

***Tu sais* ('you know') and *t'sais* ('y'know') in spoken French**

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This article examines how French *tu sais* ('you know') is used in everyday talk-in-interaction. In standard grammar, *savoir* ('to know') is described as a transitive verb. In spoken language, however, the complement of *savoir* in 2nd person singular is often not realised. Without its complement, *tu sais* can occur in various positions within a turn-constructive unit. Prior research has shown that the change in position entails a change in function. I adopt the approach of Interactional Linguistics to demonstrate that position is not the only relevant factor when it comes to *tu sais*. Analysing 43 French conversations, I show that the activities speakers are involved in and the degree of morpho-phonological reduction of *tu sais* may also be decisive factors for how *tu sais* contributes to the organization of social interaction. The non-reduced forms occur in activities where knowledge is negotiated whereas the reduced forms occur during assessment activities.

1. Introduction

The French verb *savoir* (Eng. *to know*) is, according to standard grammar, a transitive verb, which usually selects a noun phrase, an infinitive or a complement clause introduced by a complementiser (Franckel 1987: 46). In everyday spoken language, however, the complement of *savoir* in second person singular (and plural) is often not realised. In my corpus, *tu sais* ('you know') has a high variability in position within a turn and/or a turn-constructive unit (TCU), is often morpho-phonologically reduced, and its projection range and orientation (prospective or retrospective) depend on its position. Together with the high frequency of the construction, the abovementioned characteristics lead to the assumption that *tu sais* may be subject to grammaticalization (cf. Schneider 2007: 86; Bybee 2006).

Grammaticalization in general has been discussed thoroughly in the past few decades (Auer & Günthner 2003; Brinton 1996; Diewald 1999; Günthner & Mutz 2004; Hopper 1996; Lehmann 1991, 2015; Traugott & Heine 1991a, 1991b). The construction *tu sais* has been investigated, mostly from the angle of grammaticalization, not only in French (Andersen 1997, 2007; Détrie 2012; Schneider 2007) but also in other languages, like Italian *sai* (Bazzanella 2001), Spanish *sabes* (Briz 1998) or English *you know* (Östman 1981; Jucker & Smith 1998), where it exhibits a similar tendency towards routinization.

It is not the goal of this article to prove whether *tu sais* grammaticalises or not. The main interest is rather to determine how speakers use *tu sais* as an interactional device during specific social activities. Previous literature states that *tu sais* has grammaticalised but draws this conclusion mostly from its use within single utterances, taken out of context. The specific activities that interactants

are involved in are rarely discussed. In my data, however, these activities (such as assessment or explanation activities), seem to be decisive for the function of *tu sais*. This indicates that the variability in function derives from the contingencies of each individual situation of use (cf. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 22). I therefore argue that speakers accomplish different actions with *tu sais* not necessarily depending on its position in the TCU, as stated by previous research, but depending on the ongoing activity and on the degree of morpho-phonological reduction. The analysis will show that the degree of morpho-phonological reduction of the construction – the non-reduced form (*tu sais*, 'you know') vs. the reduced form (*t'sais*, 'y'know') – tends to correlate with two types of interactional activities. The non-reduced forms occur in environments where knowledge is negotiated. The reduced forms occur in environments of assessments.

In what follows, I first present the research framework of the study (Chapter 2) and provide a short overview of prior research on *tu sais* (Chapter 3). This is followed by a quantitative analysis of the construction's position in the TCU and a qualitative analysis of reduced and non-reduced forms (Chapter 4). A concluding discussion then summarises the main findings of the paper and briefly outlines further research desiderata (Chapter 5).

2. Research approach

The article examines the use of *tu sais* in naturally occurring talk-in-interaction. Spoken language in its 'natural ecology' provides a context where speech is delivered in most spontaneous ways. This requires the speakers' *on-line* planning of upcoming talk and permanent orientation to the interlocutor(s). The constant orientation to and negotiation of upcoming talk itself requires speakers to resort to a grammatical structure which is at the same time tool and product of the turn-taking machinery (cf. Sacks 1992).

The temporal understanding of language and grammar may explain the usage of *tu sais* in various positions within a TCU. According to Interactional Linguistics, grammar and interaction are closely interwoven in everyday talk (Ochs et al. 1996; Schegloff 1996; Thompson et al. 2015). The concepts that underlie the grammar-in-interaction approach are *on-line syntax* (Auer 2005; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 363) and *emergent grammar* (Hopper 1987; Ono & Thompson 1995). The former, *on-line syntax*, emphasises the temporality of talk-in-interaction. The latter, *emergent grammar*, assumes that grammar unfolds while speakers are in the process of talking. Speakers thus mutually adapt their utterances to the interactional needs and tasks of the moment.

Essential for *emergent grammar* is the idea of projection. Projection pertains to the ways linguistic devices, for instance *tu sais*, provide clues about upcoming actions or grammatical devices. Auer defines projection in general as "the fact

that an individual action or part of it foreshadows another" (2003: 2). Auer (2003) differentiates between projection in interaction (a first pair part foreshadowing a second pair part) and projection in grammar (e.g., a possessive pronoun foreshadowing the possessable). The idea of projection suggests, however, that there are "fundamental common features shared by interaction and grammar" (Auer 2003: 1) as well as a mutual influence. The use of a specific grammatical format in a specific position is motivated and shaped by the interactional purposes of the moment. Vice versa, some grammatical formats develop and routinise because of their frequent use for the same interactional purpose (on frequency, see Bybee 2006 and Bybee & Hopper 2001). *On-line syntax, emergent grammar, and projection* may be crucial for understanding *tu sais* in interaction. On the one hand, speakers accomplish specific actions that emerge from the situation itself and serve particular purposes, such as, for instance, mobilising the recipient's reaction with *tu sais* by referring to shared knowledge. On the other hand, one can observe that specific contexts, such as assessment activities (Goodwin & Goodwin 1992) – which are less related to knowledge – seem to enhance the use of the morpho-phonologically reduced form, *t'sais*.

3. Research on *tu sais*

Previous research on *tu sais* has often mentioned contextual and morpho-phonological aspects of the construction but their relation to the function of the construction has rarely been the centre of analysis. The fact that function, position, and morpho-phonological reduction often are related to routinised complement-taking predicates in French has been demonstrated for some constructions (Jacquin 2017, Pekarek Doehler 2016, 2019). Pekarek Doehler (2016) has shown for *je sais pas* (Engl. 'I don't know') that, in its reduced form (*chais pas*), the construction's function varies depending on its position within a turn and on the action format. *Je crois* ('I believe') (Blanche-Benveniste & Willems 2007; Schneider 2007) or *tu vois* ('you see') (Bolly 2010, 2012; Détrie 2010) show a similar tendency concerning the relation between position and function. When it comes to *tu sais* much less has been investigated so far.

In his corpus study, Schneider (2007) analyses *tu sais* (and several similar verbal constructions) in spoken French, Spanish and Italian within the pragmatic framework of *mitigation* (Caffi 1999). Using primarily quantitative methods and a text-corpus of transcriptions of spoken language (with restricted access to the recordings), he concentrates on the syntactic and prosodic realisation that influences the pragmatic role of those constructions. He understands complement-taking predicates like *tu sais*, *je sais pas* and *je crois* as *reduced parenthetical clauses* (hereinafter *RPC*), which he defines as follows:

Their position is free and there is no overt syntactic link between them and the host sentence or parts of it. They are related [...] only by adjacency and by the fact that their missing argument can be recovered from the host. [...] [T]hey are optional. They are pragmatically connected to it [the host sentence] (Schneider 2007: 1).

This syntactic categorization covers many formal aspects, characterizing *tu sais* in spoken language as a particle-like, phatic device that, according to Schneider's (2007) analyses, reduces the speaker's claim to the truth (*ibid.* 2). He states that *tu sais* can refer to or claim the recipient's knowledge or attention (*cf. ibid.*: 130ff; *cf.* also Andersen 2007). His approach and the vast amount of constructions and languages he analyses do not leave space, however, for a more contextual analysis of the examples. What the approach of Interactional Linguistics can contribute to his findings is to take into account not only the temporal unfolding of the sequences that *tu sais* occurs in but also the actions that speakers accomplish with the TCUs that contain *tu sais*. A second point that could be furthered is the analysis of the interactional function in relation to the morpho-phonological realisation of *tu sais*. Schneider (2007) proposes an insightful overview of various constructions in three languages (*cf.* Schneider 2007: 168-177), thus creating many possibilities for a detailed qualitative analysis of each individual construction. What can be added to his research is thus a more systematic analysis of the relation between the morpho-phonological reduction, the activity interlocutors are involved in and the function of *tu sais*, by looking in detail into the sequential environment of its use.

Andersen (1997, 2007) investigates the relation between position in the turn and the function of *tu sais*. Working with oral data, she investigates a variety of types of interactions (e.g., institutional, private, multi-party). She shows that position and function are closely intertwined: *Tu sais* in TCU-beginnings can mark the beginning of a new topic or introduce new information, which Andersen (2007) calls *tu sais* "à l'antéposition" (*tu sais* 'in anteposition'). In this case it is often accompanied by a "disruption in the syntactic structure of the utterance" (1997: 191, my translation)¹. The reader, however, often does not know what precedes the given utterance, as the analyses are mostly based on single turns and not on a sequence. In the middle of a turn it is used as a synonym to *comme tu le sais / comme vous le savez* (Eng. *as you* (2nd person singular and plural) *know it*) (Andersen 2007: 19 ff). In her earlier work, Andersen (1997) notes that the medial position is restricted to certain places within the clause. Possible places are directly after a subordinating conjunction like *parce que* ('because'), between a nominal phrase and its relative clause and before an adverb (*ibid.*: 191f). In final position, it closes the turn and hands it over to the next speaker (*ibid.* 192). Andersen's (1997, 2007) main research interest is to show that *tu sais* has grammaticalised and that it has lost its role of subordinating a complement clause. That *tu sais* has a turn-taking function is stated as a result (Andersen 2007: 26). This result could be strengthened by conducting more in-depth analyses of more contextual and prosodic features of *tu sais* and its sequential environment, which is something I do in the present study.

Détrie (2012) focusses on a more 'global' function of *tu sais* – the establishment of intersubjectivity. Working with spoken language, she states that *tu sais*

¹ Andersen uses the same example in both texts, 1997 and 2007.

creates "a strong interpersonal relation" (2012: 8, my translation) (*cf. ibid.* 6). She concludes as follows:

Tu sais / vous savez exhibits the intersubjective space: by supposing the synchronization of knowledge, by suggesting its covalidation or by inviting its sharing, the particle discreetly reminds us that what is said is built in the intersubjective space of the interlocution itself, which is above all a *co-locution* [...]. (Détrie 2012: 10, my translation, original emphasis)

Focussing on the knowledge that interlocutors manage and share by using *tu sais* (*ibid.*: 4), one of the primary tasks that interlocutors accomplish is, according to Détrie (2012), to work on the alignment of this knowledge. One reason for Détrie's reaching this conclusion may be that many of the conversations she analyses seem to be institutional (or at least formal) interactions, since the interlocutors use the form of politeness *vous savez* (2nd person plural). This formal usage in her work is parallel to the function of the non-reduced form of *tu sais* in my corpus. The morpho-phonologically reduced form, however, is almost nonexistent in her corpus (3 of her 137 cases). This might be indicative of the formal nature of the data analysed, where spontaneous informal interactions were missing.² I will show that *tu sais*, especially in its morpho-phonologically reduced form, can have other functions in interaction than the management of knowledge between interlocutors.

Completing existing research, this article proposes an interactional analysis of *tu sais*. This includes the investigation of *tu sais* within its interactional context by taking into account its position in the TCU and the sequence as well as the larger activity context where it occurs. This approach allows me to analyse how interlocutors orient to *tu sais* as an interactional device. I will show that the construction does not only refer to knowledge – thus pursuing alignment – but that it is also a device to mobilise the recipients' affiliation in assessment sequences. The two concepts of affiliation and alignment are here defined as follows: Affiliation is a display of convergent affective stance, whereas alignment describes the production of the preferred next relevant action (*cf. Stivers 2008* on alignment and affiliation in storytelling). It will become clear that in *all* three positions within the TCU (TCU-initial, -internal, and -final), *tu sais* is a device to solicit the recipient's reaction. What actions these reactions carry out, however, depends on the activity interlocutors are involved in.

4. Empirical analyses

4.1 Data and quantitative results

The corpus comprises all occurrences of *tu sais* in the CIEL-F corpus³. The corpus contains 193 conversations involving various numbers of participants

² The corpus was recorded in 2000, which excludes the potential reason of the non-existence of *t'sais* at that time, since Andersen's (1997, 2007) corpus was established even earlier.

³ *Corpus International Écologique de la Langue Française*. For further information see: <http://www.ciel-f.org/>. The corpus is the result of a cooperation between ICAR (Lyon), VALIBEL (Louvain-La-Neuve), MoDyCo (Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense), the *Laboratoire de Linguistique Romane* in Halle-Wittenberg and the *Hermann Paul School of Linguistics* in Freiburg im Breisgau.

and in various contexts: institutional settings, interviews, team gatherings, as well as informal conversations between friends and family⁴. All data is audio only and has been transcribed according to the GAT2 conventions (Selting *et al.* 2009, see Appendix). There are 102 cases of *tu sais* in the corpus. I included all types of conversations, institutional as well as private conversations. The total amount of 102 occurrences of *tu sais* occurs in only 43 of these 193 recordings (*vous savez* occurs 62 times in 31 recordings). From those 102 occurrences, 18 introduce a complement clause introduced by the complementiser *que* ('that') or an interrogative pronoun. 82 cases do *not* have a complement and two *tu sais* have been excluded from the collection because of bad audibility. There were no occurrences of *tu sais* + object pronoun (e.g., *tu le sais*, 'you know it'). The high number of cases without complement show that in 2nd person singular indicative *tu sais* only rarely functions as a complement-taking predicate.

As I am looking into the relation between morpho-phonological reduction, the activity speakers are involved in and the use of *tu sais* some additional numbers are important. Of the 82 cases with good audibility, 35 are non-reduced and 47 reduced. 32 of the non-reduced occurrences are used by the participants as they negotiate epistemic status and stance, whereas only 3 cases are related to assessment activities. The 47 reduced forms occur 29 times during assessment activities, 18 during activity-contexts related to the negotiation of epistemic status and stance. I chose to look further into the contrast between the two groups at the outer edges of a continuum: the group with the lowest degree of morpho-phonological reduction, which has mostly kept the original semantics of *savoir* ('to know'), and the group with the highest degree of morpho-phonological reduction during activities where knowledge plays a less prominent role.

Previous literature has often concentrated on the position of *tu sais* in TCUs (see Chapter 3). In this article I want to show that this feature is not the only one that is important to determine the function of *tu sais*. To demonstrate that my corpus is comparable to the data used in previous research, it seems nevertheless useful to provide similar numbers. The 82 tokens without complement are found in different positions, as the following figure shows:

⁴ The restricted access I have to the corpus unfortunately does not allow me to see the total hours of recordings.

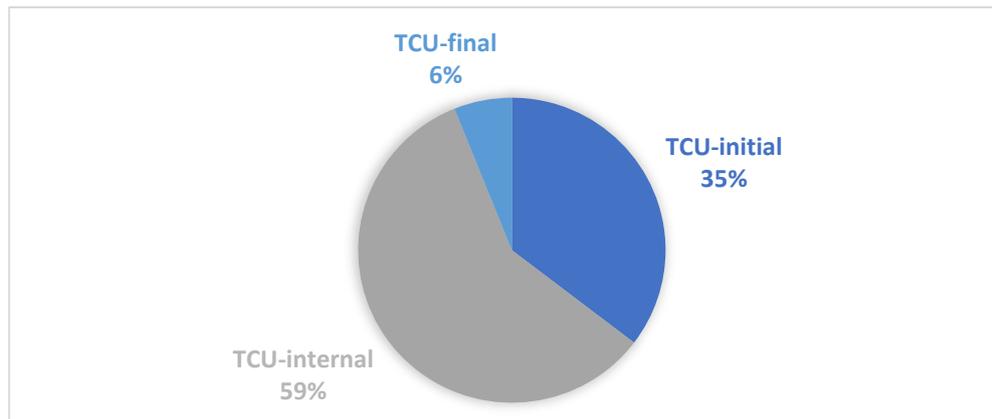


Fig. 1 Position of *tu sais* (n=82) in the TCU

The figure shows that, in line with previous research, the TCU-internal occurrence is the most frequent one, whereas the TCU-final occurrence is rather sparse. The initial forms also include cases that are preceded by a (modal) particle (*enfin*, approx. 'well' / *donc*, approx. 'so') (n=6), or *ben*, approx. 'well' (n=4). In what way prefacing particles like 'enfin' influence the function of *tu sais* will be briefly addressed in the discussion. Final *tu sais* (n=5) is not frequent, and in three of five cases the same speaker continues his / her turn with a new TCU. The most frequent occurrence of *tu sais* is in the middle of a TCU (n=43).

In general, the position between two noun phrases (example a below) or an adverbial phrase and a nominal phrase (example b) is the most frequent one, together with the position between a verbal and a nominal phrase (example c). There are five cases where *tu sais* is even placed within an adverbial phrase. In all of these cases speakers search for a specific name or word (example d). Even though in examples b and c *tu sais* is placed between two syntactically complete units, I consider the whole utterance as being one TCU, in line with Steensig (2011). He characterises TCUs, following Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), as being "basic in turn-taking in that the completion of a turn-constructional unit is understood as a *transition-relevance place*" (Steensig 2011: 499). Syntactically speaking, there may be completion points in examples b and c. On a prosodic level, however, no completion is projected. Speakers rush through their talk without pauses, in- or outbreaths, and interlocutors do not try to take the turn during these stretches of talk. In line with Tanaka (1999), I prioritise, when considering a TCU, prosodic over syntactic information. The utterances in examples b and c (and a) are produced as one intonation unit⁵ with focal accents at the end of the utterance. This is why I consider them as forming one TCU with *tu sais* being inserted between two syntactically complete parts⁶.

⁵ That means utterances under "a single coherent intonation contour" (Du Bois et al. 1992: 17).

⁶ For further discussion about how prosody contributes to syntactic completion see Ford and Thompson (1996).

- a) DE: mais mOI je pense qu'il y a des gens **tu sais** <<all>nous enfin
but me I think that there are people you know we PRT
 moi> je: je je laisse mon message-
me I I I leave my message
 (fra_coral169__ftelpv01)
- b) CH: il partait à ↑pied=**t'sais** il ferme sa ↑PORte et: euh-
he was leaving on foot y'know he closes his door and uh
 (fra_coral013__ffamdI01)
- c) CH: <<all>j'ai quand même des> trucs à <<all<faire=**t'sais** il était
I have things to do though y'know it was
 cinq heures et demi> six HEUres;⁷
half past five six o'clock
 (fra_coral013__ffamdI01)
- d) AN: en Provence.
in Provence
 <<all>à à **tu SAIS**> à VENTabren,=
in in you know in Ventabren
 à VENTabren;
in Ventabren
 (fra_coral125__fpubmn05)

4.2 Qualitative analysis

Tu sais has, in this corpus, one main interactional function: It solicits the recipient's reaction. The involvement of the recipient is a means of creating intersubjectivity, definable as "shared understanding between social actors" (Raymond 2019: 182). Depending on the activity, showing 'shared understanding' is designed differently by the recipients: It can be related to knowledge or to an affective stance. I argue that the non-reduced form, *tu sais*, and the reduced form, *t'sais*, occur during different activities.

In the first part of the qualitative analysis I show that the non-reduced form is used in contexts where the epistemic status (Heritage 2012a, Heritage 2012b, Heritage & Raymond 2005) of interlocutors is unclear and needs to be verified or balanced by the speaker. *Tu sais* is used, for example, to mark issues that an interlocutor has or is supposed to have epistemic access to, which is then confirmed through a response from the recipient (see examples 1 and 2). In other cases, *tu sais* refers specifically to knowledge that the interlocutor is not able to access (see example 4). In this case, *tu sais* aims to establish

⁷ The verbal phrase in this example is not "j'ai" ('I have') but "j'ai à faire" ('I have to do') which corresponds to the meaning of 'I must'.

intersubjectivity with recipients who do not have the same epistemic status as the speaker.

In the second part of the qualitative analysis, I demonstrate that the morpho-phonologically reduced form is used during assessment activities. When speakers assess a situation, take a stance or make publicly available their opinion, an affiliative reaction is usually projected. *Tu sais* is used by speakers to invite this affiliative reaction.

4.2.1 *Tu sais* in the context of knowledge: calibrating different epistemic statuses

In the first example *tu sais* maintains its original semantics by referring to the interlocutor's world knowledge. GR describes her holiday in Algeria. She tells PR about her visit at a market in Sali and that she wanted to buy some kind of drum (04)⁸ but she cannot remember the exact word for it. *Tu sais* is used to request explicitly the recipient's help in a word-search activity:

- Example 1: tam-tam

(sais0383, fra_coral024__ffamd112)

- 01 GR: °hh et::: donc là je <<acc>!LÀ! j'avais rien acheTÉ>,
and PRT there I there I hadn't bought anything
- 02 mais après j'avais été au_mh:: dans Sa↑li là la
but afterwards I had been at in Sali PRT the
station où on éTAIT,
facility where we were
- 03 PR: mh mh.
- 04 GR: °h acheter un:: (--) ((click)) (-)
to buy a
- 05 <<pp>comment ça s'appelle>?
how is it called?
- 06 (1.6)
- 07 tu ↑sais pour taPER là;
you know to beat PRT
- 08 [la musique;]
the music
- 09 PR: [un tam-TAM,]
a tom-oam
- 10 GR: ouais voilà un_petit tam-tAm pour la peTite;
yes that's it a small tom-tom for the little one

After mentioning another market where GR didn't buy anything (01 and preceding sequence, which is not shown here), she comes to the description of the market of Sali (02). Both TCUs are delivered fluently. After a continuer by PR (03), GR

⁸ Numbers in parenthesis refer to line numbers in the transcripts.

expands her preceding turn with an infinitive construction (04) that projects the object she bought. At this point her telling activity is interrupted by a pause and a click (04) both indicating that she searches for the correct word. The explicit question about the drum's name (05) is uttered very quietly and with 'thinking voice' which does not make an answer relevant – as the absence in PR's reaction also demonstrates (06). GR then delivers a further explanation, which is introduced by *tu sais* (07, 08). The private word search thereby becomes a joint project. *Tu sais* has two recognizable syllables here although it is produced with higher speed. The clear distinction of the two words in pronunciation indicates that there are still two constituents: *Tu* ('you') as addressing the interlocutor and *sais* ('know') as referring to knowledge. The explicit interlocutor's solicitation leads to PR's delivering the term that GR is looking for (09) even before GR has finished her description (see the overlap in 08 and 09). It is only after PR's help in the word search activity that the conversation continues fluently with GR's confirmation (10). *Tu sais* functions, in this example, as an "exhortative and appellative formula that actively involves the interlocutor" (Briz 1998: 225, my translation), mobilised to guarantee the unproblematic continuation of the interaction.

In the second example, GR is talking about her holiday in Senegal, more precisely about the special events in the hotel where she stayed. Like in the first example, the speaker is involved in a searching activity but without explicitly soliciting the recipient's help as *tu sais* is positioned after the specific word that GR has been looking for. Due to the non-convergence of epistemic access to the information GR is looking for (about an event that she attended, not her interlocutor), she cannot solicit PR's knowledge:

- Example 2: danses du Sénégal

(sais0382, fra_coral024__ffamd112)

- 01 GR: et après il y avait toujours des animaTIONS,
and then there were always animations
- 02 et un sOir on a eu les danses_euhm::: les danses du
and one evening there were the dances the dances from
 (---) du SÉNÉGAL,=
from Senegal
- 03 =et puis de: de CasaMANCE <<all>tu sAis>,
and then from Casamance you know
- 04 PR: 'ah 'ouais ouais OUAIS-
oh yeah yeah yeah

In 01 and 02 she is describing the evening program: African dances from Senegal were performed. The pause and the lengthening in 02 already show that GR has some trouble concerning the projected attribute to describe the dances. After having uttered *Sénégal* (02) she very rapidly adds a second bit of information and names the region of Casamance, which is in the South of Senegal. GR cannot assume that PR is familiar with this geographical indication,

- 12 ST: et en FAIT-
and in fact
- 13 ce qui me gÊne c'est QUE-:
what bothers me is that
- 14 (0.5)
- 15 tu_SAIS euh:-
you know
- 16 bOn des fois_je_fais des petites BLA:gues:-
well sometimes I make little jokes
- 17 [t'sais on] dirait pas TROP euh-
you know one wouldn't really say
- 18 JE: [((rit))]
(laughs)
- 19 ST: que c'est sér[ieux QUO]I;
that it's serious PRT
- 20 JE: [mouais;]
myeah
- 21 ST: °hh et euh: j'ai trop pris l'habitude de ÇA, (-)
and I got too much used to that
- 22 et là celle-LÀ-
and here this one here
- 23 mais c'est vraiment pAs du tOUt sÉRIEUX quoi;
but it's really not serious at all PRT

The whole segment is under the projective force of lines 02 and 13, which indicate that something bothers ST. She became used to making jokes in her university work, which leads to her last paper being possibly perceived as not serious at all (23). After the repetition of the projective utterance in 13, *tu sais* marks the beginning of a side-sequence that accounts for what follows. In 17 and 19 she delivers a negative self-assessment, hedged with the conditional verb form (*dirais*, 'would say') and the *pas trop* ('not really'). This is not surprising, considering that the activity of self-deprecation that is going on is possibly delicate. The account itself (16) is downgraded by adding a temporal restriction (*des fois*, 'sometimes') and an attribute to the jokes she makes (*petites*, 'little'). With the accounting comes another function of *tu sais* which I argue is related to its morpho-phonological realisation. *Tu sais* in 15 – compared to *t'sais* in 17 – is very accented and clearly pronounced as two syllables. Sequentially, it marks a restart after the syntactically incomplete utterance in 13 and opens a side sequence. At the same time, it refers to a shared knowledge that the interlocutor confirms with laughter (18).

The activity of self-deprecation, the account that projects a reaction, and the use of *tu sais* prepare the ground for 21 to 23. After the long preparatory sequence, GR finally utters what bothers her: A specific paper that she had to hand in could be perceived as 'not serious'.

The following example is slightly different, although it is also related to knowledge: LE has knowledge about his past whereas EL, who is primarily asking questions during the conversation, does not have access to what LE describes. Even if *tu sais* is here uttered in a non-reduced form it cannot refer to shared knowledge. I argue that, in this case, it fishes for a confirmation of understanding of the description that follows (07-10). LE tells EL about the parties and projects with his friends that he had when he was young. At that time, his friends were like family to him (11) and they spent many weekends together in a big house in the countryside.

- Example 4: week-ends de fous

(sais0388, fra_coral026__ffamd114)

- 01 EL: un ↑plan là qui te: qui te ressurGIT-
a plan PRT that comes to your mind
- 02 LE: ah des tonnes des PLANS;
oh tons of plans
- 03 <<pp>on s'est FAIT>-
we made
- 04 EL: bon particulièrement_marquANT [un week-end de 'FOU_euh;]
well particularly memorable a weekend of craziness
- 05 LE: [les nouveaux ANS]-
new year's eves
- 06 des week-ends de <<creaky>fous on s'en est fait tellement>-
weekends of craziness we had a so many of them
- 07 °hh tu_sais c'est des week-ends entIERS-
you know that's entire weekends
- 08 puis on est tellement nombREUX,
and there are so many of us
- 09 <<acc>et on est tellement proches les uns les AUTres,
and we are so close to each other
- 10 c'est comme une Énorme faMILLE,=
it's like a huge family
- 11 =c'était ma faMILLE>;
it was my family

What LE describes is a personal experience that eludes EL's knowledge as he has not been part of this circle of friends. The description starts after EL's request for further information (01 and 04) about one specifically great weekend. LE specifies that there has not been only one of those weekends but a lot of them (*tellement*, 'so many', 06). A long inbreath then precedes an explanatory multi-unit-turn. Lines 07-11 are only the beginning of a long sequence that also provides the actual reason for these party weekends: His parents punished him for everything all the time, so he had to party somewhere else and with his group of friends who replaced his family. When his parents then kicked him out of the house, these weekends became very frequent (not shown in the transcript). LE clarifies that he is not capable of choosing one specific 'crazy weekend' to

describe because there were too many of them (06). He specifies their general character in 07 to 10, thus providing an account for his positive assessment: They spent the whole weekend (07), there were a lot of people (08), and they were very close (09), like family (10). With these characterizations of the weekends, LE delivers, for the second time in a short sequence, an upgrade of what EL has already marked as "unique" (02 and 06), thereby demonstrating his epistemic authority. *Tu sais* marks the beginning of a turn-extension and introduces an explanatory sequence, which provides an account for LE's upgrade in 06 (*des week-ends de fous on s'en est fait tellement*, 'crazy weekends we had so many of them'). The assessment activity does, however, not seem to be in the foreground here as EL does not react to LE's telling and LE does not show any signs of pursuing affiliation with his assessment. The next turn from EL will only be another question (not shown in the transcript).

Concerning the interactional function of *tu sais*, the analysis so far has shown that the non-reduced form of the construction refers to the recipient's knowledge. Depending on the accessibility of knowledge, a response is delivered by the recipient or not. If *tu sais* occurs in a TCU with information that is unknown to the recipient, no alignment is delivered by the recipient, nor does the speaker claim one (example 4). If, however, knowledge is considered being shared or common, an alignment is delivered by the recipient.

4.2.2 *Tu sais* in assessment sequences: soliciting affiliation

In chapter 4.2.1 I have shown that non-reduced *tu sais* is used in contexts of knowledge, mostly to solicit the recipient's reaction. In its full form, *tu sais* keeps partly its original semantics. Independently from its position, speakers use it as a mobile device to obtain help in a word search or confirmation for something that cannot be assumed to be common ground. The only exception, where *tu sais* does not solicit a (at least verbal) reaction, is when there is a clear imbalance of epistemic access to some information (see example 4).

In this second section, the focus lies on the reduced form *t'sais* ('y'know'). It occurs primarily during assessment activities and has the primary function of fishing for affiliation.

In example 5, three friends talk about a book from an author that they all know and whose books they have read. *T'sais* occurs in the TCU where PE takes a stance regarding one specific book (03).

- Example 5: retour cyclique⁹

(sais0267, fra_coral009__ffamcv09)

- 01 PE: et dans (.) tOUs les: les LIVres,
and in all the the books
- 02 (-)
- 03 PE: je trouve qu'il y a !VACHE!ment †t'sAIS_↓un espèce de
I think that there is really y'know some sort of
retour cycLIQUE[_euh::;]
cyclic return
- 04 ST: [ouais-]
yeah
- 05 JE: [hm_HM;]
- 06 PE: des endrOits: et des chOses et des GENS <<pp>quoi>;
of places and of things and of people PRT
- 07 (--)

The use of *tu sais* in this example is twofold: It prefaces the rhematic part of the formulation work PE does on her opinion and is, at the same time, an attention-getting device. PE elaborates that she sees a cyclical return of a specific phenomenon in all of the author's novels (03 and 06). After a short pause in 02 she continues her assertion from 01 by reshaping it more as an assessment by adding *vachement* ('really')¹⁰. *Je trouve* ('I find') (03) projects PE's opinion about the object of her assertion, which is delivered at the end of the turn (*retour cyclique*, 'cyclic return', 03). *Tu sais* is inserted between the intensifying adverb *vachement* ('really', 03) and the modalizing attribute *un espèce de* ('some sort of', 03). *Tu sais* thus reformulates or reorients the upcoming utterance from a very convinced stance intensified by 'vachement' to a hedged one.

The reason behind this reformulation may be preference. As PE assesses an object that all interlocutors have the (epistemic) right to assess themselves, she formats her assessment to obtain affiliative responses. Even though minimal, ST and JE deliver this affiliative response by coming in with acknowledgment tokens in 04 and 05. A signal for *t'sais* being routinised is that PE uses the singular form even though she has two interlocutors. The fact that she does not use the plural *vous savez*, and that both interlocutors react to the singular form *t'sais* demonstrates the degree of routinization in this particular case.

⁹ Andersen (1997) argues that, in relation to the use of *tu sais*, "a place within a syntagm" (*ibid.*: 192, my translation) is – compared to parentheticals in first person singular – not possible. She gives the following example: "Il n'y a plus, je pense, de places disponibles" versus "?Il n'y a plus, tu sais, de places disponibles" (*ibid.*). This shows that the use of certain constructions is highly context-bound. Andersen uses primarily formal or institutional data-like interviews (*cf.* 1997: 14f). In informal conversation, however, the place of *tu sais* may vary more as example 4 demonstrates.

¹⁰ According to Vatanen "assertion turns [...] typically [...] also includ[e] some type of stance or attitudinal expression (evaluation) in the utterance." (2014: 201, cited in Thompson 2019: 267).

PE introduces with *je trouve* (Eng. lit. 'I find') a personal opinion that she thus makes available for her interlocutors. The context of the sequence, which is providing the recipients with an information that is initially exclusive (as a personal opinion), projects a reaction. ST and JE both deliver – in overlap with the end of PE's utterance (03) – aligning responses (04 and 05). Placing *t'sais* in the middle of a TCU that makes an opinion publicly available completes what has been found about preference organization. Speakers prefer alignment and affiliation during assessment activities (Goodwin & Goodwin 1987, Goodwin & Goodwin 1992, Pomerantz 1978, 1984). This may be one reason why *t'sais* is used: to reinforce the projection of a preferred reaction.

Example 6 illustrates example 3 with a focus on the second occurrence of *t'sais* in 17 (the following example is, compared to example 3, extended at the end, and edited at the start).

- Example 6: petites blagues 2

(sais0260, fra_coral009__ffamcv09)

- 12 ST: et en FAIT-
and in fact
- 13 ce qui me gêne c'est QUE-:
what bothers me is that
- 14 (0.5)
- 15 tu_SAIS euh:-
you know
- 16 bOn des fois_je_fais des petites BLA:gues:-
well sometimes I make little jokes
- 17 [t'sais on] dirait pas TROP euh-
y'know one wouldn't really say
- 18 JE: [((rit))]
((laughs))
- 19 ST: que c'est sér[ieux QUO]I;
that it's serious PRT
- 20 JE: [mouais;]
myeah
- 21 ST: °hh et euh: j'ai trop pris l'habitude de ÇA, (-)
and I got too much used to that
- 22 et là celle-LÀ-
and here this one here
- 23 mais c'est vraiment pAs du tOUT sÉRIEUX quoi;
but it's really not serious at all PRT
- 24 JE: <<laughing>c'est la débâdAde.>
it's a disaster
- 25 ST: ah ouais-
oh yeah
- 26 on on dirait un boulot pour une copINE quoi;
one one would say some work for a friend PRT

Tu sais occurs, again, during an assessment. In 17, *t'sais* ('y'know') marks the beginning of a TCU delivering an outer perspective on ST's own behaviour. She uses the third person singular pronoun *on*, expressing a 'neutral' community (*on dirait pas trop euh que c'est sérieux quoi*, 'one wouldn't really say that it's serious, 17 and 19). After a minimal response from JE (20) to ST's negative self-assessment in 17 and 19, ST delivers another account for 22 and 23 – that she became too used to making jokes in her homework for the university. 22 ties back to what was initially discussed (02): that something bothers her (which is also what leads to this whole sequence in the first place). She finally says that one *specific* paper is not serious *at all* (or might be perceived as such by the professor reading it). Note that in 17 and 18 she chooses a different, more hedged formulation (*on dirait pas trop que c'est sérieux*, 'one wouldn't really say that it's serious'), which makes of 23 an upgrade of the original assessment. The use of the demonstrative pronoun *celle-là* ('this one', 22) shows that there is shared knowledge about which specific paper she refers to.

Since ST produces a negative assessment about herself, the *tu sais* cannot have the function of getting a structurally aligning response, like 'yes you are not serious'. The preferred reaction to a speaker's negative stance about him- or herself would be to contradict it, by displaying a positive stance (Pomerantz 1978, 1984, Golato 2002, 2003, 2005). But JE's reactions remain minimal, so ST continues her turn. Finally, after the upgrade of the negative assessment in 23, JE delivers an affiliative stance by delivering an equally negative assessment (*c'est la débendade*, 'it's a disaster'). The smiling voice, however, marks the assessment as not serious, which prevents ST from understanding JE's utterance as non-ironic.

In contrast to *tu sais* in 15, *t'sais* in 17 is phonologically embedded in the turn and morpho-phonologically more reduced. The latter works as a device projecting a further aspect of ST's argumentation, which is, again, a self-assessment delivered as an assumption about someone else's perception.

In the next example *t'sais* also elicits the recipient's affiliative response. The recipient's reaction demonstrates the shared understanding for the described situation based on a stance that is made available by the speaker. Even though *t'sais* is not in final position, it still functions as a device fishing for a reaction from the interlocutors. The reaction is affiliative: ST herself takes an emotional stance towards the situation she describes.

ST tells PE and JE about a documentary that she saw on TV about mothers who gave away their child just after their birth. The film follows the children years later as adults when they try to find their mothers. The moment ST describes is when those – now adult – children see their mothers again for the first time in years (04):

- Example 7: première rencontre

(sais0271, fra_coral010__ffamcv10)

01 ST: mais c'était assez impressio[NNANT],=
but it was very impressive

02 PE: [hm_HM;]

03 ST: =parce qu'ils les ont suivis avec les caméRAS=-
because they followed them with the cameras

04 =pour la première rencontre et TOUT-
for the first encounter and all that

05 (0.5)

→ 06 ST: t'sais c'é[tait émouVANT-]=
y'know it was touching

07 JE: [puTAIN;]
shit

08 ST: =[moi j'en avais des <<f>frissOns> <<dim>tout le]
 LONG c'était>-
*me I had chills all
 along it was*

09 PE: [oh ouais_ouAIs c'est CLAIR;]
oh yeah yeah of course

10 (-)

11 ST: [atROCE-]
horrible

12 PE: [ça doit_êTRE;]
that must be

The sequence starts with an assessment (01) that PE recognises with an acknowledgement token in 02. In 03 and 04 ST delivers an account for her assessment, which is followed by a transition relevance point (hereafter TRP). Neither PE nor JE take the turn. ST then restarts with *t'sais* that introduces a next, upgraded assessment compared to 01 as it also makes available ST's emotional stance. Just after *t'sais*, JE reacts – in overlap – with a very intense reaction, which marks her affiliative stance and displays emotional involvement. Although ST continues her turn (08), the third person, PE, now comes in and shows affiliation, too (09).

The morpho-phonological reduction of *tu sais* is very advanced. The personal pronoun and the verb only form one syllable, *tsé*, that can only be identified as *tu sais* by its very clear sibilant at the beginning. The two words that form the construction are not recognizable anymore. Speakers may perceive the reduced *tu sais* not as a device activating knowledge (which is the case for the non-reduced forms in chapter 4.2.1) but, together with the assessment activity, as inviting an affiliative response.

4.2.3 A deviant case

Fishing for affiliation in an assessment activity is also the function of *tu sais* in the following excerpt. This example, however, is a slightly different case as *tu sais* occurs in a phonologically full form although the sequence is an assessment-sequence. Here, through the use of *tu sais*, the speaker solicits an affiliative reaction, which is only delivered very late, after pursuit of affiliation by the speaker. The context may be one possible reason why *tu sais* has a double function here: Two colleagues, ES and DE, are talking about the problems that they had at work with their server. As most of the staff does not delete their messages on the server (05), they suppose that it will crash after several days of vacation when nobody deletes his or her messages (01, 04 and 9-15). As ES and DE share knowledge about the assessable (colleagues that they have in common), the situation is delicate. *Tu sais* has the function of making ES participate in DE's assessment activity, by activating their shared knowledge.

- Example 8: le serveur

(sais0598, fra_coral169__ftelpv01)

- 01 ES: *donc_euh à mon avis ou ils arrivent pas à nettoyer*
so in my opinion either they don't manage to clean up
- BIEN <<pp>>ou il faudra trouver parce que ça> ça va*
well or one has to find because this this will
- recrashER pendant les cinq jOURs où ce sera FÉRIÉ là;*
crash again during the five days of holiday PRT
- 02 DE: [ouais-]
yeah
- 03 ES: [mercredi-]
wednesday
- 04 *jeudi vendredi samedi dimanche ↑mh ↓mh.*
thursday friday saturday sunday
- 05 DE: *mais mOI je pense qu'il y a des gENS tu sais*
but me I think that there are people you know
- <<all>nous enfin moi> je: je je laisse mon message-*
we PRT me I I I leave my message
- 06 *avant je laissais plUs les messages sur le serVEUR;*
before I didn't leave my messages on the server anymore
- 07 [mais] *je les laisse sur le serVEUR,*
but I leave them on the server
- 08 ES: [ouais,]
yeah
- 09 DE: *et je les ((bruit)) nEttoie au fur et à meSURE;*
and I ((noise)) clean them up progressively
- [...]
- 13 *et je suis !SÛRE! qu'il_y_a des !GENS! (.) qui*
and I am sure that there are people who
doivent les laisser sur le serVEUR-

(must) leave them on the server

14 ES: °h

15 DE: et qui doivent faire très peu de ménAGE-
and who really don't clean up a lot

16 tu VOIS,
 PRT

17 (0.4)

18 ES: euh [!OUAIS!_mais;]
 uh yeah but

19 DE: [tu VOIS?]
 PRT

Tu sais here bridges a negative other-assessment – which is uttered more directly in 13-15 – with a positive self-assessment in a situation of shared knowledge¹¹. In 01 ES is giving her opinion about why the server is going to crash again during the next days of vacation. She first gives a reason for the possible crash: *ils* ('they') (other colleagues than her and her friend) do not clean the server regularly. With *ouais* (02), ES produces a continuer in overlap, while DE continues her turn.

In 05, DE then clearly marks her personal stance on the topic with *moi* ('me') and *je pense* ('I think'). Note that the format is parallel to the one in example 5: a complement-taking predicate (*je trouve*, 'I find' / *je pense*, 'I think') projecting an assessment or an opinion, the complementiser *que* and *tu sais* inserted in the complement clause, which makes the opinion publicly available. DE's stance is introduced with *mais* ('but', 05), which marks a concessive relation towards ES' possible divergent opinion. DE starts formulating a generalizing distribution of responsibility as she speaks of *des gens* ('people', 05). She then starts a side sequence about her own behaviour with a self-repair (05-09), describing that she now leaves the messages on the server (instead of putting them elsewhere directly) and deletes them progressively. ES still aligns with this informing side-sequence (08). In 13 DE finally utters the negative assessment about others who she assumes to not delete their messages (15). The strong emphasis on *sûre* ('sure') and *gens* ('people') underlines her strong assessment. Until this point, DE has only received aligning reactions from her interlocutor (02, 08). After the assessment with turn-final *tu vois* (approx. 'you see') she finally receives a more elaborate, although disaffiliative, response (18 and onward).

Tu sais is itself not morpho-phonologically reduced as in the preceding example. The construction is, however, phonologically embedded (or "integrated", cf. Auer 1996) into the TCU: What follows *tu sais* is at the same pitch height as the construction itself and the loudness level does not change. 05 forms one ongoing prosodic contour trajectory which is expanded after *tu sais* by an "accent unit" (Auer 1996: 71). The embedding is a possible argument for *tu sais* being tied, like

¹¹ The speakers work at the same office.

a pivot, not only to what precedes but also to what follows: a long parenthesis contrasting DE's own ('positive') behaviour and the others' ('negative') behaviours. ES receipts DE's turn with the continuer *ouais* ('yeah', 08). The description of the others' behaviours continues after this sequence and is closed with turn-final *tu vois* (16).

The difference in the morpho-phonological realisation in example 8 might be linked to the activity being more delicate: DE negatively assesses the people she *and* her interlocutor know. In order to obtain not only an aligning reaction but also affiliation, DE tries to make ES participate in her assessment activity by referring to shared knowledge. As we have seen in chapter 4.2.1, the non-reduced form refers more overtly to knowledge than the reduced form. A more elaborate response is delivered only in 18 after turn-final *tu vois*, which is even repeated in overlap, showing that DE claims a reaction. *Tu vois* is a device marking closure according to Détrie (2010) and Mondada (2004) and for getting the recipient's attention (Détrie 2012). In contrast to *tu sais*, *tu vois* does not refer to knowledge but calls for a display of understanding of DE's argumentation (*cf.* Détrie 2010), which underlines the argument for *tu sais* soliciting the recipient's reaction based on knowledge *and* on affiliation in this specific case.

5. Discussion and conclusion

If we come back to our initial observation that *tu sais* serves specific interactional purposes depending on the interlocutors' activity and the degree of morpho-phonological reduction of *tu sais*, some insights were gained adding to already existing research.

Tu sais plays an important role in the organization of interaction. We have seen that it can solicit the recipient's reaction in a word-search activity thereby referring to the recipient's world knowledge (ex. 1). *Tu sais* can also close a turn or a side-sequence, if the same epistemic status is achieved (ex. 2) or has been checked (ex. 3). It can also be delivered without claiming the recipient's reaction when the epistemic access is limited to the speaker (ex. 4 & 5).

When the speaker is involved in an assessment activity, the reduced form, *t'sais*, can solicit the recipient's affiliative reaction (ex. 6, 7, & 8). Knowledge seems to be secondary here.

Interestingly, these functions are, in these examples, less tied to the position within the TCU than to the activity that participants are involved in. If an assessment activity is in progress, *tu sais* solicits alignment or affiliation, whether it is in TCU-initial or TCU-internal position. In these cases, *tu sais* occurs morpho-phonologically reduced as *t'sais* (except for ex. 8). The non-reduced forms occur during activities where epistemic issues are negotiated and no (or less) emotional stance is involved.

What needs further investigation with a greater amount of data is the relation between the morpho-phonological realisation of *tu sais* and its degree of routinization, as Pekarek Doehler (2016) was able to determine for *je sais pas* ('I don't know') and *chais pas* ('dunno'). One can only speculate about how *tu sais* actually mirrors the result of a grammaticalization process from a complement-taking predicate to a pragmatic particle or discourse marker. What this article was able to show is that different forms of *tu sais* co-exist and that speakers use them for different purposes in everyday talk. This result demonstrates that grammaticalization may not be a linear process of – amongst others – decategorialization and phonological reduction (cf. Lehmann 1989). What I would like to suggest is that *tu sais* has several functions which emerge in real-time, thus serving the speaker's interactional purposes in a very specific moment in conversation. Depending on the activities speakers are involved in *tu sais* can relate more to actual knowledge or serve more interactional purposes, like fishing for affiliation, as my analyses have demonstrated.

What needs to be treated in more detail is the definition of TCU and which features have to be considered for its comprehensive definition. Especially when the position of a device needs to be defined with regards to a TCU, a clear decision of the construction's exact position is not always possible. In this article, position *has* been determined with respect to the TCU. I focussed on prosodic information to decide whether one utterance forms a TCU or not, which is, of course, not the only possibility (for discussion see Steensig 2011). In some cases, *tu sais* is prosodically embedded but syntactically it is placed between two complete units. This might indicate that *tu sais* can also be a transitional device between two utterances.

More generally, the initial position may be problematic as, in three of the four examples in this article, *tu sais* is preceded by a pause, not by the turn of another participant. As the audio-only recordings do not allow us to analyse gaze and gestures, it is difficult to say whether these pauses are filled (e.g., with a nod) or not.

A more systematic analysis of different positions within a TCU that includes cases where *tu sais* is preceded by interactionally relevant particles like *donc* ('so'), *après* ('after'), hesitation markers etc. would also give a deeper insight into the position-function interface that existing research has not shown yet either. Such an analysis would clarify whether participants orient not only to transition-relevance places but also to what happens within a turn. The interactional functions of certain devices (such as particles which indicate closing a turn or tokens projecting dispreferred responses in responses to questions) usually become more relevant in turn-beginnings and -endings because these are the points where turn-taking is negotiated. One could suppose that routinised devices such as *tu sais*, which accomplish several functions depending on the interlocutor's activity, are less relevant for the negotiation of turn-taking within a

turn and even less within a TCU. As we have seen in the analysis, morpho-phonological reduction and the activities interlocutors are involved in seem to be more relevant for the ongoing interaction than the position of *tu sais* within a TCU¹². This also means that, in specific environments, recipients orient to *tu sais* even though turn-taking is not relevant at this point. As we have seen, depending on the ongoing activity, recipients also orient to *tu sais* differently than to *t'sais*. A restriction to one specific activity *and* one position may give further insights into the functioning of *tu sais*.

The mimo-gestural behaviour of interlocutors may also provide further evidence about the function of *tu sais*. This analysis is based on audio-only recordings, which may influence the qualitative analyses. Language-based analysis is often not sufficient (*cf.* Keevallik 2018, Mondada 2016): Some constructions can be found in the same position within a turn and still perform different actions displayed by different mimo-gestural conduct (Pekarek Doehler 2019). A multimodal analysis of constructions such as *tu sais* is therefore necessary in order to fully understand how those specific forms are used in everyday spoken language.

The analysis showed that the construction's position does not necessarily change the function of *tu sais*, but that morpho-phonological realisation and the participants' activity play a crucial role in understanding the use of *tu sais*. It became clear that the degree of routinization is not specifically linked to the position. Instead, there is a correlation between the activity that the speakers are involved in and the formal realisation of *tu sais*: The non-reduced form manages the distribution and verification of knowledge whereas the reduced form elicits affiliation.

The sequentiality of interaction helped to determine the role that *tu sais* plays in everyday talk. Taking into account the context of each occurrence is therefore essential for a more comprehensive understanding of the relation between one specific construction and its function or, on a more general level, between grammar and interaction.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Simona Pekarek Doehler and Ioana-Maria Stoenica for their very helpful comments and suggestions on earlier versions of this article.

I also thank the Romance Department of the University of Freiburg im Breisgau, especially Oliver Ehmer, for providing the data for this article.

¹² As mentioned earlier, the definition of the TCU as an analytical unit remains problematic and has not been always clear to delimit. This is why a more detailed study on the reference unit would be desirable.

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Appendix

GAT-2 Conventions according to Selting *et al.* (2009)

Sequential structure

[]	Overlap
°h / h°	in-breath / outbreath
°hh / hh°	in-breath / outbreath between 0.2 and 0.5 sec.
°hhh / hhh°	in-breath / outbreath between 0.5 and 0.8 sec.
=	latching

Other sequential conventions

:	lengthening (0.2-0.5 sec.)
::	lengthening (0.5-0.8 sec.)
:::	lengthening (0.8-1.0 sec.)

Pauses

(.)	micropause until 0.2 sec.
(-)	short pause (0.2-0.5 sec.)
(--)	pause (0.5-0.8 sec.)
(---)	longer pause (0.8-1.0 sec.)
(2.8)	measured pause
euh euhm bah	hesitations or filled pauses

Accentuation

acctuAtion	focal accent
accentuation	secondary accent
accentu!A!tion	very strong accent

Pitch movement at the end of the intonational phrase

?	rising intonation
,	medium rising intonation
—	constant intonation
;	medium falling intonation
.	falling intonation
↑	small leaps in pitch (rising)
↓	small leaps in pitch (falling)

Reception signals

hm oui ouais non	unisyllabic signals
hm_hm	bisyllabic signals

Laughter

haha hehe hihi	syllabic laughter
((laughs))	description of laughter
<<laughing> >	laughter particles within the utterance with range
<<:-)> soo>	"smile voice"

Interlinear notation and pitch movement

˘so	falling
´so	rising

Change in volume and language speed with range

<<f> >	forte, loud
<<p> >	piano, quiet
<<pp> >	pianissimo, very quiet
<<all> >	allegro, fast
<<dim> >	diminuendo, decreasing in volume
<<acc> >	accelerando, accelerating

Change in voice quality or articulation

<<creaky> >	glottal voice
<<en chuchotant> >	example for a change in voice quality, as indicated

Other conventions

_euh	liaisons within units
((noise))	para- or extralinguistic actions or events
<<coughing> >	para- or extralinguistic actions with range accompanying speech
<<surprised> >	interpreting comments with range
()	non-understandable part without further explanations
(xxx), (xxx xxx)	one or more non-understandable syllables
(chien)	guessed speech
→	reference to the phenomenon in question