Framing Participation Through Repetition:
The Case of a Portuguese Learner in Different Settings

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Abstract: Research in discourse analysis has shed light on the multifaceted presence of repetitions in discourse. This paper adds to this discussion by examining the repetitions in the discourse of a learner of Portuguese in three different settings: the Portuguese language classroom, conversation sessions, and interviews. Data analysis shows that the forms and functions that repetition takes differ within and across settings in both quantitative and qualitative ways. For example, other-repetition predominates in the classroom, whereas self-repetition is more prevalent in the other two settings. From a functional perspective, other-repetitions serve important semiotic functions in the conversations and in the interviews, but there is not evidence of this role in meaning-making processes in the classroom. We also discuss various alignments taken by the learner and the consequences these alignments may have on interaction on both ideational and interpersonal levels. We argue that, through repetitions, participants in interaction frame the way they position themselves in relation to what is said and done as well as in relation to other participants in the interaction. Finally, we discuss pedagogical implications of our findings and suggest ways to make the most of incorporating repetitions in language lessons.

Key Words: discourse analysis, repetition, interaction, footing, Portuguese learner

1. Introduction

A large body of work in discourse analysis (especially Johnstone, *Repetition in Discourse*) has shed light into the multifaceted and pervasive presence of repetitions in institutional and non-institutional discourse. From a formal point of view it has been argued, for example, that far from being trivial linguistic resources, repetitions contain features normally attributed to literary discourse. From a functional standpoint, it is now known that repetitions not only convey referential meanings, but also, and often simultaneously, play a central role in the establishment of relationships among interactants (Heath; Kasper; Tannen 1989). In addition to these textual, ideational, and interpersonal meanings, repetitions are also a key strategy employed by speakers at an intrapersonal level, as they are a central feature in the very semiotic processes developed by speakers.

The goal of this paper is to add to this discussion by examining the repetitions in the discourse of a Spanish-speaking learner of Portuguese. Our data consist of tape recordings of the learner's participation in three different settings: language lessons, conversation sessions, and interviews. We analyze the learner's utterances, showing that the emergence, as well as the forms and functions of repetition in her discourse, vary in important ways within and across the different settings. Furthermore, we discuss different alignments the learner takes, the interactional consequences of those positionings, and the pedagogical implications of our findings.

We will argue that, through repetitions, participants in interaction frame the way they position themselves in relation to what is being talked about as well as in relation to co-interactants. We draw upon Goffman's concept of footing, which is essentially the alignment that participants take up in interaction in relation to themselves, to others, and to what is being

communicated. Goffman argues that participants constantly change their footing, which implies a change in the ways individuals frame communicative events. Repetitions, we argue here, is one recourse speakers may use to indicate how they frame the events they take part in, hence the importance of the examination of repetitions in educational settings.

In the next section we provide an overview of key theoretical and empirical investigations into repetitions.

2. Repetition in Discourse: the Background

The pervasiveness of repetition has been highlighted by many authors, and Johnstone ("An introduction") goes on to argue that all discourse is in fact structured by repetition (212). Repetitions have been traditionally looked at from a literary perspective: in this type of discourse, repetition can be used to create certain effects—in poetry, for example, we often find sounds, words, or strings repeated, each type of repetition conveying a different kind of message or image to the reader.

Another way of putting this is to say that repetitions have an impact on the ways people make meanings. In this respect, Johnstone et al. argue that repetition creates a cognitive effect (12), being one of the ways used by our minds to assimilate information. This view is shared by Merritt, who contends that repetition facilitates rhythm and provides "catch- up" time, allowing longer periods of time for information to be processed (28). Cook (*Language Play*) adds another implication of this feature: according to him, in addition to allowing greater time for processing, repetitions are more predictable and create a more relaxed atmosphere, and are therefore a central feature in language play. Likewise, Tannen ("Repetition in conversation") argues that repetition is a type of spontaneous prepatterning, and that prepatterning and automaticity are

means for speakers to interact, using repetition as a basis for creativity. She also suggests that "there is a universal human drive to imitate and repeat" (215).

Indeed, Heath has identified the presence of repetition in different stages of the process of L1 acquisition in two communities. She establishes a difference, for instance, between the "repetition stage" and another phase labeled "repetition with variation" (91). The author also notes that adults contribute to early stages of language acquisition by repeating and expanding on what is uttered by the young child.

In L2 development, the use of repetition by children can be a way of interacting socially, aiding participation in play, as argued by Rydland and Aukrust. The authors show differences in functions of self- and other-repetition in child L2 discourse: they suggest that self-repetition relates to frequency of oral participation, and other-repetition allows the child to participate in extended discourse in L2.

In sum, all these studies suggest that repetitions serve socio-cognitive functions and it is at times difficult to separate these two levels. In what follows we provide a brief description of the more specific functions of repetition in the literature.

2.1. Functions of Repetitions in Discourse

In her book, *Talking Voices*, Tannen identifies several functions served by repetition in conversation. According to the author, the over-arching function of repetition is the establishment of coherence (3) and of interpersonal involvement in discourse (9). Some examples of repetition in her data are: participatory listenership (59), which shows that the person is listening and accepts what was uttered; ratifying listenership (62), which occurs when the speaker incorporates the repeated phrase into their own narrative; humor (63), which the

author argues is a common function of repetition; savoring (64), through which a speaker appreciates the humor in a situation; stalling (64), a function that allows time to interactants (also identified in several other works, such as Merritt 28); expanding (65), which is the reformulation of an utterance followed by on-going talk; repetition as participation (65), which helps develop the conversation.

Whereas Tannen (ibid) categorizes the functions of repetition under production, comprehension, connection, and interaction, Norrick proposes that these functions should be primarily categorized as functions of second-speaker repetition and functions of same-speaker repetition. Among the former are acknowledgement, concurring, accepting formulation, expressing surprise or disbelief, matching claim, contradicting, correcting, thinking aloud, playing on phrase for humor; the latter include hold floor, bridge in interruption, insure precise understanding, increase coherence, repeat with stress, repeat with expansion.

Johnstone et al. also argue that repetitions serve several purposes, some of which are listed by other researchers as well, such as getting the floor or expressing disagreement (as in Norrick). They also contend that repetitions can preface something and call attention to the prior; it may help memory, and it is used to forestall silence and to avoid ambiguity. Furthermore, Johnstone et al. state that the function of repetition in general is to direct the hearer's attention, which, according to them, accounts for the cognitive utility of repetition to learners (13).

Researchers have placed their emphasis vis-à-vis the interplay between social and cognitive functions of repetitions in different ways. Bennett-Kastor looks at children's narratives and concludes that repetitions are important cohesive devices in these discourses, which in turn fosters social interaction. A similar emphasis is found in Murata's examination of the role of

repetition in turn-taking systems in cross-cultural interactions. Their conclusions point to the fact that repetitions serve important interactional functions in discourse.

O'Connor and Michaels, and Lyster, on the other hand, approach repetition as a means of fostering conceptual understanding. O'Connor and Michaels show the impact of teachers' repetition (and revoicing or reformulation) on students' development of scientific knowledge; Lyster examines teachers' recasts and repetition in L2 classrooms for young learners, concluding that both serve similar functions but that their impact on learners' repairs might differ (a combination of the two proves to be more effective than the former only).

A few studies have attempted to link the social and cognitive functions of repetitions. Barton argues that repetitions in slogans and sayings serve both informational and interactional functions in support groups; Bean and Patthey-Chavez look at three different instructional settings, with different participants, and demonstrate the context-bound nature of repetitions by showing that interactional and cognitive functions of repetitions vary across settings. We will explore this claim in further depth in this study.

In the field of L2 development, this tension is well represented in a few studies. Knox looks at repetition as a strategy for cooperation in conversations between native and non-native speakers. Similarly, Tomlin examines the role of repetition in L2 development and concludes that repetition is "a social act with cognitive consequences" (174). This relationship is explored in further depth by DiCamilla and Anton. In this study, which takes a Vygostkyan perspective, the authors claim that repetition functions as "semiotic mediation" (627) and helps give members of a pair one single voice, thus linking their discourse. Specifically, it is argued that repetition distributes help throughout the task at hand (in their study, a collaborative writing task), and "holds the scaffold in place, as it were, creating a cognitive space in which to work" (627).

Duff also provides empirical and theoretical support towards the claim that repetitions have an impact on both socialization and knowledge construction for L2 learners by "fostering social cohesiveness and communities of learning" (112). Although her analysis focuses on these broader functions of repetitions, it also includes an exploration of 'what' is repeated. This is a stance we will also take in our analysis, and in what follows we survey previous works which offered categorizations of forms of repetitions.

2.2. Types of Repetition

In the literature on repetitions the most common distinction made in terms of type is the one between repeating what is said by oneself, and repeating what is uttered by another speaker. This distinction appears under different names: same-speaker vs. second-speaker repetition (Norrick), self- and allo-repetition (Tannen, Voices), self- and other-repetition (Johnstone et al., Rydland and Aukrust). Tannen also identifies exact repetition, repetition with variation, and paraphrase. Exact repetition, as its name suggests, occurs when the speaker repeats a string *ipsis litteris*. Repetition with variation may be a question that is repeated as a declarative (or vice-versa), a sentence with one word that is modified, and so on (54). Paraphrase, again as expected, occurs when the speaker expresses the same point with different words. Johnstone et al approach this distinction through the use of the categories exact and non-exact (the latter would be equivalent to Tannen's repetition with variation). Key to this debate is the fact that repetition is not imitation (Keenan) and "[e]ven where repetition is exact, the self-same sequences of words take on new meaning in new circumstances, or in the light of what has been done or said before" (Cook, *Language Play* 29).

Another categorization we would like to highlight is the distinction between immediate and displaced repetition (Johnstone, *Repetition in Discourse*), given the importance of the latter in the establishment of textual and social cohesiveness. Also, we believe that from an educational point of view it is important to note whether repetitions are spontaneous (arising from the speaker's own initiative) or obligatory (repetition that is required by regulation or convention). Cushing distinguishes between these two types in another context, but his definitions apply to education as well. Duff (134-135) raises a similar point by arguing that repetitions can be required or sanctioned, prohibited or tolerated. Although this distinction is not always clear-cut, this is an important aspect to be considered in classroom-based research.

3. Context and Methodology

Our data were collected through audiotape recordings of a female native speaker of Peninsular Spanish who was enrolled in the first of a two-term Portuguese for Spanish-speakers course at an American university. The learner, Gloria[1], was a graduate student who had been living in the United States for about 11 years at that point.

The recordings were done in the classroom, at conversation tables, and during interviews with one of the authors. We obtained a total of about 11 hours of recordings, which were transcribed according to the conventions in the Appendix.

Classes took place in a classroom that followed a traditional spatial arrangement, with students facing the professor and not moving from their desks (or moving their desks) during the class. Students interacted almost exclusively with the professor, and only appeared to interact with each other if there was some side comment. Exercises taken from the textbook were conducted in the target language, but more spontaneous interactions (questions, explanations,

etc) were for the most part done in English. The system of taking turns in class was the classical T-S-T-S (teacher-student); the pattern of interaction most often found was Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) (Sinclair and Coulthard).

The conversation sessions took place in a room that resembled a living room, with two sofa-like seats (for two/three people) and a few chairs, where all the participants were able to maintain eye contact while talking. In the conversation tables, the primary language of communication was Portuguese. The table leader was a native speaker of Brazilian Portuguese who was also a graduate student at the university. Ordinarily, the conversation sessions tended to follow a pre-established theme which allowed for the presentation of new vocabulary. The sessions recorded were attended by one to four students. If a session was attended only by Gloria, the conversation did not follow a pre-selected topic, but rather revolved around themes that were more "personal": graduate student life, the future, past travels, etc.

The interviews were conducted in the office of one of the authors and lasted about 20 to 30 minutes each. Gloria was asked to reflect about her production in the target language, her opinion of her own learning process, and whether her knowledge of Spanish was helpful or not in that process.

4. Data Analysis-

In this section we outline the results of the data analysis. Following the presentation of some general results focusing on types of the learner's repetitions across the data, we organize our discussion focusing on each setting separately, and describing predominant roles of repetitions within each setting.

From a formal standpoint, we initially classified the learner's repetitions in our data as self- and other-repetition. Figure 1 illustrates the difference in distribution of self- and other-repetitions in the three settings.

Figure 1: Self- and other-repetitions in the corpus.

Classroom	Interview	Conversation
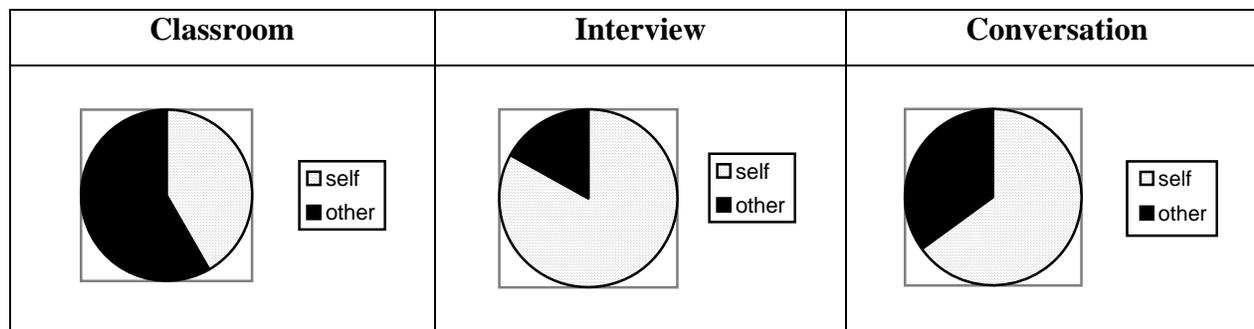
These different distributions will in turn be related to distinct roles played by repetition in each setting. In the next three subsections we explore the functions and discursive roles played by learner repetitions in each of the settings. Specifically, we look at the ways the learner interacts with the language, with others, and with her own learning, through repetitions.

4.1. Repetitions in the Classroom

As evidenced in Figure 1, we find both self- and other-repetitions in the classroom, though the latter are slightly more frequent in this setting. In classrooms, repetitions are predominantly done in Portuguese, are immediate and exact. These repetitions also predominantly occur in drill activities, which can be carried out in chorus or individually, as seen in Examples (1) and (2) respectively.

(1)   Class 1[2]
        T: Try that. Magalhães.
        All Ss: **Magalhães**

T: Again, Magalhães.
All Ss: **Magalhães**.

(2)   Class 4
        ((Drill with "há quanto tempo"))
        T: Ele estuda português.
        G: **Ele estuda português** uhm… há um ano.
        T: Há um ano.

In addition to drill exercises, in the classroom the learner typically repeats after the teacher to answer a question, to practice a word, and/or to confirm understanding. These repetitions are all marked by mechanical behavior that emphasizes structural aspects of the language, mainly lexis. This mechanicity has two important consequences for the ways the learner engages in her Portuguese learning process. Firstly, there is a tendency for the learner to produce complete sentences when asked a question, as shown in (3)—something that may not happen very often in spontaneous speech. Also notice the repetition of the word *onze* by the learner, most likely in order to practice the pronunciation of the word:

(3)   Class 3
        T: Qual é a data de hoje, faz favor?
        G: **A data de hoje** é... terça-feira, febe... febreiro onze.
        T: OK. And we probably say onze /de
        G: /**onze**
        T: fevereiro, which is the easy way out.

Secondly, in the data the learner often repeats what has been said automatically, leading to errors that may (as seen in Example 4) or may not (Example 5) be self-corrected.

(4)   Class 4
        ((During a drill exercise))
        T: A que horas vocês chegaram, Gloria?
        G: Nós **chegaram**… chegamos
        T: Uh-Hm
        G: Às cinco e meia

(5)   Class 2
     T: Em qual ano você nasceu?
     G: Não sei.
     T: Não sei! Sinto muito, não pode dizer.
     G: Mil novecentos e oitenta.
     T: E oitenta? Mente?
     G: **Mente**.
     T: The answer in first singular is what?
     G: Minto.

Whereas other-repetitions are, by definition, re-articulations of other people's voices, self-repetitions are not evidently so. However, this is what happens in the data. When engaging in self-repetition in the classroom, the learner tends to rearticulate voices other than her own, such as textual voices or the teacher's voice. This is illustrated in example (6), where the learner corrects herself (through translation, and supported by the discourse marker 'excuse me') when giving the answer for a drill exercise. Following Cushing's classification of types of repetition, drill exercises are themselves examples of obligatory repetition: the learner has no option but to repeat the text and add some grammatical structure that was previously selected. Notice that the answer for the exercise is given in the target language, but the teacher's direction and comments are not:

(6)   Class 2
     T: Pick up the next one, Gloria.
     G: João and… e, excuse me, **João e**   /Antônio
     T: /good, good
     G: están, **estão**   **/**discutindo
     T: /you got it
     G: discutindo os novos planos.

In the classroom, as seen in the examples given above, the learner often animates voices other than her own in the target language. However, when animating her own voice, not the teacher's

or the text's voices (Silva and Santos), communication and repetition do not occur in the target language, as illustrated in (7):

(7)   Class 5
       G: Oh, they don't know the truth
       T: They just try to (unint) you.
       G: **They don't know the truth.**
       T: They don't know what?
       G: **They don't know the truth** of things.

It is important to add that the example above (like other examples of repetitions in English, and unlike repetitions in Portuguese in the classroom) displays the use of repetition of a larger linguistic chunk; moreover, the repeated clause occurs in various turns (the final one with some expansion), which is not typical of repetitions in the classroom. In this setting, short and immediate repetitions predominate, and displaced repetitions, when they occur, are often quasi-immediate (as seen in Example 6 above).

4.2. Repetitions in Interviews

Most of the functions of repetitions observed in the classroom are also observed in the interview data; however, repetitions in this latter setting tend to develop a more complex characterization, and to play a more important role in discourse. For example, stalling in interview tends to expand the purely phonological and lexical levels and to involve longer stretches of language, creating linguistic patterns which in turn make it very difficult to identify the boundary between 'gaining time' and 'making a point' with precision:

(8)   Interview 2
       I: Ele ajuda?
       G: Ajuda, **ajuda,** porque uh **ajuda**, me **ajuda** pra ver onde eu preciso trabalhar mais
             em português, em português. O professor não corrige—corrige, corrige? sempre,

tudos os erro—erros? Mas ele fala você precisa trabalhar com "ele" ((laughs)) mas, or, ou você precisa trabalhar com pretérito. Uh, é muito bom, **é muito bom** na aula. Mas é muito limi, limitado os erros na aula, porque falamos do livro... exato, exatamente.

The bolded repetitions in (8) may have been used by the learner to reinforce her points, namely that the teacher helps her learn and that correcting mistakes in class is good. But those words/sequences may have served as a voluntary "stalling device," used for her to gain some time while she thought about how to continue.

The voluntary nature of repetitions in the interviews needs to be highlighted. In the classroom, drills were the predominant function of other-repetitions; in the interviews, practice is the most recurrent function. According to our coding system, practice differs from drills in that it is realized in spontaneous, not obligatory, repetitions. The strings repeated for practice are generally shorter than those used in drills. Another difference between repetition in the interview setting and in the classroom involves the fact that the mechanicity found in the classes tends to give way to confirmation and expansion. In the interviews, the learner incorporates repetitions in her discourse to check for accuracy, to expand on what she is saying, and to orchestrate these repetitions as an effective resource to develop textual cohesiveness—in other words, she uses repetitions in Portuguese to achieve important goals at both ideational and interpersonal levels.

(9)   Interview 2
G: Porque.... uh... o... idi—não...**idi**, idioma?
I: Uh-hm
G: Do português é mui... é muito más que um livro. O **livro** é bom, **o livro é**, uh, fácil de comprender, ma... se eu gosto de... ler **o livro**, eu po.. posso ler na minha casa, não na aula.

In (9) we see that the learner is somewhat insecure about the word *idioma*, not sure that it is Portuguese (not just Spanish)—so she starts the word but hesitates, repeating the first two syllables before uttering the entire word, but checking for accuracy with the question intonation (Silva and Santos). Seeking confirmation did not occur in the classroom but was relatively frequent in the interviews, especially in self-repetitions. Finally, Gloria repeats *o livro* three times, expanding (to use a category proposed by Norrick) the notion that the book is not the language. For that, she uses repetition to list what the book is and to affirm that she doesn't need to read it in class—in other words, repetitions here are an important cohesive device in the construction and development of her argument.

Self-repetitions are the most recurrent type in interviews. In this setting, these repetitions tend to animate the learner's own voice, not anyone else's (as seen in the example above). In the interview setting, examples of other-repetitions are also found that animate the learner's own voice:

(10)   Interview 2
        I: Mais uma coisa, a gente pode conversar de novo semana que vem?
        G: **Semana que vem**?
        I: Não essa semana, semana que vem. Você e eu.
        G: Oh, yeah.
        I: Ótimo, então a gente marca pra semana que vem.

The exchange above exemplifies the repetition of a string originally uttered by the interviewer, but repeated by the learner in order to confirm or to clarify when they were to meet again; in other words, to seek (genuine) information. Thus, although we have an example of other-repetition, it is still the learner's voice that is expressed.

Several other functions were also noted in the interview setting, such as other-repetitions to display participatory listenership (as described in Tannen, *Voices*), ratification of something she said, repetition to show a repeated action (which could be described as metarepetition, as when she states that "[…] eu não gosto de ficar na aula... com o livro aberto e ler, **ler, ler, ler**."), repetition as an expletive ("…Não, **não** é português, mas fala português now"). It is important to note that not only the repertoire of functions is larger in the interview setting (as compared to the classroom) but also that this variety of functions of repetitions indicates that the learner uses this linguistic strategy not only to achieve informational and interpersonal functions, but also, and most importantly, to construct meaning about various issues (including broader reflections about teaching-and-learning matters, as seen in examples [8] and [9]). Before moving on to the discussion of the conversation setting, we must note that in interviews the learner does not use English. Unlike what happens in the classroom, she animates her own voice in Portuguese.

4.3. Repetitions in Conversations

The functions of repetition in the conversation setting basically mirror those found in the interviews, with some notable additions. In conversations, the learner uses self-repetitions as play ("Fofinho. João, você é **fofinho**!"), as self-reprehension ("Uma, uma vez al ano. […] Agh! **Al**! Por ano") and as expletives (T: Aqui nos Estados Unidos tem esse sistema de perder ponto, tem né? G: É, **é.**), displaying not only good control of Portuguese but also use of the target language to achieve intrapersonal goals. Play is also found in an instance of other-repetition, as an expression of pleasure in light of a particular use of Brazilian Portuguese, namely the use of "avião" to describe a beautiful woman.

(11)   Conversation 1

       T: É, no Brasil… essa primeira lista que vocês têm aí ó, gata, mina, princesinha, avião, broto, gostosa…

       G: **Avião**! ((laughs)) **Avião** é muito grande! ((laughs))

       S: Avião… é muito agressivo um avião, muito rápido, não?

       T: Não, é, é, são todas palavras pra se referir a uma mulher bonita.

       S: Ohhh!

       G: **Avião**!

       S: Mas por que avião?

       T: Por que avião?

       S: A… a… mim /parece um… um insulto.

       G: /Se você fala **avião**.

       T: É, mas a gente não pensa assim num jumbo, né, não pensa assim (unint)

       Ss: (together, unint)

       G: A tecnologia é muito boa!

       S: É majestoso.

       T: É, talvez majestoso, uma coisa assim.

       S: É como me haz… é, me faz volar?

       T: Me faz voar? É, talvez. Eu não sei, não sei, não sei a origem, não sei a origem, vou perguntar pra Cláudia se ela sabe, se a Márcia sabe a origem.

       G: **Avião**! ((laughs))

The predominant function of other-repetitions in conversations is practice, followed by practice and expansion (repeating one item/sequence to both practice and expand on what is said), as shown in the example below:

(12)   Conversation 2

       G: Ela é, uh, uh, she's the only one.

       T: Ela é a única.

       G: **Ela é a única** sobrinha na minha família.

This finding highlights the fact that the learner deliberately uses repetition as a learning device (to gain practice in particular linguistic items) and as a discursive resource (as seen in the expansions and also by frequent uses of participatory listenership in the data). Stalling, as the most recurrent function in self-repetitions in this setting, also helps the learner achieve two important interactional goals: hold the floor while simultaneously thinking what to say next.

Equally important in self-repetitions are the roles of textual cohesiveness played by various stretches of language (from phonemes to longer chunks) repeated by the learner.

In terms of meaning making, repetitions serve an important function in the conversations as they did in the interviews: they are an important tool used by the learner to ask for confirmation or clarification of meaning. The repetition of "férias" in the example below supports this claim.

(13)   Conversation 2
     T: Tá precisando de férias. Tá precisando de férias.
     G: **Férias? Férias?**
     T: Férias?
     G: O que é?
     T: Vacation.
     G: **Vacation**. Oh yes! Eu preciso mas eu não tenho tempo.

Moreover, in the example above, the learner's articulation of "vacation" highlights an important use of repetition as a learning device, more specifically to process understanding. As we can see, through the use of repetition the learner frames these events as both conversations and learning events. In other words, she uses repetitions to signal different alignments in the event, embedding one footing within another. Goffman (155) provides the theoretical explanation: "in talk it seems routine that, while firmly standing on one foot, we jump up and down on another." What is particularly relevant is to note how repetitions contribute to this dynamism in interaction.

Specifically, repetitions signal the learner's positioning in relation to other participants both as a conversational partner (asking for information, expressing surprise, signaling listenership, reinforcing information, building textual cohesiveness and so on) and as a learner of Portuguese (practicing the language, correcting herself, seeking linguistic information). In spite

of the cognitive demands of these two different alignments, in conversation sessions Gloria also displays creative use of repetition, as in play and in metarepetitions.

The pedagogical implications of these findings will be discussed in the next, final section of this paper.

5. Pedagogical Implications and Concluding Remarks

Through the analyses of repetitions produced by the same individual in three educational settings, our findings confirm the importance of repetitions as a means of fostering both interactional work and conceptual understanding in discourse. The classroom configuration (too much control from the part of the teacher, too much focus on form) is associated with the recurrent use of obligatory, mechanical and often reductionist repetitions which in turn leads the learner to articulate repetitions for oral training in drills, and not for communicating, or for pleasure, or for meaning-making purposes. Key to this discussion is the fact that in this scenario the learning process in general (and the use of repetitions in particular) is very much pre-defined by the teacher and not an issue to be negotiated. Our data show that the learner also uses repetition-for-learning in interviews and conversations, but in these settings she chooses when to use these repetitions, and she also decides what should be repeated: she develops ownership of her learning process and uses repetitions as an important learning tool as well as a productive strategy to assist her in her interactional work.

The fact that the learner produces so many repetitions voluntarily in interviews and conversations has important pedagogical implications. Fundamentally, it suggests that there should be a place for repetitions in the classroom (for learning, for meaning-making and for fostering social relationships). The crucial questions are therefore 'what types of repetitions' and

'how repetitions should be incorporated in the lesson'. As Cook explains in his article, repetitions in language are not bad per se; rather, the problem might be "the nature of the texts present to be learnt and the methods employed by teachers" in association with repetition. (133-134)

One possibility is to teach about the different types and roles of repetitions (through texts analysis, including analyses of scripts like the ones we used in our examples in this work) and ask students to incorporate different repetitions in classroom speaking activities. To enhance critical awareness, we might have groups of students engaging in conversation while others observe (for later feedback) the repetitions used in interaction.

What seems to be inadequate to us is the emphasis on classroom repetitions with an excessive focus on form and accuracy. This practice might lead learners to "conclude" that repetitions are to be linked with textual functions only. Indeed, the learner in our study displays a concern with accuracy in interviews and conversations, and she uses repetition to gauge how accurate she is. However, in these two latter settings she uses repetitions to accomplish much more than that. Through repetitions she establishes interpersonal relationships and displays engagement with what is being talked about (in play, in surprise, in metarepetitions). The fact that she is a Spanish speaker might facilitate this interactional achievement (Santos and Silva) and further research is needed to assess whether learners of Portuguese coming from more distant linguistic backgrounds are able to do this as well. Also, we need more contrastive rhetorical studies looking at similarities and differences of repetitions in Portuguese and in other languages. After all, Rieger's and Murata's studies suggest that there are variations in form and functions of repetitions in different languages.

The general success of foreign language teaching and learning presupposes a thorough understanding of the discourse of learners in and out of the classroom. In this work we have shown that an apparently trivial linguistic strategy, i.e., repetitions, is in fact tremendously important and has significant consequences for the learning process and for the interaction. Ultimately we hope that other studies develop the issues we raise here and pursue other similar lines of inquiry.

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Appendix

Conventions used in the transcriptions

/   onset of overlap

(unint) unintelligible speech

(( ))non-linguistic behavior and/or clarification

Bold indicates relevant parts in the example

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[1] Names used are pseudonyms.

[2] In our examples, G stands for *Gloria*; T stands for Teacher (either in the classroom or in the conversation setting); I stands for Interviewer; and S stands for students other than *Gloria*.