleco de komunikado kaj pere de tiu vidpunkto, de tiu glas- eh eh jes kiel oni diras pere de tiuj eh eh*
 B/C: *okulvitroj*
 A: *okulvitroj, pardonu, pere de tiuj esperantikaj okulvitroj vi vidas la mondon*
 [A: You take an Esperanto-related view, maybe neutrality of communication, and by means of this view, of this glas- uh uh yes, how do you say, by means of these uh uh
 B/C: glasses
 A: glasses, sorry, by means of these Esperanto-related glasses you see the world] [196 (ita-?; pres; Lisbon) 1:49:00]

Repairs consist of the repairable, the repair initiation and the repairing segment (Rieger, 2003). The first component, the problem or trouble source often becomes apparent to the recipient as a repairable item only because of the repair initiation, and, as we have seen above, the phenomena addressed can include passages where no discernible error occurs. Schegloff et al. (1977, p. 363) point out that “[i]n view of the point about repair being initiated with no apparent error, it appears that nothing is, in principle, excludable from the class ‘repairable’”. Repairs can be initiated in a number of different ways. As we have seen in Example (97) to 101, cut-offs, fillers, sound stretches and other hesitation markers (*eh*) are common in self-initiated repairs. For other-initiated repairs, Kitzinger (2013, p. 249) mentions *sorry?*, question words and repeats of trouble source items which give speakers the opportunity to provide a repair themselves. The repairing segment repairs the item that was perceived as a problem, for example by providing a previously missing word, as in Example (101), or by repeating a word with clearer pronunciation, as in Example (100).

19.3 Repairs in Esperanto talk

19.3.1 Self-initiated self-repairs

Repetitions

Repetitions⁸⁸ represent a very frequently occurring type of self-repair which is carried out in the same turn as the trouble source.⁸⁹ The elements that are repeated can be words, parts of words or several lexical items, as Examples (102) to (104) show.

- (102) *la tiel nomata subjunktivo de la de la verbo esse*
[the so-called subjunctive of the of the verb *esse*] [156 (deu; pres; Lille) 21:12]
- (103) *ni ĵus preterpasos la kolo- la kolonon de Napoleono* [we are just about to pass the col- the column of Napoleon] [118 (fra; tour; Lille-Boulogne) 100:10]
- (104) *kiam vi estas ĉe la supervendejo kaj vi prezentas viajn aĉetojn al la eh al la la (.) ĉe la la kaso ĉu ne*
[when you are at the supermarket and you present your purchases to the uh to the the at the the cash desk, don't you] [88 (eng; pres; Lille) 1:52–2:04]

As the examples suggest, the main function of repetitions as repairs is to buy time to plan. This can also be seen in the fact that they co-occur with delaying productions (*eh*) (Kitzinger, 2013, p. 239), fillers (*ĉu ne*) and in combination with other types of repair, as in Example (104) (*al la la (.) ĉe la*). The examples also show that function words are repeated more often than content words, as the speaker concentrates on producing the most important meaning-bearing element of his sentence.

We should not conclude the discussion of this first subtype of repair without mentioning that, of course, not all repetitions function as repairs. In Examples (105) and (106) speakers repeat words in order to achieve a special emphasis.

- (105) *mi nur volas atentigi, ke temas pri ege ege granda kongreso*
[I just want to draw your attention to the fact that it is a very very large congress] [71 (?; disc; Lille) 50:24]
- (106) *ĉar estas tre tre tre taŭga ilo*
[because (it) is a very very apt instrument] [152 (hun; disc; Lille) 1:12]

88. Németh (2012) prefers the term 'recycling'.

89. Due to their ubiquity, it is not possible to provide quantitative data on repetitions. The number of instances of repairs mentioned in the introduction to this chapter does not include repetitions.

Reformulations

Speakers correct their speech for various reasons. They become aware that they have mixed up words (see Examples (107) to (109)), should use a more precise word (Examples (110) to (112)) or have made a grammar mistake. As regards mistakes, incorrect marking of the accusative ending *-n*, a recurrent problem for a large number of speakers, permeate (see Examples (113) to (115)).

- (107) *Ĉu iu verkis romanon ĉi tie, en la hispana aŭ en Esperanto?* [voice from the audience] *rekontojn* (.) *rakontojn* [Did someone write a novel here, in Spanish or Esperanto? (voice from the audience) stories (.) stories]
[178 (deu; pres; Havana) 14:49]
- (108) *Ĉiam brilas en Karlsbad, oni diras; kelkfoje sub la nubo- nebuloj* (3) *aŭ nuboj* [The sun always shines in Karlsbad they say; sometimes below the cloud- fogs (3) or clouds]
[18 (swe; edu; Poznań) 86:12]
- (109) *Do, nigra truo estas priskribita per nur du datumoj. Nur du numeroj aŭ nombroj eh difinas* [So, a black hole is described by only two datasets. Only two numbers or numbers⁹⁰ uh define]
[80 (heb; pres; Lille) 8:21–34]
- (110) *Por simpligi, por resumi, ni estos tie, kie la soldatoj estis por celebri la Paskan meson, kelkaj horoj antaŭ ol morti.* [To simplify, to sum up, we will be there where the soldiers were in order to celebrate the Easter mass, a few hours before their death.]
[140 (fra; tour; Lille-Arras) 16:25–38]
- (111) *Vi havas duonhoron* (.) *kaj bonvolu iomete (jam) pli frue fini ke estu* (.) *loko por demando tempo por demando* [You have half an hour and please finish a bit earlier so that there is place for a question time for a question]
[1 (hun; infl; Poznań) 19:41]
- (112) *Tio estas estas eh prefikso aŭ eh prefiksoido* [This is is uh a prefix or uh a prefixoid]
[156 (deu; pres; Lille) 20:27]
- (113) *kiel eh eh speguligon* (.) *speguliĝon* [as a uh uh reflecting (.) reflection]
[156 (deu; pres; Lille) 24:25]
- (114) *Do antaŭ tri jaroj aperis* (.) *tiu reformon, reformo, pardonu, tiu reformo celas* [...] [So three years ago, this reform (+ accus.), reform, sorry, occurred, this reform aims to (...)]
[103 (fra; pres; Lille) 22:26–41]
- (115) *Kiel konkludo ni povas diri ke Esperanto havas riĉan kolekton de rezultintigaj formoj [...], ke ĝi kovras ĉiujn bazajn tipoj tipOJN, sed estas pli facile ol [...]* [As a conclusion we can say that Esperanto has a rich collection of resultative forms (...), that it covers all basic types types (+ accus.), but that it is easier than ...]
[7 (fra; pres; Poznan, 0:59–1:08)]

90. With regard to ‘number’, Esperanto distinguishes between *numero* as an array of digits and *nombro* as a quantity, which sometimes leads to confusion.

Occasionally, speakers get muddled in a syntactic structure and decide to start their sentence again:

- (116) *Kaj tiu genio (.) nun devas eh (2) prijuĝi eh (1) la (1) viran (.) eh pardonu; Devas prijuĝi eh (.) la (.) agon de homoj aŭ la meritojn de homojn [sic]* [And this genius (.) now has to uh (2) judge uh (1) over the (1) manly (.) uh sorry; (He) has to judge over the deeds of men or over the merits of men]
[74 (ces; pres; Lille) 41:55–42:17]
- (117) *Kaj tion ili povis mezuri dank' al (.) eh (.) la (.) Ili povis mezuri eĉ unu ondolongon* [And this they could measure thanks to (.) uh (.) the (.) They could measure even one wavelength]
[73 (heb; pres; Lille) 11:54]
- (118) *Do li ĉiam eh li ne havis apriorajn ideojn; (.) li HAVIS, sed li ĉiam provis ion* [So, he always uh he didn't have a priori ideas; (.) he DID, but he always tested something]
[104 (eng; pres; Lille) 4:05]

As mentioned above, repairs provide a planning advantage for speakers, which is sometimes necessary as they have to concentrate on an important word. For the same reason, false starts can often be found in the ongoing process of word formation by means of elements of the agglutinative system, including the creation of new or ad hoc terms:

- (119) *pri:: la:: (.) sekso orientiĝo kaj la:: m::an- eh: (.) la:: mandekstreco- eh oh dekstra-maneco, (.) estas eh: (.) estas diferenco* [with regard to (.) sexual orientation and the hand- uh (.) right-handed-ness uh oh dexterity (.) there is err (.) there is a difference]
[12 (deu; disc; Poznań) 23:13–26]
- (120) *li ekspozii:- (.) ĉu ekspoziiĝis? (2) ekspoziciis,* [he exhibit- (.) Is it exhibitified? (2) exhibited]
[125 (fra; tour; Lille-Boulogne) 12:25]
- (121) *en la jaro 1960 estis eksumita lia korpo (.) ĉu oni diras ekshumaciita? (.) Kio estas la ĝusta vorto, @(.)@* [In 1960 his body was exhumed (.) or does one say exhumified? (.) What is the right word, @(.)@]
[74 (ces; pres; Lille) 61:25]

The examples shown so far represent corrections of linguistic form. Of course, self-repair can also focus on the content of a message, as in (122) and (123).

- (122) *en la dua jarcento, (.) pardonu, en la dekdua jarcento* [in the second century, (.) sorry, in the twelfth century]
[74 (ces; pres; Lille) 16:03]
- (123) *proksimume de mil naŭcent kvindek du ĝis- mil okcent, mil okcent kvindek du* [approximately from 1952 until- 1800, 1852]
[102 (fra; tour; Lille) 4:19]

The insertion of additional words is more often aimed at factual rather than linguistic adequacy:

- (124) [...] *la naftolea industrio. Tio estas unu el la plej ĉefaj mondonantoj por esplor-laboroj en la maro pri robotoj en la maro* [(...) the oil industry. This is one of the main investors in explorations in the sea, in robots in the sea]
[199 (ita; pres; Hanoi) 15:42]
- (125) *ĉar lesba (.) havas- (.) povas havi pli politikan signifon* [because «lesbian» (.) has- (.) can have a more political meaning] [12 (eng; disc; Poznań) 7:29]

We will return to content-related repairs later.

Synonyms and paraphrases

A common way of securing understanding is the addition of lexical elements with similar meanings or of explanatory paraphrases. In our dataset this technique is applied above all in context with terminology (Examples (126) and (127)).

- (126) *Sed tiuj idoj fekundi, eh do eh tiuj (.) ne povas produkti la sekvantan generacion* [But these offspring cannot be fecund, uh so uh these ones cannot product the next generation] [149 (jpn; pres; Lille) 97:42–53]
- (127) *se iu virino ne povas koncipiĝi facile ne povas facile havi infanon* [if a woman cannot conceive easily cannot have a child easily]
[149 (hun; pres; Lille) 17:43]

Exogenous word forms are occasionally substituted by endogenous formations (see Example (128)) and word formation processes are made obvious (see Example (129)).

- (128) *Li sidis [...] en karcero, en malliberejo* [he sat in prison, in prison; *malliberejo*: *mal*- ‘opposite’, *liber*- ‘free’, *-ej*- ‘location’] [74 (ces; pres; Lille) 32:42]
- (129) *Pardonpetoj estas socia rit- rit-aro, do aro de ritoj* [Apologies are a social rite-rite-collection, a collection of rites]. [94 (nld; pres; Lille) 30:06]

Other reasons for the use of synonyms and paraphrases might be that speakers fear that their figurative use of a word would not be understood by everyone (see Example (130)) or that the formation of a word depends too much on the equivalent in their native language (see 131):

- (130) *nun mi provos vendi al vi, nun mi provos reklami por vi* [now I’ll try to sell you, now I’ll try to advertise for you] [149 (ben; pres; Lille) 42:45]
- (131) *Post tiu honorvino aŭ amik amikecglaso ni iros al la restoracio, do bonvolu [...]*
[121 (fra; tour; Lille-Boulogne) 27:10]
[After this honorary wine or glass of friend friendship, we will go to the restaurant, so please (...)]

Speakers' endeavours to make themselves understood can also be influenced by local or acoustic conditions. In Example (132), people arrange to meet at the end of a festive event by shouting to each other over a distance of about twenty metres:

- (132) *ĉe la pordego ni povas saluti, [...] ĉe la elirejo enirejo* [we can meet up at the gate, (...) at the exit entrance] [171 (?; cerem; Lille) 4:30]

Offering variants

The specific type of repairs that we will address in this section seems to be unique to Esperanto communication. They are closely related to the language's character as an L2, as a planned language which came into being as a project with a minimal grammar to be adopted and further developed by an international speech community (see Chapter 8). What we are discussing here is a continuum ranging from self-repairs in the proper sense of the word, as described above, to culture-specific allusions. We start with Examples (133) and (134), which represent typical instances of self-repair. They show speakers' insecurity in the use of word formation affixes.⁹¹ A speaker becomes aware of his or her mistake and self-corrects it immediately (although not always successfully, as Example (134) illustrates).

- (133) *Estas ŝanĝo. Do A ŝanĝas eh eh ŝanĝiĝas al eh eble B aŭ R aŭ C* [There is a change. So A changes uh uh changes itself into uh maybe B, or R, or C] [149 (jpn; pres; Lille) 92:12–24]
- (134) *Kio surprizas- Kio surprizigas al mi ankaŭ estas [...]* [What surprises- What surprisifies me is also (...)] [165 (spa; pres; Lille) 17:35]

In a number of occurrences, however, as represented in Examples (135) and (136), the second word does not seem to have to be corrective in character, but rather to offer a variant. The speaker seems to signal 'I'm not sure which form is the correct one or (if both are right) which is preferable. So choose yourselves'. One might say that in these cases the repairable is identified, but the repair is not performed.

- (135) *Mi ne kredas, ke ekzistas vere virtuala komunumo, estas teknologia produkto (.) produktajo* [I don't believe that there is a really virtual community, it's a technological product (.) product thing] [41 (srp; pres; La Chaux-de-Fonds) 2:14]

91. Above all, the suffixes *-ig-/iĝ-*, used to make intransitive verbs transitive and transitive verbs intransitive, cause problems in Esperanto, as their application presupposes that the character of the verb used is known.

- (136) *Oni transprenis la vortojn de la kolonizianto kolonianto kaj oni enkadris en tiu ĉi [...] [One took over the words of the (maybe) colonialiser coloniser and put (them) into this framework (...)] [42 (hun; pres; La Chaux-de-Fonds) 40:18]*

As we can infer from the intonation, the lack of delaying production and the frequent use of the conjunction *aŭ* ('or') (see Examples (137) to (140)), interactants occasionally present candidate alternatives in the awareness of the existence and legitimacy of competing versions. They offer variants to show their knowledge about the situation, as is clearly indicated by metacommunicative signals such as *kion vi preferas* ('whatever you prefer') (see Example (138)).

- (137) *Tio ankaŭ estas unu el miaj unuaj rememoroj pri Svisio (.) pri Svislando eh kiam eh mi veturis dum ferioj el Italio trans Svislando aŭ Svisio [This is one of my first memories of Switzerland (.) of Switzerland uh when uh I went during (my) holiday from Italy across Switzerland or Switzerland]*
[5 (ces; infl; Poznań) 22:08–23]
- (138) *Jam dum la antikveco estis Cezaro kiu eh planis invadi Anglion Anglujon mi ne scias kion vi preferas, do [...] [As early as in ancient times it was Caesar who uh planned to invade England England I don't know what you prefer, so (...)]*
[118 (fra; tour; Lille-Boulogne) 101:30]
- (139) *[...] kiun ni povas similigi al komunumo kaj havas tian patriotan sencon, ĉu kiam ni diras Esperantio aŭ Esperantujo, tio estas nur [...] [(...) which we can equate with a community and has such a patriotic sense, whether when we say Esperanto-Land, this is only (...)] [40 (ita; pres; La Chaux-de-Fonds) 18:07]*
- (140) *En eh internacia socio-forumo en la Reto estas Facebook aŭ Vizaĝpaĝo (sic; usually Vizaĝlibro) [In uh the international social forum on the Internet there is Facebook or Face-page]*
[104 (jpn; disc; Lille): 15:37–52]

Finally, there is a group of instances in which speakers mark this peculiarity of Esperanto explicitly by means of humorous allusions. The linguistic phenomenon is either implicitly known as such by the interactants or it was already addressed in a previous part of the communicative event. In the latter case, the allusive repetitions contribute to the creation of coherence and might, in addition, be considered expressions of solidarity and politeness. Interlocutors' reactions often show that the speaker's intention was understood.

- (141) *mi [...] estas lingvisto (.) lingvistino @(.)@ – Ni devas demandi <name> [I'm (...) a linguist (.) female linguist @(.)@ – We should ask <name>]*
[128 (deu–hin; disc; Lille) 13:07–18; the second speaker refers to a previous paper which tackled sexist language use in Esperanto]

- (142) *Vi transsaltis punkton dek du ĉi tie eh pri jarraporto kaj tiel plu kaj tio estis (1) kazo aŭ okazo de sufiĉe granda eh interkorespondado de akademianoj* [You left out topic twelve here uh about the annual report etc. and this is (1) a **case or occasion** of relatively intensive uh correspondence between members of the Academy] [71 (eng; disc; Lille) 55:35–50; allusion to a long-term debate within the Esperanto Academy about whether *kazo de* ‘a case of’ or *okazo de* ‘occasion of’ should be the correct form, which was mentioned before – see 25.5.4]

The examples presented here constitute a kind of list of ‘unsolved cases’, with the explicit marking of the female sex by the suffix *-in-* (Example (141)),⁹² the formation of the names of countries (Examples (137)–(139)),⁹³ and the translation of proper names (Example (140))⁹⁴ being of prominent importance. Example (142) can be considered a humorous sideswipe at the *Akademio de Esperanto*, which is frequently criticised by speakers for not being active enough.

19.3.2 Other-initiated self-repairs

The matters that are subject to repair here are seldom errors. Interactants raise queries because of mishearings, which can be caused by background noise or unclear pronunciation as in the following examples:

- (143) *Ni devas ŝanĝi tiujn ŝablonaĵojn – Kion ni devas ŝanĝi? – (ŝablonaĵoj)* [We have to change these routine patterns – What do we have to change? – (routine patterns)] [176 (spa; pres; Havana) 34:10]

92. Gender marking in Esperanto is asymmetrical, as in many European languages. This and growing linguistic egalitarianism have led to debates on sexism in the language and to some confusion as to which nouns for female persons must be marked with *-in-* and which need not. See Fiedler (2015c) for a recent overview.

93. Names of countries are either primitive roots (*Irland-o* ‘Ireland’) or were originally derived by the suffixoid *-uj-* (‘container’) from the name of the main nation (*German-uj-o* ‘Germany’). As the latter kind of formation has been criticised on ideological and linguistic grounds, many speakers have adopted forms with a (pseudo-)suffix *-i-* for countries (*German-i-o*), which have the advantage of higher international recognisability, but as a drawback stand outside the system of word formation.

94. As in all other languages it is a question whether foreign proper names should be left untouched or assimilated in some way. Because of the various background traditions of its speakers, with regard to Esperanto this debate has been very prominent since the early days of the language, albeit without any consensus so far.

- (144) *Ĉe la pinto estu kleraj [kə'leraj] personoj – Ĉe la pinto estos? – KLERAJ* [At the top should be educated (sic!) people – At the top should be? – EDUCATED people] [38 (ita-swe; pres; La Chaux-de-Fonds) 61:37–49]

Occasionally, listeners are not familiar with a specific term and want to make sure that they have understood it correctly (Example (145)) or they ask for clarification about an abbreviation (Example (146)).

- (145) A: *Ĝi [la raporto] parolas pri la graveco krei diskurson, ĉar ne ne ne temas nur pri celoj, sed ankaŭ gravas diskurso.*
 B: *Diskurso? Diskutadon vi celas.*
 A: *Ne, diskurson.*
 C: *Kio estas diskurso, ĉar hodiaŭ mi jam aŭdis tion dekfoje.*
 [...]
 A: *Mi povas klarigi. Estas kompleksa rezulto [...] estas eh ideologie ideologia rezulto kiun oni povas eh trovi en tekstoj, en filmoj ktp., estas maniero rigardi aferon.*
 [A: It (= the report) speaks about the importance of creating a discourse, as it is not not not only aims that matter, but also discourse is important.
 B: Discourse? You mean a discussion.
 A: No, a discourse.
 C: What does discourse mean, because I have heard it today ten times already.
 (...)
 A: I can explain. It is a complex result (...), it is uh an ideologically ideological result that one can uh find in texts, in films, etc., it is a way of regarding something.] [198 (por, disc; Lisbon) 73:35-74:40]
- (146) *Kion signifas (???) – UGK? La universala gravita konstanto.* [What does (???) mean? – UGK? The universal gravitational constant] [80 (?-heb; pres; Lille) 24:57]

Example (147) does not refer to a linguistic form, but to a fact. An interactant's protest, *inverse* ('the other way round'), makes the speaker aware of his mistake and initiates his self-repair (although A's *ah ne* 'oh no' indicates that he might have noticed it himself at about the same time):

- (147) A: *kromosom°kombinioj°, - kombinoj (.) estas ikso ikso, (.) kiu estas kion ni nomas (.) viriĉo, (.) estas ikso ipsilono, (.) ⊥ ah ne: fakte es-*
 B: *⊥ inverse*
 A: *inverse: do. (.) ikso ikso estas tiu (.) (tiel nomata) virino.*
 [A: chromosome combinatiyons, combinations (.) there is X-X (.) that is what we call male, (.) there is X-Y, (.)
 ⊥ oh no in fact it-

B: ⊥ the other way round

A: the other way around; so (.) X-X is this so-called woman.]

[12 (eng; disc; Poznań): 13:40–53]

Although the number of examples in this category is relatively small and we can never be sure how many participants of the speech events described here would have accepted mishearing and misunderstanding in these or similar cases if the repair had not been initiated, our study suggests that Esperanto speakers react directly and openly to situations in which understanding is hampered. This refers to hearing, as the frequent reproaches *Mi ne aŭdas* ('I can't hear/understand'), *uzu mikrofonon* ('use the microphone') that are typical of almost all oral speech events in the Esperanto community show (see Chapter 18.2.2), but also to situations in which intelligibility and comprehensibility are at stake and therefore called for by means of repair strategies. People learned the language to be able to communicate internationally and they insist on doing so when the opportunity presents itself.

Our findings suggest a contradiction to the so-called let-it-pass principle (Firth, 1996) which has been described as characteristic of lingua franca communication in English (Meierkord, 1996; Seidlhofer, 2011; Watterson, 2008). House (2003, p. 558) describes this principle as follows:

As long as a certain threshold of understanding is achieved, ELF participants appear to adopt a principle of 'Let it pass', an interpretive procedure which makes the interactional style both 'robust' and explicitly consensual. While one might assume that such a procedure endangers effective communication, as the superficial consensus may well mask deeper sources of trouble arising out of differences in culturally based knowledge frames, lingua franca talk turns out to be, in fact, basically meaningful and 'ordinary'. Unclear talk is routinely 'passed over' on the common sense assumption that it will either eventually become clear or end up as redundant.

As Firth (1996, p. 237) points out, the principle is applied in order to "imbue talk with an orderly and 'normal' appearance, in the face of extraordinary, deviant, and sometimes 'abnormal' linguistic behaviour". This argument might be a first explanation of why the principle is not valid for Esperanto. In contrast to English as a lingua franca, which represents the exception to the ordinary use of the language by native speakers, a 'marked' kind of language use in Firth's terminology, Esperanto was created for communication among non-natives. Its use in cross-cultural interactions is its default application.⁹⁵

95. In addition, it is noteworthy that recent studies have challenged the general validity of the let-it-pass principle in ELF communication (e.g. Björkman, 2013; Cogo & House, 2017; Gnutzmann, 2015; Mauranen, 2006).

19.3.3 Self-initiated other-repairs

The occurrence of this type of repair is not surprising. After all, Esperanto is used as a secondary language and even fluent speakers can occasionally not know a word about a specific topic or have problems retrieving a lexical item that they do know. They then ask their interlocutors for assistance. Word search is signalled or initiated differently. In Example (148), the speaker offers words that are similar in meaning to the one she/he is in need of, so that an interactant is quickly able to help out with the adequate expression, whereas in Examples (149) to (151) we find more explicit appeals for help.

(148) *Ĉi tie estas eh elefanto eh eh mal- eh mal- – mamuto.* [This is uh an elephant uh uh mam- uh mam- – mammoth.] (140 (?–deu; tour; Lille-Arras) 18:32]

(149) *hierau ni mal- eh eh °kiel oni diras° – inaŭguris memortabulon* [yesterday we un- uh nh **how do you say** – inaugurated a commemorative plaque] [141 (fr; tour; Lille-Arras) 2:41]

(150) A: *De kio dependas via financado?*

B: *De la <name of organisation>. [...] Estas malfacile diri, ĉar ili fakte ne tute publike diras kiuj – eh kiuj kiujn [...] projektoj meritas, ĉar eh mi provis dufoje kaj unufoje mi eh havis du recenzojn aŭ kio (.) kiel nomiĝas en Esperanto?*

A: *Prijuĝoj.*

B: *Prijuĝoj jes, mi havis du prijuĝojn, kaj la unua estis bona kaj la dua estis tute stranga.*

[A: What does your funding depend on?

B: On <name of organisation>. (...) It's hard to say, because in fact they don't say openly which uh which uh which (...) projects deserve, because uh I tried twice and the first time I uh had two examinations or what (.) **what's the word in Esperanto?**

A: Reviews.

B: Reviews, yes, I had two reviews, and the first one was good and the second one was totally strange.] [5 (deu-pol; infl; Poznań) 64:33]

(151) A: *Je via dekstra flanko estas tiu planto por plibonigi la bieron [...] Mi forgesis la nomon en Esperanto. [...]*

B: *Lupolo.*

A: *Jes, luplo.*

B: *Lupolo.*

A: *Lupolo, dankon.*

[A: On your right side there is this plant for improving beer. (...) I've forgotten the name in Esperanto. (...)]

B: Hops.

A: Yes, hob.

B: Hops.

A: Hops, thank you.] [118 (fra-?; tour; Lille-Boulogne) 44:54–45:18]

Word searches are often initiated by code-switching (see Example (152)). This strategy will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 22.

- (152) *Kiel oni diras diversion? – Diversio.* [How do you say *diversion*? – *Diversio*.]
[140 (fra-deu; tour; Lille-Arras) 9:55]

More often than not, the original speaker's dealing with the repairable decides on whether an other-repair occurs or not. In Example (153), a discussion on Buddhism, the proper name *Birmo* ('Burma') is used, first, in its correct form by the head speaker. Later on, a participant asks him a question and uses an incorrect expression, *Birmao*, which is passed and left uncorrected, before the first speaker switches to the correct name again in his answer.⁹⁶ By contrast, in Example (154), the speaker's use of the confirmation-seeking particle *ĉu*? ('is it?') initiates an other-repair followed by a short exchange on the names of the country.

- (153) A: *la konflikto en Birmo [...] mi vizitis Birmon [...]*
B: *tiu popolo, kiu estas forprenata el Birmao [...] la budhistoj en Birmao.*
A: *Mi parolis pri <name> en Birmo [...] la rilatoj inter Birmo kaj Siamo.*
[A: the conflict in Burma (...) I visited Burma (...)]
B: this people, who are taken away out of Birma (...) the Buddhists in Birma
A: I was talking about <name> in Burma (...) the relations between Burma and Siam.] [83 (zho-deu; disc; Lille) 8:23–9:11 / 38:23–39:17 / 41:13]
- (154) A: *Se vi estas en Azio, vi povas diri Vjetnamio eh Kamboĝo, Birmao ĉu Birmao?*
B: *Birmo.*
A: *Birmo? Mi dankas.*
B: *Aŭ Mjanmaro (1) depende de via politika sinteno.*
All: *@(.).@*
[A: If you are in Asia, let's say Vietnam uh Cambodia, Birma. Is it Birma?
B: Burma.
A: Burma? Thank you.
B: Or Myanmar (1) depending on your political attitude.
all: *@(.).@* [85 (eng-deu; pres; Lille) 39:20]

⁹⁶ Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer (2013), in a study on ELF, claim that ELF speakers tend to repeat their interlocutors' wrong form for reasons of solidarity, giving the use of *information* as a countable noun as an example. While this may be right or not for ELF, a similar behaviour is inconceivable in an Esperanto context. At least, it could not be observed in our dataset.

19.3.4 Other-initiated other-repairs

This fourth type of repair is characterised as rare by the majority of authors. Schegloff et al. (1977, p. 380) in their classic study based on data from native speakers of English point out: “[O]ther-correction is highly constrained in its occurrence”. Norrick (1991, p. 80) explains the reluctance associated with other-repair as follows: “Other-correction poses a potential face-threat between approximate equals, because it entails a judgement by one participant about a gap in the other’s speaking ability or world knowledge.”⁹⁷ As regards second-language communication, the preference of self-repair over other-repair finds support in studies by Mauranen (2006), Kaur (2011b), House (2012) and others. An exception is Smit’s (2010, p. 222) investigation of ELF in higher education. She finds that in her corpus “[i]n contrast to everyday communication (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks, 1977) [...] other-repair was used very frequently overall”. The author explains this with a “strongly-felt interactional focus” (p. 223) in her setting of investigation.

The “preference for self-correction” proposed by Schegloff et al. (1977) is, in principle, confirmed in our dataset of Esperanto communication. The majority of instances (75.5%) are self-repairs. This mainly goes back to the large number of synonyms, paraphrases and variants that are provided to secure understanding, as described in Chapter 19.3.1. The other-corrections found are occasionally performed in a rather direct way, especially if they concern linguistic issues, as in Example (155), where a speaker is interrupted by another’s correction.

- (155) A: *Kaj Lukas afable transprenis.*
 B (and others): *Luca.*
 A: *Ne, Luca, mi volas diri Luca.*
 [A: And Lukas was so kind to take over.
 B (and others): *Luca.*
 A: No, Luca, I want to say Luca. [71 (swe-?; disc; Lille) 37:14]
- (156) A: *Jaro 2015 estu solenata [...]*
 B: *2017*
 A: *Kaj mi diris?*
 B: *Vi diris 2015.*
 A: *Ah pardonu, 2017 evidente.*
 [A: The year 2015 should be celebrated (...)
 B: *2017*
 A: And I said?

97. Concerning the association of other-repair and face threat, see also House (2012, p. 189), Smit (2010, pp. 220f.), Svennevig (2008, p. 345) and Bremer et al. (1996, p. 90).

B: 2015

A: Ah, sorry, of course 2017] [72 (pol-eng; disc; Lille) 35:22–38]

(157) A: *Vi trovos, ke Paĉjo kaj Panjo permesas al vi stumpigi la radikon, eĉ forĵeti kelkajn nebezonatajn [...]*

B: *°Tio ne estas en la Fund* L *amento.*^o

A: L *Jes?*

B: *Tiuj du ne estas en la Fundamento.*

A: *Dankon, jes jes.*

[A: You'll find that *Paĉjo* (Daddy) and *Panjo* (Mommy) enable you to truncate the root, even to throw away some unnecessary (...)]

B: This is not in the Fund L *amento.*

A: L *Yes?*

B: They are both not in the Fundamento.

A: Thank you, yes, yes.]

[149 (ben-deu; pres; Lille) 55:27–45]

The other-corrections mentioned so far refer to content. In this subtype, as is generally the case in all types of repair in our dataset, however, the overwhelming majority of actions (87.8%) refer to linguistic form. The examples represent a range of different speech events. Example (158) is part of an official debate with a group of podium speakers addressing the audience. Speaker A, reacting to a participant's comment, is made aware by a colleague on the podium that his use of the term *ide-alisto* ('idealist') might not be the right one. In Example (159), a tourist excursion, the guide mixes up two similar words (*konduti* 'behave' and *konduki* 'lead'), which results in several people's corrections. Example (160), an excerpt from a conference presentation, and Example (161), from a discussion after a conference presentation, are interesting as well and will be discussed below.

(158) A: *Do ni povas esti revuloj, sed ne estu in- ne estu idealistoj*

L *esta-*

B: L *(?Malrealisto?)*

A: *malrealistoj, pardonu.*

[A: So we can be dreamers, but should not be in- not be idealists

L *be-*

B: L *(?Utopians?)*

A: Utopians, I'm sorry.] [72 (hun-eng; disc; Lille) 11:15–27]

(159) A: *Ĝi kondutas la veturilojn de Lille ĝis Parizo.*

(several): *kondukas*

A: *kondukas, pardonu*

[A: It behaves the vessels from Lille to Paris.

(several): *leads*

A: *leads, sorry]*

[131 (fra-fra; tour; Lille-Arras) 1:43]

- (160) A: [...] *ĉar eh unu celo de la projekto estas krei apo* ⊥ (...)
 B: ⊥ *aplikaĵon*
 A: *aplikaĵo, kiu ĉiu povas uzi. [...] kaj la aplikaĵo estis kreita, estos fakte ĉar ne estas finita* (...)
 [A: (...) because uh one aim of the project is to create an app ⊥ (...)
 B: ⊥ application
 A: an application that everybody can use (...) and the application was created, will be, actually, as it has not been finished]
 [205 (fra; pres; Rotterdam) 12:42–13:01]
- (161) A: *Nun (mi) devus paroli absolute emociiĝinte. Mi devas kisi ŝin. (several people: @(.).@, applause) Mi esperantistiĝis en la okdekaj jaroj kaj mi mamsuĉis la radion, mamsuĉis la radion.*
 several: @(.).@ oho
 B: *la radion*
 A: *Mia Esperanto kreskiĝis* ⊥ *danke*
 C: ⊥ *kreskis*
 D: ⊥ *kreskis*
 A: *kreskis ja, mi estas tre nervoza*
 several: @(.).@
 A: *eh danke al la elsendon elsendoj de Svisa Radio Internacia, de Pola Radio, de Ĉina Radio Internacia, kaj mi estas fidela aŭskultanto de ĉi tiu virino, kiun mi amegas kaj ŝategas.*
 [A: Now (I) should speak full of emotion. I have to kiss her. (several people: @(.).@, applause) I became an Esperantist in the 80s and the radio was mother's milk to me was mother's milk to me.
 several: @(.).@ oho
 B: the radio
 A: My Esperanto grewed ⊥ thanks to
 C: ⊥ grew
 D: ⊥ grew
 A: grew, yes, I'm very nervous
 several: @(.).@
 A: uh thanks to the broadcast broadcasts of Swiss Radio International, Polish Radio, Chinese Radio International, and I am a devoted listener of this woman, whom I love and like very much.]
 [3 (por-?-hun; pres; Poznań) 11:45–12:31]

In Example (160), the speaker's neologistic term *apo* ('app') is corrected into *aplikaĵo* ('application') by a member of the audience, who might have been encouraged to do so because the speaker's presentation was rather hesitant and not without mistakes and perhaps also because she assumed the word would be used several times during the presentation. The correction was willingly accepted by the speaker,

who used the proposed word several times in the rest of her talk, always after a short phase of hesitation to make eye contact and smile at the person in the audience who had made the correction.

Example (161) is especially interesting, as it represents an emotionally charged situation. An Esperanto speaker who considers the Polish Esperanto programmes to have been of utmost importance for his language development expresses his heartfelt thanks to the representative of the radio station. Although the event is a scientific conference outside the classroom, his teachers (C and D) feel responsible for correctness here and they are willingly accepted in this role by speaker A.

In sum, the examples provide evidence that other-initiated other-repair is not rare in Esperanto communication. In most cases the other-repair is performed in a direct way without any modulation: the repairable is corrected by the second speaker and then accepted when the original speaker repeats the correct form in the next turn. Some speakers express their thanks for the correction out of politeness (Example (157)), others apologise (see Examples (158) and (159)), and some give explanations of why the error occurred (Example (161)).

In their discussion on the constraints to other-repair, Schegloff et al. (1977) mention “the domain of adult-child interaction, in particular parent-child interaction” as an exception where “other-correction seems to be not as infrequent, and appears to be one vehicle for socialization” (p. 381). They surmise that “it may well be more generally relevant to the not-yet-competent in some domain without respect to age” (p. 381). While parent-child talk is not relevant to this study, interactions between students and teachers are part of our dataset. Other-repairs are indeed a common feature in them (see Example (162)), which includes both other- and self-repair). They were not included in our analysis of repairs because of their exceptional character; in the classroom the teacher’s corrective role is institutionalised (Norrick, 1991).

- (162) A: *Estas interesa, mi havis kanadinon.*
 B: *Kanadinon? @ (a ha)@*
 A: *Tiu kanadino vivis per dek jaroj,* L [...]
 B: L *dum dek jaroj*
 A: *Dum dek jaroj; kaj mi estis eh: knabo, kiam mi- eh miaj gepatroj eh eh eh havis eh havis konatoj kaj eh mia eh mia kanadino.*
 A: *anserino*
 B: *ne ne ka- ne kanadino (.) ANSERINO*
 [A: It’s interesting, I had a Canadian.
 B: A Canadian? @ (aha)@.
 A: This Canadian was living with ten years L (...)]

- B: L for ten years
 A: For ten years; and I was uh a boy, when I- uh my parents uh uh uh had
 uh had friends and uh my uh my Canadian.
 A: a goose
 B: No not Ca- not Canadian (.) GOOSE]
[17 (pol-hun; edu; Poznań) 4:04–36]⁹⁸

Apart from interactions between parents and children and teachers and pupils, Norrick (1991) considers talk exchanges between native (NS) and non-native speakers (NNS) a type of communication that is characterised by a perceived asymmetry in information or ability, which makes other-repair an unmarked action. Norrick (1991, p. 78) points out that

[...] reason dictates that parents, teachers, and NSs other-correct children, students, and NNSs, in order to help them achieve equal status; and children, students, and NNSs generally go along with this organisation of repair in their own interests.

However, Norrick restricts this to native speakers and non-native speakers who know each other well. In addition, referring to a study by Faerch and Kasper (1982), he highlights the level of language proficiency as an important factor: “What the beginner accepts as helping might seem an un-called-for imposition by someone farther along” (Norrick, 1991, p. 78).

In Esperanto communication, as a rule, non-native speakers talk to non-native speakers. The interactants use a language that had to be learned by everybody, so that there are always differently competent speakers who have to assist each other to accomplish successful communication. Other-correction is therefore a ubiquitous feature even outside learning contexts. Whether it is actually performed depends on the interactants and their behaviour in a specific situation. Insecurity will provoke correction of an error that might remain uncorrected in a different situation, as we saw in Examples (153) and (154) (*Birmo – Birmao*).

Our last example shows that other-repair does not have to be tantamount to face-threat. It is an excerpt from a working-group meeting. The participants are discussing the procedure of a future panel and the question of whether members of the audience should be allowed to ask questions freely or whether they should write them on slips of paper in advance for the panel to answer later.

- (163) A: *Ŝajnas, ke plej multaj el tiuj kiuj esprimis sin ĉi tie estas por la slipoj, ĉar tio estas pli sekura.*
 Several: *Jes.*
 A: *Sed mi aldonu tamen, ke en Roterdamo kaj Bonaero ĝi bonege funkciis kaj ne estis iu malbona afero.*
 B: *Sed ni ĉiuj povus tamen citi ekzemplojn de de la kontraŭo de tio, nome kunsidojn kiuj malbone funkciis pro manko de slipoj.*

- A: *Ah, manko de slipoj*
 B: *Jes.*
 C: *└ ne ne*
 D: *└ ne ne ne tiel manko, neuzo de slipoj [...]*
 B: *[...] kiam oni ne uzas slipojn, foje oni eble havas sukcesajn rezultojn, sed ĝenerale tiaj kunsidoj ne bone sukcesas, ĉar homoj venas kun frenezaj demandoj pri frenezaj aferoj kaj oni devas okupiĝi pri tiuj aferoj dum se oni havas slipojn oni povas [...] kaj eĉ tute fantazie krei slipojn kiuj ne ekzistas.*
 Several: *@(1)@*
 [A: It seems that most of us here are for slips of paper, as this is more secure.
 Several: *Yes.*
 A: But I have to add, however, that in Rotterdam and Buenos Aires it worked very well and there was nothing bad about it.
 B: But all of us could, however, name examples of the opposite, namely meetings which worked badly for the lack of slips.
 A: Ah, a lack of slips.
 B: Yes.
 C: *└ No no.*
 D: *└ No no not so much a lack, but the disuse of slips [...]*
 B: (...) when one doesn't use slips, sometimes perhaps one has successful results, but mostly such meetings don't work well, because people come with crazy questions about crazy things and you have to bother about these things, while if you have slips you can (...) even from your imagination make up slips which don't exist.
 Several: *@(1)@* [71 (swe-eng-?-hun; disc; Lille) 53:38–54:53]

The imminent danger of misunderstanding made other-repair necessary in this example of repair in interaction. At the end of this sequence of successful negotiation of meaning (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005, pp. 166–167),⁹⁹ the corrected speaker has not only held his own as a respected speaker of Esperanto, but underlined his expertise by making his interactants laugh.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the occurrence of all types of repair in Esperanto can also be caused by an intralinguistic factor. Unlike other languages, Esperanto can be learned sufficiently well even by adults. Precision in their foreign language use is therefore an attainable goal for Esperanto speakers, which might encourage them to be correct or even hypercorrect in some situations. As a speaker in our interview study said:

99. The authors describe the ‘negotiation of meaning’ approach as analysing the “conversational exchanges that arise when interlocutors seek to prevent a communicative impasse occurring or to remedy an actual impasse that has arisen” (Ellis & Barkhuizen (2005, pp. 166–167).

Kiam mi en la angla- mi- mi scias ke mi ne povas uzi ĝustan lingvaĵon, do mi simple (.) babildas se- sen zorgi pri gramatiko, sed en Esperanto mi kelkfoje haltas kaj cerbumas kaj poste diras, kion mi volas diri. Mi ne povas uzi fuŝan lingvaĵon. [In English, when I- I- I know that I can't use it correctly, so I simply (.) chat without bothering about grammar, but in Esperanto sometimes I stop and rack my brain and afterwards I say what I want to say. I can't use bad expressions.]

[46 (swe; int; -) 15:41–16:03].

19.4 Some concluding remarks on repairs in Esperanto

The study has shown that repair actions are an immanent component of Esperanto communication and a highly relevant strategy to ensure understanding. All the four types of repair described by conversational analysts (e.g. Schegloff et al., 1977) for mother-tongue interactions can be observed: self-initiated and other-initiated self-repair as well as self-initiated and other-initiated other-repair. The special character of communication in a planned language becomes evident in the high frequencies of two special types of self-repair: first, the addition of lexical replacements (synonyms and paraphrases) to enhance understanding (see Examples (126) to (132)); and second, the presentation of unresolved repairables as variants (see Examples (137) to (140)). The frequency of other-initiated other-repair distinguishes Esperanto communication from mother-tongue exchanges by adult speakers and the use of English as a lingua franca, as described by some authors. This behaviour can be explained by speaker attitudes and the specific conditions of acquisition of Esperanto as a non-native language. Esperanto speakers are aware that obeying the linguistic norm is of utmost importance for the use and further dissemination of the planned language, and they regard the inclusion of speakers with different degrees of proficiency as ordinary. More competent speakers feel responsible for correctness, while less competent ones do not seem to be concerned about threatening face, but see correction rather as friendly help. Speakers' mutual interest in successful communication forms the basis of this behaviour.

Our analysis not only provides an opportunity to gain insight into speakers' behaviour and attitudes towards Esperanto, i.e. the interactants doing repair work. It also allows conclusions to be drawn about the language and its potential repairables. The recurrence of particular linguistic phenomena in repair sequences suggests that there are – independent of individual lexical gaps – items that are problematic for Esperanto speakers of certain linguistic backgrounds leading to insecurities in their use of the language. These include the use of particular suffixes (such as *-ig* and *-iĝ* for speakers of English), syntactic constructions (especially the accusative case for speakers of Western European languages) and the formal similarity of particular

lexical items (e.g. *konduto/konduko*; *renkonto/rakonto*). A study on repair work can therefore be useful from a linguo-didactic point of view.

Esperanto is often mentioned in the same breath as harmony, doing good and an ideal world (Okrent, 2009, p. 11; Wright, 2000, p. 246). This study shows that the communication carried out in it does not necessarily have that content. The language is used to discuss all kinds of aspects of our lives, to solve problems and to express values and emotions. This is often done in a direct and unmodulated way so as not to hamper clarity and efficiency, which does not allow room for compromise with regard to linguistic correctness. This result is in line with previous studies on features of Esperanto texts. A comparison between book reviews in English and Esperanto (Fiedler, 1992, p. 155), for example, concludes as follows:

In der Gesamtheit und verglichen mit dem englischsprachigen Korpus, tritt in den Esperanto-Texten negative Kritik jedoch recht offen und deutlich zutage. Dies ist insbesondere dort zu beobachten, wo es um die Darstellung und Vermittlung der Sprache geht, also in Sprachlehrbüchern, Wörterbüchern u.ä.

[As a whole and in comparison with the English-speaking corpus, negative criticism does however occur rather openly and clearly in the Esperanto texts. This can be observed particularly in situations that are concerned with the presentation or teaching of the language (= Esperanto), i.e. in textbooks, dictionaries, etc.]

Finally, it is noteworthy that pronunciation is not among the major repairables in Esperanto, which contrasts with the use of English as a lingua franca (see Kaur, 2011a, who subdivides a repair type “Modelling ‘Standard’ Pronunciation”). We will return to this topic in Chapter 24 on the acceptance of accents in Esperanto.

