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Where grammar meets interaction

*Collaborative production of syntactic constructions
in Icelandic conversation*

Pórunn Blöndal

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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To

Grímur, Egill, Þórunn, Álfheiður Dís and Pálmar

The language of face-to-face conversation is the basic and primary use of language, all others being best described in terms of their manner of deviation from that base.

Charles J. Fillmore 1974. Pragmatics and the description of discourse. In *Pragmatics II*, ed. Siegfried J. Schmidt, 83–104. Fink, Munich.

Þær skipta setningunum á milli sín. Á hverju kvöldi skipta þær setningunum á milli sín eins og þær skipta kökunum og spilunum þegar þær spila vist ...

Úr leikgerð eftir sögunni Margar konur eftir Kristínu Ómarsdóttur. Sagan kom út 1989 í bókinni *Í ferðalagi hjá þér*. Mál og menning, Reykjavík.

(They share their sentences. Every night, they share their sentences as they share the cookies and the cards when they play casino... From radio adaptation of the short story Many women by Kristin Ómarsdóttir. From Í ferðalagi hjá þér. Mál og menning, Reykjavík.)

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Abstract

This thesis is an exploration of two interactional processes, syntactic completion and other-extension. The aim of the study is to explore what – if anything – triggers the use of these phenomena, to scrutinise their form and their interactional function and how they are received in the dialogue. The notion of the conversational turn and how the concept relates to the two phenomena is also discussed in the study. The thesis is based on an empirical study carried out in the framework of interactional linguistics which rests upon conversation analysis (CA) but also draws upon mainstream linguistics and has a linguistic viewpoint.

The empirical data consist of 20 hours of everyday conversation from the ISTAL corpus of spoken Icelandic, recorded in the year 2000. Both completions and other-extensions show collaborative actions, which appear in the relaxed settings as found in the ISTAL data. The data analysed in the thesis consist of 53 examples of completions and 73 instances of other-extensions.

In the thesis, completions fall into two categories. When the first speaker seems to be in trouble, for example searching for a name, the second speaker joins in with a candidate completion; that is what is called *induced completions*. The other category includes *non-induced completions* where no discernible trouble triggers the second speaker's action. Other-extensions also fall mainly into two categories, *Supportive Actions* and *Checking Understanding*, which show differences regarding form and interactional functions. Both in completions and in other-extensions, the second speaker only goes as far as to the next Transition Relevance Place (TRP); the two processes are never attempts to take over the conversational floor. These collaborative actions are both received in a positive way in the conversations with a few exceptions.

Finally, it is argued that the conversational turn is not necessarily a production of one person. Two (or more) participants in a dialogue can produce *collaborative turn sequences*, which are found in completions and in one of the two main categories of other-extensions, i.e. the category of *Supportive Actions*. In *Supporting Actions* the second speaker carries on with the action initiated by the first speaker, he speaks in the same "direction" as the first speaker, he takes place "by his side". Either his extension highlights the first speaker's words or explicates them. In the category of *Checking Understanding*, a different action is carried out and therefore a new turn. The second speaker "faces" his partner in the conversation and he directs his words to the first speaker. In this category, some obscurity is often seen in the utterance preceding the extension and by reacting as the he does, the second speaker tries to avoid that a problem will come up later

in the conversation. It is therefore the directionality that separates the categories of *Supporting Actions* and *Checking Understanding* when it comes to deciding whether the first speaker's utterance and the extension should be looked at as one collaborative turn sequence or as two separate turns.

When two or more speakers share their turn, they also share the conversational floor and in these instances, we can talk about a *collaborative floor*. The appropriate surroundings for collaboratively producing a conversational turn and sharing the floor with the other participants are in friendly conversation with people who know each other's conversational behaviour.

Keywords: Icelandic conversation, interactional linguistics, conversation analysis, completion, extension, collaborative production, collaborative turn sequence, joint production.

Acknowledgements

When I started preparing for working in the field of conversation analysis or interactional linguistic the subject was little or not at all known in Iceland. Nobody was working in the field at that time. As I started to read books on the subject I became more and more interested in knowing how the Icelandic language worked in talk-in-interaction. This thesis is a piece in that puzzle and a result of my studies in the field.

Now, when this long journey has come to an end, there are many people I feel indebted to and would wish to thank for their contribution and encouragement.

A few people were extremely supportive when I was taking my first steps in this field. Of those, I will first mention Helga Hilmisdóttir and Camilla Wide to whom I am very grateful for having introduced me to Anne-Marie Londen, i.e. by giving me her e-mail address. Anne-Marie provided me with, among other things, *Samtalsstudier* from 1998, where I read Maria-Green-Vänttinen's article on completions. I was immediately captivated by the topic – I sensed that exactly there would the meeting place between grammar and interaction be found.

In the spring of 2002, I had a sabbatical year and spent a few months abroad. I chose to visit Odense in Denmark. The reason for my choice was that I was aware of conversation studies being a thriving subject at the Syddansk Universitet. I am indebted to Johannes Wagner for assisting me and allowing me to attend the data sessions in his research group. This same year, I attended the ICCA conference in Copenhagen. There I met, for the first time, the people who have monitored and supported me through the whole project of writing this thesis, i.e. my supervisors in Helsinki.

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Transcription and glosses

Transcription conventions

(Based on Jefferson 2004a)

<u>word</u>	emphasis	> <	speed-up-delivery
wo:rd	extended sound	< >	slow-down-delivery
WORD	loud talk	=	latching of turns (no pause)
#word#	creaky voice	[overlapping speech starts
@word@	imitation]	overlapping speech ends
word	laughter in speaker's voice	(.hh)	audible inbreath
.word	word uttered on inbreath	(.)	micro pause (less than 0.2 sec.)
°word°	quiet speech	(0.3)	timed pause (seconds)
wor-	speaker interrupts himself	(--)	inaudible speech
↑	rising intonation	[...]	speech omitted
→	level intonation	((laughs))	transcriber's comments
↓	falling intonation		

Grammatical glosses

(Based on Wide 2002 and Hilmisdóttir 2007)

Verbs are marked for *person, number, mood, tense*. 1, 2, 3 = 1st person, 2nd person and 3rd person. Unmarked (default) features for verbs: *single, present tense* and *indicative mood*.

Nominals are marked for *gender, number, case, article* (DEF, no indefinite article in Icelandic). Unmarked (default) features for nominals: *single, nominative, indefinite*.

1, 2, 3=1st, 2nd and 3rd person

F=feminine

N=neuter

M=male

PT=past tense

PL=plural

ACC=accusative

DAT=dative

DEF=definitive

GEN=genitive

PRT=discourse particle

PP=past participle

REF=reflexive

VP=verb particle

COM=comparative

SUP=superlative

SUB=subjunctive mood

IMP=imperative mood

INF=infinitival

1. Introduction

1.1 The aims and scope of the research

Conversation is the most common social action people engage in and the most familiar situation of language usage. Mundane conversation is necessarily a cooperative project in which two or more people take part and they take turns in speaking. The principal rule in conversation is that one person speaks at a time (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974: 700). When the listener¹ anticipates that the conversational turn – i.e. the product of the person who holds the floor – is coming to an end he will be prepared either to take the floor or to show his interlocutor that she² is free to carry on. The listener will, at the same time, pay attention to the meaning of what is said as it unfolds in the utterance, observe the structure, sound and rhythm of the ongoing utterance and the prosody of the turn-so-far to decide where in the flow of the conversation the listener can discern a possible turn ending. He recognises the syntactic structure along with prosodic and pragmatic features of the utterance and as the sentence unfolds the accuracy with which the listener can predict the end of the turn increases. Where syntactic, prosodic or pragmatic boundaries occur – either all at the same time or one of them – there are locations which the participants in the dialogue seem to consider appropriate places for a speaker change (see Ford and Thompson 1996: 157).

Cooperation of interlocutors in a dialogue is found in many forms, but it is especially noteworthy in the smooth transition, which takes place when speakers actually share the conversational floor, but it is also obvious in feedback giving and helping if one of the speakers is in trouble. Breaking the rule of ‘one party speaks at a time’ or the one of allowing a speaker to complete her utterance could at times be interpreted as a violation of the rules of communication, and therefore hostile, but at other times it is evidently a friendly gesture and a mark of cooperation and solidarity.

In this study, two interactional processes in Icelandic conversation are under scrutiny, i.e. *collaborative completions* and *other-extensions*. These two processes have been investigated in

¹ Even if I use ‘stagnant’ terms as ‘listener’ and ‘receive’, it is not to be understood literally in the context of the current study. The overall understanding on which this account is based is that conversation is a dynamic action.

² In the thesis, I will use ‘she’ when speaking generally about the one who holds the floor and ‘he’ about the one who reacts to the preceding utterance. Where, on the other hand, analysing excerpts from authentic dialogues, I will refer to the participants by their gender. I will also refer to the speaker who initiates the utterance I focus on as A, or the ‘first speaker’ and the one who either completes or extends A’s utterance as B, or the ‘second speaker’.

different languages and the research show some language specific characteristics but they also appear to share universal features. Exploring the Icelandic data will further add to the knowledge of the two phenomena which will be described in details in Ch. 4 below. Here a short introduction is considered sufficient.

Completions are one way to pursue the strong urge for collaboration. Even though certain boundaries have been identified to be the most natural places for a speaker change, there are occasions where the co-participant joins in when the current speaker has obviously not completed her turn, neither syntactically, pragmatically nor prosodically. This behaviour deviates from the norm in conversation, which is to wait for syntactic and / or prosodic boundaries for a speaker change. We must then assume that the action of the second speaker to talk before the first speaker has reached the end of her turn must be done for some interactional reasons. The possible reasons will be discussed at some length in Ch. 5 below.

The excerpt in (1.1) is a typical completion where A and B are talking about books they are handling. When A is producing his utterance in line 1 and seems close to completing it, B joins in and completes the utterance by adding the last phrase *mjög góðar* ‘very good’.³

- (1.1) *All good (ISTAL 07-230-02)*
 [Participants:A=male; B= male. Friends]
1. →A: **pær eru allar sko:** []
they.F be.3.PL all.F.PL PRT
 ‘they are all, sko
2. →B: [mjög (góðar)]
very (good).F.PL
 ‘very (good)’
3. →A:⁴ **pær eru allar góðar skilurðu**
they.F be.3.PL all.F.PL good.F.PL PRT
 ‘they are all good, you see’

³ All examples used in the thesis, will be numbered according to the chapter in which they appear. In the first chapter we will find examples (1.1), (1.2), (1.3) etc. In Chapter 2, we find (2.1), (2.2), (2,3) etc. The same method is used with figures and tables.

⁴ In each example three turns will appear in bold – the first move by A, the second move by B and the third move when A reacts to B’s words. Before these three turns an arrow → will be used to still underline that these lines are the ones which are of importance in the context – and the ones which will be focused upon in the text. All examples are presented in Icelandic in the top line, in the next line (italic), the Icelandic words are translated verbatim into English along with grammatical terms which are considered necessary or at least enlightening (see Transcription and glosses at the onset of this work). The third and last line (Times, italic and within quotation marks) shows an idiomatic translation. Icelandic discourse particles, e.g. ‘sko’, are not translated in the excerpts.

4. þú veist það ert
PRT it be.2
'you know, it is'
5. þetta er (eiginl-) mig⁵ minnir⁶
this.N be.3 (sort o-) I.ACC seem to remember.3
'this is a sort of- I seem to remember'
6. að þessi hafi verið helvíti góð
that this.F have.3.SUB be.PP damn good.F
'that this one has been quite good'
7. ég held ég eigi hana einhvers staðar
I think.1 I have.1.SUB her somewhere
'I think I have it somewhere'

As shown in (1.1), B joins in (line 2) before A has finished his utterance (in line 1), in other words, B completes A's unfinished turn. In the third move (line 3) A reacts to B's premature entry by repeating his own and his partner's previous words, *þær eru allar góðar, skilurðu* 'they are all good, you see' and by that includes his interlocutor's contribution in his account.

Other-extensions are similar to completions in the way that speaker B adds to speaker A's utterance, thus the outcome could be heard and understood as one intact syntactic unit. However, other-extension differs from completion in one significant way. B's addition to A's utterance comes after A has reached a potential end of her utterance – it is 'whole' in the sense that nothing seems to be missing from it. In other words, A seems to have completed her utterance when B extends it. The example in (1.2) is a typical other-extension. A and B are talking about summer vacations and how people can find cheap fares on the Internet if they only look for them on the right websites. In lines 11–12, A is describing how he found cheap fares. B does not seem certain that A has been talking about the same travel agency all the time so he joins in (line 14), after a long pause, by uttering a prepositional phrase resting upon A's previous words as to check his understanding (see in 4.3.2 on appensors):

⁵ Icelandic personal pronouns have different forms in the four cases: 1. p. sg. *ég/mig/mér/mín* 1. p. pl. *við/okkur/okkur/okkar*. 2. p. sg. *þú/þig/þér/þín*, 2. p. pl. *þið/ykkur/ykkur/ykkar*. 3. p. sg. *hann (m), hún (f), það (n) / hann, hana, það/honum, henni, því/ hans, hennar, þess*.

⁶ A few but quite common verbs in Icelandic take subjects in accusative or dative when the nominative is the unmarked case for a subject in Icelandic. These verbs are immune for the person and number of the subject and have the form of the verb in 3rd person. This is how it is usually marked and it is also done here and onwards. Therefore *mig* 'I' in line 5 in (1.1) stands in accusative and is in 1st person but the verb that follows is in 3rd person singular, which is the neutral form of these verbs.

(1.2) *With Go? (ÍSTAL 06-220-02)*

[Participants: A, male, husband of D; B, male, husband of C;
C and D female, silent in the excerpt]

1. A: jájá svo fundum við [allar]
PRT then find.1.PL.PT we all.F.PL.ACC
'yes, and then we found all'
2. B: [(ge-)
(ge-)
'(ge-)']
3. A: <le:starferði:r> og og
train schedules.F.PL.ACC and and
'train schedules and'
4. <stræ:tóferðir>
bus scedules.F.PL.ACC
'bus scedules'
5. og allan fjandann sko=
and all.M.ACC devil.M.ACC.DEF PRT=
'but schedules and all that stuff'
6. B: =já↑
=PRT
'yes'
7. A: ef maður nennti
if man.M bother.3.SUB.PT
'if you feel like...'
8. að leita að þessu á netinu
to look.INF for this.N.DAT on net.N.DAT.DEF
'looking for it on the Internet'
9. >°tók smá tíma°<
take.3.PT little time.M.ACC
'took a while'
10. B: jú það gerir það ((hlær))
PRT it do.3 it ((laughs))
'yes, it does'
11. A: og þetta með Go sko
and this.N with Go PRT
'and this with Go'
12. →A: við fundum ódýrustu fargjöldin
we find.1.PL.PT cheap.N.Pl.ACC.SUP fares.N.PL.ACC.DEF
'we found the cheapest fares'
13. alla leið
all F.ACC way.F.ACC
'all the way'

14. (1.1)

15. →B: **með þeim**→
with them.PL.DAT
'with them'

16. →A: **með Go já**↓
with GO PRT
'with Go, yes'

In (1.2) A appears to have completed his utterance in line 12 but things are not clear with B and he has to ask for further information or a confirmation on his understanding of A's previous utterance. He does so by producing an utterance (line 15) which is semantically and syntactically dependent on A's preceding turn in line 12. This example shows clearly how other-extensions differ from completions, in the sense that B's addition is to an already completed utterance.

These two types of constructions will be introduced and described in Ch. 4 below where previous research on collaborative constructions will also be discussed. Ch. 5 and 6 below consist of the empirical research on the two phenomena, one chapter devoted to each topic.

The aims of this study are many and diverse; nonetheless, all of them will add to the limited knowledge of interactional processes in contemporary Icelandic. To shed some light upon collaborative constructions, I will try to answer several questions about both their formal and functional features; the focus questions in the study are the following:

- How frequent are the interactional practices of using completions and other-extensions?
- Is there anything in the interactional, syntactic or semantic context of the dialogue which 'invites' or triggers the use of the two collaborative processes?
- Is the grammatical formation of completions and other-extensions similar in some aspects and what – if anything – is different in their formations?
- What are the interactional functions of completion and other-extension? In what ways are their functions similar – in what ways are they different from each other?
- How does A, the first speaker, react to B, the second speaker, when the latter has completed or extended A's turn?

The overall research question would be connected to two of the basic elements in dialogues, the conversational turn and the speaker change. Firstly, I will investigate the conversational turn, how it is structured and how it functions. In addition I will look into how the participants go about sharing an utterance in a dialogue, i.e. which syntactic and interactional elements they are sharing when they complete an unfinished utterance or extend an apparently complete one. Secondly, I am interested in exploring how the participants in a dialogue deal with the transition from one speaker to another, especially in places where a speaker change normally does not occur, as in completions.

In Iceland, there is no tradition for exploring language in interaction and only a few articles have been published in the recent years that focus on Icelandic in conversation (see Wide 1998 and 2002; Hilmisdóttir 1999, 2007 and 2010; Blöndal 2005a; 2005b, 2008; and Hjartardóttir 2006). By exploring these two phenomena in Icelandic, my aim is to expand knowledge on how social interaction is carried out.

1.2 Data

The research methods used in the study draw on the tradition of Conversation Analysis but the CA conventions are not followed in a dogmatic way. Even if I mainly use the qualitative approach as is traditionally done in CA, I sometimes present the data from a quantitative standpoint if I consider it enlightening in any way for my purpose.

In CA every detail of the data can be important, also the context and the sequence in which the utterance under discussion is located. I adhere to the field of interactional linguistics which rests upon the CA methodology but also draws on mainstream linguistics, and, moreover, has a linguistic viewpoint rather than a sociological one (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 2001: 1–22; Steensig 2001: 12–14). The theoretical and methodological standpoints will be described thoroughly in Ch. 2 and the prominent units of grammar and interaction in Ch. 3 below.

The data I draw upon in the research are from the ISTAL corpus of spoken Icelandic, which consists of 20 hours of audio recorded conversations. The data analysed in the thesis consist of 53 examples of completions and 73 instances of other-extensions. The 31 conversations in the ISTAL corpus were collected during the year 2000 in different regions in Iceland. Behind ISTAL was a group of seven researchers, six linguists and one psychologist, who had planned to use the data for different purposes, according to their research interests. The members of the

group came from three institutes, from Iceland University of Education (since 2008 University of Iceland, School of Education), from the University of Iceland (School of Humanities) and from the Institute of Lexicography (now Department of Word Studies and Lexicography at The Arni Magnusson Institute for Icelandic Studies).

The current author was the project leader for ISTAL during the time while the work went on collecting and preparing the data. Six students from the master programme at Iceland University of Education are responsible for the recording in six different regions in Iceland. The leading group designed directive sheets and registration sheets where the connection between those who engaged in the conversation and some background information were registered. The participants also gave their written approvals on allowing us to use the conversations, both the recordings and the transcriptions. A generous grant from Icelandic Research Fund (RANNÍS) allowed the ISTAL group to hire transcribers and assistants to listen to and transcribe the data roughly. The current author carried out the final listening and transcription according to the CA conventions to prepare for this research (see Jefferson 2004a).

The reasons for my choosing data from ISTAL in my investigation are mainly two: First, ISTAL consists of conversations between adults in relaxed settings of their homes or during lunch or coffee breaks at their working places and this suits my investigation. Data of more formal character, e.g. from radio phone-in programs or from written texts, were not considered necessary because, according to Szczepek (2000a: 6), collaborative productions are most likely to appear in the relaxed settings as found in the ISTAL data. In her large data set (200 examples of collaborative productions in English), Szczepek found that “roughly three fourths were produced during private conversations, the rest during radio shows” (*ibid.*). Szczepek’s findings are compatible with my own informal observation that these phenomena are most common in informal settings in Icelandic. Therefore, ISTAL seemed to be the perfect set of data for this particular study. It should be mentioned though that the ISTAL data collection is quite homogenous; all the conversations take place in informal settings between family members, friends or colleagues, all of them are friendly and devoid of conflict talk. All the participants (with the exception of a few children and older people partly involved in the conversations) are 30–60 years old, and many of them are teachers in primary schools. This homogeneity could be

a disadvantage in a sociolinguistic study but I did not consider this to be of any harm for my study because I do not use sociolinguistic variables to explain or discuss my findings.

All the excerpts from authentic dialogues used in the thesis are in Icelandic with an English translation and with grammatical glosses (see footnote 4 above). Some relevant characteristics of Icelandic are discussed in the next section.

1.3 Some relevant characteristics of Icelandic

Modern Icelandic has four distinct cases and three genders. All Icelandic nouns have *inherent gender*; they are masculine, feminine or neuter. Adjectives, pronouns and the definite article (the category of indefinite article does not exist in Icelandic) have gender inflection and they also inflect for case and number (Thráinsson 1994: 152 and 157). Indefinite pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, numerals and adjectives precede the nouns they modify in a certain order where the adjective comes last and is placed closest to the noun (*op.cit.*: 167). Prenominal modifiers agree with the noun in gender, number and case. Relative clauses follow their heads which in authentic spoken Icelandic are always introduced by the relative particle *sem*. All these features are considered to be of importance when discussing projection and repair in connection to the phenomena scrutinised in the thesis.

Subjects and objects have certain typical properties. The subject precedes the finite verb in neutral declarative word order. In direct questions the subject follows the finite verb. The unmarked option is that verbs take nominative subjects, but some quite common verbs take dative and accusative subjects. Objects, on the other hand, are unmarked in accusative, whereas dative and genitive objects are more marked.

Some Icelandic verbs select indicative complement clauses whereas others select subjunctive clauses. Non-factive verbs of *saying*, *believing*, etc. are the ones most prone to take subjunctive clauses but (semi-)factive verbs of *knowing*, *seeing*, etc. require the indicative. In embedded subjunctive clauses, the tense of the matrix verb determines the tense of the embedded subjunctive verb. This does not hold for subordinate indicative clauses (*op.cit.*: 183).

Lastly, it is of importance here to note that the unmarked word order in declarative clauses in Icelandic is subject, verb, and object (SVO). Icelandic exhibits the well-known Germanic verb-second (V2) phenomenon in declarative clauses, i.e. if something is preposed or topicalised, the subject will follow the finite verb rather than precede it. Apparent verb-third

order can also be found in main clauses when particles like ‘bara’, (E. *just*), ‘sko’, and others of similar type, occur between the subject and the finite verb rather than after the verb. Imperative sentences are verb-initial like direct questions (*op.cit.*: 181–182).

1.4 Outline of the thesis

The study is divided into seven chapters. The next three chapters (Ch. 2, 3 and 4) jointly make up the theoretical background of the thesis. In Ch. 2, I briefly present the theoretical and methodological framework. Since the dominating aspect in the thesis is in the field of interactional linguistics which is not an established field of research in Iceland, I find it necessary to discuss some relevant units and processes of both grammar and talk-in-interaction, and do so in Ch. 3. In Ch. 4, I introduce the two topics the thesis centres upon in the remaining chapters. First, I review previous studies on completion and other-extension, and, secondly, I introduce how these collaborative actions are looked upon in the current study. Chapters 5 and 6 form the empirical part of the study; one devoted to each of the two related topics of completions and other-extensions. Chapter 7 consists of a summary of the findings presented in the preceding chapters and of a concluding discussion. Ch. 7 also includes an excursus where the conversational turn is revisited and discussed in connection to the argumentation in the empirical chapters. Lastly there are some suggestions in this last chapter for future research in the field of interactional linguistics.

2. Theoretical and methodological standpoints

2.1 Introduction

The interactional approach to the grammatical patterns in language is a research area with a growing support in the first decades of the 21st century. Even if the interactional approach to language has grown substantially in the last 10 or 15 years, some observations had been made before that. Ideas of approaching syntactic patterns in conversation as a process rather than only look at the product are found as early as in the 1950s, but it was Goodwin's research (1981) which convincingly showed how a syntactic unit is built step-by-step and how the final structure is based on the uptake and response of the other participants, e.g. whether the addresser makes eye contact with the addressee.

Dynamic is an essential factor in talk-in-interaction. In order to express their opinions or feelings, people exploit lexical items and the conventional grammatical structure of their language as a tool to perform *speech acts*, such as complaint, promise or invitation. This theory was introduced by Austin, a linguistic philosopher, in 1962 and developed further by Searle, another philosopher (Searle 1969: 58–59; see also Yule 1996: 47 and Nunan 1993: 65). The speakers expect that their partners recognise their communicative intentions and react to them according to the circumstances in which the discourse takes place (Yule: *ibid.*). CA offers a different view to which I adhere in the remainder of the current work. In CA a social action is looked at as something that is worked out in sequences and negotiated within the interaction; it is not seen primarily “as the result of the combination of an utterance of an isolated speaker with a context type” (Mazeland 2013: 483) as in the speech act approach.

Sometimes the dynamic in the interaction is almost tangible (see Auer 2009) as shown in the well-known example presented in (2.1) below (Goodwin 1981: 131; Londen 1995: 11–13). This excerpt is from a video-recorded dialogue which was a relatively new technique at that time and which allowed Goodwin to scrutinise gaze and gestures during the conversation. If one looks at the product of the section shown in (2.1), as would be the point of departure in mainstream grammar, one sees a well-formed sentence:

(2.1)

I gave up smoking cigarettes one week ago today actually.

If, on the other hand, we look at the process in the actual situation we see a different picture:

(2.2)

I gave up smoking

1. John: I gave, I gave up smoking cigarettes::=
2. Don: =Yeah,
3. (0.4)
4. John: I - uh: one - one week ago t'day.
5. acshilly,
6. Ann: Really? en y'quit fer good?

This excerpt illustrates how the units in the dialogue appear, how they emerge bit by bit, and how dependent they are on the reception. In (2.2) the responses are vague; a minimal response in line 2, then a pause that leads to John's further explanation in line 4 and now with a closing intonation. Anyhow, in spite of John's effort, there is still no response from Don or the other two adults in the conversation. In line 5, John adds still another cue to his interlocutors, which seems to confirm that he has completed his utterance. This transcription does not show all the important features which add up to this result, mainly how John fails to reach eye contact with his interlocutors. In line 1, he addresses Don by looking at him and designs his utterance for Don as one of his two partners at the dinner table who do not know about his effort to stop smoking. John does not succeed in getting Don's attention – Don is busy eating his meal. Then, in line 4, John looks to his wife, Beth, perhaps because Don's 'yeah' was uttered in a low voice and without Don looking up from his plate. Beth is what Goodwin (1981: 161) calls *a knowing recipient* where Don and Ann would be *unknowing* ones. John is aware of his interlocutors' positions and he designs his words according to their epistemic status (Heritage 2012). The words uttered by John in line 1 are no news to his wife and it could be therefore that John adds some new information, even to his wife, i.e. that it is exactly one week since he stopped smoking. The pause in line 3 could be understood as a "pregnant" one (see Schegloff 1996: 87) because apparently John is planning his next step and creating something new to add to his first utterance. However, even John's wife, Beth, does not seem interested; she also occupies herself with the food (line 4). Both John and Ann look at Beth and then John turns his gaze to Ann. She looks up from her plate and the last word, 'actually' is probably directed to her. John succeeds to reach to Ann who responds to John's now completed utterance (line 6) (here after Londen's (1995) account). This shows how context-sensitive an utterance in making is and how the speaker must, at all times in the conversation, pay attention to the epistemic status of her

recipients (Heritage 2013: 376) and design her utterances to fulfil the needs of her recipient – whoever he or she is – it must be *recipient designed* (Sacks et al. 1974: 727; see also 3.3.1 below).

The excerpt in (2.2) shows that a dialogic perspective on interaction is needed, a perspective where the interplay between the participants, the current speaker herself and the *other* or *others*, is taken into account:

The speaker is not Adam, and therefore the subject of his speech itself inevitably becomes the arena where his opinions meet those of his partners (in a conversation or dispute about some everyday event) or other viewpoints, world views, trends, theories, and so forth (Bakhtin 1986: 94).

The *other* matters and “each and every word expresses the “one” in relation to “the other”” (Vološinov 1973: 86). This stance makes it insufficient to look at verbal communication in isolation from its situation or context (*op.cit.*: 95).

Below, I will describe shortly the linguistic trends I draw upon in the thesis, i.e. the traditional approach to grammar and the interactional one. Adhering to one of them does not exclude implementing the other. The characteristics of these linguistic trends will be described in what follows in the next sections.

2.2 Monological approach

The two major ways of construing or representing language is either to look at language as a “structured set of forms, used to represent things in the world” or to view it “as meaningful actions and cultural practices, interventions in the world” (Linell 2005a: 4; see also Vološinov 1973: 45–63). Those who support the first assumption, monologism, which has been the mainstream epistemology (Linell 1998: 17), see language as a structured set of abstract objects, which are put to use in discourse. Language use or linguistic practices are from this point of view secondary to the system itself. The main observations of linguists are then to analyse produced utterances as a product of pre-existing building blocks in language (Linell 2005a: 45).

Traditional grammar, based on Latin grammar, is one offshoot of the monological view. It tends to assume that the written form is more fundamental than the spoken one, and that literary language is in some sense the pure and correct form of the language (Lyons 1968: 42). Even if the purist and literary view has somewhat faded over the decades, traditional grammar still focuses on carefully chosen and processed rigid units. This type of grammar was prominent in

Iceland for a long time as in other parts of the Western world. In the educational setting, the focus is still on this monological approach where the main practice of the students from a quite young age is to parse (isolated) sentences and name each individual word class and its main characteristics.

Since the sixties when the generative grammar was presented at the University of Iceland, it has been the prominent approach to language in the linguistic department. In a textbook used in an introductory course in syntax, we find this clause (here English translation):⁷

We see for instance immediately that we do not want to ground our description on what people “actually say”, on examples which are faulty because people mis-speak, stop in the middle of the utterance and start again, and so on. Then the description would not give a reliable picture of Icelandic language and its nature (Thráinsson 1999: 9–10; translation P.Bl.).

The monological approach mirrored in this quotation is based on the generative doctrine that the grammar should uncover what the speakers actually know about the language, i.e. on the ideal speaker’s competence rather than the average speaker’s performance. According to generative grammarians, their main task is to find out what exactly it is that people know when they speak a language and to describe the knowledge (Thráinsson 2005: 4). As generative grammar concentrates on each individual speaker and his knowledge and only the context within the sentence, it does not address the dialogical nature of language.

According to Linell (1998: 28), the widely acclaimed monologic view in Western societies is mirrored in how the standardised written language has been seen as a model for what language is like – or should be like – with the consequences of what Linell (1998) calls “written language bias” in language sciences (*op.cit.*: 28); Linell 2005a). One of the results the written language bias has brought about is an overemphasis on the *sentence* as a linguistic unit. The effects of the written language bias are also that the same theories have been used to deal with spoken language, including interaction, as well as written language. The outcome of this view is that authentic spoken language is seen as fragmentary and elliptical (*op.cit.*: 30). It must be added that linguists in some branches (most prestigious is generative linguistics) do not necessarily use authentic texts at all, but invented sentences, “i.e. normatively redressed and cleaned-up, language, often in the form of contrived isolated sentences which are both decontextualized and detextualized” (Linell 1998: 32). Context plays therefore a relatively

⁷ „Við sjáum t.a.m. strax að við viljum ekki byggja lýsingu á því sem menn „segja í raun og veru“ á dæmum sem eru gölluð vegna þess að menn mismæla sig, stoppa í miðju kafi og byrja upp á nýtt, o.s.frv. Þá gæfi lýsingin ekki trúverðuga mynd af íslensku máli og eðli þess“ (Thráinsson 1999: 9–10).

small role to those who adhere to the monological approach, but is essential for the ones who adhere to the dialogical approach.

2.3 Dialogical approach

Dialogism is an alternative to monologism. The term itself is closely tied to the names of the Russian scholars, i.e. Mikhail Bakhtin (1981, 1984 and 1986) and Vološinov (1973). Some of their ideas are still alive in what now is called *dialogism* but what is new is that it is now based on empirical data which was not the case in the works of the Russian scholars. Linell, one of the leading scholars working in the dialogic theory at the present, considers dialogism a theory that can include Conversational Analysis (CA) and interactional linguistics (2005b: 233). Work within the dialogic theory – or dialogism – “portray conversation as an intrinsically social and collective process, where the speaker is dependent on the listener as a “co-author” (Linell 1998: 24). Dialogism is not a coherent school or a theory, it is

a bundle, or combination, of *theoretical and epistemological assumptions about human action, communication and cognition* (Linell 2003: 2).

Dialogism is the account of linguistics adhered to in the current study, and necessarily so, as it takes seriously the basic characteristics of spoken language, i.e. “*embodiment, temporality and embeddedness in social action*” (Linell 1998: 32). When monologism looks at a speaker’s contribution to the dialogue as her own product relying on her intentions, dialogism, on the other hand, regards the utterance as a collaborative social action, highly contextualised and dialogical by nature (Linell *op.cit.*: 91).

The distinction between monologism and dialogism can also be discerned in the division between language and speech; language itself as a home of grammar but speech mainly the realisation of words. This relates to the fact that, traditionally, the study of language has been closely connected to writing and literacy and the distinction between language and speech is linked to the history of language studies. Ferdinand de Saussure introduced the terms *langue* and *parole* (de Saussure 1974: 6–20; Linell 2005a: 16), which are now understood as *language system* and *language use*, the former being the object of linguistic research. Parallel to this division is Chomsky’s widely known distinction between linguistic *competence* and *performance*, terms which are used to describe the competence of

an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant

conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, an error (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of language in actual performance (Chomsky 1965: 3).

The distinction between language and speech (or language and language use) can also be seen as different views on whether language should be looked upon as a collection of static forms or as a dynamic social action. Seen from the dialogical viewpoint, language system is not the origin of language use but a product of it, “linguistic practices are primary, and the language system a product of abstraction from such practices” (Linell 2005a: 46).

Dialogism is a type of interactionalism and would best be described as a kind of social constructionism (Linell 1998: 55). Seen from the viewpoint of dialogism, language use cannot be divorced from the structural resources of the language, which gain their role in communicative activities (*op.cit.*: 36). However, it is not possible in the dialogistic epistemology to give language structure priority over communicative practices. These two sides of the language are interdependent – they could not function in isolation but rely on each other (*ibid.*).

One of the main approaches to interaction is Conversation Analysis (CA), an empirical and inductive method of research, and data-driven in the sense that the research questions arise when looking into the actual data. The aim of CA is to look for recurrent phenomena in the data and describe them as a part of the orderliness of conversation (see Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 93–98). CA is one of the branches that grew out of ethnomethodology which introduced the idea that familiar, mundane social encounters rely on understandings of routine activity, and if considering an activity that just happened, it is possible to foresee what is bound to happen next (Linell 1998: 50 and his reference). The main goal of CA falls within the scope set by the ethnomethodologists as it looks in the data for patterns on which the interlocutors rely in a dialogue. Some of these patterns could be universal in the sense that they occur in every known language; others are probably language or culture specific. Through the years, much research has been done on various phenomena in conversation and a recent trend in CA and interactional linguistics is a comparative research on different languages and types of interaction (see Haakana, Laakso and Lindström 2009).

CA deals fundamentally with authentic conversation, i.e. everyday conversations and formal ones between two or more people. It can be assumed that the growth of CA in the last

decades is at least partly based on the fact that equipment for recording have become more advanced and give better results than they did not so long ago. Audio or video recordings are a necessary base for work in CA and a transcription of the recorded data. Excerpts from the data are used extensively in CA and interactional linguistics. These detailed excerpts are essential for researchers who work on conversation; the transcribed excerpts allow their readers to follow their analyse and the arguments on which they base their conclusion (see Londen 1995: 20). In the transcripts, researchers are mainly concerned about marking the dynamics of the turn-taking and the characteristics of the utterances in the dialogue (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 76). The transcription should therefore show, as accurately as possibly, pauses, repairs, overlaps and also intonation, stress and pitch, to mention a few elements of a dialogue.

In CA, the approach to the data is necessarily inductive; the researcher starts by looking for orderliness, rules or patterns in the data. In CA 'a rule' is more like a norm that the speakers orient to or aim at in their utterances, in a way that their interlocutors expect them to do. The norms or rules originate out of need in the interaction, and, at the same time, they shape the dialogue as it unfolds (Steensig 2001: 21). As a consequence of these patterns, the CA researcher also focuses on all examples that deviate from the norm; they are interesting from the viewpoint of the researcher who has to ask the basic question: Why is the rule or the norm ignored at this place in the dialogue? As examples of this, we can look at the two related phenomena discussed in the present thesis. Both of them are a result of a behaviour which could be seen as deviant from a given norm, but at the same time, it can be an indication of another rule to use in a certain context. This is most noticeable in completion when the second speaker joins in before the first speaker has completed her utterance, sometimes even overlapping the previous speaker's talk. When a researcher comes across such a 'noticeable absence' (Steensig 2001: 52) of an established rule or norm, he or she must look for the reason for this and try to answer it by scrutinising the sequence in which it is located. That is what I aim for in this study.

CA has the most obvious methodological impact on the most recent direction in the dialogical approach, i.e. interactional linguistics, especially when it comes to collecting, preparing and analysing the data. It was only in the beginning of the 21st century that the first published work under this label saw the light of day (see Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 2001; Steensig 2001). As emphasised by Couper-Kuhlen and Selting (2001: 5), studies on interaction

also need to relate to linguistic generalisations. Therefore, studies in interactional linguistics are based on traditional grammatical terminology as well as on interactional one. Interactional linguists look at language from an interdisciplinary perspective, draw from a middle ground between CA and traditional grammar, and use the strength of each discipline. An interactional linguist must ask two basic questions:

- (i) what linguistic resources are used to articulate particular conversational structures and fulfil interactional functions?

and

- (ii) what interactional function or conversational structure is furthered by particular linguistic forms and ways of using them? (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 2001: 3).

Here it is assumed that language is primarily a tool for communication and therefore it is expected that it has taken shape by this function, i.e. that the structure of the language is shaped in crucial ways by interactional needs. On the other hand, interaction is also shaped by the linguistic structure in a given language. Because of this interrelationship between linguistic structure and interaction, linguists have to pay attention to both structural and interactional features when working in the field.

The concept of *function* in CA, refers to the social action a participant in a dialogue is pursuing by his or her utterance (Bockgård 2004: 53 and 121). Language is seldom used for the sake of language itself; it is an instrument to carry out different activities (Clark 1996: 387). In daily language use, people refer to these different actions, when they talk about *asking*, *answering*, *agreeing*, *complaining* and *promising* to mention a few (Schegloff 2007: 7).

It is a complicated task to determine which actions are accomplished in a turn-at-talk. First of all, it is necessary to look at the sequence organisation in the dialogue. An obvious starting point is to observe some stretches of talk and decide what it is designed to do. Immediately, we will face a problem regarding form and function. If an utterance has the form of a question and seems to be designed to do questioning, we cannot be sure that the form was what counted:

For if the question form can be used for actions other than questioning, and questioning can be accomplished by linguistic forms other than questions, the relevant problem can be posed not only about how a question does something other than questioning, but about how it does questioning; not only about how questioning is done by nonquestion forms, but about how it gets accomplished by question forms (Schegloff 1984: 34–35).

As language use is based upon joint activities carried out by the participants in a talk-in-interaction, the relevant next thing to do is to look at how an utterance is received by the

partner in the dialogue (Schegloff 2007: 8). The only way to find out which social action has been accomplished is therefore to listen to the data and look at the transcriptions to find out what was said and in what context, and, what the co-participants make of it.

As mentioned above, linguists do not agree on whether they need an interactional perspective on language. The scepticism towards it seems to be mainly amongst those who adhere to generative grammar. Their view is that the real-time use of language is merely a contextual application of linguistic structures which are planned out of context by the linguistic system (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 2001: 4). Research on some linguistic units in the context of a dialogue have shown that e.g. the 'sentence' itself is highly sensitive to reciprocity and its final structure rests upon how well the speaker reaches to her interlocutor, e.g. via eye gaze (see Couper-Kuhlen and Selting *ibid.*; Goodwin 1981, see the excerpt in (2.2) above; see also Ford 1993 on adverbial clauses). The speaker usually adapts to the situation in which the dialogue takes place and restructures her utterance or extends it until she has the attention of her partner.

In the context of the current work, it is obvious that the interactional view is needed in dealing with the two collaborative productions. Both of them show a strong evidence of being products of a co-operation in the dialogue. Because of the co-operation, some core units of traditional or mainstream grammar, e.g. a sentence and a phrase, are not necessarily a product of one speaker's competence (as assumed in the monological approach) but rather the joint product of the partners in the dialogue. Linguistic structures are therefore both highly context-sensitive and emergent in the dialogue (Heritage 1984: 280; Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 2001: 4-5).

On the other hand, the basic unit for turn-taking in conversation in CA is the turn constructional unit (see 3.3.2 below), a linguistic unit which consists of single words, phrases and clauses (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974: 702; see also Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 2001: 5), and therefore it is essential not to exclude the linguistic structures and their relation to interaction. Projection and repair are two interactional processes where linguistic cues play a crucial role. When projecting a turn completion the partners rely on their common knowledge of the syntactic model used in the interaction. This allows the second speaker to join in and complete her interlocutor's turn, sometimes to assist her in finding a suitable word, but sometimes just to show enthusiasm or involvement in the topic.

Sometimes completions and extensions are forms of repair and that is another sphere where grammatical consciousness is needed in interaction; especially in self-repair within the same turn. Also there, the participants have to rely on their knowledge of syntactic models in order to deal with an abrupt departure from the utterance that was under construction and the restructuring of a new one, often by recycling part of the first one (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 2001: 6).

It is enlightening from a linguistic point of view, as well as from an interactional one, to unfold to which interactional goals certain linguistic patterns are used; i.e. which patterns the interactants rely on in their conversational activities. An authentic data can provide us with a full picture of both form and function of a given language. It is a resource where evidence to scrutinise can be collected, i.e. the relationship between interaction and grammar. One thing would be to find out how the grammatical patterns in language are used in interaction, and, another to look at how the interaction is carried out with these grammatical units. And as mentioned above, it is of no less interest to examine the instances where the norms are avoided and to what interactional end it is done.

As discussed above, two radically different understandings of the nature of human language are seen in linguistics. These attitudes are described and referred to by Hopper (1988 and 1998) as “A Priori Grammar Postulate” (APGP) and “Emergence of Grammar (EOG) attitude” (see also Helasvuo 2001: 2–3). These attitudes are the extreme poles but many linguists place themselves somewhere in between them or draw from a middle ground (Hopper 1988: 118). These two approaches to language do not meet at any point; in APGP, grammar is seen as complete and predetermined system, a set of rules and structures that precede the actual use of language. In EOG, on the other hand, grammar is incomplete and emerges in discourse. It is second to the actual discourse and more like a “vaguely defined set of sedimented (i.e. grammaticized) ‘recurrent’ partials whose status is constantly being renegotiated” (*op.cit.*: 118). As a reason for the attitude towards language itself, linguists, who are working in either of these two approaches to grammar, disagree of the nature of data upon which they base their observation. The APGP linguists use their intuition, i.e. “private data supplemented with private judgements of grammaticality” (*op.cit.*: 119). For EOG linguists, such data would be inadequate; they would prefer actual data. Actual discourse is always contextualised and situated, and it has to be able to show the ‘real-time’ feature of spoken dialogue, a feature

which is not of interest to those who adhere to APGP.

Emergent grammar is based on everyday communication which is constantly under construction and structured only by the emergent patterns “that come and go as the forms that carry them are found useful to their speakers” (Hopper 1998: 172). Hopper (2011: 27) makes a distinction between *emerging* and *emergent* in discussing language. The former term is used of the *emerging* nature of online syntax while the latter can be used to describe historic changes, i.e. where grammatical constructions come from and how they have changed over time. Therefore, “[g]rammar is emergent and epiphenomenal to the ongoing creation of new combinations of forms in interactive encounters” (Hopper *op.cit.*: 26). The routines of language usage emerge through the time “as the result of the fact that people recurrently are faced with communicative and cognitive tasks, which are sometimes the same as those encountered before and sometimes they are slightly different” (Linell 2009: 284–285).

In my account, I adhere to the view that grammar is emerging in the sense that the syntactic units used for the interactional purpose emerge as the participants’ contributions ‘meet’ in the dialogue, and they would have been different in a different context with different partners. However, we have to bear in mind that even if the set of syntactic patterns or syntactic rules have their origin in spoken discourse they are in fact norms in the sense that the linguistic community has ‘agreed’ upon using them and the speakers will adhere to them in their interaction. In that sense, the rules are predetermined but at the same time adaptable to different context in the dialogue. The standpoint in the present work is then midway between the two poles described by Hopper (1988 and 1998).

3. Units and processes in grammar and interaction

3.1 Introduction

As stated above, interactional linguistics is based on both grammatical and interactional terminology. It is founded on the belief that the linguistic description of language use would miss some important features and generalisations if it did not both rely on and connect to items from traditional grammar as well as the units and processes tailored for describing interaction. It would in fact be possible to give an accurate account of the formal aspects of spoken language only by using conventional grammatical concepts. This is not surprising if one adheres to the view that grammar is literally shaped by the most basic and most common language use, namely everyday talk-in-interaction, and indeed shaped to serve it (Schegloff (1996). On the other hand, by relying solely on grammatical terms, one would miss a very important aspect of interaction, i.e. the emergent and dynamic nature of the dialogue and the collaborative work of the interactants, i.e. the participants' joint effort to keep the conversation going smoothly. By using both the traditional grammatical terms and the interactional ones, the relation between syntax and interaction can be discerned and an opportunity opens up to describe the 'on-line syntax' that emerges in the interaction (Auer 2009).

As described in the previous chapter, the field of interactional linguistics is relatively new and rests upon contributions from various linguistic approaches. This has had the consequences that the terminology in interactional linguistics is not well established and researchers use different terms for the same phenomenon. Therefore it is often necessary to state exactly how particular terms are used in the literature in interactional linguistics.

In this chapter, I will introduce some units and processes in grammar and interaction which I consider necessary for the discussion in Ch. 5 and 6, i.e. the empirical part of the present study. Some of the units and processes are relevant for both the topics scrutinised in these chapters, others for only one of them. Some of the terms dealt with below are basic terms in grammar and interaction, others are chosen because of their relevance to the phenomena which are the central issues in my study. When the terms defined here will come up in connection with a certain topic in the succeeding chapters, I will refer to them without further explanation and only take up the thread where it is left in the account in this chapter.

3.2 Grammatical units in interaction

3.2.1 Grammar in interaction

The study of syntax of spoken language is not new; it has been a focus point in linguistics for decades despite the persistent interest in exploring constructed utterances. Though many researchers have touched upon the topic of what a syntax of interaction would have to include, there had been relatively few studies in the field based on authentic data until the last decades of the 20th century. Ono and Thompson's articles (1995 and 1996) address the question of what conversation can tell us about syntax, and they offer well underpinned solutions built on their data.

Ono and Thompson (1996: 70) look at the *clause* as an abstract syntactic category and they talk of *clause combination* when two or more clauses form what is usually called a *sentence*. Clauses are built up from what they call *constructional schemas* which are often realised in one intonation unit (Ono and Thompson 1995: 233). These schemas

are patterns, distilled from large number of speech events, to the point where they have a cognitive status independent of any particular context. The grammar of a language can be understood as a structured inventory of such patterns (Ono and Thompson 1996: 70).

It should be emphasised that these grammatical patterns are schematic but not specific; we do not use them for particular expressions but rather for sets of expressions which are parallel in formation: "The more a given pattern is used, the more strongly entrenched it becomes, and the more it becomes 'grammaticized', a part of the 'grammar' of the language" (*ibid.*):

The production of syntactic units is often a joint activity, strongly suggesting that speakers share not only a knowledge of possible syntactic unit schemas but also a knowledge of how to expand shorter schemas into longer ones (*op.cit.*: 82).

The interplay between interactional and syntactic goals can clearly be seen where the syntax seems to be "messed up", e.g. where important parts of the clause are missing (*op.cit.*: 83). In such instances, we see that "the combination of semantic, cognitive, and pragmatic factors wins out over the mere production of syntactically impeccable schema instantiations" (*op.cit.*: 85). In other words, syntactic needs are often subordinated to interactional needs (*op.cit.*: 89).

The basic shape of interaction is conversation in one form or another; a dialogue between two or more persons where they discuss matters of daily life, tell stories and carry on their cultural heritage from one generation to another. These primordial scenes of language use are the "home" of grammar and therefore

it should hardly surprise us if some of the most fundamental features of natural language are shaped in accordance with their home environment in copresent interaction, as adaptations to it, or as part of its very warp and weft.... For example, if the basic natural environment for sentences is in turns-at-talk in conversation, we should take seriously the possibility that aspects of their structure – for example, their grammatical structure – are to be understood as adaptations to that environment. ... And one locus of those considerations will be the organization of the turn, the organizational unit which “houses” grammatical units (Schegloff 1996: 54–55).

In this study the starting point is that grammar is generated in oral discourse in processes where the most common patterns create fixated forms which the speakers recognise as grammatical components (see Helasvuo 2001a: 3–4). It is therefore assumed that grammatical forms have their roots in language use but it is also considered obvious that grammar itself has influenced and shaped the forms interaction takes in languages.

3.2.2 Utterances, clauses and other syntactic units

One of the consequences of the monologistic view in linguistics is that the emphasis is on the sentence but other structures, such as shorter non-sentential utterances, are characterised as elliptical or fragmental (Linell 1998: 30). The monologistic view that a sentence should be defined as a form that corresponds to a “complete thought” (*ibid.*) is also ineffective when dealing with authentic spoken language. Conversations are highly collaborative activities and one speaker’s contribution – and thought – rests upon his or her partner’s previous words and the attention of the addressee while an utterance is in progress.

As the term *sentence* is reserved for a grammatical entity, I will in this study use the terms *utterance* and *speaker contribution* to describe a coherent spurt of words without categorising them grammatically (see Steensig 2001: 42). They are the neutral terms and not to be understood otherwise. The concepts of *sentence* and *clause* are used partly in the traditional way to describe grammatical features of turns, or parts of them; partly differently from what is done in traditional grammar as described below. I will also talk about a *main-clause* and a *dependent* in the traditional way and use the most common terms on different subordinate clauses. Other grammatical concepts, e.g. *phrase*, *subject*, *object*, *complement* will be used as is done in traditional grammar.

What deviates from traditional grammar in my account, is that I will speak of *sentences* and *clauses* as formal concepts but not necessarily belonging to one person. Neither do I require sentences to correspond to complete thoughts. In mainstream grammar, it is normally

not explicitly stated that these formal items are produced by one person but it is assumed. Clauses and sentences can literally be produced by two (or more) persons, e.g. when a second speaker completes an utterance which his partner is producing (see *Chapter 5*). Sentences are also prone to be the product of two or more contributors, e.g. when a complete clause is extended by a second speaker (see *Chapter 6*).

Elaborating the view that grammar is shaped in and by discourse, it is appropriate to introduce an approach to syntax which is more apt for describing what is actual in talk-in-interaction.

3.2.3 Dialogical syntax

It is obvious that the static grammar of mainstream linguistics cannot account for every single move in human interaction; some phenomena will lie out of the rather limited scope of syntax and others will not fit in the narrow cut of traditional or mainstream syntactic descriptions. The fact is that syntax is not suitable to deal with larger stretches than a sentence but in interaction it is necessary to be able to look at larger units, such as accounts or narratives. On the other hand, feedback, responses and discourse particles can be mentioned as examples of what mainstream syntax is not well suited to deal with. Collaborative constructions, as discussed on these pages, could be added to the list of phenomena which traditional syntax would not be suitable to describe. The reasons for the shortcomings of traditional syntax to describe interaction are explicit. Mainstream syntax only focuses on the *internal syntax*; it describes phrases, clauses and sentences, which are built from grammatical units. The focus point is the internal organisation, from an identified beginning to a projectable end and this is simply not sufficient in interactional linguistics. Therefore, the concept of *external syntax* has been coined, referring to larger stretches of talk than traditionally dealt with in syntax (see J. Lindström 2008: 40–43 and Linell 2005b: 268–273). The external syntax, based on empirical data, connects the study of grammatical constructions to the dialogical sequence of which it is a part and the focus point is the dialogic organisation of the utterance. Traditional syntax, i.e. internal syntax, and dialogical syntax, i.e. external syntax, can and should support each other in a similar way that morphology and syntax do. The actual meeting point of internal and external syntax is in the turn constructional unit, where speakers draw upon both grammatical knowledge and interactional skills.

It is not clear how large stretches of talk-in-interaction the external syntax should be able to deal with. It would not be appropriate to set up formal constraints; it goes against the goals of interactional linguistics, which necessarily is data-driven and inductive. In defining the scope of external syntax, it is more relevant to use pragmatic and prosodic constraints (Linell 2005b: 270).

In traditional syntax, the utterance is looked at as static and concluded product. This focus goes against the dynamics which characterises dialogues and which interactional researchers want to include in their analysis. Rather than choosing the traditional static *product-syntax* as a point of departure, the dynamic *process-syntax* is chosen and by that the opportunity to describe the ongoing collaborative task which the interactants carry out in a dialogue (J. Lindström 2008: 44).

Process-syntax works at two parallel levels; on one level it focuses on the speaker's actions and her grammatical and lexical choice which most often is planned 'on-line', i.e. in real-time. The product can therefore be different from what is seen in prepared talk; the speaker has sometimes to repair what she already has said, or to add an explanation to what seems to be a concluded utterance. The other level is the dialogical one: the speaker adjusts her utterance to her partners and they respond to what she says, even while the utterance is still under construction (J. Lindström *op.cit.*: 44–45). Both levels are closely related to the study on completion and other-extension. The two phenomena show co-operative activities which would be difficult to describe solely with the tools of traditional product-syntax.

Having presented the main grammatical concepts in interactional linguistics, it is time to turn the attention to the interactional units and processes, starting with the actual meeting place of grammar and interaction; the conversational turn.

3.3 Interactional units

3.3.1 The conversational turn

The key unit in CA and interactional linguistics is the *conversational turn*, and the obvious characteristics of a dialogue that participants take turns in talking (see Sacks *et al.* 1974; Steensig 2001: 38). Above all, the conversational turn is a dialogical entity, a tool to carry out social action and a unit which houses the turn constructional unit which is an important

syntactic, pragmatic and prosodic unit (Schegloff 1996: 53 and 54). The turn and the turn constructional unit are therefore the places in conversation where linguistic terms become extremely relevant, where they literally ‘meet’ the interactional ones.

The conversational turn had from the outset an essential role in CA. This is established in the early writings of Sacks, but it was originally in their classical article from 1974 that the foundation was laid by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974). Since then, almost all accounts of spoken language rely in one way or another on their assumptions of the conversational turn.

Sacks *et al.*’s view on the organisation of turn-taking was based on examples from their data of everyday conversation. It was apparent from their data that “overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time” even though the size and ordering of turns varied (1974: 699). To underpin this view they pointed out that occurrences that go against this ‘rule’ are common, but they are also brief (1974: 700), and the briefness could be interpreted as the speaker who went against the norm withdrew as soon as she or he became aware of a mistake. One important feature that Sacks *et al.* pointed out was that the system allocates single turns to each of the speakers and each of them has “exclusive rights to talk to the first possible completion of an initial instance of a unit-type” (*op.cit.*: 706). All turn-transfers are co-ordinated close to *transition relevance places* and these places are themselves determined by possible *completion points* (*ibid.*).

Each turn is *recipient designed*; it will influence and be influenced by the participants in the conversation but also be treated in a certain way in the given context. The turn is created word by word and is effected by the recipient’s reactions – whether they are verbal or silent – or the lack of them, which also will affect what is said (Steensig 2001: 42; see also excerpt (2.2) above). Even if the turn is normally on the credit of one person – the actual speaker at that point in time – it is evident that the recipient’s contribution is highly relevant. The participants’ contributions take various forms and have different functions in the dialogue. Some of them function as feedback (see Green-Vänttinen 2001) and others are collaborative completions or extensions where the recipient volunteers to complete or extend the previous speaker’s turn (Steensig 2001: 42).

In spite of the undisputed importance of the conversational turn, it is not always evident to what exactly the term refers. Most scholars seem to agree on that the conversational turn is a product of a single person even though they admit that the design of the turn is shaped by the context and the recipients (cf. e.g. Steensig 2001: 39ff.). The turn does not have a fixed length

or form; it varies from one single word up to a lengthy story. That raises the question of how the participants in a dialogue know where a turn is coming to an end. The truthful answer is that they do not *know* anything at the beginning of a turn. They can of course expect something in the given context and they will gain knowledge as the turn unfolds. The situation in a conversation is complicated and at each point in time, the actors have to evaluate the signals they are receiving from their partner. Signals in the form of syntactic, prosodic, semantic and pragmatic cues add up to indicate a turn ending (see Ford and Thompson 1996).

As pointed out by Renkema (1993: 111), the turn-taking model “does not make clear how the distinction is made between turns on the one hand and ancillary remarks or ‘back-channel behaviour’ which does not trigger the rules of assignment on the other”. The model also fails when it comes to describing completion. The system should allow us to distinguish between a completion to an unfinished clause and just agreeing to it as in (3.1) below:

- (3.1) *Listening to the clock (ISTAL 07-230-02)*
 [Participants: A, male; B, male. Friends.]
1. B: en maður venst því eftir smá tíma
but man.M use.3 it.N.DAT after little time.M.ACC
‘but you get used to it after a while’
 2. →A: ((hlær)) eins o:g að hlusta á
((laughs)) as and to listen.INF VP
‘((laughs)) like listening to’
 3. (2.1)
 4. →B: (.hh)#já# (.)
PRT
‘yes’
 5. →A: klukkuna
clock.F.ACC.DEF
‘on the telephone clock’

This excerpt, and numerous others similar in the ISTAL data (though excluded in the present study), shows that after the long pause in line 3, B seems to agree or give feedback⁸ to an utterance that has not yet been completed (see Howes, Healey, Purver and Eshghi 2012: 484). After the agreement, or when the feedback token has been uttered, A starts over again the

⁸ *já* ‘yes’ is a token of a positive agreement and also a common feedback token in Icelandic (see Blöndal 2005a and 2005b).

prepositional phrase he had started in line 2 and completes his own syntactic unit. This is one of many examples which shows how eager the first speaker is to complete an already started utterance even when the context has changed since his or her first attempt as in (3.1).

In (3.2) we have another example where A is about to ask a question but has not completed it when B starts talking, overlapping A's ongoing turn, and gives an answer which seems to be the appropriate one to the question-in-progress:

- (3.2) *Poor thing (ÍSTAL 04-730-07)*
 [Participants: A, female, sister of B and C; B, female, sister of A and C; C, female, silent in the excerpt]
1. →A: **já: já er hún ekki orðin rosalega**
PRT be.3 she not become.PP terribly
 'yes, is she not by now terribly'
2. [(svona)]
(like)
 'like'
3. →B: [jú: hún er orðin (hrörleg)]
PRT she be.3 become.PP (terrible) F
 'yes she is quite'
4. →A: **(hrör-) hrörleg greyið**
(fra-) frail.F poor thing.N.DEF
 'frail, poor thing'
5. B: jú
PRT
 'yes'

In (3.1) and (3.2) we see the tendency for the current speaker to complete a whole unit, whether we call it a clause or a turn constructional unit, even when the sought after information has been provided. In this example, the question is not completed when the answer is already in the making, but, anyhow, A continues after B's insertion and completes the already answered question. These excerpts indicate that the actors in a dialogue conceive the turn as a unit and that they rely on what is projected at each point in the turn-unit in progress (see similar examples in Ono and Thompson 1996: 76). We could also ask: Should we consider A's contribution in lines 1 and 2 as a turn in itself or is her turn first completed in line 4 where A finishes her utterance?

There are other instances than those depicted above where the turn-taking behaviour cannot be explained according to Sacks *et al.*'s model. A relevant instance is where what looks like an

apparent transition place is not considered an appropriate place for a speaker change, e.g. in larger units of talk as in stories, jokes and descriptions (Houtkoop and Mazeland 1985). This phenomenon will be addressed in Ch. 3.3.2 and 3.3.3 below.

The examples discussed in this section show that the concept of the conversational turn is far from being clear in all aspects. It is for instance not indisputable what counts as a conversational turn, what it does necessarily include or what it is made of. It is not even clear whether the turn is necessarily an unaccompanied work of *one* person or whether two or more people can build it cooperatively. Lastly, it is unsettled how completion of the second speaker should be interpreted, i.e. whether it is the turn itself he completes or only the turn constructional unit. These questions are relevant in the context of the present research and they will be addressed and discussed in the concluding chapter (see Ch. 3.4 and Ch. 7.5 below).

3.3.2 The Turn Constructional unit

One of the terms coined in the early writings of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson is *turn-constructional unit* “for the production of the talk that occupies a turn” (1974: 720). In English, these units can be sentential, clausal, phrasal and lexical and they have one thing in common, i.e. they have “points of possible unit completion, points which are projectable before their occurrence” (*ibid.*):

Instances of the unit-types so usable allow a projection of the unit-type to be completed.
Unit-types lacking the feature of projectability may not be usable in the same way (*op.cit.*: 702).

From the early years of CA the *turn constructional unit* (henceforth TCU) has been defined according to how well it serves the turn-taking system, i.e. how well it prepares the interactants for the turn-transfer at the first possible *transition relevance place*. The definition of TCU has therefore relied on two kinds of criteria, i.e. syntactic structure in a given context and projectability, the nature of the unit to constitute a possible completion point (Selting 1998: 6). The shortcomings of the definition of a possible structural and the interactional role of TCU result in the fact that the notion has never been unambiguous in the literature. Researchers have disagreed on what exactly the term includes (see Selting 1998: 3) and they have reacted to the ambiguous interpretation of the unit in different ways. Some of them have chosen to avoid the term altogether because of its ambiguity (Auer 2005: 10 (note 2)), while others have taken up Sacks *et al.*'s challenge to linguists, put forward in their article (1974: 703), “to participate in

defining the character of TCUs” (Ford and Thompson 1996: 136). Amongst those who confronted the problem were Ford, Fox and Thompson (1996), Selting (1998) and Ford and Thompson (1996).

In their article, Ford, Fox and Thompson (1996: 428) are seeking an answer to what appears to be a simple question, i.e. they want to find out what are the basic units of talk-in-interaction. They point out that it has been manifested that it is not sufficient to describe it either by a strict syntactic approach nor can it be considered strictly prosodic; the same goes with the grammatical units *sentence* and *clause*; none of these can be used independently. In their search for an answer to their question they ran into some difficulties when they dealt with possible multi-unit turns and found out that a TCU is always interactionally achieved, it is always negotiable. This, they claim, is the core of the TCUs being: “Indeed, for users, participants in interaction, the ultimate ‘indefinability’ of TCUs is essential to their functionality” (Ford, Fox and Thompson *ibid.*). When interactants extend, cut short, restart and repair their turn-in-progress, they do so “in response to contingencies emergent at particular points in particular conversations” (*ibid.*). If we look at TCUs as interactionally achieved we have to agree to the fact that TCUs and turns are almost impossible to predict accurately. Ford *et al.*’s (1996) conclusion is that the task of trying to identify TCUs only yields a part of what is really going on in conversation. They recognise that syntax plays a part in building up a TCU, so do many other linguistic features, as well as intonation, but this is not all:

Furthermore, we find numerous cases in which, instead of clear cases in which syntax, prosody, gesture, and action predictably converge to form unequivocal units, even emergent ones, an array of combinations are produced, which are open to manipulation of various sorts as they are being built (*op.cit.*: 449).

Ford (2004) revisited the contingency in interaction later on and it will be discussed in relation to discourse units below.

Margret Selting (1998) takes on the task of defining the problems facing those who use the notion TCU, and she suggests some solutions. She sees the TCU suffer from being so tightly attached to Transition Relevance Places (henceforth TRPs), and, in her opinion, we need to separate these two notions, i.e. we need to

distinguish between TCUs that do not and that do end in TRPs. As a consequence, we need to clarify relation between different kinds of units: under what conditions are what kinds of units TCUs and under what condition do TCUs end or not end in TRPs? (Selting 1998: 3).

Selting sees difficulties in dealing with complex TCUs, i.e. story-telling, jokes, longer descriptions or direction-giving which in most cases both meet the criteria of being projectable and to come to a recognisable end. But how should this ‘big-packages’ be dealt with (Jefferson 1988)? What is a TCU in these turns; is it “every syntactic clause, every component part of the story, or the entire projected story?” (Selting 1998: 11). There are two possibilities here, according to Selting (*op.cit.*: 11–12). Either we can rely on Schegloff’s criterion that “TCU can constitute possibly complete turns” (*op.cit.*: 55) and look at the whole story as one TCU which consists of smaller units; or

we can rely on the criterion of syntactic unit and then treat each sentence, clause, phrase etc. as a TCU, claiming that activity-type internal completion points of TCUs are blocked from being treated as transition relevance place (Selting 1998: 12).

The advantage of the first solution is that

the notion of TCU would be reserved for those units that indeed are immediately relevant for the operation of the rules of turn taking and we would be able to distinguish terminologically between units not ending in a TRP and units ending in TRP (*ibid.*).

One disadvantage to this solution is that it would have to be assumed that a TCU, at least in the ‘big-packages’, consists of smaller units, and that this solution is not the one that the pioneers in CA opted for, neither in their paper from 1974 nor later (*ibid.*).

The solution proposed by Selting is in line with Sacks *et al.*’s suggestion that TCUs most often consisted of syntactic constructions. This has also been the common view in the literature although it has not been stated directly (*op.cit.*: 13). Holding this view, it would be necessary to distinguish between TCUs which do and do not end in TRPs. Other means than syntactic ones to project a single TCU and longer turns would also be considered, e.g. prosodic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic and activity-based devices. A TCU is then seen as an interplay between these devices (*op.cit.*: 14). According to this view, TCU is the smallest linguistic unit in interaction. Selting’s (1998: 40) conclusion is as follows:

The interplay of syntax and prosody in their semantic, pragmatic and sequential context is used as a resource by participants in order to construct single TCUs and in order to project possible and designed ends of the current TCUs as well as larger projects that extend the current TCU.

And Selting continues (*ibid.*):

Syntax only has scope for single TCUs, prosody reaches beyond the current TCU and can be used to project a TCU to follow, lexico-semantic, pragmatic and activity-type specific schemata can be used to project larger turns. ...Every complete turn is by definition also a TCU, but not every TCU is a possible turn.

According to Selting (*ibid.*), the definition of a TCU should not be tied to the notion of TRP; a single TCU can either end with a projected and recognisable TRP or it can be extended beyond the next possible completion point and this action can be repeated several times through lengthy turns, e.g. narratives or jokes. A TCU is then a grammatical unit which serves as a building block of the conversational turn; either the speaker can produce a turn by utilising a single TCU or reach over the boundaries, to the next possible TRP, and produce a multi-unit turn. Either way, the result will always be founded upon the joint effort of the participants in the conversation; the speaker to give a clue of her intention, e.g. by a story preface or by prosodic features, and her partner to interpret the signal uttered by the current speaker.

There must be a reason why a problematic concept like TCU has survived in the literature from the onset of CA, and there must be some advantage in shifting the attention from sentences to TCUs. Schegloff (1996) addresses this topic and points out that

objects which might otherwise be taken as sentence-initial particles, interjections, etc. – that is virtual appendages pre-positioned to the core unit – now invite treatment as possible TCUs in their own right (56).

Conversational turns are

the key proximate organizational niche into which bursts of language are introduced, and to which they may be expected to be adapted. And grammar is one of the key types of organization shaping these bursts (*op.cit.*: 53).

A TCU is complete when it can be discerned that some possible action has been accomplished by the turn-so-far, and analysing a stretch of talk in TCUs will in many instances lead to different results than if the sentence or the clause are used as the main linguistic unit of interaction (*op.cit.*: 59). Some TCUs are short, just one word, others are lengthy and go beyond syntactic boundaries. One TCU can constitute a whole turn but when boundaries of grammar may “extend beyond those of a single TCU in their context of relevance”, Schegloff proposes the term *multi-unit turn* (*op.cit.*: 60) which can be projected by the first unit in the turn (*op.cit.*: 61). Story-telling can be used as an example of a multi-unit turn where the story-preface projects a longer turn than otherwise expected.

Story-telling and other ‘big-packages’ create a special problem and it was recognised by Houtkoop and Mazeland (1985) who claimed that not all turn-taking behaviour can be explained by the Sacks et al.’s model:

There are stretches of talk where the completion points of turn-constructional units do not present themselves as transition-relevance place, i.e., as opportunities for turn-transfer. These larger units of talk are not constructed out of one syntactic unit-type. A speaker who is

producing such a larger project not only has the right to take a turn which is constructed out of more syntactical units, but also has the right to take as many turns as is necessary to finish the project (1974: 596–597).

The authors suggest that in addition to turn-units, there are larger units, so-called Discourse Units (DU), to which the participants show great sensitivity. They claim that the end of a story shows much stronger indication of TRP than each smaller TCU that build up the narrative.⁹

Houtkoop and Mazeland (1985) distinguish between two types of DUs; Open Discourse Units and Closed Discourse Units. Open DUs, e.g. descriptions, advices and accounts, do not have a fixed end. In open DUs the continuation of what has been said in the turn-so-far is the result of negotiation between the interactants, as is normally done in talk-in-interaction. The completion of e.g. a story is not open for negotiation; it is inherent in the story. A story is a Closed DU, it comes to the concluding part and a recognisable end and only then is it appropriate for the other participants in the interaction to claim the floor. Stories often come in series and then it is not necessary to produce a story-entry for each of the contributions. The participants know what they can expect, but when the story-telling-period is over the turn-taking model operates again until the next DU is started (Houtkoop and Mazeland 1985: 601).

Houtkoop and Mazeland were among the first to engage in what later was called interactional linguistics by looking at extended turns from both a linguistic and an interactional viewpoint. This is pointed out by Ford (2004) who takes the discussion further in her article on contingency in interaction. She points out that the search for definable units in interaction may result in an obstruction in understanding the phenomena under scrutiny because they are “always and centrally contingent ... and only answerable to the contingencies of interaction” (Ford 2004: 29). These problems arise when we try to conceive a TCU as both a projectable unit and then predictable but at the same time as highly contingent and totally dependent on collaboration in the interaction. One of the facts we have to deal with in talk-in-interaction is that a speaker can start his or her utterance where none of the features of spoken language are

⁹ We find many narratives in the data used in the current study. Narratives have been defined in many ways. I use Norrby’s definition of a narrative (1998: 315), which reads as follows: “A story candidate re-creates a course of events limitative in time and space, and separate from the time of speaking. The course of events is either expressed overtly in the surface structure or can be understood by inference.”

Norrby also uses some non-obligatory features as criteria for her narratives. Amongst them are a presence of an overall story structure, which is easy to divide into recognisable parts and it must be a monological account (*op.cit.*: 316). These features were also adopted as criteria for the many narratives found in my data.

complete, i.e. syntax, intonation, gesture, pragmatic features (*op.cit.*: 31). To deal with these facts, the researcher has to cover contingency in relation to at least two core features inherent in interaction:

- (1) the dynamic and unfolding co-construction, co-authorship, or collaborative production of talk ...; and (2) the simultaneous production of multiple trajectories, including sound, bodily gesture, lexico-grammar, and recurrent structures of collaborative action (Ford 2004: 31).

Ford's assumption is that a more innovative thought is needed than the rigid notions that mainstream grammar provides, to deal with the real-time unfolding of interactional units (31). Therefore Selting's model "risks misinterpretation by linguists less steeped in interaction analysis" (Ford 2004: 36). Selting's model should then be viewed as heuristic but not as a model of real-time processes (*ibid.*). If researchers fail to incorporate contingency to their descriptions of talk-in-interaction, it can result in the notion of Houtkoop and Mazeland's (1985) of closed DU being misinterpreted. In a way, both unit types, open and closed DUs, "are in one way or another 'open'" (Ford 2004: 47). The need to incorporate all the significant features at work simultaneously in interaction when describing them, is evident in excerpt (2.2) above where the speaker rephrases his utterance in order to address different recipients.

The variations of the turn-taking-model and the ambiguity of the notion of TCUs are relevant for the discussion in the remainder of the study. First, in my account of completion (Ch. 5) where I deal with a phenomenon which could be looked upon as a violation of the turn-taking-rule, and, second, in Ch. 6 where I focus on extensions where many of my examples include 'big packages' like narratives and jokes.

TCUs must inevitably have starting places and they must come to an end. The participants in a dialogue can choose to start with something which is not recognisable as a beginning and to end with something that does not sound as a completion (Schegloff 1996: 75). This concerns the topic of the present research as we are, *inter alia*, looking at collaborative utterances in interaction where the projection of what it takes to complete an utterance, i.e. the projectability of the TCU in progress and its possible ending, becomes extremely relevant.

3.3.3 Transition Relevance Places

In their paper from 1974, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson look at turn-taking as a basic form of organisation for conversation and they consider the main rule of "one party speaks at a time"

and the briefness of the occurrences of simultaneous speech, to be a confirmation of how conversation is structured. Turn transfer is coordinated around TRPs which are possible completion points for the conversational turn. This exerts pressure on the participants to have their “turn-jobs” accomplished before the first possible completion in the ongoing turn (Sacks *et al.* 1974: 723):

The split-second precision of the turn-taking systems must rely on a method of prediction on the part of interactants as to where a turn is likely to be terminated, that is, as to where the “transition-relevance place” is (Ford and Thompson 1996: 135).

Sacks *et al.* concluded that syntactic units played a key role in constructing a TCU. They also acknowledged the importance of the role of intonation and the interplay of many factors in projecting the completing point of the unit and they suggested a precise specification of what information the interactants have to give in order to be able to project the upcoming TRP (*ibid.*).

In their article, Sacks *et al.* (1974: 703–704; see also Steensig 2001: 46–47) provided these three basic rules of turn allocation:

1.
 - 1a. Current speaker can select the next speaker (e.g. by directly addressing a question to him/her).
 - 1b. In default of (1a), any speaker other than the current one may self-select. Should neither rule (1a) nor rule (1b) operate, then rule (1c) may come into operation.
 - 1c. Current speaker may continue.
2. After 1c the rule-set a-c re-applies at the next transition relevance place

These rules are cyclical; they reapply at each TRP. The rules suggest that at each possible completion point the interactants will negotiate the turn-taking and when it comes to turns larger than one TCU they have to apply rule 1c.

Nevertheless, even if these basic rules are valid for all dialogues, there is a noticeable difference between dialogues depending on the number of participants. In a conversation with two participants, a *dyad*, the turn allocation is straightforward and follows the pattern ABAB. As soon as they are three, we have a *polyad*, and then the roles of the participants become more complicated and do not necessarily follow the pattern ABC ABC (Londen 1995: 25). In polyads, it becomes negotiable who will become the next speaker and sometimes the current speaker selects a primary addressee to whom she directs her talk. This selected addressee is often the one who has shown interest in the topic, who has given feedback and carry-on signals

(Linell 1998: 102–104). When the participants are four (or more) the conversation is prone to split up into two (or more) dyads with two different topics taking place on two conversational floors (Londen *op.cit.*: 27). The number of participants in the ISTAL data varies from two to four and this is one of the features which is necessary to bear in mind when discussing the speaker change in the dialogues discussed in the current work.

In recent years there has been a growing interest in looking at the intersection of grammar and interaction and pay a special attention to prosody in talk-in-interaction, and how prosody and syntax are intertwined in projecting the next TRP. That is also Ford and Thompson's aim in their article (1996; see also Bockgård 2007 on Swedish). Ford and Thompson's findings show that intonational and pragmatic points select from the syntactic ones to form what they call *complex transition relevance places* (henceforth CTRPs), where all three types of completion points coincide and which seems to be the ultimate point for a speaker change (*op.cit.*: 154). In fact, 71% of speaker change in Ford and Thompson's data occurred at CTRPs (*op.cit.*: 156). Of the three types of completion points, syntactic completion seems to be the least reliable indicator of a possible speaker change, but it is, however,

one of the features associated with, though not definitive of, CTRPs, since intonational and pragmatic completion points regularly fall at points of syntactic completion (Ford and Thompson 1996: 156).

Ford and Thompson's findings also show that interactants must be aware of a set of linguistic and interactional features while the TCU is in progress. CTRP is the strongest indicator of a speaker change and exceptions from that seem to be systematic and done for some interactional benefits (*op.cit.*: 159; see a more detailed account of Ford and Thompson's findings in 4.2 below). This is of relevance to one of the topics of the current work, namely completions at non-TRPs, discussed in Chapter 5 below.

3.3.4 The sequence

When one listens to an authentic dialogue it becomes evident that it cannot be dealt with as series of individual turns. The turns are normally connected to each other and depend on each other, and where we find what looks like a violation of one of the “rules” of conversation we will give it a meaning through its position in the string of turns. Even silence can get its meaning from where it is placed; it can also be of importance which question the speaker

chooses not to answer (Linell 1998: 82). A conversational turn is always a contribution to the dialogue as a whole and as such it is necessarily seen in connection with other turns in a *sequence*, i.e. “in the patterns of activities” (Wooffitt 2005: 8). The turns are sequentially organised and their interactional importance is dependent on their position in the sequence (*ibid.*). The terms *sequence* and *sequentiality* should not be understood literally. Utterances do not necessarily need to follow each other as neatly as they would do in a written text. Such a view is based on the *written language bias* (see 2.2 above). On the contrary, this is not always the case; the turns can be delayed, they can be uttered simultaneously or they can even partly overlap (Linell 1998: 71).

Each turn and each TCU can be scrutinised by the participants in a dialogue to find out what actions have been accomplished through it. Series of turns are also of interest for both interactants and researchers to see what sequences have appeared in the course of talk. A sequence does therefore have a structure and can be traced through the dialogue; it can be discerned where a sequence starts, what action is accomplished by it and where and how it is completed (Schegloff 2007: 3). The organisation of a sequence gives a shape and coherence to stretches of talk and to the series of turns in a dialogue. “The focus of this organization is not, in general, convergence on some *topic* being talked *about*, but the contingent development of the *courses of action*” (*op.cit.*: 251).

It is important in CA and interactional linguistics to look at turns not *per se* but more effectively in connection with the activity upon which the participants are embarking at a given point in the conversation. These activities vary from being story-telling, disputes or simply asking and answering a question (see Steensig 2001: 43). A basic unit of sequence construction is the *adjacency pair* which could be looked at as a resource for a sequence construction in a similar way as a TCU is a resource for turn-construction (Schegloff 2007: 9; see on adjacency pairs Sacks 1995(II): 521–570). The properties of the adjacency pairs are that they are relatively ordered and there is an easily recognisable difference between the first and the second part, for instance in *question-answer* pairs and *invitation-response* pairs. The first part of these pairs also demands a certain type of responses; questions need some sort of answers and invitations should either be accepted or rejected. The first utterance does therefore limit the choices the next speaker has in the second move (J. Lindström 2008: 139). The term *adjacency pairs* refers to that, ideally, the two parts stand next to each other, i.e. the second part is uttered

immediately after the first one, as in the excerpt in (3.3) where the answer comes right after the question has been asked (example from Schegloff 1984: 35):

(3.3)

A: What time is it?
B: It's noon.

This is certainly not always the case; there are some insertions that are perfectly reasonable in a certain context, as shown in (3.4) below where the answer to the question (Q1) comes only after insertions – a question and an answer – from both the participants in the dialogue (excerpt from Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 40):

(3.4)

[Levinson 1983: 304]

1.	A:	Can I have a bottle of Mich?	Q1
2.	B:	Are you over twenty-one?	Ins 1
3.	A:	No.	Ins 2
4.	B:	No.	A1

In the excerpt, B has to ask for certain information (line 2) which he gets (line 3) and only then is he able to provide the answer to the original question.

Conversations, as other types of discourse, are highly context dependent and have to be dealt with by considering their immediate context, i.e. the sequence. All interpretation of excerpts from a dialogue is therefore based on the placement of an utterance within the sequence; the occurrence of all utterances must be interpreted in relation to its prior context of how it is realised in the sequential slot (see Ford 1993: 9–10).

3.4 Interactional processes

3.4.1 Projection and projectability

While discussing the conversational turn, the TCU, the TRP and the sequence above, I have deliberately left unanswered an important question which is bound to be raised in this context: How do conversationalists tailor and time their entry to the ongoing dialogue at TRPs? This question leads us to one of the most eminent concepts in interaction, i.e. *projection* and *projectability*.

It is an important observation in CA that the next speaker does not normally wait until the current speaker has completed his turn, but actually bases his start on his analysis of what it would take to complete the ongoing turn; an analysis which is carried out before the turn reaches that completion point (see Steensig 2001: 76). The term *projection* is traditionally used to refer to TRPs, and to foresee the completion point includes predicting what it takes to complete a TCU, i.e. which type of a clause, which syntactic phrase, which particular lexical item is needed.

Projection is essential both for the current speaker and for the following speaker, i.e. the one who is in the role of the recipient at a given time. It is important for the first one because she can revise her utterance, and by that prolong the time she needs for completing it. The second speaker also relies on projections because he has to be prepared to join in at suitable places in the dialogues with appropriate continuations of, or responses to, what was said before his entry.

When Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson set up what they called *A simplest systematics for the organization of turn taking for conversation*, they made it very clear that the rule set appeared

to treat as central only the 'projectable completion' feature of its host's language materials, it seems productive to assume that, given conversation as a major, if not THE major, locus of a language use, other aspects of language structure will be designed for conversational use and, *pari passu*, for turn-taking contingencies (1974: 722).

In the writers' opinion, not only was projectability the prerequisite for the turn-taking rules to be carried out in conversation, but, also, they assumed that utterances lacking projectability would not be usable in the same way to construct a conversational turn (*op.cit.*: 702).

Projection can be realised in four different but interrelated ways. *Syntactic projection* which is done by starting producing a syntactic unit; *prosodic projection* which is realised by prosodic means of holding the turn or yielding it; *semantic projection* which can for example be achieved by the use of lexical constructions such as *either ... or*; and *pragmatic projection* which is done by recognisable activity types (Szczepek 2000a: 10). The importance of syntactic projection was prominent in the early writings of Sacks *et al.* and has since then had a certain status in the literature. It has been described by Auer (1996: 59):

During the emergence of a syntactic gestalt, the chances for predicting (correctly) the not-yet-produced remaining part (and therefore, its termination) continually increase. Thus, the production of a gestalt in time starts with a phase of minimal projectability, implying a high load of perceptual-cognitive work on the part of the recipient and of productive-cognitive work on the part of the speaker, and ends with a phase of maximal projectability in which the speaker profits from the quasi-automatic terminability

of already activated patterns and the recipient from the low informational load of the remaining utterance.

Projection has a time-span and when exploring it we need to foreground its temporality (Auer 2005: 7,8). One action in a dialogue projects the next action in the time slot following the first one, and makes a certain “next activity” more likely to appear than others in that time slot.

Projections have nothing to do with determination, they “prefigure the next moment, allowing the participants to negotiate joint courses of action until, finally, a communication problem is solved collaboratively” (Auer 2005: 2, quoting Streeck 1995: 87, and his reference). And Auer (*op.cit.*: 2–3) concludes:

Communication without projection would be restricted to behavioural segments which are either independent events or chained to each other as stimulus-response sequences, beyond the control of a speaker and recipient.

Being such a salient concept in conversation, projection has received a deserved attention in the literature on interaction. In the present account, I look at syntax as an ‘on-line’ production.

Taking this standpoint, I will accept that “syntax is a formal(ised) way of human language to make projection in time possible” (Auer 2005: 14). In Ch. 5.3 below, we will take up the thread again in the context of completions and their projectability.

3.4.2 Preference organisation

Not only do the turns and sequences link-up with each other grammatically and pragmatically; they are connected interactionally with what has been termed *preference structure* or *preference organisation* (Pomerantz 1984: 57–101; Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 43). The term *preference* does not have the same meaning in the field of CA and interactional linguistics as it does in general. The term is not used of what the interlocutors prefer themselves but rather to describe general tendencies in society (i.e. social norms). Preferred structures and organisation could also be described as *unmarked structure / organisation* in a conversation:

Sequences are the vehicle for getting some activity accomplished, and that response to the first pair part which embodies or favors furthering or the accomplishment of the activity is the favored – or, as we shall term it, the preferred – second pair part (Schegloff 2007: 59).

The division between preferred and dispreferred actions concerns the alignment in which a second action stands to the first and which alignment the recipients take against the first part in their response (Pomerantz 1984: 63–64). There are two main types of responses, those which

Schegloff (2007: 59) calls ‘go-ahead’ response and those which he calls ‘blocking’ response. The former shows that there are no obstacles ahead, no problems to be expected. This is the *preferred response*. The latter predicts a problem ahead in the interaction, something that will block the flow in the dialogue. This is what is called *dispreferred response*.

Research has shown that alternative answers to offers, assessments and requests are non-equivalent in the dialogue and the differences are described in terms of a preference organisation: the format for agreements is labelled the *preferred* action turn shape and the disagreement format is called the *dispreferred* action turn shape (see Heritage 1984: 265–269; Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 43ff.). Two preferences have a certain status in the literature; i.e. the preference for agreement and the preference for contiguity (Schegloff 1996: 78–79; Steensig 2001: 42). However, there are exceptions and complications to the general preference structure that agreement is the preferred response. Sometimes the preferred response is bound to be negative to show sensitivity to the circumstances, for example when the first speaker downgrades herself (*I am so dumb*) or because otherwise the second speaker would not adhere to common rules of politeness (*would you like the last piece of pie?*) (see Pomerantz 1984: 83–90 and Schegloff 2007: 60).

Turns which show preferred actions show different structural characteristics than turns which embody dispreferred action. Preferred turns are normally responded to by immediate uptake, without a pause or the use of hedges, “that is, one which carries no import other than straightforward passing of the turn from prior speaker to next speaker ..., and they come early in the next turn, with no turn-internal initial delays” (Schegloff 2007: 67). The excerpt in (3.5) shows an example of an invitation and an acceptance (from Heritage 1984: 265; see also Schegloff 1984: 35):

(3.5) (SBL:10:12)

B: Why don't you come and see me some[times
A: [I would like to

As shown in (3.5) the acceptance is uttered without a delay which is characteristic for a preferred action in a dialogue.

Responses to dispreferred turns are different in the sense that they are normally not done contiguously. The second speakers try to mitigate their not aligning replies in one way or another and by that avoid an overt disalignment. They do so by using different methods, i.e. by

using prefaces, they sometimes elaborate on the previous turn by giving a lengthy account before they respond to it, they excuse themselves, explain and use hedges to tone down their dispreferred response and sometimes the second speaker claims insufficient knowledge to respond to the prior turn (see Schegloff 2007: 64–73). This is demonstrated in (3.6) below (from Heritage 1984: 266):

(3.6) (SBL:10:14)

- B: Uh if you'd care to come over and visit a little
while this morning I'll give you a cup of coffee.
- A: 1→ hehh Well that's awfully sweet of you,
2→ I don't think I can make it this morning
3→ hh uhm I'm running an ad in the paper and-and
Uh I have to stay near the phone.

Obviously, there is a great difference between these two excerpts in (3.5) and (3.6). The refusal is delayed (see the arrows) in different ways. First, it is done by an appreciation of the offer (1→) which only comes after an outbreath (*hehh*) and the hesitation or even refusal expressed by 'well'. Next (2→) the second speaker produces a refusal but does not do it in an assertive way. On the contrary his utterance is very carefully phrased (*I don't think...*) and lastly, in (3→), he explains why the offer could not be accepted.

In short, it is possible to state that the “overwhelming effect of a dispreferred response is that more time and more language are used than in a preferred” (Yule 1996: 82). It should though be pointed out that turns that show dispreferred actions are by no means characterised by all these features on each occasion and it can also happen that preferred actions show some of these features and vice versa (Schegloff 2007: 63).

Preference structure does play an important role in the co-operative processes discussed in the present study; it is “inherently structured and actively used so as to maximize cooperation and affiliation and to minimize conflict in conversational activities” (Atkinson and Heritage 1984: 55).

3.4.3 Repair

The term *repair* (or *reparation*) is used to describe and define how the participants deal with difficulties in the dialogue. Repair is triggered by a *trouble source* (see Schegloff 2000: 205)

which can refer to various processes carried out for different reasons. Repair in CA and interactional linguistics should be read as a ‘repair of the turn-taking system’ and the term is used to cover a wide range of phenomena. Amongst those are overlapping talk and ‘corrections’ of various types. *Correction* is not an appropriate term to use in this sense because not all repairs are grounded on an error in the utterance in making (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 57). The excerpt in (3.7) shows an example of a repair which occurs without a recognisable problem (from Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977: 363). In the excerpt, Ken has uttered the word ‘bell’ when he decides to use ‘doorbell’ without having a discernible problem:

(3.7) Ken: Sure enough then minutes later the bell r- the doorbell rang
[GTS:1:2:11

As pointed out by Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) repairs are of great importance for the turn-taking system and one of the alternatives at hand for the participants in a dialogue. In the context of the present study, the organisation of repair is obviously relevant for the discussion of completing or extending previous turns-at-talk.

Repair illustrates how participants orient to the turn-taking system by abandoning the utterance in which they are running into trouble, e.g. in the case of overlapping talk which is a violation of the rule of ‘one speaker at a time’. This would be repaired by bending one of the central features of the turn-taking system, i.e. by bailing out of an uncompleted TCU (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 57–58). Repairs can be carried out by the current speaker or by the addressee, in the same turn as the flow is interrupted, in the next turn or later on in the sequence. The problems can be of various types; apart from word selection and overlapping talk we find slips of the tongue, mishearing and misunderstanding. Repair can even occur where there are no obvious mistakes in the flow of speech, e.g. where the speaker utters some additional information to what he had already said (*op.cit.*: 61; see also example (3.7) above). The results of repair take different forms, e.g. expansion of the previous utterance, modification, where the speaker adds some attribute to what he has already said, and, change of syntactic structure (J. Lindström 2008: 171).

In the literature, four varieties of repair are recognised: (1) self-initiated self-repair where the repair is both initiated and carried out by the speaker of the trouble source; (2) other-initiated self-repair where the repair is carried out by the speaker of the trouble source but

initiated by the recipient; (3) self-initiated other-repair, in which the speaker of the trouble source tries to get the recipient to repair the trouble, e.g. when he does not find the word he is seeking; (4) other-initiated other-repair where the recipient of the turn of the trouble source both initiates and carries out the repair (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977; Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 66). These different varieties of repairs occur at different places as mentioned above, though always close to the trouble source, in fact “[t]he space is three turns long, starting from (i.e. including) the trouble source turn. Nearly all repairables on which repair is initiated have the repair initiated within this space” (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977: 375; see also Schegloff 1992). This placement is done for structural requirements because if a trouble source is not dealt with close to their occurrence it can lead to serious problems later on in the sequence (*ibid.*).

Even if other-repairs are favoured at times, there is a preference for self-repairs. Three out of four of the structural locations for repair are found in the turn of the speaker who produced the trouble source (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 66). Therefore it can be concluded that there is a preference for self-repair. This is partly due to structural features of the repair system which is ‘skewed’ in favour of the self-repair; and partly it is because of face-saving acts and preference structure (see Steensig 2001: 188–189). In the latter instances it could be interpreted as inappropriate or rude to practice other-repair in a dialogue, at least do it in a prominent way (*op.cit.*: 67).

Repair is obviously one of the activities carried out by completions and extensions and therefore of importance in the context of the current research.

3.5 Summary

This chapter was devoted to units and processes in both traditional and interactional linguistics that are considered to be of relevance for the discussion in the remainder of the thesis. First, the grammatical units *syntactic phrases*, *clauses* and *sentences* were introduced and the uncategorised and unbiased terms *utterance* and *speaker contribution*. Then it was discussed briefly what kind of syntax is needed in order to attain all the characteristics of interaction. There the terms *external* and *internal syntax* were coined and their importance in describing talk-in-interactions. The main interactional units introduced in the chapter were the *conversational turn*, the *TCU* and the *TRP*, all of which are vital in discussing interaction. The

difficulties in describing longer periods of talk were considered, i.e. narratives and thorough descriptions, especially when it comes to defining the TCU, which, apparently, the pioneers, Sacks *et al.* left unanswered. These items have been termed *discourse units*. And, finally, the *sequence*, the sequentiality, one of the foundations in CA, was briefly discussed. All these units play an important role in this study.

Numerous interactional processes are described in the chapter. First is *projection*, which is one of the most eminent concepts in interaction and especially important in discussing co-constructions and collaborative constructions as a whole. Projection is the ability to foresee or predict what it takes to complete a TCU. Projection is vital for interactants when it comes to timing their entry in a dialogue and to working on an appropriate response.

Another related and important process is *preference organisation*, a term used to describe general tendencies and deviations from them; in other words *preferred response* and *dispreferred response*. Both projection and preference organisation play important roles in collaborative constructions, because both processes rest upon the interactants' knowledge of the linguistic structure, the topic and the action that is carried out by the utterance. These processes enable the participants to 'read' the ongoing dialogue with considerable accuracy and to cooperate by entering the conversation in a collaborative manner. The utterance at each point in the production tells them what to expect and how they can discern the deviations from what could be expected. By this advance 'knowledge' of what comes next, the second speaker can react with more speed and more precision than he could do otherwise, and by that, keep up the flow and the tempo of the conversation.

Finally, *repairs* are important in discussing the phenomena which are the main topics of the study; many of the constructions dealt with below could be seen as forms of repairs.

In the previous chapters, I have introduced the methodology and the terms that I consider necessary for the discussion on the two collaborative constructions. In the following chapter, I will move on to the actual topic of the thesis and discuss definitions and previous research on the phenomena.

4. Definitions and previous research on collaborative constructions

4.1 Introduction

Many researchers have written about collaboration in conversation (cf. Sacks 1995(I): 144–147, 321–323 and 1995(II): 57–60; Lerner 1991, 1996, 2002, 2004a and 2004b). As mentioned above, my account is based on the general view that a dialogue is naturally a cooperative activity (see Linell 1998: 74). The collaborative constructions discussed here show instances where the cooperation culminates, i.e. where the interactants not only agree on or give feedback to the previous utterance, but jointly build up their utterances, sometimes even by sharing one syntactic unit. The two collaborative productions under scrutiny show clearly the active partnership upon which interaction is based. They also show how the syntactic forms emerge and are shaped by the interaction itself (cf. Schegloff 1996: 54–55).

The constructions I deal with in the present study are, as introduced in Ch. 1, *completion* and *other-extension*.¹⁰ Each of these two types of collaboration will be thoroughly introduced below and revisited in the empirical chapters, i.e. Ch. 5 and Ch. 6.

In the following sections, I will introduce different approaches to collaborative constructions and previous research and, moreover, present the definitions of the phenomena used for the current analysis.

4.2 Different approaches to collaborative constructions

It is possible to look at and discuss collaborative constructions from several different viewpoints, and that is exactly what is found in previous research in the field.

The standpoint J. Lindström (2008) chooses in his book is to discuss what here is called *completion* and *other-extension* together under the heading *ifyllnader* (E. *completions*) (see e.g. examples (20) and (22) on pages 189 and 191). A similar approach is found in Eriksson (2001) and Landqvist (2004) who both discuss extensions (S. *turtillägg*), and solely focus on what could be called *self-extension* (Linell's *egen-tillägg*) where the first speaker adds to his own previous

¹⁰ The first scholar to use terms equivalent to the English *other-extension* seems to be Linell, who used the Swedish term *annan-tillägg* in his article on dialogical grammar as distinguished from *egen-tillägg* (2005b: 291). Even if I am not discussing *self-extension* in the present study, I choose to differentiate between these two phenomena by using the full term, *other-extension*.

words. This could point to a categorisation similar to the one J. Lindström (2008) uses, because neither of them mentions that there are two types of extensions, self-extension and other-extension. In their article (2007), Couper-Kuhlen and Ono only focus on self-extensions in three different languages, English, German and Japanese. That could be due to a similar categorisation as mentioned before, i.e. to look at completion and other-extension as closely related phenomena but self-extensions as a distant relative to the latter one, one that shares some formal characteristics but is used for different interactional actions. Szczepek (2000a and 2000b), however discusses two types of collaborative actions, i.e. collaborative productions that complete the current speaker's utterance, and the ones that extend it (2000b: 17).

In my account, I hold a similar view to the ones described above; I only address the two types J. Lindström (2008) and others pair together in their accounts, completions and other-extensions. The categorisation is based upon the view that these two types have a lot in common and are different from other forms of collaborative activities. Therefore, I exclude both self-extensions and *designedly incomplete utterances* (Koshik 2002), i.e. utterances which require what Bockgård (2004: 282) calls *gap-fill-in-answers*. They are interesting phenomena to investigate but they are of a different character and therefore not easily comparable to completions and other-extensions.

I look at these two constructions from both a formalistic viewpoint and an interactional one. My focus is on to which type of utterance the addition is linked; whether it is an incomplete sentence in the making or a potentially complete one. This is also an interactional viewpoint based on whether the first speaker has completed her ongoing turn and reached a possible TRP when the extension is added to, or if it is still under construction.

Figure 4.1 shows the view on which I base my observations:

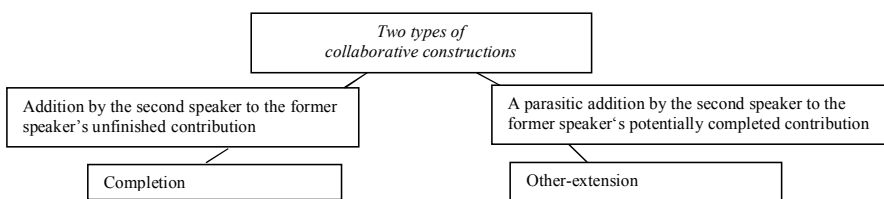


Figure 4.1: Syntax- /Turn-oriented description used in the study

In the remainder of the thesis, I look at these collaborative constructions as shown in *Fig. 4.1*; i.e. completions as a separate phenomenon based on the fact that in them two speakers collaboratively construct a single clause or a TCU, and other-extension as a phenomenon where the second speaker adds to a potentially complete syntactic and interactional structure.

Another way to present a collaborative construction is to show it on a timeline, as in *Figure 4.2* and *Figure 4.3* where \\\ marks a possible completion point where a speaker change would be supposed to occur. As revealed in *Fig. 4.2*, A never completes her utterance and B comes in shortly before the anticipated TRP. As also illustrated in the figure, B does not claim the conversational floor but withdraws after his short insertion. A has then an opportunity to regain the floor if she so chooses (therefore the parenthesis); in some instances, a third party will join in or the conversation will take another and unexpected course:

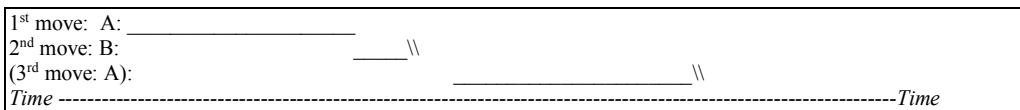


Figure 4.2: Completions and the temporal dimension

Other-extensions, on the other hand, are looked at as shown in *Figure 4.3*. Now, B's contribution is added on to a potentially complete utterance – and that is the main formal difference:

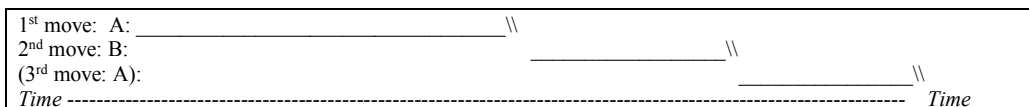


Figure 4.3: Other-extensions and the temporal dimension

Figures 4.1, 4.2 and *4.3* show both the syntactic orientation and how the utterances unfold in a certain time slot. *Figures 4.2* and *4.3* show that the syntactic structures of the completed or extended utterances emerge during the given time. I have chosen syntax as the point of departure for obvious reasons. From the early days of CA, syntax has been considered the main factor in providing the projectable units in conversation (see Sacks *et al.* 1974: 702; Ford and Thompson 1996: 143). The linguistic units Sacks *et al.* mention in their paper on turn organisation only include syntactic elements, i.e. sentential, clausal, phrasal and lexical constructions. All these units allow a projection; i.e. the participants in the dialogue know, or

find out as the TCU unfolds, what is needed to complete the utterance (*op.cit.*: 701–703). It is significant that Sacks *et al.* do not mention other types of TCUs than the syntactic ones; hence giving more weight to syntax than to other features such as intonation and pragmatics which recent research has shown to play an important role in achieving smooth turn transfer (Ford and Thompson 1996: 171). Some researchers have followed in the footsteps of the pioneers in exploring completion by giving syntax more weight than e.g. pragmatic and prosodic features; see for example Bockgård (2004) and Helasvuo (2004). Others, especially Szczepek (2000a), have given syntax, prosody and pragmatics equal relevance in their writing.

Recent research has borne out the importance of syntax in interaction and by that established the view introduced by Sacks *et al.* (1974). The research by Ford and Thompson (1996: 142), introduced in 3.3.3 above, shows interesting factors about the interdependence of syntax, pragmatics and prosody. The central questions explored by Ford and Thompson are, first, to what extent syntactic completion can be a predictor of a turn completion that results in a speaker change, and, second, what it means in the interaction when syntactic, pragmatic and prosodic completion are not associated with a speaker change. Their findings confirm that intonational and pragmatic completions are nearly always syntactic ones as well, whereas the reverse is not true. The vast majority (98.8%) of intonational completions are also syntactic (Ford and Thompson 1996: 154–155). Intonational and pragmatic completion points select from among the syntactic completion points to form a Complex Transition Relevance Place (CTRP) (Ford and Thompson 1996: 154), which seems to be an ideal place for a speaker change. If Ford and Thompson’s conclusion predicts something for other languages than English, it is reasonable to assume that pragmatic and prosodic completion points would coincide with the syntactic ones in most cases in Icelandic also. To support Ford and Thompson’s findings, Szczepek (2000a: 18) claims that 75% of her data show completions with respect to both prosody and syntax and those are the most typical of her data corpus.

4.3 Previous research

4.3.1 Research on collaborative completion

Different researchers have used various terms for what here is called *completion*. Under the heading of “Collaborative built sentences”, Sacks (1995(I): 145) discusses that it is not

unheard of for two persons to collaborate to produce a single sentence. The normal way that is done, however, is that, say, one person produces an almost complete sentence and finds himself searching for a last word or a last phrase which he can't find, and then the other offers it.

Sacks also focuses on an example from a musical where conversational behaviour of this type is used and he calls it "lovers' talk", when each one "produces part of a sentence, which the other then may complete" (*ibid.*). He concludes that it is

an obvious device to show, through this playing with the syntactic features of an utterance, that these people are close to each other. They're a unit" (*ibid.*).

Sacks treats collaborative productions as social actions; the possibility of building a sentence together in conversation is at the same time a possibility for jointly constructing a social unit.

When two or more people produce something that normally is done by one person, it shows

a kind of extraordinary tie between syntactic possibilities and phenomena like social organization. That is, an extremely strong way that these kids go about demonstrating that, for one, there is a group here, is their getting together to put this sentence together, collaboratively (*ibid.*).

The largest contribution and the most intensive work on collaborative production is produced by Lerner (1991, 1994, 1996, 2002, 2004a and 2004b). He defines completion which he calls either *sentence-in-progress* (1991, 1994, 1996) or *pre-emptive completion* (2004a) as follows:

In conversation, the pre-emptive completion of one speaker's turn-constructural unit ... by a subsequent speaker can operate on that unit in a way that transforms it's production into a sequence – a collaborative turn sequence. . .
Here a recipient responds to a prior speaker, not by waiting until completion to act, but by pre-empting that completion as a method of responding (Lerner 2004a: 225).

Most of Lerner's work concentrates on what he calls *compound turn constructional unit*, formats where the first component is a strong indication of the second one (1991,1996).

Normally, there would be a transition relevance place when the whole compound unit has been produced but in these collaboratively produced utterances the speaker change will sometimes occur when the first part has been uttered and the second speaker then anticipates what kind of syntactic construction is needed to complete the unit. Examples of this are sentences having "if" or "when" in the first part which will project "then" as a final component. Lerner (1994; 1996) has also explored completions which are strongly projectable, e.g. in an instance where the first speaker has started a list and the second speaker concludes it. Lerner's focus on collaborative built sentences is solely syntactic, even though the formats he explores „are not all syntactic in nature, but range from pragmatic formats (lists) to semantic relation (contrasts) to interactional activities (doing disagreement)" (Szczepek 2000a: 4). He sees the sentence

production as “an interactional achievement” in itself and the co-production of a sentence as displaying aspects of “an interactionally relevant syntax” (Lerner 1991: 441).

In two separate articles on English, Szczepek (2000a and 2000b) explores both formal and functional aspects of collaborative non-competitive productions of syntactic constructions and prosodic units. Her definition of collaborative production is different from Lerner’s because she does not only claim syntactic continuation but also prosodic and pragmatic ones (Szczepek 2000a: 10). The second part of a collaborative production is therefore necessarily a continuation of the first component, syntactically, prosodically and pragmatically.

Helasvuo (2004) has especially studied completions involving the co-construction of one clause in Finnish conversations, and her main interest is to describe the syntax of completions in conversation. She divides the co-constructions into four categories according to the syntactic features which she analyses in more detail than the researchers mentioned above. Obviously, this approach gives a clear picture of the syntactic formats in collaborative constructions, but leaves out pragmatic and prosodic features which do not fall within the scope of her research.

In his studies on Swedish, Bockgård (2004) deals with three types of collaborative productions, i.e. completion, designedly incomplete utterances which require what Bockgård calls “a gap-fill-in-answer” (*op.cit.*: 282) and extensions (i.e. other-extensions). He focuses on the syntactic structure of these productions, especially on the internal syntax, with an emphasis on the ‘second move’, i.e. the second speaker’s act upon the preceding utterance. From Bockgård’s point of view, every second move has two indispensable factors; it has to be a syntactic continuation of A’s utterance, and it has to be connected pragmatically to the preceding utterance. This requirement goes for all the three phenomena Bockgård analyses in his thesis (103). Bockgård’s (2004) definition of completion rests upon whether B adds his utterance to an open or closed expression or, in other words, whether A has reached a potential TRP or not. Completion can, from Bockgård’s viewpoint, either be an induced completion, where there are problems in A’s utterance that result in B’s joining in, or a non-induced completion, where nothing seems to trigger B’s action (104).

Ferrara (1992) differentiates between three types of completions in English. These are *predictable utterance completion*, *helpful utterance completion*, and *invited utterance completions* where the last one corresponds to Bockgård’s *gap-fill-in-answers*. Ferrara has been criticised for treating these categories as exclusive, when they are not. A completion can, for

instance, be an invited utterance and a helpful one at the same time (see Szczepek 2000a: 4); the first does not exclude the second. Ferrara focuses on syntax but leaves out prosodic aspects.

Günthner's (2012) focus is on constructions in German where the second speaker completes utterances in the making by adding *dass-clauses* (E. 'that-clauses'). This collaborative construction is possible because the partners in the conversation rely on cognitive routines on which the social action is based.

Howes (2012) combines a corpus analysis, experiments and theoretical modelling to explore what she calls *compound contributions*, i.e. how they are used and how they affect the conversation.¹¹ Her evidence shows that compound contributions are frequent in different media, both in dialogues and in written texts, in fact „3–10% of all contributions in dialogue being continuations by one person of another's prior contribution and 10–24% being continuations of one's prior contribution“ (*op.cit.*: 201).

The abovementioned research focuses on English, German, Finnish and Swedish. It is interesting to look at collaborative production in a language which does not only represent a difference in culture and interactional practices, but also gives an account of TCU constructions in a verb-final language. That is what Hayashi (1999) and Lerner and Tagaki (1999) have done. One of Hayashi's (*op.cit.*: 495) findings is “that projection in Japanese is done more bit-by-bit than English” and that “syntax by itself is not as much of a resource for projection and therefore for co-participant completion” because the clause in Japanese seems to have a looser syntactic organisation than in e.g. English. Lerner and Takagi (*op.cit.*: 73), who also worked on Japanese data, concluded that an “[a]nticipatory completion of compound TCU structures found across languages furnish evidence of participants' orientation to disparate syntactic structures of utterance production for similar features of turn-construction” (original emphasis overlooked).

4.3.2 Research on other-extension

Other-extensions have also been observed and discussed from the outset of conversation analysis. In his lectures, Sacks discusses what he calls *appendors*, which, from Sacks' viewpoint, work in the following way:

¹¹ In Howes' (2012) account the two phenomena here under scrutiny are included.

Some person, A, introduces a sentence. B treats that as an independent clause and builds, say a question which is of itself grammatically incomplete, but which, if seen as the dependent clause to an independent clause, is okay, with one possible variation on being okay, and that is that if the first utterance had pronoun like 'I' in it, then the appendor has a pronoun like 'you' in it (1995(I): 528).

The example Sacks gives shows *appendor question* which apparently is a subgroup or a part of what is called *other-extension* in the present study:

(4.1)

- A. I'm about to drown.
- B. In your own humidity?

In the example, A completes her utterance, syntactically, prosodically and pragmatically, but B produces anyhow a continuation of the former utterance, an utterance which totally relies or parasites on A's contribution and would not be intelligible without the connection to it. Another example of other-extension is found in one of Sacks' lectures where he is talking about some characteristics of spouse talk (*op.cit.*(II): 438). Sacks gives two examples of what he calls *completion* "to sentences begun by Ben; such sentences as, so far as he's concerned, may already be complete" (*ibid.*). These examples meet perfectly my criterion for other-extensions (see 4.4.1 and 4.4.3 below). The other-extension in Sacks' example (4.1) is an appendor question and that is certainly one of the many functions of other-extensions (see Ch. 6 below; on appendor questions see also Bockgård 2004: 122–125 and J. Lindström 2008: 192). Sacks discusses collaborative built utterances, and amongst them other-extensions, in various places in his lectures (see 1995: (I) 144–149, 320–327, 647–655 and (II) 65–66).

Many researchers after Sacks have studied other-extensions. Below, it will be described how and from which viewpoint they define the occurrence of the phenomenon.

Ferrara 1992, differentiates four subcategories of joint productions in her survey, one of which is what she calls *utterance extensions*, which match my description of other-extensions. She suggests that utterance extensions are motivated by respect for the truthfulness of utterances: "Where a statement is only partially so, interlocutors may append a truth-insuring extension" (221). That is where other-extensions are of use, from Ferrara's viewpoint, and this is obviously one of the functions carried out with other-extensions also in my data (see Ch. 6 below).

Ono and Thompson (1995) discuss two types of collaborative constructions. Their goal is to demonstrate the constructional schema which lies behind the syntactic term ‘clause’. One of the constructions they discuss is co-construction (*op.cit.*: 227). There are two types of constructions that are equivalent to completion and other-extensions and the authors see them as one evidence for “that abstract schemas are shared between two interactants” (*ibid.*). Their examples suggest that both or all the participants in the dialogue rely on the same set of syntactic knowledge, i.e. to the same constructional schema (*op.cit.*: 228).

Another account of collaborative production is Szczeppek’s (2000a). Szczeppek also has two main categories of collaborative constructions, i.e. completions and extensions, the latter only referring to *other-extensions*. Szczeppek discusses both syntactic extensions and prosodic ones, and those which are both prosodic and syntactic extensions at the same time. Prosodic continuation is a prerequisite in Szczeppek’s account on other-extensions (17) and she also claims pragmatic conditions, i.e. the second speaker has to continue the social action initiated by the first speaker (*op.cit.*: 6).

Bockgård (2004: 94, 98, 100) deals with extension as one of three types of collaborative constructions he accounts for. He uses the term *extension* over other-extensions and does not deal with self-extensions. Bockgård follows Auer’s (1996: 60) definition of what counts as a possible syntactic completion, i.e. it has to be independent from its immediate context in the sense that it does not project into it.

Lerner (2004b) also discusses other-extensions, which he calls *other-initiated increments*. He divides the group into two, other-initiated increments which are also other-completed and other-initiated increments that are self-completed (159). The latter term is used for what here is called *other-extension* and it is the one which stands out as a focus point in Lerner’s account. Lerner looks at the phenomenon as a turn-prompting sequence, i.e. a form of turn construction which is used “as a device to prompt a type-specific extension of a prior speaker’s turn” (152).

It is obviously more common in the literature to look at other-extensions and completions as closely related phenomena, which they are in a way, but in other aspects they differ from each other. In Ch.7, I will both explore what these two phenomena have in common in Icelandic and in what aspects they are different from each other.

4.4 The definitions of collaborative constructions used in this study

4.4.1 Completions

Completion is a part of an utterance which is produced by two speakers; the first one, A, starts (1st move) but before she has reached the next TRP the second speaker, B, steps in and completes it (2nd move). By completing an utterance, B usually does not claim the floor but only takes the utterance to the next possible TRP, no further, and usually A accepts the floor again to react to B's insertion (3rd move). Therefore, completion is not looked at as a floor-seeking action but perhaps more related to other-repair or feedback. Example (4.2) shows a prototypical completion:

(4.2) *Infection and salmonella (ÍSTAL 06-220-02)*

[Participants: A, male, husband of D; B, female, C's wife;
C, male, husband of B; D, male, husband of A, silent in the excerpt]

1. A: það er örugglega margt til í þessu
it be.3 definitely many.N to in this.N.DAT
'there is definitely many things in it'
2. eins og með þetta með svínakjötið
as and with this.N.ACC with pork.N.ACC.DEF
'as this with the pork'
3. þú sérð það bara inn í trúarbrögðum
you see.2 it just within in religion.N.PL.DAT
'you see it in religion'
4. A: af því að (0.4) við vitum
because that we know.1.PL
'because we know'
5. C: já
yes
'yes'
6. A: að það þarf að sjóða þetta
that it need.3 to cook.INF this.N.ACC
'that you need to cook this'
7. A: og grilla þetta ansi vel
and barbeque.INF this.N.ACC quite well
'and barbeque this quite well'
8. C: jú
yes
'yes'

9. →A: **til þess að fá ekki**
to it.H.GEN to get.INF not
'to not get'
10. (0.2)
11. →B: **sýkingu↑**
infection.F.ACC
'infection'
12. →A: **sýkingu og salmonellu →**
infection.F.ACC and salmonella.F.ACC
'infection and salmonella'

In (4.2) A, B and C are talking about the need to cook pork well in order to avoid infection. In line 9, A continues his account after having received a feedback from C in line 8. When A is producing his utterance, he pauses and then B joins in and offers her conclusion on A's explanation (line 11). A, the first speaker, receives his partner's input and repeats it and adds to it another but semantically related item, perhaps the one he had in mind himself. In (4.2), only a short pause indicates that A is in lack of words or in a trouble of any kind. B's input in line 11 seems to be a friendly one and not intended to win over the floor. It only seems to show a shared understanding. It is discernible from her behaviour after her entry when she gives the floor immediately to A again.

Quite frequently, completions are "try-marked" as shown in (4.3) below:

- (4.3) *A mirror? (ISTAL07-107-04)*
 [Participants: A, male; B, male. Friends]
1. →A: **°ég ætla að sjá**
I intend.1 to see.INF
'I am going to see'
2. **hvort ég eigi ekki hérna°**
whether I have.1.SUB not PRT
'whether I have'
3. →B: **spegilinn eða →**
mirror.M.ACC.DEF or
'the mirror or'

In (4.3) B completes A's TCU after A utters the filler *hérna* 'here'. B's contribution is produced with a continuing intonation, which is typical for *eða*-questions in Icelandic (see Blöndal 2008). Examples of this type do indeed show syntactic continuation but it could be

argued that they form a pragmatically independent action, and because of that, they should not fall within the scope of the present paper (see Szczepek 2000b: 7; Lerner 2004a: 229). My decision was to include excerpts of this type because they meet perfectly the formal criteria and they show a very subtle and sensitive form of repair, which is interesting when exploring collaboration in interaction.

On the other hand, my definition of completion excludes one type of utterances which both Ferrara (1992) and Bockgård (2004) include in their accounts, i.e. utterances that require *gap-fill-in-answers* (Bockgård 2004: 282) as shown in (4.4):

- (4.4) *Learns to play a flute* (ISTAL 04-701-05)
 [Participants: A, male, husband of D; B, a girl, 11 years old, daughter of A and D, the latter silent in the excerpt; C, female, silent in the excerpt]
1. →A: **en þú ert að læra á hvað á**
but you be.2 to learn.INF on what on
'but you are learning to play, what on'
2. →B: **flautu=**
flute.F.ACC=
3. →A: **=flautu gengur það vel↑**
flute.F.ACC go.3 it well
'flute, does it go well?'
4. B: **jájá**
yesyes
'yesyes'

In (4.4) A is talking to a child, B, who he knows is learning to play an instrument but he does not remember which instrument, something which he is probably supposed to know or considers himself that he should know. He ‘disguises’ his question as a statement but in the end he adds to it a prepositional phrase “on what” and by repeating the preposition *á* ‘on’ he elicits the little girl to fill in the gap and to do it with a certain phrase. B responds to that request in line 2 but does not claim the floor. A immediately repeats B’s reply and continues asking the little girl about her achievements in music. B’s utterance in line 2 is a typical gap-fill-in-answer.

The reason for excluding utterances of the type as shown in (4.4) is that in an utterance like the one in line 1 it is the first speaker who asks for a certain type of completion, he elicits it and therefore it deviates from completions. The second speaker’s choice is therefore restricted to

the exact item that will form the reply A needs to continue his utterance.

4.4.2 Other-extensions

Other-extensions are constructions where the current speaker has apparently reached a syntactic, pragmatic and prosodic TRP (1st move) when the second speaker adds to it a phrase or a clause which rests upon the preceding one, i.e. a parasitic unit (2nd move).

Other-extensions are normally not a floor-seeking action and the floor will still be A's after B's contribution (3rd move). Example (4.5) shows a typical other-extension (see full analysis in Ch.6, excerpt (6.7)):

- (4.5) *Pigs afloat (ISTAL 06-220-02)*
 [A – male, D's husband; B – female, 's C's wife;
 C – male, B's husband; D – female, A's wife]
1. A: svo voru þeir með svín um borð (.)
then be.3.PL.PT they.3.M. with pigs.N.PL.ACC aboard
'and then they had pigs aboard'
 2. (x) mat og annað° (.)
(x) food.M.ACC and other.N.ACC
'food and other things'
 3. þeir voru með evrópsk svín
they.3.M be.3.PL.PT with European pigs.N.PL.ACC
'and they had European pigs'
 4. sem voru svona bleik (.)
who be.3.PL.PT like pink.N.PL
'who were pink'
- [6 lines omitted]
11. →A: þau urðu alveg ómöguleg sko=
they become.3.PL.PT totally impossible.3.PL.PT PRT=
'they became totally impossible'
 12. →B: svona eins og rauðhært fólk
PRT like redheaded N. people N.
'just like redheaded people'
 13. →A: já=
PRT=
'yes'

Example (4.5) shows clearly the emerging nature of conversation. In line 11, A describes that the pigs had been impossible to sail with because they tended to sunburn. In line 12, B joins in

with a possible explanation, or comparison which is put forward as a question or a request for further explanation from her interlocutor who, in line 13, replies with a simple agreement token and by that confirms that A's explanation was correct.

4.4.3 Criteria for completions and other-extensions

To draw the attention to the core of collaborative constructions, I decided to focus upon syntactic continuations where the second move – the completion or the extension – forms an immediate continuation and concludes what the first speaker started in the way that the outcome is an intact syntactic structure. The only item I allow between the first utterance and the candidate completion and other-extension (between the 1st and 2nd move) is a repeat of a function word (a grammatical word), e.g. when the second speaker is completing a PP and repeats the preposition already uttered by his partner. It should also be mentioned that response particles like *já* 'yes' and *nei* 'no' are excluded when they stand in front of the utterance in the second move because in that position they interrupt the flow of the sentence as a whole unit. On the other hand, these particles are included when they are uttered as a closing item because then they do not come between the first and the second move.

5. Completions – Form and function

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to completions (see definitions and examples in 4.4.1 and 4.4.3 above). Before turning to the presentation of the material in the chapter it is informative to look at how frequently completions occur in my data. From the 20 hours of transcribed conversation (described in 1.2 above), I found 53 examples matching the rather strict criteria I set for my investigation (see 4.4.2 above). These 53 completions were found in 20 out of the 31 conversations (67%) in the data collection and sometimes several instances were found in the same dialogue. *Table 5.1* shows how the 53 completions discussed in the present chapter are distributed:

Table 5.1: The ISTAL conversations that include completions

<i>ISTAL</i>	<i>Approx. length (m:s)</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Instances of completion</i>	<i>Interval between completions in minutes</i>
06-220-02	149:58	4	mixed	13	11.5
06-107-03	59:55	4	mixed	7	8.5
03-620-03	101:39	4	mixed	5	20.2
07-230-02	45:53	2	male	4	11.4
01-112-02	27:33	2	fem.	3	9.11
04-701-04	35:05	4	mixed	2	17.5
04-701-05	37:21	4	mixed	2	18.6
06-107-01	20:55	4	mixed	2	10.3
03-620-05	59:13	2	fem.	2	29.6
07-107-01	37:55	2	male	2	18.8
07-107-04	81:29	2	male	2	40.6
04-701-03	16:34	5	mixed	1	-
02-310-03	29:35	4	mixed	1	-
02-310-05	36:12	4	mixed	1	-
03-620-02	20:42	4	mixed	1	-
04-108-01	34:00	4	fem.	1	-
04-701-02	8:58	4	mixed	1	-
04-701-06	12:21	3	mixed	1	-
04-730-07	18:02	3	fem.	1	-
07-220-03	27:32	2	male	1	-
20				53	

According to *Table 5.1*, three dialogues stand out in the sense that completions occur more often in them than in others. In 15 out of these 20 conversations completions occur once or

twice, but in these three conversations, they occur five times or more. Two of the three conversations are exceptional in the ISTAL corpus for their duration in time; they are in fact the longest ones in the whole corpus. This fact can partly explain why more instances of completions are found in these dialogues than others, but only partly, as is obvious when we look at conversation 07-107-04 which lasts more than 80 minutes but only has two instances of completion. Conversation 06-107-03 has the shortest interval between completions, there occur seven completions in a little less than an hour, or one completion every 8.5 minutes.

The number of participants in the dialogue could also be significant when considering the frequency of completions. Nonetheless, it does not seem an important factor in the ISTAL data, according to *Table 5.1*. Completions are found in 11 out of 13 conversations in ISTAL where four people participate in the dialogue (85%) and out of nine conversations with two participants in the ISTAL corpus, six turned out to include completions (or 67%). Conversations with three interactants are six in ISTAL and completion is only found in two of them (33%) as revealed in the table. Dialogues with four participants stand out for how frequently completions occur but they also include the longest dialogues. Most of them have participants of mixed gender and in some of the longest ones, two married couples or close friends are conversing. As discussed in 3.3.3 above, polyads with four participants tend to split up in two dyads at times. One of the characteristics of these dialogues in my data is that the couples tend to co-tell stories where each one of them act as a storyteller and where B both completes and extends his partner's utterances. The reason for the frequency of completions in dialogues with four participants could lie in these story-telling episodes. This feature will be discussed further in Ch. 5.3.2.5 below.

Below, in Ch. 5.2, I will first look at what completions have in common; i.e. what are the characteristics of the phenomenon. In this section, I will also discuss the difference of the two sub-categories, *non-induced* and *induced completion* (see Bockgård 2004). After that I will focus upon each category separately and explore what it is, if anything, in the TCU preceding the utterance that 'invites' or triggers the second speaker to join in the dialogue prematurely. In Ch. 5.3, I will focus upon non-induced completion where nothing in the preceding utterance seems to explain the entry of the second speaker at the non-orthodox place. After that, in Ch. 5.4, I will discuss induced completions and scrutinise what problems or disruptions in the flow of the dialogue are found in the preceding talk. Next, in Ch. 5.5, I will address the question of

how conversationalists actually go about sharing their syntax. Which role do syntactic and interactional boundaries play there? Which syntactic guidelines do the interactants follow and what is considered sufficient syntactic information in order to make it feasible to complete an other person's utterance? What role does awareness of syntactic constituency play in the act of completing other people's TCU? Then, in Ch. 5.6, I will explore the exact meeting place of the two speakers' contribution, i.e. how the current speaker reacts to her partner's 'invasion' into her half-produced utterance. Sometimes this meeting place is in simultaneous speech and we will start by exploring what it uncovers. It is also of interest to look at how the pre-emptive entries influence the dialogue, a topic also addressed in Ch. 5.6. The main aspect discussed in the section is the first speaker's reception of her interlocutor's premature entry. Does she include it in her next utterance or does she ignore it or even reject it? Lastly, in Ch. 5.7, I will sum up and discuss the findings in the chapter.

5.2 Completions – formal characteristics

The most prevalent formulation of completion, and the one most widely described, is where A, the first speaker, holds the floor in the beginning of the sequence and is well on the way with her utterance when B, the second speaker, completes A's TCU. After that A has to respond to B's contribution, either by accepting or rejecting the contribution or by ignoring it and go on with the dialogue as if nothing happened. This three-move A-B-A type, could be seen as the unmarked structure of completion. It is obvious from my data that the completions occur mainly when the ongoing clause is close to a possible TRP and this is in accordance with the findings of other researchers (see Auer 1996: 59; see also 3.4.1 above).

Speakers who collaboratively build up a sequence in a dialogue rely on the syntactic structure and the prosody of the clause under construction, along with pragmatic clues. They listen to the words as they emerge, and, bit by bit, the syntactic phrases add up, the relation between them appears and they will form a whole clause (see Ch. 2 above). This careful attention to the emerging syntax – or the 'online syntax' (see Auer 2009: 1–13; see also 3.2.3 above) – is first and foremost necessary when it comes to attending to TRPs and a potential speaker change in order to follow the unwritten rule of "one party speaks at a time". During the emergence of the syntactic structure, solid knowledge of what it takes to complete the utterance increases and in inflectional languages, like Icelandic, it is not only the next lexical item of the

syntactic phrase which is foreshadowed but in many instances also the exact case, gender and number of the upcoming items, as shown in (1.1) above; see also Ch. 1.3).

Syntactic completion can be realised in different ways and there are many things going on at the same time when the second speaker completes his interlocutor's utterance. When the second speaker joins in, the first speaker has two choices: Either can she carry on with what she was about to say or she can stop as soon as she becomes aware of the second speaker's upcoming contribution. And speakers do both, as examples in my data show. There is a clear-cut speaker change immediately after the first speaker becomes aware of the second speaker's intention, and there are also instances where the first speaker does not stop talking despite B's intervention, this resulting in them talking simultaneously for a short while (see 5.5.1 and 5.6.1 below).

Out of 53 examples of completions in my data, I find 30 excerpts which show *non-induced completions* (57%); i.e. in the preceding utterance, there are not any signs of a hesitation or an upcoming problem, nor does anything else seem to disrupt the utterance in the making. The remaining 23 examples (43%) consist of *induced completions* where something in the utterance in the making could trigger the second speaker to join in prematurely. These findings are in opposition to Bockgård's (2004: 108) who found in his data more instances of induced completions; in fact two thirds of completions in his research were induced. This could be due to a difference in our data; mine consist of everyday conversations between young or middle aged people where Bockgård's data are more diverse and include both everyday dialogues and institutional ones. The difference could also lie in the fact that in 24 hours of 32, Bockgård's data consist of dialogues where the interactants are elderly people conversing among themselves or consulting doctors (2004: 59) and in the latter, their talk could be affected by the different roles of the participants, e.g. in doctor-patient conversations.

Among the questions that will guide us throughout the chapter are these: What exactly does a speaker do when he completes the other speaker's TCUs? How does he design his contribution to fit into what already was said, and how exact and how appropriate is his completion in the context of the dialogue? The answers to these questions relate to *projection* and *projectability* (see Ch. 3.4.1 above for an introduction of projection). Projection is a key notion when it comes to completions, both induced and non-induced. I do not share Lerner's (1996) view that completions which are uttered after a disruption in the flow of the

conversation are not projected, and should rather be looked at as “opportunistic completion” (*op.cit.*: 258–259) (see Ch.5.4.2 below). Even if the opportunity to complete the partner’s TCU is somehow opened up, e.g. by audible signs of the current speaker having troubles in the utterance-making, the second speaker must indeed use the same “insight” as elsewhere to complete the TCU, insight based on grammatical and interactional knowledge of the language, on the context of the sequence and on the social action which is conducted in the sequence. On the other hand, the exact entry by the second speaker, i.e. *where* in the TCU he joins in, is not in his hands, it is decided, at least partly, by the trouble spot in the utterance, and that is the characteristic difference between induced and non-induced completions.

5.3 *Non-induced completions*

5.3.1 The role of projection in non-induced completions

Though the examples which fall into the category of non-induced completions are not following an inducing item of any kind, many examples in this category are the ones which consist of the most strongly projected TCUs.

As stated above, those who participate in a dialogue are accustomed to conversational turns that have to relate to the prior turns and the succeeding ones, as they formulate their own turn (Sacks et al: 1974; see also Szczepek 2000b: 2–12). One of the key factors in the dialogue is the fact that one part of an action accomplished in the conversation foreshadows another; it is projected:

Human interaction rests on the possibility of projection; the grammars of human languages provide interlocutors with sedimentated and shared ways of organizing projection in interaction (Auer 2005: 7).

In 2.3 above, syntax was described as emerging; the clauses appear bit by bit, and the further the speaker goes into the unit, the easier it is for her interlocutor to find out what it takes to complete it. In the vast majority of my data on completions, the second speaker does not “know” what the current speaker is about to say, he has no previous knowledge of how the sequence will unfold, he has to “guess” it (Goodwin 1981; Szczepek 2000b: 12). Possible exceptions from that are duets where two of the participants in the dialogue are building on the same experience when they complete each other’s TCU, i.e. when telling a story, and thereby come across as one speaker; they know the content of what is being said (on *duets*, see

Szczepek 2000b: 2–12). Even in instances in which the second speaker is taking part by telling about occasions he is familiar with or has participated in, rarely does he have prior knowledge on exactly *how* his partner will phrase the utterance she is designing as she speaks.

To decipher the projection, the speakers draw on the knowledge of their languages, they know the schemata of common genres in spoken language, they are familiar with conversational prefaces and how they open up certain utterances, e.g. story-telling, invitations and announcements (see Auer 2005: 9 about prefatory activities). They know the structure of adjacency pairs, e.g. that an answer is to follow a question, and only in connection with the first move (the question itself), the second move will be meaningful. Projection is also involved in the sequencing of smaller units, such as clauses, phrases and lexical constructions, and it is vital for each interactional unit-type (see Sacks et. al. 1974: 702; see also Ch. 3.3.2 above).

One of the key contributions to projectability is syntactic structure but prosodic, semantic and pragmatic features add to it as well. The speakers' knowledge of the language they use for communication and its interactional rules are of great importance when it comes to projection (see Ford and Thompson 1996: 134–184).

Projectability varies in different languages with different grammatical resources (Hayashi 1999: 496) and as pointed out by Auer, projections vary in strength (2005: 12). Some are so strong that they pre-structure the conversational slot almost uniquely. Others leave many options open. Projections are also language-specific. Icelandic is an SVO language like English but we cannot take the comparison any further. Icelandic is an inflectional language where finite verbs have to show agreement in person and number with a nominative subject and where four cases mark the relation between the units in the clause (see an introduction to Icelandic in 1.3 above). In some instances it could be said that the second speaker acquires quite accurate information on what is to be expected in the clause in Icelandic; these items should be recognised as strongly projectable. Below, I will discuss some of these strongly projected instances which are found in the category of non-induced completions and, after that, also look at some examples where a suitable completed part is less projectable.

5.3.2 Strongly projected non-induced completions

5.3.2.1 Comparison

Comparative sentences express comparisons between two terms, e.g. people, items or ideas, and are typically expressed by using a comparative (or a superlative) form of an adjective (as in (5.1) below), comparative conjunctions, e.g. *eins og* ‘as’ or *líkt og eða líkur* ‘like’, ‘similar to’, ‘similarly’ (Halliday 1994: 154; 326). One child is *younger than* an other, an old car is *as good as* the new one and, a book I was given is the *same one* I read last week and an idea is *equally good as* the one we had before (see Huddleston 1988: 159).

In the data there are examples of comparison where different comparative words are used and they produce a highly projectable second part. In (5.1) we see one form of comparison where the first part, the comparative form of an adjective, is seen by the second speaker as an opportunity to complete the first speaker’s TCU by adding the comparative conjunction *en* ‘than’:

- (5.1) *Younger than Guðjón (ISTAL 06-220-02)*
[Participants: A, female, C’s wife; B, male, D’s husband;
C, male, A’s husband; D, female, B’s wife, silent in the excerpt]
1. B: [það er einn] sem hefur fengið undanþágu
it be.3 one.M who have.3.get.PP dispensation.F.ACC
‘there is one who has got dispensation’
 2. D: [það eru tvö]
it be.3. PL two.N.PL
‘there are two’
 3. B: því hann er (0.5) búinn að vera
because he be.3 finish.PP.M to be.INF
‘because he has been’
 4. í: sundfélaginu í þrjú ár
in swimming club.N.DAT.DEF in three.N.PL.ACC years.N.PL.ACC
‘in the swimming club for three years’
 5. C: já áður=
PRT before=
‘yes before’
 6. →A: =já sem er yngri
=PRT who be.3 young.COM
‘yes who is younger’

7. →B: **en** (**Guðjón**) **já**
than (Gudjon) PRT
'than (Gudjon) yes'

In the excerpt in (5.1), it seems relatively easy for B to complete the preceding utterance when she has realised the form of the adjective in line 6 because she knows the name of the boy A is talking about. She does so by adding a phrase starting with *en* ‘than’ and thereby concludes the comparison started by her interlocutor. This excerpt reveals that the latter parts of comparisons can be strongly projected by the first parts and therefore providing a place where the second speaker can confidently join in and complete his partner’s utterance.

5.3.2.2 Listing and counting

Three-part units of different types occur frequently in natural conversation. Among those are three-part descriptions and three-part lists (Jefferson 1990). Three-partedness is often related to rhetorical patterns in more formal discourse and in fairy tales, jokes and narratives (Londen 1993), but ordinary spoken language has, as Sacks repeatedly draws attention to in his lectures (see e.g. 1995(II): 291–303 and 305–309), many features that usually are connected with poetic language (see also Jefferson *ibid.*; see Londen *ibid.*).

In my data we find three-part lists and descriptions of different types and a list in the making provides a strong projection towards the end of the TCU because a “list in progress is recognisable as a list prior to its completion” (Lerner 1991: 448).

In the extract in (5.2), A is trying to describe a person to B to see if she recognises the man in question and she starts her description by listing the person’s attributes. As it turns out, her utterance – produced with an eager participation of her interlocutor – forms a three part list – with a parenthesis as the fourth item, *já luralegur* ‘yes, clumsy’ which is uttered as a reaction to B’s insertion in line 2 (see Jefferson 1990; also Lerner 1991):

(5.2) *A bit clumsy (ISTAL 06-107-03)*
 [Participants: A, female, D’s wife; B, female,
 C’s wife; C and D, male, D silent in the excerpt]

1. →A: **hann er stór** (0.8) **svolítið svona** [**þybbinn**] **já luralegur**
he be.3 big little.N PRT chubby.M PRT clumsy.M
'he is big a little like chubby yes clumsy'

2. →B: [luralegur]↑
clumsy. M
'clumsy'
3. →A: með skegg (.)
with beard.N.ACC
'with beard'
4. →C: >þekkirðu hann eitthvað<
know.2+you him something
'do you know him'

In the excerpt, A starts her description by naming the first attribute, i.e. the man's height, then she pauses before she lists the second item. At that time, B seems to have observed or guessed the form of a three-part list in the making. She chimes in the second item in line 2 simultaneously with A, each with a different lexical item although semantically related. A seems to embrace B's contribution; she repeats her word as she is recognising it as a better choice of word than her own second item. After that A adds the third and final item to the list (line 3). The interactants, A and B, are quite well coordinated in their contributions to the dialogue. B seems to recognise a list in progress from the first items, probably because three-part descriptions are commonly used in similar contexts and from the intonation of the first item uttered (the staccato intonation), underlined with the short in-turn pause after the first item.

In (5.3) the current speaker is counting cookies in a box to be able to answer B's question (not shown in the excerpt). The extract does not show a typical three-part unit and perhaps not exactly a list-making but the prosody and the syntactic structure project a clause which definitely is related to a list in the making:

- (5.3) *I think they were six (ÍSTAL 01-112-02)*
[Participants: A, female; B, female]
1. A: hh ég keypti (pa-)kassa með
I buy.1.PT (bo-)box.N.ACC with
'I bought (pa-) a box with'
2. >°einn tveir þrír fjórir fimm°<
one.M two.M three.M four.M five.M
'one, two, three, four, five'
3. → ætli það hafi ekki verið [sex]
shall.3.SUB it have.3.SUB not be.PP six
'I should think they were six'

4. → B: [sex]
six.M
'six'
5. → A: ég hugsa það (1.0) jú það hafa verið
I think.1 it PRT it have 3.PL be.PP
'I think so yes they have been'
6. → [sex] og ég borgaði fimmhundraðkall
six.M and I pay.1.PT five hundred kronas.M.ACC
'six and I paid five hundred kronas'
7. B: [sex]
six
'six'

In this type of utterances each item is even more strongly projected than usually in lists because one number follows another in a certain way that everybody is familiar with. When A has counted up to 'five' (line 2), it is easy for B to fill in the remaining 'six' which she does in line 4, in the same time slot as A herself completes her utterance (line 3). This type of counting has many features similar to ordinary lists when it comes to the formation of the utterance and the prosody, where each item is detached from another, both syntactically and prosodically.

5.3.2.3 Direct speech

Speakers can quote or report other people's words in different ways. They can quote a person verbatim, i.e. use what is called *direct speech* or *reported speech*; they can also quote a person's word indirectly by using *indirect speech* (Halliday 1994: 250–257). There are some verbs that indicate that either direct or indirect speech is underway, e.g. the verb *segja* 'say' which is used to preface both direct speech and indirect speech, in the latter case followed by an explanatory clause in the subjunctive mood. In (5.4) below, the verb *say*, followed by *til dæmis* 'for example' is used to preface an imaginary dialogue (see Tannen 1989: 114–116), or a conversation that could possibly take place between parents and teachers:

- (5.4) *To call the teacher (ISTAL 03-620-03)*
[Participants: A, male, C's husband; B, female, D's wife;
C female, A's wife, silent; D, male, B's husband, silent in the excerpt]
1. A: staðinn fyrir að þú getur
instead.M.ACC for that you can.2
'instead you can'

2. →A: (hr-) hringt beint í kennarann
 (ca-) call.PP straight to teacher.M.ACC.DEF
 ‘ca-) call directly to the teacher’
3. og sagt (1.4) til dæmis
 and say.PP to example.N.GEN
 ‘and say for example’
4. →B: °[svona er þetta]°
 so be.3 this.N
 ‘this is like that’
5. →A: [(s-) (e-)] já mér finnst
 (s-) (e-)I PRT I.DAT think.3
 ‘yes I think’
6. A: að barnið mitt þurfi að
 that child.N.DEF mine.N need.3.SUB to
 ‘that my child needs to...’
7. A: lesa meira eða →
 read.INF much.COM or
 ‘read more or’

The participants in this dialogue, A and B, are teachers and the other participants – silent in this excerpt – are both connected to the local school. In the excerpt, A and B are discussing the communication between the school authorities and the parents. A’s opinion is that the parents should be allowed to contact the teachers and tell them directly if there is a problem concerning their children’s homework. In line 3, A is beginning to describe an imaginary conversation between a parent and the teacher. When he says *og sagt* (line 3) ‘and said’, he pauses and by the long pause he opens up an opportunity for B to continue the utterance. When it does not happen A continues and adds *til dæmis* (line 3) ‘for example’ and B uses this opening and completes A’s TCU by uttering a general expression of the imaginary parent, *svona er þetta* (line 4) ‘this is like that’, she does so in a low voice. At the same time, A is saying something inaudible but it could be of general meaning like B’s words. A then continues and completes his utterance where he quotes the parent by giving a more accurate description of a potential problem (lines 5–7).

The completion in (5.4) is strongly projected because the verb *segja* ‘say’ alone projects that either a direct speech or indirect speech is to follow and projects so even more strongly when followed by the phrase *til dæmis* ‘for instance’ which further emphasises that some sort of quotation is in the making. This choice of words provides an obvious place for the second

speaker to join in. The utterance preceding the completion does not project semantically what is to be expected. Despite that, the syntactic form is quite clear at the moment when B joins in. The verb and its succeeding items suggest the form the next utterance will take and by that make it relatively easy for the speaker to complete the utterance, at least to join in at the right place and with the correct form of a linguistic item (Lerner 1991: 446).

It should be mentioned that this excerpt is a borderline example of non-induced completions because the long pause after *sagði* ‘said’ (line 3) could indicate A’s offer to B to continue the utterance. However, B does not accept A’s offer and the excerpt was categorised as non-induced completion because A adds to his utterance after the pause (*til dæmis*) and it is first after the addition that B joins in.

5.3.2.4 Compound Turn Constructional Units

Compound TCUs are formats where e.g. *if* or *when* at the beginning of an utterance projects or foreshadows *then* or *when* as the second component (Lerner 1991: 442). Two instances in my data include *þegar/ef – þá* ‘when/if – then’ sentences, i.e. compound TCUs where the form of the latter part is obvious from the outset of the turn. In (5.5) two men are discussing a computer program:

- (5.5) *ISTAL07-230-02: Then it stops*
 [Participants: A, male; B, male. Friends]
1. B: *tekur hann*
take.3 he
‘does it take’
 2. *hvernig punkt og*
how period.M.ACC and
‘each period and’
 3. (0.9)
 4. A: ((*tungusmellur*)) *neinei getur látið hann*
 ((*tongue click*)) *PRT can.2 let.PP he.ACC*
‘no, you can let it’
 5. *sleppa öllu svoieiðis*
skip.INF all.N.DAT like that
‘skip everything like that’

6. B: já
PRT
'yes'
7. A: bara þannig að hann hætti eða þú veist
just such that he stop.3.SUB or PRT
'just like when it stops or, you know'
8. þegar hann kemur að punktur [að þá bara]
when he come.3 to period.M that then PRT
'when it reaches a period, then'
9. →B: [þá stoppar] hann aðeins
then stop.3 he just
'then it stops for a while'
10. →A: þarna (a-) aðeins hægir hann á sér
PRT (a-) just slow.3 he on himself
'it slows down a little'
11. (segir hann) @gvagva@ þú veist
(say.3 he) gvagva PRT
'(it says) gvagva, you know'
12. þetta er náttúrulega alveg andlaust sko
this be.3 naturally totally uninspired PRT
'this is of course totally uninspired sko'

In (5.5), A is describing a computer program, and in lines 1 and 2, B asks how it works. In line 3, he pauses and A takes the floor. In line 8, A is replying to his partner's question. He starts a compound sentence with *þegar* 'when' in the onset of his answer which foreshows immediately the second component *þá* 'then' which opens up an opportunity for B to produce the second part of the sentence (Lerner 1991: 442). B does so in line 9 while A is continuing his sentence in the same time slot. A gives B the floor long enough to complete his contribution in line 9 after which he gives his version of the second part which does not totally agree with the one A provided. In line 10, A takes up the thread of his description with a discourse particle *þarna* 'there' and after that he stutters and repeats the word *aðeins* 'just' from B's completion which is misplaced where it is located in A's utterance. The tentative behaviour of A in line 10 could be explained as an attempt to mitigate or soften a rejection of B's completion (see Ch 5.6.4 below).

5.3.2.5 Co-telling a story

Story-telling is a social action where the genre is most often easily recognisable from the very beginning. In narratives, the main rule of the rapid turn-taking in ordinary conversation is abandoned and the storyteller has to negotiate for an extended turn allocation; the one who initiates the narrative has to arrange for her partners in the dialogue in order to get their permission to talk beyond the usual length of a conventional conversational turn. Narratives therefore often start with a preface as to negotiate on the abolition of the turn (Auer 2005: 9; Norrby 1998: 135–196). The narrator is bound to take into consideration the interlocutors’ “mid-telling-type response” (Stivers 2008: 33) while she is in the middle of her story; they can nod or utter a feedback token like *mhm* which shows that they align with the story (*ibid.*). Aligned responses are not always affiliative (*op.cit.*:36). Alignment only supports the narrator’s right to complete his story; by affiliation, the listener supports the teller’s stance (*op.cit.*: 35).

The excerpt in (5.6) below, shows the preface of a very long story which A tells after her husband, B, had asked the other couple whether they knew this story (see from the same narrative (5.7) below)¹²:

- (5.6) *Good story (ISTAL 06-220-02)*
[Participants: A, male, B’s husband, silent; B, female, A’s wife;
C and D, a couple, silent in the excerpt]
1. B: var ég ekki búin
be.1.PT I not finish.F.PP
'didn't I'
2. að segja þér frá þessu
to tell.INF you.2.DAT from this.N.DAT
'tell you about this'

By this preface (which A, B’s husband, initiated by referring to this as a fine story and thereby urged her to tell it), B has provided for an extended turn, or as long as needed. The outcome of this negotiation is that the current speaker is allowed taking as many turns as necessary to complete her story (i.e. *discourse units*, Houtkoop and Mazeland 1985: 596–597; see 3.3.2 above). There are some examples in my data where two people are co-telling a story. In these

¹² As stated in footnote 2 in Ch. 1, I always refer to the speaker who initiates the utterance we focus on as A but the one who either completes or extends A’s utterance as B. When I use more than one extract from a dialogue, the letters, A, B, C etc. do therefore not always refer to the same persons.

instances both story-tellers are knowledgeable of what happens in the story and sometimes – when the story has been told before – they know how the story events unfold, in what order things happen, and, probably even how certain parts of it are formulated in words.

In many of the narratives, the stories are a collaborative production, sometimes produced by a couple as in (5.7) below. This type of collaborative activities is often referred to as *conversational duets*. Duets are “a multi-party conversation where “two or more persons may participate as though they were one, by talking to an audience in tandem for both (or sometimes one) of them about the same thing, with the same communicative goal”” (Szczepek 2000b: 2). In duets the storytellers both have knowledge of the topic and therefore they have an equal ‘right’ to the story (*ibid.*). Duets can result in that either the second speaker extends his partner’s preceding utterance and rests upon it (see Szczepek 2000b: 3; example (1)), or, as in (5.7), he completes the syntactic unit his partner started in the previous utterance (see Szczepek 2000b: 4; example (2)).

The excerpt in (5.7), which shows the highlights of the story prefaced in (5.6) above, illustrates how A and B, a married couple, are co-telling a story. The two story-tellers are both familiar with the events of the story where A’s colleague went with her boyfriend on a motorbike to the east coast of Iceland to catch the ferry to Scandinavia. They were not well equipped and got caught in very bad weather. When they finally arrived to the ferry village, bedraggled and in a bad shape, the ferry had left and the next one was not scheduled for another week. The floor is still A’s when in line 12, B extends A’s preceding utterance with additional information:

- (5.7) *Too late (ÍSTAL 06-220-02)*
 [Participants: A, female, B’s wife; B, male, A’s husband; C, female, D’s wife; D’ male, C’s husband, silent in the excerpt]
1. B: já slyddu og [eitthvað ((hlær))]
 PRT *sleet.F.DAT* and *something.N* ((laughs))
 ‘yes *sleet* and *something*’
2. A: [slyddu og látum]
sleet.F.DAT and *thing.N.PL.DAT*
 ‘*sleet* and *things*’
3. og hérna (.)keyrðu út af↑ (1.0)
 and PRT (.)*drive.3.PL.PT* out off
 ‘and here they drove off the road’

4. og slösuðu sig öll rispuð
and hurt.3.PL.PT themselves all.N scratch.PP
'and hurt themselves - all scratched'
5. og tættust upp gallarnir
and tear.3.PL.PT up outfit.M.PL.DEF
'and their outfits in strips'
6. >og ég veit ekki hvað og hvað<
and I know.1 not what and what
'and I don't know what and else'
7. og svo voru þau bensínlaus (0.7)
and then be.3.PL.PT they.N petrol-less
'and then they ran out of petrol'
8. og það var ekki og þau voru
and it be.3.PL.PT not and they.N be.3.PL.PT
'and it was not and they'
9. bara með kort
just with card.N.ACC
'just had a card'
10. og það var engar bensinstöðvar opnar
and it be.3.PL.PT no.F.PL petrol stations.F.PL open.F.PL
'and there were no petrol stations open'
11. sem að (0.5) skilurðu
which that PRT
'which you see'
12. B: um hánótt
in high night.F.ACC
'in the middle of the night'
13. D: °ji::°=
PRT
'ji'
14. A: =og eitthvað alls konar vesen
=and something.N all.GEN kind.GEN trouble.N
'and something all kinds of troubles'
15. D: hvað
what
'what'
16. A: og þau og sko og svo (e-)
and they.N and PRT and then (e-)
'and they and sko and then (e-) ...'
17. það besta var nú að þau komust
it good.SUP be.3.PL.PT PRT that they.N came.PL.PT
'the best part was that they came'

18. við illan leik til Seyðisfjarðar
with bad.M.ACC move.M.ACC to Seyðisfjörður.N.GEN
'with hardship to Seyðisfjörður'
19. (1.5)
- 20.→B: <hálf tíma (0.5) eftir að (>
half hour (.) after that
'half an hour after'
21. [ferjan fór] (hlær)
ferry.F.DEF leave.3.PT] ((laughs))
'the ferry left'
- 22.→A: [ferjan fór]
ferry.F.DEF leave.3.PT
'the ferry left'
23. en samt hafði ferjunni seinkað
but anyhow have.3.PT ferry.F.DAT.DEF delay.PP
'but, anyhow, the ferry was delayed'
24. um tvo tíma
about two M.Acc hour.M.Acc.Pl
'by two hours'

In the excerpt, A and B act as one speaker. B, the husband, gives the floor to his wife in line 2 and she keeps it although B adds to her story in lines 12 and 20 after the pause in line 19. In line 12, B chimes in with what looks like an explanation on why the petrol stations were all closed, it is because it is in the middle of the night. A carries on with her story in line 14, after a minor exclamation from D in line 13, and almost completes it. In line 20, B extends A's utterance and adds the punch line to A's preceding words which included the tragic-comic part of the story, that the couple missed the ferry by half an hour and the next one was not expected until a week later. It is quite appropriate that A joins in again in line 22 and accompanies her partner in the concluding utterance, resulting in that they simultaneously utter the completing phrase of the story, *ferjan fór* 'the ferry left' (line 21 and 22). After that B bursts into laughter while A adds a short explanation to the already completed story.

5.3.2.6 Syntactic phrases and idioms

There are other occasions, which are not categorised as easily as the ones mentioned above, but where the projection is apparently quite strong. It is relatively common that the completed part is in fact a completion of a syntactic phrase which the first speaker had initiated. This is most

often a prepositional phrase (hereafter PP) of which the first speaker has already produced the preposition itself when the second speaker joins in completing the phrase by producing the noun phrase (here after NP) as in (5.8); see the whole excerpt in (5.16) below):

- (5.8) *Dinner or ...? (ÍSTAL 04-730-07)*
 [Participants: A, female, B's sister; B, female, A's sister]
1. →A: **jú það er ég held að það hafi nú**
PRT it is I think.1 that it have.3.SUB PRT
 'yes I think that'
2. **flestallir verið með**
majority.M be.PP with
 'most people have been with'
3. (1.1)
4. →B: **mat ((geispar))**
food.M.ACC ((yawns))
 'dinner'
5. →A: **með mat**
with food.M.ACC
 'with dinner'

In the excerpt, A has already uttered the preposition *með* 'with' when B completes by adding the NP, which was bound to follow. Not only does the preposition give up which type of phrase is needed in the excerpt, it also projects the correct grammatical form of the NP because the preposition *með* 'with' governs accusative in this context.

In the next extract the topic is battleships which visited Iceland and were open to visitors. In line 9, A is adding to D's previous utterance where she was describing how young the sailors seemed to her. She is about to use the collocation *spretta grön* 'grow beard', which includes the noun *grön* 'beard', a word only used in this idiom and hardly ever in any other combination. When she is about to use this strange word, *grön*, B joins in with the alternative *skegg* at the same time as A completes her TCU. When B becomes aware of that her talk in line 10 overlaps A's words she repeats the word and extends her insertion. B's completion is carried out by uttering the object of the verb *spretta* which in itself projects quite strongly what is to follow:

(5.9)

Just kids ÍSTAL 06-107-03

[Participants: A, male, B's husband; B, female, A's wife;
C, male, D's husband; D, female, C's wife]

1. D: við fórum að skoða herskipin
we go.1.PL.PT to see.INF battleships.M.ACC.DEF
'we went to see the battleships'
2. komumst að því
find.1.PL.PT that it.N.DAT
'and found out'
3. að það eru bara börn
that it be.3.PL only children.N.PL
'that there are just kids'
4. sem eru að vinna á þessum herskipum=
who be.3.PL to work.INF on this.M.DAT battleships.M.PL.DAT=
'who are working on these battleships'
5. B: °=já er það ekki°
=PRT be.3 it not
'yes are there not'
6. A: þetta eru voðalega ungir [(.) strákar]
this be.3.PL terrible young lads.M.PL
'these are terrible young lads'
7. D: [þetta er alveg ungir]
this be.3.PL quite young.M.PL
'these are quite young'
8. D: strákar alveg sko ekki með eina hrukku
lads.M.PL quite PRT not with single wrinkle.F.ACC
'lads quite sko not with a single wrinkle'
9. →A: **og varla farið að spretta [grön]**
and hardly go.PP to grow.INF beard.F
'and hardly started growing beard'
10. →B: **[(skegg)] skegg**
(whiskers).N whiskers.N
'whiskers whiskers'
11. → á [þessum greyjum]
on these.M.PL.DAT guys.M.PL.DAT
'on these guys'
12. →A: **[og samt]**
and anyhow
'and anyhow'
13. → með sko yfirmenn (.) einhverjir
with PRT officer.M.PL.ACC some.M.PL
'with sko officers some'

I consider the completion here strongly projected in the given context; A has been describing how young the lads are and when she has used the word *spretta* she has already projected the meaning of the next lexical item. B does not use the word that comes next in the idiom, she chooses a more commonly used synonym with the target word.

There are other examples where the context strongly gives away what is to follow. In one instance, the current speaker is talking about a writer who lived at the beginning of the 19th century. A is about to tell his interlocutor which year the writer took his own life when B completes A's utterance; this is shown in (5.10):

(5.10) *Forty one or two (ISTAL 07-230-02)*

[Participants: A, male; B, male; friends]

1. A: þetta e:r hann er uppi
this.N be.3 he be.3 up
'this is - he lived'
2. þetta er Austurríkismaður
this.N be.3 Austrian.M
'this is an Austrian'
3. sem er uppi: á í byrjun aldarinnar →
who be.3 up on in beginning.F.DAT century.F.GEN.DEF
'who lived at the beginning of the century'
4. og: sem sagt (.) hann deyr
and PRT he die.3
'and he dies'
5. níttjánhundruðfjörtíu eða fremur sjálfsmorð
nineteenhundredforty or commit.3 suicide.N.ACC
'in nineteenhundredforty - or commits suicide'
6. → **níttjánhundruðfjörtíu:uog**
nineteenhundredfortyand
'nineteenhundredforty'
7. →B: **[eitt]**
one.N
'one'
8. →A: **[tvö] eða eitt eða**
two.N or one.N or
'two or one or'
9. **eithvað svoleiðis fjörtíuogéitt**
something.N like that fortyandone
'something like that, fortyone'

10. B: eða eða
 or or
 'or or'
11. A: nei fjörþíuogtvö
 PRT fortyandtwo
 'no fortytwo'
12. B: já
 PRT
 'yes'

The completion shown in this excerpt must be considered highly projectable and there is one correct item the friends are looking for which is not usual. When A has uttered the entire phrase, except the last item (line 6), it must be easy to fill in the missing part as B does in line 7 in the same time slot as A himself completes his utterance. In line 6, A pronounces the last item with a long vowel (*fjörþí:uog* 'forty and') as to indicate that he is not sure of what should follow, or as he is searching his memory for the right completion. The easy part is to foresee which type of phrase is needed to complete the utterance in making but it is not necessarily an easy task to provide a semantically correct item, and as shown in the excerpt, they do not agree upon the exact year the author died (see a discussion on reception of this excerpt in Ch. 5.6.4 below).

5.3.3 Less projectable non-induced completions

There are some excerpts of non-induced completions in my data which I consider not being as strongly projected as the abovementioned ones because the preceding part does not give away explicitly what syntactic form or semantic class is to follow. The ones I would consider most difficult to complete are the two instances where the first speaker stops or attends to other things as in (5.11) after having uttered a conjunction. By that he leaves an open space for a whole clause for the second speaker to fill in or to leave the conjunction dangling (see Mulder and Thompson 2008; Blöndal 2008). If the second speaker decides to complete the utterance, he would not have trouble in finding the right form, but mainly to find semantically appropriate words to fill in this big slot. Therefore, he must rely on syntactic and pragmatic sources when he completes the utterance.

The excerpt in (5.11) is an example of this:

(5.11) *Cool program (ÍSTAL 07-107-01)*
 [Participants: A, male; B, male; friends]

1. →A: **mér finnst image (x)**
I.DAT find.3 image (x)
'I find image'
2. **alveg svakalega hérna (cool) forrit**
really extremely PRT (cool) program.N
'really an extremely here (cool) program'
3. **því að ((rödd fjær))**
because ((voice in distance))
'because'
4. →B: **þú getur gert síðuna beint úr því=**
you can.2 make.PP page.F.ACC.DEF straight from it.DAT=
'you can make the page straight from it'
5. A: =ertu að keyra (eða) viltu
=be.2+you to drive.INF (or) will.2+you
'are you driving do you fancy'
6. B: já=
PRT=
'yes thank you'
7. A: =viltu einn bjór
=will.2.+you one.M.ACC beer.M.ACC
'would you like to have a beer'

In (5.11) the continuation of A's utterance in line 3 is not easily projected, but, anyhow, B knows that something is going to follow and it must be a description of what the computer program is capable of and why it is 'cool'. With this sparse information, B decides to step in prematurely, the reason could be that his interlocutor seems to be moving around as he talks. We do not know whether B's completion was in the line with the continuation A had in mind because after the completion A changes topic and offers B a bottle of beer.

Other instances, which I consider not to be strongly projected, are instances where the second speaker joins in after an auxiliary verb, as in (5.12), where it is followed by the discourse particle *bara* 'just':

(5.12) *Fossilised (ÍSTAL 07-107-04)*
 [Participants: A, male; B, male, friends]

1. B: =hvað eru stórar filmur í þessu
=what be.3.PL big.F.PL films.F.PL in this.N.DAT
'how long are the films in this'

2. A: °ég veit það ekki alveg
 I know.1. it not quite
 'I don't know exactly'
3. við þurfum að taka hana út sko°
 we need.2.PL to take.INF her out PRT
 'we need to take it out'
4. (x) jájá
 (x) PRT
 'yes indeed'
5. **blessaður vertu**
 blessed.3.M. be.IMP+you
 'my dear fellow'
6. → **þetta er bara(.) [(x)]**
 this.N be.3 PRT (x)
 'this has just'
7. →B: **[orðið steinrunnið]**
 become.N.PP fossilised.PP
 'become fossilised'

In (5.12) the two male friends are discussing an old camera they are looking at. When A has uttered the finite verb and the particle, he pauses (line 6), B joins in and they talk simultaneously for a while (lines 6 and 7, A's words inaudible). B's contribution in line 7 consists of the second half of the VP initiated by the first speaker. I consider completions as the one in (5.12) weakly projected because B could have completed the utterance by adding an NP, an AdjP or a PP after the verb 'vera' (E. *be*), instead of choosing the VP as he did.

5.4 Induced completions

5.4.1 Disfluency in the preceding utterance

The second type of completions, *induced completions*, is perhaps the one most speakers are aware of. These are occurrences where, for instance, the current speaker has run into trouble in her production and her interlocutor helps out by adding a word or a phrase and by that completes her utterance. This is what Lerner (1996: 248) calls 'anticipatory completions' which "are designed to occur as part of the current turn and not in opposition to it". The term *induced completions* describes completions that either follow a trouble in forming the utterance or other instances which break up the continuity of the dialogue and they have been discussed under

different labels (*S. föränledda ifyllnader*, see Green-Vänttinen 1998 and Bockgård 2004: 115–117; see Ferrara on *helpful utterance completion* 1992: 220; see also 4.3.1 above).

Categorising the syntactic completions was not an easy task and I was confronted with many questions. First, one has to decide what counts as a disturbance in the flow of the utterance making. When and how do discourse particles, repeats or pauses affect what follows? Regarding this problem, I only counted the “disturbing items” – i.e. the ones that are included in induced completions – when they were very close to the completed part. Sometimes the first speaker pauses or stutters and then carries on as nothing has happened without any further disruption in the utterance production; these instances obviously do not count as induced completion. I also considered whether completions that follow discourse particles should be categorised as non-induced or induced completions. The latter was chosen because I figured out that *any* disruption in the construction of the speaker’s contribution would count as an opportunity to join in.

In this section, we look at what it is in the talk before a completion that can motivate the second speaker to join in before his interlocutor has completed her utterance. Discontinuity in the flow of the utterance in the making can be considered a problem in a dialogue (Lerner 1996: 260; Linell 2005a: 107) and to deal with it the current speaker has several resources, both verbal and nonverbal. She can pause for a while, she can try to fix the problem by repeating her previous words, she can try to start again and rephrase what she is going to say or she can fill in with a hedge or a discourse particle in order to create the continuity which is preferable in a dialogue. Problems of this type can arise for different reasons as shown below.

Table 5.2 shows how frequently these features occur in the 23 examples in this category and how they manifest themselves in the dialogues, freestanding or accompanied by other indicators:

Table 5.2: Completions induced by disfluency in the preceding utterance

Induced by disfluency in the preceding utterance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15 - 23	Induced completions
- pause	x	x	x	x	x	x			x		x	x				9
- repeats	x	x		x			x	x		x			x	x		8
- disc. particles+; hedges; laughter and other indicators	x	x				x	x	x	x				x	x		8
- disc. particles, independent															9 ¹³	9

As can be concluded from *Table 5.2*, some sort of repairs occur in 14¹⁴ out of these 23 examples of induced completions (61%), 9 of the remaining are elicited only by discourse particles that appear without an obvious sign of hesitation or trouble. Completions induced by repairs are therefore ca. 26% of all 53 instances of completion in the data. To deal with these instances the speakers use three different methods indicating that something is not as it should be. These indicators are pauses, repeats and discourse particles. The table also shows that three indicators tend to appear either alone or in pairs or groups, e.g. pauses, repeats and discourse particles that can both stand independently or together with other indicators. Pauses can occur accompanied by repeats and with both repeats and discourse particles. In the next sections, we will look at the different types of indicators and reflect upon the disfluency in the utterance and the interactants' methods in solving it.

The repairs that appear in the dialogues are of different types. One of the most common problems in dialogues is a word search, where the current speaker is searching for a certain word, sometimes a name of a person. The excerpt in (5.13) is an example of a typical word search (see Steensig 2001: 182–183) where a name of a firm escapes A's memory when he needs it in his utterance. He could have asked for help, but he prefers to keep on by himself and try to overcome his trouble without assistance from his interlocutor. However, by these repeated attempts, he prompts one of the recipients to help him out of the trouble:

¹³ Individual discourse particles are discussed in 5.4.1.3 below.

¹⁴ The numbers from 1 to 23 show individual conversations where completions take place. A speaker who has run into trouble often uses more than one type of items indicating that she is struggling, for instance, to find a word. *Table 5.2* shows this.

(5.13)

Myllan (ÍSTAL 04-701-04)

[Participants: A, male, husband of C and D's cousin;

B, male, D's husband; C and D, female, wives of A and B]

1. B: nú en hvað gat hann ekki sótt þig sjálfur↑
PRT but what can.3.PT he not fetch.PP you.ACC himself
'well, could not he fetch you himself'
2. A: hann >mátti ekki vera að því<
he can.3.PT not be.INF at it.DAT
'he didn't have the time'
3. (hann var) svo mikið að gera hjá honum→
(he be.3.PT) so much to do.INF with him
'he had so much do to'
4. B: jájá
PRT
'yesyes'
5. →A: í hérna (1.6) <hann vinnur hjá hérna> (.)
in PRT he work.3 at PRT
'in here - he works at here'
6. →B: Myllunni↑
Myllan.F.DAT.DEF
'Myllan'
7. →A: Myllunni↓
Myllan.F.DAT.DEF
'Myllan'
8. B: jájá
PRT
'yes yes'

This example shows that A is dealing with a problem by pausing and repeating and in addition to that, he repeats the same discourse particle; in other words, he uses all the available tools to address the current problem in his utterance. First (line 5) he utters a preposition and a discourse particle, *í hérna* 'in here', next there is a long pause and after that he slows down and starts his utterance again and then he halts at the same place as before, then he repeats *hérna* and only then offers B his help (line 6) by adding the missing part which A seems immediately to embrace by repeating the name of the firm line 7.

In the excerpt below A seems to run into trouble with uttering the idiom *fara yfir um* 'go around the bend' which he seems not too confident in using:

(5.14)

Around the bend (ÍSTAL 06-220-02)

[Participants: A, male, D's husband; B, male, C's husband;
C, female, B's wife; D, female, A's wife]

1. D: og svo fór hann í hérna
and then go.3.PT he in PRT
'and then he went there'
2. gekk hann í x söfnuðinn
go.3.PT he in x congregation.M.ACC.DEF
'he joined the x congregation'
3. og=
og=
'and'
4. →A: =fór alveg
go.3.PT totally
'was totally'
5. [hann fór alveg (.) bara]
he go.3.PT totally PRT
'he is totally '
6. D: [bauð okkur í skírnina sína]
invite.3.PT us.1.DAT in baptism.F.ACC.DEF REF
'and invited us to his baptism'
7. →B: yfir um
over about
'around the bend'
8. →C: bara níutíu (próse-) bara níutíu gráður
PRT ninety (perce-) PRT ninety degrees.F.PL
'just ninety just ninety degrees'
9. A: ja=
PRT=
'well'

In (5.14), A runs into trouble in line 4–5 with how he can follow his chosen verb *fór* 'went' when talking about a friend who converted to a denomination and he expresses this by pausing and then using the discourse particle *bara* 'just'. D takes part in A's description of the guy who is the topic in this excerpt and D and A talk simultaneously (lines 5 and 6) for a while. In line 6, D's explains that the guy had even invited them to his baptism. As soon as it becomes apparent that A is in trouble, B volunteers for assistance and offers an appropriate completion of A's TCU in line 7. C then adds to B's contribution in line 8 as to highlight B's words. B has chosen his words as to fit to the already uttered verb *fara* (*fór* in past tense) 'go' which is the word A had chosen himself.

Sometimes disturbance in the flow of the dialogues is due to the fact that the interactants are occupied with other things than keeping the conversation going smoothly. The two friends in (5.15) are a good example of this. They are browsing through computer programs (see (5.5) and (5.20)), discussing and flipping through sci-fi books, see (5.21) and checking out an old camera (as in (5.12) and (5.15)):

- (5.15) *Member of the Conservative Party (ISTAL 07-107-04)*
 [Participants: A, male; B, male. Friends]
1. A: Rúna var skráð lengi
Rúna be.3.PT register.F.PP long
 'Rúna was registred for a long time'
 2. sem (0.9) þarna í (2.6) Sjálfstæðisflokkinn (.)
as PRT in Conservative Party.M.ACC.DEF
 'as there in the Conservative Party'
 3. B: í Sjálfstæðisflokkinn↑
in Conservative Party.M.ACC.DEF=
 'in the Conservative Party'
 4. A: =já
 =PRT
 'yes'
 5. B: Rúna↑
Rúna
 'Rúna?'
 6. A: já (.) það var=
PRT (.) it be.3. PT
 'yes it was'
 7. B: =ég sé nú ekki alveg samasemmerki þar á milli=
=I see.1 PRT not quite equal sign.N.ACC there in between=
 'I do not see the compromise there between'
 8. →A: =nei (e-) hún var þarna (.)
=PRT (e-) she be.3.PT PRT
 'no (e-) she was there'
 9. hún var skráð í hann sko
she be.3.PT register.F.PP in him PRT
 'she was registred in it, sko'
 10. (1.5)
 11. ((hljóð í myndavél))
 ((sound in a camera))
 'sound in a camera'

12. **af ekki af**
by not by
'by not by'
13. →B: **[henni sjálfri nei]**
her.DAT self.DAT PRT
'herself no'
14. →A: **[henni sjálfri °sko]° (.)**
her.DAT self.DAT PRT
'herself, sko'
15. **einhver karl ((símhringing))**
some.M guy.M ((phone rings))
'some guy'
16. **þarna uppi á (2.0) Kjalarnesi sem að gerði það**
there up on Kjalarnes.N.DAT who to do.3.PT it
'on Kjalarnes who did it'

In this excerpt A and B are trying out an old camera which A has in his hands and this could distract him in his utterance production. He pauses in line 8 and perhaps he has expected B to understand his unsaid words but when there is no reaction from B, A starts producing a passive sentence (line 9–14) and it is only when he repeats the preposition in line 12 that B fills in the missing NP – simultaneously with A completing his own utterance. Their clauses are identical consisting of the NP *henni sjálfri* ‘herself’. However, B completes with *nei* to agree with A’s negative statement in lines 12–13; but A ends with *sko* (line 14) as to close the subject (Hilmisdóttir 1999). A seems to be dealing with a problem in his utterance production and he is dealing with it himself at the same time as B joins in with a completion of A’s TCU. Self-repairs are the preferred actions in situations similar to the ones shown in the example (see 3.4.3 above) and that is what A is carrying out in line 14.

These three examples sum up the problems one comes across in the dialogues. To deal with them the participants exploit different methods; they pause, they repeat what they have already said and they use discourse particles, hedges and laughter. These indicators are discussed in the following sections.

5.4.1.1 Pauses

Intra-turn silence, i.e. a pause within an uncompleted turn, belongs to the current speaker and is treated in the dialogue as such (Sacks et al. 1974; Lerner 1996: 260). Even though a pause

within a TCU does not necessarily disrupt the progressivity in the TCU, it “retards the forward movement of the turn’s talk toward next possible completion (*ibid.*)”. The pause therefore provides the recipient in the dialogue with a chance to start talking at an unusual place without breaking the unwritten rules of interaction.

Many instances of intra-TCU pauses are found in the data. Either they are clustered with other indicators, or, as in (5.16), standing alone signifying a trouble in the flow of the utterance and are interpreted as such (this example is also discussed above, see (5.8)):

- (5.16) *Dinner or ...? (ÍSTAL 04-730-07)*
 [Participants: A, female; B’s sister and C’s wife; B, female, sister of A and C, C, female, sister of A and B]
1. B: hvað er fólk með↑
what be.3 people.N with
‘what do people serve’
 2. mat eða [kaffi] eða→
food.M.ACC or coffee.N.ACC or
‘dinner or coffee or’
 3. A: [nei]
PRT
‘nei’
 4. það var nú >bara kaffihlaðborð sko<
it be.3.PT PRT PRT coffee buffet.N PRT
‘it was only coffee buffet sko’
 5. B: já
PRT
‘yes’
 6. →A: jú það er ég held að það hafi nú
PRT it be.3 I think.1 that it have.3.SUB PRT
‘yes I think that’
 7. flestallir verið með
majority.M.PL be.PP with
‘most people have been with’
 8. (1.1)
 9. →B: mat ((geispar))
food.M.ACC ((yawns))
‘dinner’
 10. →A: með mat
with food.M.ACC
‘with dinner’

In (5.16) two women are talking about confirmation parties. In Iceland, there have been trends in either inviting the extended family to dinner or to invite them to a big coffee buffet. Therefore, B asks what ‘people’ do serve, meaning ‘what is considered trendy this year’ or ‘what is everybody serving’ this season. A is about to provide the information on what most people serve, she has already uttered the first part of a PP, i.e. the preposition *með* ‘with’, which in this context governs a noun in accusative. After that she pauses (line 8) and B completes the phrase with the obligatory noun *mat* ‘food’ (line 9). In the excerpt, B is therefore repairing the incomplete utterance (line 9), i.e. taking over and completing an action initiated by A herself (line 8) when she hesitates in the middle of the production of the PP. There could be many reasons for the long pause and some of them may not be discernible in the audio recordings or the transcription. Speaker A could be walking around, or attending to something else when she pauses, she could also have lost B’s attention for a while, B could show obvious signs of being absent minded or tired (hence the yawn in line 9, after she completes part of A’s TCU) and A could be reacting to that. Whatever it is that causes the pause, it is obvious that B considers the pause an opening for her to join in before her interlocutor has completed her TCU.

5.4.1.2 Repeats

Repeats which have their origin in problems in the utterance making, are quite common as antecedents for completions. As illustrated in *Table 5.2* they sometimes cluster with other tokens of problems and they often indicate word search as in (5.13) above. The excerpt in (5.17) shows A trying to link a woman which is the topic in the section to her father who is a well known man. A is searching for a proper name of the man and he repeats the genitive of the masculine pronoun *hans* ‘his’ and refers to the name of the cult the man belongs to (omitted in the excerpt):

(5.17) *Whose daughter? (ISTAL 02-310-03)*

[Participants: A, male, B’s husband; B, female, A’s wife;
C, male, D’s husband; D, female, C’s wife, silent]

1. →A: **er hún dótti- er hún dóttir hans í herna::**
is she daught-.F be.3 she daughter.F him.GEN in PRT
‘is she daughter is she the daughter of’

2. (0.8)
3. A: *í (trúarregla)↑ hans*
in (name of a cult) he.GEN
'him in (name of a cult) him'
4. (1.2)
5. →B: *Jóns↑*
John.GEN
'John'
6. →A: *Jóns*
John.GEN
'John'
7. (1.4)
8. A: *þetta var mamma Jóns*
this.N be.3.PT mother.F Jón.GEN
'this was the mother of John'
9. B: *í (trúarregla)*
in (name of a cult)
'in (name of a cult)'
10. C: *hún er Jónsdóttir alla vega*
she be.3 Jonsdóttir PRT
'she is Johnsóttir anyway'

In (5.17), A repeats the onset of a question he is trying to formulate. In line 1, he says *er hún dóttir* 'is she the daughter' and *er hún dóttir hans* 'is she the daughter of' and then he tries to link the person with a cult in which 'he' (the girl's father) is a member. After a pause he carries on and has remembered the name of the cult but not the name of the man in question (line 3). In line 5, after a long pause (line 4), B comes up with a name (line 5) which A confirms that is the one he was looking for (line 6). A is here giving strong indications of to whom he is referring. He starts the NP which consists of a noun and a genitive form of the third person pronoun as in line 1 and by that he projects strongly what is to follow. In Icelandic, it is a common way to refer to people (and objects) by uttering an NP which consists of a genitive form of a pronoun and a proper name, e.g. *dóttir hans Jóns* 'daughter his Johns', i.e. 'John's daughter' and *billinn hennar Guðrúnar* 'the car her Guðrún's', i.e. 'Guðrún's car'. The genitive of the pronoun and the proper name is governed by yet another noun, i.e. in this case *dóttir* 'daughter'.

The repeated part is sometimes an attempt to deal with a slip of the tongue as in (5.18):

(5.18)

Reykjavík? (ISTAL 03-620-03)

[Participants: A, male, husband of B; B, female, A's wife;
C, male, husband of D; D, female, C's wife, silent in the excerpt]

1. →A: **til þess að hérna**
to it.GEN to PRT
'in order to here'
2. **til þess að setja sig í skuldir**
to it.GEN to put.INF themselves in debts.F.PL.ACC
'in order to leave you in debt'
3. **en nota ben Dalvík er bara**
but nota ben Dalvík.F be.3 just
'but nota bene Dalvík is just'
4. **í fjórtíu kílómetra fjarlægð frá (Reyk-)**
in forty kilometre.M.PL.GEN distance.F.DAT from (Reyk-)
'in forty kilometers distance from (Reyk-)'
5. **frá [Akureyri]**
from Akureyri.F.DAT
'from Akureyri'
6. →B: °[Akureyri]°
Akureyri.F.DAT
'Akureyr'
7. →C: **já**
PRT
'yes'

This excerpt shows how A deals with his mistake when he chooses a wrong place name *Reyk-* (line 4); he halts as soon as he realises his mistake, then he repeats the preposition, *frá* 'from' (line 5) and as soon as he has done that, B joins in with the correct place name, *Akureyri* (line 6) resulting in them saying the place name simultaneously. This excerpt reveals how sensitive both the participants are when some disruption occurs in the progress of the turn. Even though the first speaker never halts, he immediately realises his mistake and addresses the problem by repeating the preposition. However, his interlocutor is prepared to offer her assistance and does so in line 6, where she utters the correct place name, which was obvious all the time from the context, and the location in which the conversation took place.

5.4.1.3 Completions elicited by discourse particles, hedges and laughter

Above, I have discussed completions induced by a problem in the talk preceding the entry by the second speaker. As mentioned above some of the induced completions found in the data show instances where discourse particles seem to play the main role.¹⁵

Discourse particles are the most frequently used antecedents of completions. Some of the instances occur as a part of repairs as discussed above; the remaining ones stand independently and do not signify any trouble in the dialogue. Sometimes the current speaker carries on herself after uttering *sko* or other discourse particles – i.e. the discourse particles do not trigger a second speaker to join in. In other instances, as in (5.19), B comes in right after that *sko* has been uttered and therefore it is concluded here that the particle triggers B to continue the utterance in progress. The latter is shown in (5.19):

- (5.19) *The right colours (ISTAL 04-108-01)*
 [Participants: A, female, daughter in law of C, B's sister in law;
 B, female, C's daughter, D's sister and A's sister in law; C, female, B
 and D's mother; D, female, C's daughter, B's sister and A's sister in law]
1. A: og það er búið að breyta
and it be.3 finish.N.PP to change.INF
'and they have changed'
 2. [litanúmerunum í garninu]
colour numbers.N.PL.DAT.DEF in yarn.N.DAT.DEF
'the numbers of the colours of the yarn'
 3. D: [já já einmitt]
PRT exactly
'yes yes exactly'
 4. A: þannig
so
'so'
 5. B: já
PRT
'yes'
 6. →A: að það var dálítið erfitt að finna út sko
that it be.3.PT a bit difficult.N to find.INF out PRT
'that it was a bit difficult to find out sko'

¹⁵ The ISTAL data bank consists of 180.000 running words. The discourse particles *sko* and *bara* are the 10th and 11th most frequent words in ISTAL, *hérna* and *þarna* are no. 27 and 33, respectively (see Blöndal 2005b: 36). The particle *sko* is only used as a discourse particle but the other particles also function as adverbs; *bara* can mean 'only', and *hérna* and *þarna* mean 'here' and 'there'.

7. →B: **réttu** **lit[ina]**
right.M.PL.ACC colours.M.PL.ACC.DEF
'the right colours'

8. →A: **[réttu]** **litina**
right.M.PL.ACC colours.M.PL.ACC.DEF
'the right colours'

In the excerpt, A is telling B, C and D about her experience when she went to buy some yarn for knitting a certain sweater of which she had found a knitting pattern with a picture in a magazine. She ran into trouble with choosing the right colours, since the numbers were not as they used to be and did not match the ones used in the pattern. In line 6, A has almost completed her TCU but after the 'sko', her interlocutor joins in and only has the object to fill in, i.e. a noun and its qualifier (line 7) after which A shadows B's words (Tannen 1989: 88–93) and by that accepts them.

In the excerpt in (5.19) the versatile *ska* was an antecedent of completion (see Hilmisdóttir 1999 on *ska*). Discourse particles sometimes occur accompanied by other indicators of trouble as shown in Table 5.2. One of them is *ska* but there are other particles as well that can both appear independently and with other indicators. Table 5.3 shows the discourse particles which stand next to the completed part of the utterance in question, either independently or with other indicators. These discourse particles are by no means all the particles found in the data set, only those which are considered to influence the speaker change because the completions start immediately after the discourse particle was uttered (see 5.4.1 above). In these few instances the particles seem to trigger the second speaker to enter the conversation immediately after they have been uttered (see 5.4.1 above):

Table 5.3: Discourse particles as antecedents of completions

	<i>Independent</i>	<i>With other indicators</i>	
ska (E. <i>see</i>)	4	1	5
bara (E. <i>just</i>)	1	1	2
hérna (E. <i>here</i>)	2	3	5
þú veist (E. <i>you know</i>)	1		1
þarna (E. <i>there</i>)		1	1
hérna svona (E. <i>here like</i>)		1	1
bara svona þarna (E. <i>just like here</i>)	1		1
Total	9	7	16

Table 5.3 shows that some of the discourse particles are used both independently and with other signs. The data is limited but from these few examples it could be concluded that *sko* is the discourse particle which preferably stands alone preceding a completion in my data; others seem to either stand alone or join other indicators, i.e. pauses, repeats, or with other particles to elicit a completion in the dialogue. The examples are far too few to draw any conclusions from but this is something that would be interesting to investigate later on.

Laugh tokens within the TCU can also impede the progressivity of the turn unit in the making even though the speaker carries on with what she is saying (Lerner 1996: 259). In (5.20), A is describing some computer devices. He is in the middle of his utterance, he has uttered the first items of what could be expected to unfold as a list (line 1) when B laughs. A joins his partner's laughter in line 1 (see Sacks 1995(II): 571 on laughter "the thing about laughing is that to do laughing right, it *should* be done together"). After this, A is about to add the second item to the list in line 1, he repeats the conjunction *og* 'and' and, ostensibly, is able to close his utterance, when B uses the opportunity to complete the utterance:

- (5.20) *Stereo and... (ÍSTAL 07-107-01)*
 [Participants: A, male; B, male. Friends]
1. A: það er bara með surround ***[sterio og]*** ((hlær)) og
 it be.3 PRT with surround stereo and ((laughs)) and
 'it has surround stereo and ((laughs)) and'
2. B: [(hlær)]
 ((laughs))
 (('laughs'))
3. →B: **og allar græjur**
 and all.F gadgets.F.PL.ACC
 'and all the gadgets'
4. →A: **já hann notar þarna #u::# Maya og og**
 PRT he use.3 PRT (u-) Maya and and
 'yes he uses there Maya and and'
5. B: [já::]
 PRT
 'yes'
6. A: [fleiri fleiri] forrit
 many.COM many.COM program.N.PL.ACC
 'many many more programs'

7. til að búa þetta til
 to make.INF this.N.ACC. VP
 'to make this'

TCU-internal laughter is one way of demonstrating understanding which the recipient most often has to wait to show until at the next possible transition place (Lerner 1996: 259; see also Jefferson 2004b). Laughter is not a part of the TCU and therefore it creates an opening for a possible completion for the second speaker and in (5.20) he uses the opportunity to provide for the continuity of his partner's TCU in the making.

Table 5.3 sheds a light upon the usage of discourse particles and related items as antecedents to completion. This category has more in common with completions induced by a trouble than it has with non-induced completion. In both categories, something disrupts the meaningful utterance in the making. This 'something', could be explained as a mistake in the choice of words or in producing an appropriate syntactic form for the clause. The disruption can also have its origin in the choice of the current speaker to create a slot in which she utters a discourse particle. The remaining question is this: Do the participants in a dialogue look at the use of a discourse particle – or perhaps certain particles – as one type of interactional boundaries where opportunities for a speaker change open up?

There are two reasons which seem to explain this behaviour. First, some discourse particles are used without indicating a problem and when used without 'a reason' they themselves become one type of disruption in the progress of the meaningful utterance. Second, the usage of some discourse particles is an indication of an upcoming problem, i.e. a word search, either standing alone or, as quite common, co-occurring with other signs of problems, i.e. repeats and pauses. As the participants are used to react to discourse particles along with other signs in the middle of an utterance as a sign of a problem in the production (see (5.13) above) it is possible that, in these instances, they treat the single discourse particles in the same way, i.e. as an invitation or an offer to join in.

Another explanation could be that some discourse particles are often used last in an utterance, i.e. as the final item in the TCU (see Hilmišdóttir 1999). Therefore, it could be assumed that the second speaker, the one who does not hold the floor, interprets the discourse particle as one form of a closure, even if it does not coincide with the completion of the syntactic or the prosodic unit in the making. This topic will be revisited and discussed in Ch. 7.

5.4.2 Projection in induced completion

Projection is a prominent notion when it comes to collaborative completion, both induced and non-induced. Obviously, there is a difference between these two categories. In induced completions, the opportunity to complete the partner's TCU is somehow 'triggered', by, for instance, a word search or other kinds of trouble, which are not found in non-induced completions. Nevertheless, the second speaker must use the same method for completing his partner's completion and build on the same knowledge of grammatical and interactional projection. He relies on the context of the sequence and on the social action which is conducted in the sequence (see the discussion in 5.2 above).

Obvious signs of disturbance in the utterance making are shown in (5.21) where A pauses in line 4 and opens up an opportunity for B to join in and complete his utterance. This would not be enough for B in order to create a suitable completion which both fits to what is already there grammatically and pragmatically. In line 5, B finishes A's utterance and with a satisfactory completion, judged by A's reception in line 6:

- (5.21) *Not as shabby (ÍSTAL 07-230-02)*
[Participants: A, male; B, male. Friends]
1. B: °pað er einhvers staðar
it be.3 some.GEN place.M.GEN
'there is somewhere'
 2. eitthvað meira (x)((talar lágt)) eftir °
something.N much.COM (x)((sotto voce)) after
'some more left'
 3. →A: **hann er ekkert eins subbulegur og**
he be.3 nothing.N as shabby.M and
'it is not as shabby as'
 4. (0.4)
 5. →B: **wasp factory**↑
wasp factory.F
'wasp factory'
 6. →A: **já**
PRT
'yes'

In the excerpt, two male friends are conversing, their topics are diverse; in the extract in (5.21) they are talking about science fiction and authors who write in that genre. B seems to be looking for a book by a certain author they are discussing. A is describing a book and when B joins in, he already has enough information to continue the utterance A started. He is familiar with the subject, and, moreover, he is aware of the comparison underway so the only thing he has to do is to mention a book which they have discussed before in their conversation and which both of them found seedy, e.g. *Wasp factory*. This example shows that even if the pause in A's utterance opens up an opportunity for B, he has to read into what is foreshadowed by the utterance so far.

The next example shows completion induced by a discourse particle, *bara* 'just'. Here a comparison is also in the making where *sem* 'as' indicates an onset of a comparative phrase. In the dialogue, which takes place in a break between classes in the staff room of a small school in the countryside, two male teachers and two female colleagues, take part. At this place in the dialogue, they have been discussing an advertisement where men were urged to meet up and watch an erotic show at the local bar. Then A, a female, accounts for an article she has recently read which shows another side of the coin:

(5.22) *Sexual slavery (ISTAL 04-701-02)*

[Participants: A, female; B, male; C and D, their colleagues silent in the excerpt]

1. A: það er ekki langt síðan
it be.3 not long.N since
'it is not so long time since'
2. ég las um einmitt á Ítalíu
I read.1.PT on indeed in Italy.DAT
'that indeed in Italy'
3. þar sem er Suður-Ítalíu
there where be.3 South-Italy.DAT
'there in South-Italy'
4. þar sem er svo ofboðsleg fátækt
there where be.3 such huge.F poverty.F
'where there so huge poverty'
5. B: já
PRT
'yes'

6. A: að þar eru foreldrar
that there be.3.PL parents.M.PL
'that there are parents...'
7. að selja börnin sín sko
to sell.INF children.N.PL.ACC.DEF REF PRT
'selling their children sko'
8. til svona (.)einhverra ríkra
to PRT some.M.PL.GEN rich.M.PL.GEN
'to like some rich'
9. (0.5)
10. manna og
man.M.PL.GEN and
'men and'
11. (1.0)
12. B: já
PRT
'yes'
13. A: sko
PRT
'sko'
14. B: jájá
PRT
'yesyes'
15. A: í Vestur-Evrópu sko
in Western Europe.F.DAT PRT
'in Western Europe, sko'
16. B: já og vona að þetta séu góðir menn
PRT and hope.3 that this.N be.3.SUB.PL good M.PL men M.PL
'yes and hope that they are good men'
17. A: já
PRT
'yes'
18. B: sem að munu sjá fyrir börnunum
who that will.3.PL see.3 for children.N.PL.DAT.DEF
'who will provide for the children'
19. (x)og gefa þeim betra (x)
(x)and give.3.PL they.DAT good.N.ACC.COM (x)
(x) and give them better'
- 20.→A: og svo er þetta kannski notað sem bara
and then be.3 this.N perhaps use.N.PP as PRT
'and then they are perhaps used as just'
21. (0.4)

22. →B: **kynlífsþrælar=**
sexual slave M.PL
'sexual slaves'

23. A: =já þetta er alveg agalegt
PRT this.N be.3 PRT terrible.N
'yes this is really terrible'

In line 15, A seems to be closing her topic with the help of B, her male colleague, who has been active in the feedback giving. Then in lines 16 and 18–19, B extends A's utterance and almost concludes in line 19. In line 20, A picks up the thread by extending B's words. She has come to the final lexical item before a suitable TRP in line 20, she pauses (line 21) and opens up the opportunity for B's entry. B joins in and completes A's TCU in line 22 with the strong and descriptive noun, *kynlífsþrælar* 'sexual slaves', with which he closes the ongoing topic. Speaker A is quick to respond in line 23. Her contribution consists of a confirmative *já* 'yes' as to reply to B's last comment (line 22) and an evaluating comment on the whole account. A's utterance is latched immediately onto her partner's words, i.e. it is firmly attached to the previous utterance which could show that she is eager to display his opinion and close the topic. Latching is often a device to show "solidarity, enthusiasm, and interest in others' talk" (Tannen 2005: 98) and that could be what A is aiming at. This excerpt shows that it is relatively easy for B to enter the dialogue in line 22 when A has uttered the comparative conjunction *sem* 'as' and after that the discourse particle *bara* 'just'. A has already used the verb *nota sem* 'use as/exploit as' which also gives a clue, both on the semantic category of the next lexical item and also that *sem* 'as' will be followed by a noun in the nominative case.

5.5 Sharing the syntax

5.5.1 Syntactic structure of simultaneous talk in completions

The syntactic structures of completions differ widely. I consider it relevant to my analysis to look at which syntactic parts appear in the completions and how they relate to the already produced utterance. As it turns out, collaborative completions occur frequently simultaneously with the completing part produced by the first speaker. This happens in 25 instances where completions occur in my data (out of 54 examples), i.e. in little less than half of the incidents where completion takes place (46%). Simultaneous speech is more frequent when the

completed part is non-induced (68%) than in induced completion (32%), as shown in *Table 5.4* below. This is perhaps what could be expected, because most of the induced completions are produced after the current speaker has stuttered, repeated words, paused or halted and indeed revealed both her need for assistance and also what semantic and syntactic item is needed to complete her utterance.

Table 5.4 shows the syntactic structure of completions which are carried out as overlapping the current speaker's talk. The table shows that seven out of eight induced completions (88%) are parts of a syntactic phrase in the making but only six out of seventeen of non-induced completions (35%). These completions are sometimes produced as a continuation of the phrase initiated by the first speaker or as a phrase dominated by a phrase already produced. Sometimes the second speaker completes an NP by uttering the head of a phrase of which the first speaker has already produced the specifiers (see (5.24) below) and other times he adds the obligatory NP to a PP already in the making (as in (5.23) below). *Table 5.4* shows how the second speakers design their candidate completions:

Table 5.4: Simultaneous talk in completions

	<i>Non-induced completions</i>	<i>Part of a phrase in the making</i>	<i>Induced completions</i>	<i>Part of a phrase in the making</i>
-Noun Phrase (NP)	7	VP3	6	PP3/NP1/VP2
-Prepositional phrase	5	VP1	---	---
-Adverbial Phrase	---	---	---	---
-Adjective Phrase	---	---	---	---
-Verb Phrase (VP)	1	VP1	2	VP1
-Comparative Phrase	---	---	---	---
-Clause	3	---	---	---
-Numeral	1	NumCl	---	---
Total	17	6	8	7

As shown in the table, overlapping talk occurs seventeen times in non-induced completions but only six of the contributions by the second speaker are parts of the syntactic phrases that his interlocutor has started (44%). Four of the NPs are not parts of other constituents but the remaining three are parts of VPs in the making. In non-induced completions, we find five PPs – one of them is a part of an already ongoing VP – but in induced completions, no PPs appear as overlapping talk. In the non-induced overlapping talk, three clauses are uttered but none where induced completions occur. The table also shows that half of the NPs in induced completions are indeed parts of PPs which the current speaker is producing, two are parts of VPs that are

underway and one is a part of an NP. Both the simultaneously produced VP completions are parts of, or continuations of, VPs in the making.

There is an obvious difference between simultaneous speech in these two categories of induced and non-induced completions. When a completion is produced simultaneously with the first speaker's own completion in induced completions, the second speaker offers a contribution to a syntactic phrase which is already in the making and where the first speaker runs into trouble with her production. This is not characteristic when completions are non-induced. As shown, most of the completions in induced completions are NPs. They are of different types, three of the six NPs are parts of PPs, of which the preposition has already been produced when something disturbs the utterance making, and the second speaker joins in. The excerpt in (5.23) shows this (see the full extract in (5.15) above):

(5.23) *Member of the Conservative Party (ISTAL 07-107-04)*
 [Participants: A, male; B, male]

1. A: **hún var skráð í hann sko**
she be.3.PT register.PP in him PRT
'she was registred in it, sko'
2. (1.5)
 [one line omitted]
3. **af ekki af**
by not by
'by not by'
4. →B: [henni sjálfri nei]
her.DAT self.F.DAT PRT
'herself no'
5. →A: [henni sjálfri °sko°]
her.DAT self.F.DAT PRT
'herself, sko'

In all instances, the prepositions which precede the NPs have already been spoken (as in (5.23)). That makes it rather easy to complete the phrases because the preposition *af* does not only give away what type of a lexical item is appropriate but also which case form the missing item will take, i.e. dative in this excerpt. In line 5, *sko* is used as to confirm B's contribution and to close the subject.

The one remaining NP in induced completions is a part of an NP where the first speaker

has already uttered a specifier to his NP (line 4) and B only fills in with the head of the phrase in line 7:

- (5.24) *Trembling (ÍSTAL 04-701-04)*
 [Participants: A, male, C's husband; B, female, teacher, related to A; C, female, A's wife; D, male, B's husband]
1. A: það eru allir komnir
it be.3.PL everybody.M.PL come.M.PP.PL
 'everybody has this'
2. [það eru allir komnir með skjálfta]
it be.3.PL everybody M.PL come.M.PP.PL with tremble.M.ACC
 'everybody has this tremble like this'
3. C: °[hún er komin með lyf við þessu]°
she be.3 come.F.PP with medication.N with this.N.DAT
 'she has medication now'
4. →A: [þennan hérna] ((hlær))
this.M.ACC PRT ((laughs))
 'this one here'
5. B: [er það]↑
be.3 it
 'is it'
6. C: [.já]
PRT
 'yes'
7. →B: [handskjálfta (x)]
hand trembling.M.ACC
 'hand trembling'
8. →A: [þennan hérna]
this.M.ACC PRT
 'this one here'
9. →B: [skjálfta] ((hlær))
trembling.M.ACC ((laughs))
 'trembling'

In the excerpt, A repeatedly tries to revise his utterance which he started in line 1, but without a success. Speaker A completes his utterance in line 2 but at the same time, C who seems to know exactly what A is talking about, joins in with further information. In line 4 A makes yet another attempt to get the floor to complete his utterance but does not succeed. In lines 5 and 7, B reacts to A's words and further description seems to be unnecessary. A is already in the middle of another attempt in line 8, and then B joins in once more (line 9) by repeating her

words from line 7 and her contribution results in her talk overlapping her partner's attempt to complete her utterance. Speaker A is still trying to define what was the matter with the woman who is the topic of their conversation and who he started to describe in line 1, and B's completion in line 9 is the concluding part of A's words uttered in line 4.

More instances of overlapping talk occur in non-induced completions than found in the category of induced completions. The reason for it could be that the former are more clearly projected, it is more straightforward for the second speaker to anticipate an NP when a preposition has already been uttered. NPs are the most frequent syntactic phrases in overlapping talk; they are seven and three of them are parts of VP. These NPs either function as a direct object, as in (5.25) (see the whole excerpt in (5.19) above), or as a complement:

(5.25) *The right colours (ISTAL 04-108-01)*
 [Participants: A, female, daughter in law of C, A and B's sister in law;
 B, female, C's daughter, D's sister and A's sister in law; C, female, B
 and D's mother; D, female, C's daughter, B's sister and A's sister in law; C and D silent in
 the excerpt]

1. →A: að það var dálítið erfitt að finna út sko
 that it be.3.PT a bit difficult.N to find.INF out PRT
 'that it was a bit difficult to find out sko'
2. →B: réttu lit[ina]
 right.M.PL.ACC colours.M.PL.ACC.DEF
 'the right colours'
3. →A: [réttu] litina
 right.M.PL.ACC colours.M.PL.ACC.DEF
 'the right colours'

In the extract the NP produced in line 2 is strongly projected from the transitive verb and its particle *finna út* 'find out', and that makes it easy for B to fill in the missing object in the accusative case.

The second speaker manages sometimes to produce exactly the same lexical items or phrases which his partner is about to produce or synonyms to the first speaker's words. *Table 5.5* shows how often the two speakers are congruent in their overlapping talk:

Table 5.5: Congruity in the overlapping phrases

B's Completions compared to A's	Total	NP	PP	Other phrases
-Same lexical item	7	4 (2I/2N) ¹⁶	2 (N)	1 (N)
-Synonym	6	3 (N)	1 (N)	2 (1N) (1I)
-Partly the same	2			
Total	15	7	3	3

The table shows that in 15 instances out of 25, or in 60% of all the instances of simultaneous talk, the second speakers manage to either use the same lexical item, a synonym or partly the same lexical items as their interlocutors. In 7 instances the second speaker chooses exactly the same lexical items as the current speaker, it happens in 28% of all the instances of simultaneous talk. Mostly this overlapping talk consists of NPs and most of them are found in non-induced completion. As revealed in the table the same or similar lexical items occur five times in non-induced completion, twice as NPs, twice as PPs and once as a numeral.¹⁷ Lexically accurate induced completions also occur twice and in both instances in the form of NPs. In other instances, not shown in the table, the second speaker starts a phrase which is semantically identical to the one his partner is producing, i.e. a time phrase or a similar idiom, but with different lexical items.

These instances of simultaneous talk show how well the second speakers attend to what is going on in the dialogue and how they decipher the emerging syntax and prosody in the utterance as it unfolds. This careful attention to the first speaker's production results in a successful entry of the second speaker at a non-TRP; he can either give an appropriate feedback with his insertions when his entry is non-induced, or help out with a relevant and accurately chosen item if something goes wrong in his partners' utterance production.

5.5.2 Syntactic structure of all completions

Table 5.6 below, illustrates what has been stated above, i.e. that there are 30 instances of non-induced completions and 23 instances of induced ones. Most of them are NPs, of which all the induced ones are parts of different syntactic phrases and also the majority of the non-induced ones. More variety of syntactic units occur in non-induced completions, almost all types of

¹⁶ N = Non-induced completions; I = Induced completions

¹⁷ In the excerpt in (5.10), two friends are negotiating on the year of death of a famous writer, and when one says 'eitt' (E. *one*) the other says 'tvö' (E. *two*) – this one example was counted as a synonym.

syntactic phrases, and, in addition to that, three syntactic clauses. All but one of the NPs are parts of a phrase in the making, the same proves true for the VPs.

When looking at the difference between non-induced and induced completions we see that one-word completions are more frequent in induced completions than in the non-induced ones. More than half of the induced completions consist only of one word, but only 20% of the non-induced ones. This is illustrated in *Table 5.6*:

Table 5.6: Syntactic structures of all completions

	<i>Non-induced completions</i>	<i>Part of a phrase in the making</i>	<i>Induced completions</i>	<i>Part of a phrase in the making</i>
-Noun Phrase (NP)	16	NP2/VP7/PP6	13	NP3/PP5/VP5
-Prepositional phrase (PP)	5	VP1	---	---
-Adverbial Phrase (AP)	--	---	2	AP1
-Adjective Phrase (AdjP)	1	AdjP1	1	AdjP1
-Verb Phrase (VP)	2	VP2	5	VP4
-Comparative Phrase	1	---	2	---
-Clause	3	---	---	---
-Numeral	2	---	---	---
TOTAL	30	19	23	19
<i>Number of words</i>				
-One word	6		12	
-Two words	14		8	
-Three words	6		2	
-More than three words	4		1	

My results are at odds with Bockgård's (2004: 113) findings. In his data, more than half of the non-induced completions consist of one word. On the other hand, looking at the induced completions in my data and compare it to Bockgård's findings (*op.cit.*: 115), we see that more than half of the completions are one-word insertions, and that is similar to what I find in my data. The differences between Bockgård's findings and mine, regarding the length of non-induced completions, could be due to the difference in our datasets (discussed in 5.2 above).

As for my data, the main difference between non-induced and induced completions lies in the fact revealed in *Table 5.6*, that more than half of the induced completions are just one word (52%) but in non-induced completion, 80% consist of more than one word. This could be explained by the fact that in induced completions the first speaker hesitates; sometimes she does not find the right word, sometimes a slip of the tongue prompts the second speaker to join in as in (5.26) (see this extract in (5.18) above at length):

(5.26) Reykjavík? (ISTAL 03-620-03)
 [Participants: A, male, husband of B; B, female, A's wife;
 C, male, husband of D; D, female, C's wife, silent in the excerpt]

1. A: **en nota ben Dalvík er bara**
but nota ben Dalvík.F be.3 just
'but nota bene Dalvík is just'
2. **í fjórtíu kílómetra fjarlægð frá (Reyk-)**
in forty kilometre.M.PL.GEN.PL distance.F.DAT from (Reyk-)
'in forty kilometers distance from (Reyk-)'
3. **frá [Akureyri]**
from Akureyri.F.DAT
'from Akureyri'
4. →B: **°[Akureyri]°**
Akureyri.F.DAT
'Akureyri'

In the excerpt, the first speaker has already uttered the preposition but uses a wrong place-name and B is quick to respond to that by offering a correction. This is an exemplar for induced completions, one word is missing or wrongly chosen and the second speaker's only task is to supply his interlocutor with the word which was the trouble spot. Even if B's insertion in line 4, is a repair, it is also a confirmation of that she has understood her partner even if he had not got the place name right. This is obvious by the fact that when B joins in (line 4), A himself is already carrying out a self-repair; in line 3 he repeats the preposition *frá* 'from' and when B joins in she does so in the same time slot as A is completing his utterance.

5.5.3 The strength of syntactic boundaries

My criteria for collaborative productions is, as stated in Ch. 4.4.3, that the final outcome, when the utterance has been completed or extended, has to form an intact and recognisable syntactic unit with the preceding utterance. One exception from this is allowed, i.e. when the last function word uttered by A is repeated by B when he forms his continuation of A's utterance. Only very few instances of repeats are found in my data and all of them show only a single grammatical word, as when a preposition is repeated in the completing part.

Because of these strict demands we do not find my data appropriate to investigate whether the second speakers' entries occur at different places in the utterance; examples from my data only show instances where the speakers design their entries as to fit in at certain

syntactic boundaries. In this section, I will look at how speakers choose the time slot to enter their interlocutors' utterances; where they decide to locate their contributions and how they attend to syntactic boundaries. *Table 5.7* shows the findings. In the columns, it is illustrated how often the syntactic phrases occur with and without the second speaker repeating a preposition or other preceding items:

Table 5.7: Completions after the first speaker's unfinished production

<i>Phrases started by A</i>	<i>B's completion</i>			<i>Total</i>
	Without repeating	By repeating	Uncategorised	
-PPs ¹⁸	9	3	5	
-NP ¹⁹	3			
-VP – trans/intrans verb ²⁰	10			
-VP – auxiliary verb	8			
-VP -compound	5			
<i>Conjunctions</i> ²¹				
-comparative ²²	3			
-when /then	1			
-after that	1			
-that	1			
-because	1			
-how	1			
-except	1			
-and		1		
Total	44	4	5	53

The table shows that it happens rarely that the incoming speaker, B, repeats a part of what his partner has already said. It shows that the syntactic boundaries are quite strong since the phrases tolerate to be torn apart and split between two speakers as is the case in 44 instances. It happens only four times that the second speaker enters into a syntactic phrase under construction and repeats a grammatical word from the previous utterance. In three instances, the second speaker repeats an already produced preposition (5.27):

¹⁸ When B joins in, A has already produced the preposition.

¹⁹ Shows both NPs which A starts but B completes at the same level and also where a second NP is subordinated to another phrase, e.g. another NP or a PP.

²⁰ Here we find both NPs, which are immediately dominated by the VP, i.e. objects of transitive verbs or complements of intransitive verbs. Also we find under this label obligatory PPs and APs governed by the verb, i.e. intransitive locative verbs, which require to be followed by a PP (Brown and Miller 1991: 64).

²¹ Although these words are not all formal conjunctions they function as such in these instances.

²² Here, I count a comparative form which prompts the second speaker to join in.

(5.27) *Looking around (ISTAL 03-620-02)*

[Participants: A, female, a teacher; B, female, a teacher; C, male]

1. →A: **já þeir [þurfa] að fylgjast með í**
PRT they.3.M have.3.PL to follow.INF VP in
'yes they have to look'
2. (0.4)
3. C: [eitthvað]
something
'something'
4. C: alltaf að skoða hvað er
always to look.INF what be.3
'always looking around'
5. →B: **°í kringum sig svona eitthvað°**
in around REF PRT something.N
'around and so on'
6. →C: **já**
PRT
'yes'
7. B: **.já**
PRT
'yes'

In the excerpt, the PP consists of an item which could be called a 'compound preposition', i.e. *í kringum* 'around' followed by a reflexive pronoun. The first speaker has only uttered the first preposition *í* 'in' (line 1), when he pauses (line 2) and C rushes in (line 3–4). In line 5, B repeats the already uttered preposition (from line 1) and adds the second part of it, *kringum* 'around'.

In one example, the second speaker repeats *og* 'and' which was also repeated by his interlocutor previously to B's entry but *og* 'and' does sometimes function as an increment initiator (Lerner 2004b: 165) and is used "in some cases to smooth over discontinuities at the beginning of turn-constructural units" (Turk 2004: 239). It is interesting to notice how often the completion is produced after a conjunction, where it is not clear what should follow. Exceptions from this are comparative phrases where the syntactic form that follows is quite obvious from the first part and the obvious syntactic continuation after the first part of the compound conjunction *þegar/þá* 'when/then' has been uttered (see 5.5 above).

My findings are at odds with Szczepek's (2000a) where her data showed that the participants seemed to mind adding an NP to an already uttered preposition. They repeated the

preposition and completed the TCU with a whole PP. This happens only three times in my data, as shown in *Table 5.7* above. Szczepek concludes that this points to weaker syntactic boundaries that do not hold across a speaker change and “[i]n order to signal that their material is a continuation of what has gone before, participants repeat some of it before they continue” (*op.cit.*: 21).

Looking at the VPs, it is obvious that the second speaker does not usually have any difficulties in producing the object of a transitive verb. This is shown in (5.19) and (5.25) above. It seems obvious that it needs an NP to complete the phrase, the already produced verb gives away the appropriate case the NP will take, and therefore the second speaker can be quite accurate in his choice of form. This could indicate strong boundaries between a transitive verb and an object and the same goes for the boundaries between auxiliary verb and a predicate. There is also evidence for these major boundaries holding between the same constituents in English (see Szczepek 2000a: 21).

The syntactic boundaries within an NP also seem strong since we find an example of a completion where the second speaker produces a noun to an NP which his partner has already started:

- (5.28) ` *Traitors (ISTAL 04-701-06)*
 [Participants : A, male ; B, male ; C, female]
1. B: þetta væru bara ekki menn
this.N be.3.PL.SUB.PT PRT not men.M.PL
'they were not men'
 2. og allir allir (aust-)
and all.M.PL all.M.PL (east-)
'and everybody everybody (east-)'
 3. >klifaði á því<
repeat.3.PT on it.DAT
'repeated'
 4. að allir Austfirðingar vildu fá þetta
that all.M East-fjorders.M.PL want.3.PL.PT get.INF this.N
'that all living in the East wanted this'
 5. og allir allir allir
and all.M all.M all.M
'and all all all'

6. →A: **nema einhverjir örfáir**
except some.M.PL few.M.PL
'apart from some very few'
7. →B: **landráða[menn]**
traitors. M.PL
'traitors'
8. →A: **[öfga]menn og landráðamenn**
=extremist M.PL and traitors M.PL
'extremist and traitors'

In the example, B adds the head to an NP already underway. The specifiers show the exact case the still unproduced noun will take; they also give away that the missing noun will have to be masculine and plural. The context does also play a role here and the second speaker has therefore enough information to complete the phrase with considerable accuracy.

The third main constituent found in the data is the VP. Two instances of 'verb groups' (Brown and Miller 1991: 209) occur in the data. Each verb group consists of a lexical verb (main verb) which normally is the last constituent, preceded by one or more auxiliary verbs (*ibid.*). In (5.29) the main verb is added by B after A has uttered the auxiliary verb:

- (5.29) *He put it together (ÍSTAL 06-107-03)*
 [Participants: A, male, D's husband; B, female, C's wife;
 C, male, B's husband, silent in the excerpt; D, female, A's wife]
1. D: Valur smíðaði sko (1.0)
Valur M. build.3.PT PRT
'Valur built sko'
2. ágætis innréttingu (0.6) eða >þú veist
fine F.GEN interior.F.ACC or PRT
'a fine interior unit or you know'
3. ég meina< hann setti hana alla vega upp sko
I mean.1 he put.3.PT her anyhow up PRT
'I mean he installed it anyhow sko'
4. →A: **já: ég held hann hafi bara**
PRT I think.1 he have.3.SUB PRT
'yes I think he has only'
5. (0.2)

6. →B: **keypt hana í pörtum**
buy.PP her. F.ACC in parts.M.PL.DAT
 ‘bought it in parts’
7. →A: **já (0.4) sett hana saman sjálfur til að spara**
PRT put.PP her together himself.M to to save.INF
 ‘yes put it together himself to save’

In (5.29) the men are discussing an acquaintance of theirs who had recently had his kitchen renovated. D had initiated a doubtful opinion on the man’s role in designing the kitchen, and in line 4, A picks up that thread and seems to know how it all happened. A starts the utterance and after uttering the auxiliary verb *hafði* ‘have’ he pauses and B completes the phrase by adding the past particle of the verb *keypt* ‘bought’ to the utterance (line 6). This shows that the boundaries between the finite verb in the VP and the verb that follows seem relatively strong.

5.6 The reception of the completions

5.6.1 Simultaneous talk

Before turning to the main topic of this section, the reception of completion, a few words on simultaneous speech are appropriate because the overlapping talk shows the actual meeting place of the two speakers, A and B, which, eventually, leads to acceptance or rejection of the completed part. As expected, overlapping talk is more frequent in non-induced completion where nothing seems to disturb the flow of the conversation than in the induced ones (see 5.5.1 above on the frequency). The extract in (5.30) reveals a co-operative completion which is carried out in the same time slot as the first speaker completes her own utterance (see also in (5.2 above):

(5.30) *A bit clumsy (ISTAL 06-107-03)*
 [Participants: A, female, D’s wife; B, female,
 C’s wife; C and D, male, silent in the excerpt]

1. →A: **hann er stór (0.8) svolítið svona [pybbinn] já luralegur**
he be.3 big.M little.N PRT chubby.M PRT clumsy.M
 ‘he is big a little like chubby, yes clumsy’
2. →B: [luralegur]
clumsy.M
 ‘clumsy’

3. →A: [með skegg] (.)
with beard.N.ACC
'with beard'
4. →B: [með skegg]
with beard.N.ACC
'with beard'
5. →A: >þekkirðu hann eitthvað<
know.2+you him something.N
'do you know him'

As shown in the excerpt, A and B are well co-ordinated; they simultaneously utter both items two and three in the list (in lines 1 and 2 and in lines 3 and 4) and A reacts to both the contributions from B. In line 3 and 4 they simultaneously add the PP to the description. The third move (line 5) is not exactly a response to B's contribution but rather expressed to find out whether B really knew the person by the description.

The difference between the induced completions and the non-induced ones, from the view of the second speaker, is that in the former he does not decide himself where in the utterance his contribution will appear. On these occasions it is the first speaker who 'alarms' her interlocutor by using several devices to indicate that she has run into trouble in her utterance and by that she marks the appropriate entry for him.

When, on the other hand, speaker B decides himself, without any signs of trouble in the conversation or an encouragement from his interlocutor, to interrupt at a non-TRP, he can join in wherever he wants to (see Bockgård 2004: 115) and the consequences are that he is more likely to talk into the words of his interlocutor's unfolding utterance.

From the viewpoint of the current speaker, the situation in the conversation is also different in these two types of completions. When there is a problem previous to the entry of the second speaker, especially when the first speaker obviously searches for a word, she probably anticipates the second speaker to join in and assist her in the utterance production. It could be argued that in these instances a completion by the second speaker is obligatory, at least it would flout the principles of politeness and face saving acts to act in a different manner (Yule 1996: 60–61). Therefore, one would expect the first speaker to give her interlocutor a space in the dialogue; one would expect her to withdraw and stay silent while her partner adds the missing part of the TCU. When, on the other hand, nothing indicates that the first speaker is having a problem, she would be less prepared for B's entry at a non-TRP. This could be the reason why

we find simultaneous speech more frequently when the completion is non-induced.

5.6.2 The third move – next after the completed part

Not a single instance in my data indicates that the first speaker considers the entry of her partner an offensive act and I never came across the words, often used by politicians in TV debates, ‘please, allow me to finish’, in this context; this is in accordance with Bockgård’s (2004: 227) findings in his Swedish data. *Table 5.8* reveals the types of the third moves in the data set:

Table 5.8: The reception of completions

<i>The third moves</i>	<i>Non-induced completions</i>	<i>Induced completions</i>
<i>Completion accepted</i>		
<i>Repeat</i> ²³	0	2
<i>Repeat+</i>	3	4
<i>+Repeat</i>	0	1
<i>Repeat -</i>	1	0
<i>Completion recycled</i>	5	1
<i>Synonyms +</i>	1	0
<i>Yes</i>	2	2
<i>Yes+</i>	2	2
<i>Completion passed over</i>	11	9
<i>Completions not accepted</i>		
<i>Completion not fully accepted</i>	2	0
<i>Uncertain interpretation</i>	3	2
<i>Total</i>	30	23

It is shown in *Table 5.8* that in an overwhelming majority of instances where completion takes place, the first speaker accepts his partner’s completion in one way or another and shows her acceptance in various ways. Most often, the contribution is received by showing no overt mark of either acceptance or rejection; this is shown in the table under the heading *Completion passed over*. This non-reaction to completions is common both in induced and non-induced completions, and, in these instances, A carries on with what she was saying when B joined in her utterance, and she does so without repeating or reusing any parts of B’s contribution. My data does not show whether A shows some non-verbal reactions to the completions; that is something which would be interesting to explore.

²³ *Repeats* refer to verbatim repetition of the completed utterance; *+repeat* refers to repetition which is prefaced with an item, such as an affirmative particle; *repeat+* refers to a repetition which is followed by e.g. a discourse particle; *repeat-* refers to instances where the completed utterance is only partly repeated. *Completion recycled* means that the lexical items B used in his completion are used within a new context.

Next in frequency, we find receptions in the form of repeats of one type or another. In many instances, A repeats the second speaker's words, or a part of them, sometimes by expanding the completion, e.g. by adding an affirmative particle or a discourse particle to it, and sometimes by recycling a part of the candidate completion in the next turn. These different reactions will be discussed in the next section. In a few instances, it is not possible to analyse the part that follows the completion, either because it is inaudible, most often because many people talk at the same time, or because the first speaker does not take the floor again after the insertion.

5.6.3 Completions accepted

It is obviously the norm, at least in these Icelandic conversations, to accept the contribution of the second speaker when he completes his interlocutors emerging utterance even if it does not fit into what is normally accepted to be the ultimate place for a speaker change, i.e. a TRP.

In most cases, the entry of B does not affect the current speaker and she just acts as if nothing has happened, sometimes without a break in the utterance because B's entry is overlapping the ongoing talk of speaker A. These instances are categorised as *Completion passed over* in Table 5.8 and they occur 20 times, both in induced and non-induced completions.

In (5.31), A is talking about how the teachers at the local yacht club train the children before they start sailing themselves. It is noticeable how smoothly the conversation unfolds and how the two occurrences of *sko*, in line 4 and line 8 seem to trigger an input from the second speaker; in line 4 a feedback *já* 'yes' in lines 5 and 9 completions. This strengthens my hypothesis aired in 5.4.1.3 above, that one of the roles discourse particles play is – at least some of them – to create a semi-joint in the utterance, i.e. interactional boundaries which offer a space for a minimal input from the interlocutor, but not indicating a TRP:

(5.31) *Wet and cold (ISTAL 06-220-02)*
 [Participants: A, female, D's wife; B, female, C's wife;
 C, male, B's husband; D, male, A's husband]

1. A: *við ýtum samt #i:#*
we push.1.PL anyhow i
'we push them anyhow'

2. >við beitum þau rosa þrýstingi sko<
we exert.1.PL they.N.PL.ACC extreme pressure.M.DAT PRT
'we press them enormously sko...'
3. að hoppa (1.0) til þess að þau viti #i#
to jump.INF to it.GEN that they.N.PL know.3.SUB i
'to jump, to let them find out'
4. áður en þau velta í fyrsta skipti sko
before than they.N roll.3.PL in first.ACC time.N.ACC PRT
'before they roll over for the first time sko'
5. C: já
PRT
'yes'
6. A: og lenda óvart í sjónum
and land.3.PL accidentally in sea.M.DAT.DEF
'and land accidentally in the sea'
7. að þau viti þá áður sko
that they.N know.3.SUB then before PRT
'that they know beforehand sko'
8. → **hvernig vestin sko**
how life jackets.N.PL.DEF PRT
'how the life jackets sko'
9. →B: **[virka já]**
work.3.PL PRT
'work, yes'
10. →A: **[taka í þau] og**
take.3.PL in them.N and
'hold them and'
11. **og að þetta er blautt [og]**
and that this.N be.3 wet.N and
'and that it is wet and...'
12. D: [já kalt]
PRT cold.N
'yes, cold'
13. A: þetta er kalt og hvernig það er
this.N be.3 cold.N and how it be.3
'this is cold and how it is'
14. að lenda sko með hausinn
to land.INF PRT with head.M.ACC.DEF
'to land sko with the head'
15. og allt það fer allt ofan í
and all.N it go.3 all.N down in
'and everything in the (sea)'

As seen from the excerpt above there is no hostile action in A's ignoring the input from B; B's words in line 9 sound more like she is a co-producer of A's utterance than a competitor. The floor is A's, she carries on as if nothing has happened and neither of her interlocutors tries to win over the floor.

Another significant feature of the third move is repeating or recycling the syntactic units found in the completion. Seven out of the 23 induced completions consist of repeats, verbatim or altered (30%). In non-induced completions, we find fewer instances of repeats, i.e. 4 out of 30 of non-induced completions are received either by repeating the exact or slightly altered words of the second speaker (13%).

The next excerpt shows a non-induced completion where the insertion is accepted by repeating a PP but reducing it by cutting out the adjective:

- (5.32) *A whole week ÍSTAL 06-220-02*
 [Participants: A, female, D's wife; B, female, C's wife;
 C, male, B's husband; D, male, A's husband, silent]
1. →A: **og þau þurftu að biða í**
and they.N have.3.PL.PT to wait.INF in
'and they had to wait for'
2. →B: **í heila viku=**
in whole.F.ACC week.F.ACC=
'for a whole week'
3. →A: **=í viku**
=in week.F.ACC
'for a week'
4. C: **á Seyðisfirði**
on Seyðisfjordur.M.DAT
'in Seyðisfjordur'
5. A: **á Seyðisfirði á hótelinu**
on Seyðisfjordur.M.DAT on hotel.N.DAT.DEF
'in Seyðisfjordur at the hotel'

In this excerpt, the two speakers act as a one person, no hesitation, no disruption at all, apart from the repeated preposition in line 2.

It is noticeable that a simple repeat, i.e. a verbatim repeat of the completing part, is rare. It only occurs twice in induced completion but never in non-induced completions. One of these instances is shown in the excerpt in (5.33). We see that A welcomes B's help out of his trouble

and he does so by repeating B's exact word which is of course the word he was searching for himself. By that, A confirms that B has come up with the correct word and, in addition to that, A is at last able to complete his own utterance. This example is discussed in 5.4.1 above and the whole excerpt is shown in (5.13):

- (5.33) *Myllan (ÍSTAL 04-701-04)*
 [Participants: A, male, husband of C and D's cousin;
 B, male, D's husband; C and D, female, wives of A and B]
1. →A: **í hérna (1.6) hann vinnur hjá hérna → (.)**
in PRT he work.3 at PRT
'in here he works at here'
 2. →B: **Myllunni ↑**
Myllan.F.DAT.DEF
'Myllan'
 3. →A: **Myllunni ↓**
Myllan.F.DAT.DEF
'Myllan'
 4. B: **jájá**
PRT
'yes yes'

More commonly, we find that A not only repeats B's input but adds to it, either in front of it or following it as in (5.34) below (see from this excerpt in (4.2) above):

- (5.34) *Infection and salmonella (ÍSTAL 06-220-02)*
 [Participants: A, male, D's husband; B, female, C's wife;
 C, male, B's husband; D, female, A's wife]
1. →A: **það er örugglega margt til í þessu**
it be.3 definitely many.N to in this.N.DAT
'there is definitely some truth in this'
 2. **eins og með þetta með svínakjötið**
as and with this.N with pork.N.ACC.DEF
'as it is with the pork'
 3. **þú sérð það bara inn í trúarbrögðum**
you see.2 it only in in religion.N.PL.DAT
'you see it just in religion'
 4. **af því að (0.4) við vitum**
off it.N.DAT that we know.1.PL
'because we know'

5. C: já
PRT
'yes'
6. A: að það þarf að sjóða þetta
that it need.3 to cook.INF this.N.ACC
'that you need to cook it'
7. og grilla þetta ansi vel
and barbeque.INF this.N.ACC quite well
'and barbeque it quite well'
8. C: jú
PRT
'yes'
9. →A: **til þess að fá ekki**
to it.GEN to get.INF not
'to not get'
10. (0.2)
11. →B: **sýkingu**↑
infection.F.ACC
'infection'
12. →A: **sýkingu og salmonellu**
infection.F.ACC and salmonella.F.ACC
'infection and salmonella'

In the excerpt, we see a pattern which occasionally appears in the third move, i.e. after the completion. In these instances, the first speaker accepts her partner's contribution to the conversation by repeating his phrase, but also adds to it and gives it more weight. In examples similar to (5.34) the addition to B's words could be looked upon as an upgrade of the second speaker's contribution. It is not necessarily the addition to the syntactic unit which is the main reason for the feeling of upgrading; rather it is the intonation and rhythm, i.e. the musical quality of the phrase which gives the feeling of an upgrade of B's word.

In the third move we find many instances of repeats which are preceded by a single word or a phrase, e.g. a preposition or a discourse particle, as shown in (5.35) (this example is also discussed in Ch. 5.3.2.6, excerpt (5.8) and (5.16) in Ch. 5.4.1.1 above):

(5.35) *Dinner or ...? (ÍSTAL 04-730-07)*
 [Participants: A, female; B's sister and C's wife; B, female, sister of A and C, female, sister of A and B]

1. →A: **jú það er ég held að það hafi nú**
PRT it be.3 I think that it have.SUB PRT
 'yes I think that'
2. **flestallir verið með**
majority.M.PL be.PP with
 'most people have been with'
3. (1.1)
4. →B: **mat ((geispar))**
food.M.ACC ((yawns))
 'dinner'
5. →A: **með mat**
with food.M.ACC
 'with dinner'

In this excerpt, A accepts B's completion by repeating the completing noun preceded by the previously uttered preposition 'með' (E. *with*). A's contribution consists therefore of the intact PP as to highlight the context of the noun (see 5.5.2 above on syntactic boundaries). We also see here the tendency of the current speaker to complete herself the utterance she had in the making when B joined in (see on this in 3.3.1 above and 7.5 below).

Verbatim repeats are rare; more frequently, they appear either preceded or followed by a short extension of the utterance or with an omission, where the first speaker repeats partly what her interlocutor said. The instances in the column marked *Completion recycled* show how the first speaker reuses one of the lexical items uttered in the completion but now in a new context. The excerpt in (5.36) shows this:

(5.36) *Not penicillin (ÍSTAL 06-220-02)*
 [Participants: A, female, D's wife; B, female, C's wife; C, male, B's husband; D, male, A's husband]

1. A: **ég var orðin svona**
I be.1.PT become PP PRT
 'I became like a'
2. C: **og eftir hvað) ↑**
and after what
 'and by what'
3. (0.8)

4. A: (í-) fló eða eitthvað álika hallærislegt
(i-) *flea or something.N equally uncool.N*
'*flea or something equally uncool as that*'
5. (0.9)
6. D: ég veit ekki [hvað]
I know.1 not what
'*I don't know what*'
7. A: [ég (e-)] hérna
I (e-) PRT
'*I here*'
8. D: eða stungin=
or stung.F.PP=
'*or stung*'
9. →A: =ég fékk eða ekki pensilín >ég má ekki fá það<
=I get.1.PT or not penicillin I may.1 not get it.ACC
'*I got... or not penicillin, I cannot have it*'
10. það var eitthvað [(x)]
it be.3.PT something.N (x)
'*it was something*'
11. →B: [súlfadót eitthvað]
sulpha stuff.N something.N
'*some sulpha stuff*'
12. →A: súlfadót sem ég má fá sko=
sulpha stuff.N which I can.1 get PRT
'*sulpha stuff which I can use sko*'
13. B: =mhm
=mhm
'*mhm*'

In this excerpt, we see how A reuses the words *súlfadót* (line 12) 'sulpha stuff'; she expands it and recycles it in her next utterance after B's completion in line 11.

Perhaps the simplest way to accept the second speaker's contribution is to use the affirmative particle *já* 'yes'. As shown in *Table 5.8*, this is done in a few instances; either by using a simple *já* but also by using *já* as a place of departure and then add to it a phrase or a clause. We see an example of the first one in (5.37) (see the whole extract in (5.21) above):

(5.37) *Not as shabby (ÍSTAL 07-230-02)*
 [Participants: A, male; B, male. Friends]

1. →A: **hann er ekkert eins subbulegur og**
he be.3 nothing as shabby.M as
'he is not as shabby as'
2. (0.4)
3. →B: **wasp factory↑**
wasp factory
'wasp factory'
4. →A: **já**
PRT
'yes'

This excerpt is easily explained; A starts a comparison clause which B concludes. In the third move, A accepts B's completion by uttering a simple *já* 'yes'.

In (5.38) below, we see an example of the latter, i.e. A starts with 'já' as to confirm that he heard and accepted B's words; he probably agrees with them both semantically and syntactically (see Bockgård 2001: 14 and 2004: 176; the excerpt is discussed above in (5.29):

(5.38) *He put it together (ÍSTAL 06-107-03)*
 [Participants: A, male, D's husband; B, female, C's wife;
 C, male, B's husband, silent in the excerpt; D, female, A's wife, silent in the excerpt]

1. →A: **já ég held hann hafi bara**
PRT I think.1 he have.SUB PRT
'yes I think he has only'
2. (0.2)
3. →B: **keypt hana í pörtum**
buy.PP her in parts.M.PL.DAT
'bought it in parts'
4. →A: **já (0.4) sett hana saman sjálfur til að spara**
PRT put.PP her together himself.M to save.INF
'yes put it together himself to save'

In line 3, B completes the VP initiated by A in line 1, building upon A's already produced finite verb *hafi* 'have' (line 1). He does so by using the past participle form of the main verb *keypt* 'bought'. After that A comes in again starting with the affirmative particle *já* 'yes' and then continuing with what could be the exact clause he started in line 1. It is noticeable that he does not repeat the 3rd person pronoun *hann* 'he' in line 4, but seems to build on the pronoun he

uttered in line 1 because in line 3 he uses the indefinite pronoun *sjálfur* ‘himself’ which agrees with the pronoun in line 1 in gender, number and case. He also omits the finite verb and seems to reuse the finite verb from line 1 and to it he adds the past participle form of the verb *setja* ‘put’.

5.6.4 Completions rejected or not fully accepted

As shown in *Table 5.8*, completions are not fully accepted in two instances. It is done in a very subtle way in both the excerpts. In the excerpt in (5.39) below, A is telling B about an author who lived in Europe at the beginning of the 20th century and passed away in the 1940s but they do not agree on exactly which year. The example shows the partners’ attempt to negotiate and find a compromise or a solution they both can agree on (see the full excerpt in (5.10) above):

- (5.39) *Forty one or two (ISTAL 07-230-02)*
 [Participants: A, male; B, male; friends]
1. A: nítjánhundruðfjörtí:uog
nineteenhundredfortyand
‘nineteenhundredforty’
 2. →B: [eitt]
one.N
‘one’
 3. →A: [tvö] eða eitt eða
two.N or one.N or
‘two or one or’
 4. eithvað svoleiðis fjörtíuogeitt
something.N like that fortyandone
‘something like that, fortyone’
 5. B: eða eða
or or
or or’
 6. A: nei fjörtíuogtvö
no fortyandtwo
‘no fortytwo’

A and B complete the phrase simultaneously in lines 2 and 3 and they do not agree on the year the author died. B says *eitt* ‘one’ but A says *tvö* ‘two’ in the same time slot. It should be noticed

that as soon as A has uttered his opinion of the year in question, he alters it and repeats B's candidate completion but he does not seem convinced because he adds to it *eða eitthvað svoliðis* 'or something like that'. B also offers a change of opinion by repeating the disjunctive *eða* 'or' to show that he also is willing to negotiate. This is obviously a face saving act in a situation where the friends search for a correct year. Speaker A takes all the time he needs to conclude his utterance and in line 6, he seems convinced that his original date was the correct one. It is well documented (see e.g. Heritage 1984: 265–269; Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 43; Pomerantz 1984: 95; Schegloff 2007: 64–73; see also 3.4.2 above) that it takes more effort to disagree with the second interlocutor's words than to agree with them. Rejection is obviously not something that is used without a serious pondering of how it will strike the one who actually uttered the words in question. In other words, acceptance would be the unmarked way of treating an incoming utterance from another speaker at a non-TRP. Here we have evidence of an obvious preference for agreement and contiguity in the conversation (Steensig 2001: 43; Heritage 1984: 266; see also excerpt (3.7)).

In a few instances, the first speaker devalues the meaning of the second speaker's contribution or revises it. She can do so by rephrasing B's completion and by doing that she offers a new continuation of her own words. Excerpt (5.40) reveals this action (below only the completed part is shown; see the intact excerpt in (5. 5) above):

- (5.40) *Then it stops (ISTAL07-230-02)*
 [Participants: A, male; B, male. Friends]
1. →A: **þegar hann kemur að punktur [að þá bara]**
when he come.3 to period M. that then PRT
'when it reaches a period, then'
 2. →B: **[þá stoppar] hann aðeins**
then stop.3 he just
'then it stops for a while'
 3. →A: **þarna (a-) aðeins hægir hann á sér**
PRT (a-) just slow.3 he on himself
'it slows down a little'
 4. **(segir hann) @gvagva@ þú veist**
(say.3 he) gvagva PRT
'(it says) (gvagva), you know'

The example shows clearly how A is more cautious than B in stating how the computer program works. When B uses the word *stoppar* ‘stops’, A, on the other hand, chooses the phrase *hægir á sér* ‘slows down’. Again, we see A continue in line 3 with the second half of the compound clause he started in line 1; the only deviance is the discourse particle *þarna* ‘there’ when he starts recycling the additional part *aðeins* ‘just’ from B. A’s completing words in lines 3–4 comes as a perfect continuation of the first part of his utterance, just as if nothing happened in between.

In a few instances, there is no continuation when the completed part has been uttered; the completion is neither explicitly accepted nor rejected. Sometimes it is due to an abrupt change of topic, as in (5.41) where A’s mind is on something else (see the full extract in (5.11) above):

- (5.41) *Cool program (ÍSTAL 07-107-01)*
 [Participants: A, male; B, male; friends]
1. →A: **mér finnst image (x)**
I.DAT find.3 image (x)
‘I find image’
 2. →A: **alveg svakalega hérna (cool) forrit**
really extremely PRT (cool) program.N
‘really an extremely here (cool) program’
 3. **því að ((rödd fjær))**
because ((a voice in distance))
‘because’
 4. →B: **þú getur gert síðuna beint úr því=**
you can.2 make.PP page.F.ACC.DEF straight from it.DAT=
‘you can make the page straight from it’
 5. A: **=ertu að keyra viltu**
=be.2+you to drive.INF will.2+you
‘are you driving do you fancy’

After the completion, A does not react to it, but, instead, asks B whether he is driving which projects an offer of a bottle of beer and by this sudden change of topic, A ignores B’s completion. These instances of the first speakers not reacting to the potential completions offered by their partners are not at all hostile, they only show that in everyday conversations the partners are faced with different events in the settings. Sometimes they have to deal with an unexpected incident immediately and at other times, their minds wander and stray from the dialogue. This is what happens here between these two friends. A offers his partner a bottle of

beer after he has verified that he was not driving and by this action he cuts off the dialogue for a while, in a friendly way.

5.7 Summary

In this chapter I have investigated several features of collaborative completions. Those who participate in a dialogue use completions, both as a feedback to show interest in their partners' contribution to the dialogue, and to react to problems in the utterance their interlocutor is producing. The interactants have many other alternatives in these situations (Lerner 1996); they can express interest by the usual feedback tokens and they can assist their partners by producing a whole utterance for them when one of them runs into trouble in their utterance production. Completions are therefore a choice they make; they produce them by utilising certain grammatical forms and they do so for an interactional reason. This topic will be revisited in Ch. 7 below.

Instances that met my criterion for completion, described in Ch. 4.4.1 and 4.4.3, were 53 in my data and occurred in 20 dialogues out of 31 (67%). Completions are most frequent in the two longest dialogues; 13 instances of collaborative completions are found in the longest dialogue and 7 in the second longest (see *Table 5.1*). Most often completions occur only once or twice in each dialogue and the duration of the conversations does not seem to be relevant when it comes to collaborative activity. In the conversation with the shortest interval between completions, one completion is found every 8.5 minutes.

The completions are either non-induced or induced by some disruption in the utterance making. The majority of the examples in my data are non-induced completions (57%), i.e. instances where nothing in the production of the preceding utterance – no hesitation, no word search – can explain why the second speaker joins in at a non-TRP. The present chapter showed that there are differences in the forms and the usage of non-induced and induced completions, both in terms of frequency, variety of syntactic phrases and of the number of words used in the completion. These topics will be discussed further in Ch. 7 below.

Induced completions usually have the character of a repair process, i.e. self-initiated other-repair. The first speaker has run into a trouble of some kind, i.e. she does not remember a name of a person or she does not find the right word in the context of her utterance. She indicates the trouble by hesitating, stuttering, repeating herself or by pausing and that is when the second

speaker initiates repair on the previous utterance with his entry by offering a candidate completion to A's unfinished utterance.

However, not all induced completions are repair processes. The exceptions are nine examples where there is no discernible trouble apart from a discourse particle which I assume can be interpreted as a disruption in the making of the utterance. In my account it is indicated that it is possible that participants in conversation treat discourse particles as certain types of boundaries in the utterance, as quasi-boundaries, that open up opportunities for the speaker's partner to join in before the utterance has been completed. This assumption is based on a few examples but the topic is worth a closer look and will be developed in Ch. 7.

The current chapter also revealed that there is a strong tendency to accept completions offered by the second speakers, i.e. it would be seen as the preferred action. The first speakers accept their partners' input in different ways, sometimes by carrying on as if nothing happened and other times by repeating their partners' words, most often partly or with an increment.

We also saw in this chapter a tendency – or a need – for the first speaker to complete her utterance in the making even if the candidate completion had been received in a positive way. I return to it later on when we look at completions and other extensions in connection to the conversational turn in 7.5 below.

6. Other-extensions – Form and function

6.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the second category of collaborative productions dealt with in the present study, i.e. other-extensions. Extensions have been treated as a subcategory of increments, i.e. instances where either the first or the second speaker adds on a parasitic non-main-clause or a phrase as a continuation of the preceding utterance, when it has reached a potential TRP, based on syntax, prosody and sequential action (see Schegloff 1996: 83; Ford, Fox and Thompson 2002: 17).

Other-extensions and completions have some features in common, as discussed in Ch. 4 above. In both instances, the second speaker adds a syntactically dependent phrase or a clause to the previous utterance and in both cases the function of the addition is obviously co-operative, as the second speaker does not normally claim the floor for a full and independent turn. The main formal distinction between the two is that completions occur before the current speakers have reached the places of a possible transition, when other-extensions appear when the current speakers have apparently closed their utterance. In completions, the second speaker's contribution only fills in a syntactic slot already created by the construction of the ongoing utterance of the previous speaker. In other-extensions, on the other hand, the current speaker's utterance is complete from syntactic, prosodic and pragmatic viewpoints. Extensions are therefore more of a free contribution than completions are, since the first speaker's utterance does not necessarily project syntactically or prosodically what is suitable as a new closing part of the syntactic unit (Bockgård 2004: 108).

This could sound as a clear line was drawn between the syntactic structure of completions and other-extensions, and that each construction would be easily recognisable. Obviously, it is often quite clear to which side the examples fall but sometimes it is more obscure, for instance because it is not always a simple task to decide where in the flow of an utterance the speaker reaches a possible completion point.

Other-extensions are syntactically dependent on what has already been said. The second speaker does not use his "right" to contribute freely to the conversation by uttering an structurally independent turn. Sometimes he seems to do so to solve upcoming problems in the dialogue. Which problems, and how B's contribution is a solution to them are among the topics dealt with in this chapter. Normally, the extensions are uttered right after the first speaker's

utterance but, occasionally, we find *delayed other extensions*, where one or two remarks come between the first utterance and the extension.

The data I use in this study consist of 73 examples which met my criterion of other-extension (see Ch. 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 above). *Table 6.1* shows the frequency of other-extensions in the dialogues and how often other-extensions occur in each conversation. The 73 examples of other-extensions take place in 17 conversations out of 31, or 55% of all the conversations. In all except one of the conversations, other-extensions occur once in a while, i.e. once and up to seven times in each dialogue. One conversation stands out because other-extensions are more frequent there than in the other ones, there are 33 instances of other-extensions. The same dialogue also had most occurrences of completions (see *Table 5.1*). This dialogue is the longest by far, the duration is 149:58 minutes, or almost two and a half hours, and that explains, at least partly, the frequency of these phenomena. The duration does not tell the whole story as seen in the fact that in another long dialogue, i.e. 03-620-03, which lasts for 101.39 min. or almost one hour and 40 minutes, there are only two instances of other-extensions. The frequency could be related to which activity types are carried out in the dialogue (see 6.3 below). *Table 6.1* illustrates the frequency of the phenomenon in the dialogues:

Table 6.1: Frequency of other-extensions

<i>ISTAL</i>	<i>Length (m:s)</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Other-extensions</i>	<i>Intervals betw.other-extensions in minutes</i>	<i>Completions</i>	<i>Completions + other-extensions</i>	<i>Interval between compl. + other-ext. in minutes</i>
06-220-02	149:58	4	mixed	33	4,5	13	46	3.2
01-112-04	58:40	3	mixed	7	8,3	-	7	8.3
04-701-05	37:21	4	mixed	6	6,2	2	8	4.7
07-107-04	81:29	2	masc.	4	20,3	2	6	13.5
06-107-03	59:55	4	mixed	3	14,9	7	10	6.0
02-310-03	29:35	4	mixed	2	14,7	1	3	9.8
04-701-04	35:05	4	mixed	3	11,8	2	5	7.0
02-310-01	09:22	3	mixed	2	4,6	-	2	4.6
03-620-03	101:39	4	mixed	2	50,7	5	7	14.5
05-730-01	10:08	3	mixed	2	5.0	-	2	5.0
03-620-01	38:33	4	mixed	2	19,2	-	2	19.2
06-107-01	20:55	4	mixed	2	10,3	2	4	5.1
02-310-06	29:52	4	mixed	1	29,5	-	-	-
04-701-03	16:34	5	mixed	1	16,3	1	2	8.2
07-107-01	37:55	2	masc.	1	37,6	2	3	12.5
01-112-02	27:33	2	fem.	1	27,3	3	4	6.8
07-230-02	45:53	2	masc.	1	45,5	4	5	9.1
Total 17				73		44		

What stands out in *Table 6.1* is the frequency of other-extensions in the longest dialogue where an other-extension occurs every 4.5 minutes. *Table 6.1* also shows that in 12 conversations

completions occur along with other-extensions. In the longest conversation either completion or other-extension occur approximately once in every three minutes. If these processes are interpreted as co-operative, this could point to a high level of collaboration in this specific dialogue.

In this chapter, I will try to answer several questions. First, I will look at the form other-extensions take and deal with the frequency of individual forms; that is the topic of Ch. 6.2 below. The main topic of Ch. 6.3 is to discuss what seems to be the interactional goal of other-extensions and which social actions the interactants pursue by using extensions. In this section we also discuss the relation between the main-clause and the extension, i.e. whether the extension continues the ongoing action initiated by the first speaker, or, whether it creates a new beginning, a new TCU. Ch. 6.4 addresses how the first speakers receive the extended parts in the dialogues and how the extensions affect their next utterances; i.e. whether they welcome the extensions and integrate them in their next utterances or whether they reject them or even pass them over when they continue their speech. Finally, in section 6.5, I will sum up and discuss the findings in the chapter.

6.2 Formal characteristics of other-extensions

6.2.1 Clauses

The syntactic features of the 73 examples of other-extensions found in the data are different in length, form and function. They consist of subordinate clauses and syntactic phrases of different length and various types which most often are introduced by using what Lerner (2004b: 154) calls *increment initiators*, i.e. subordinating conjunctions or prepositions, which attach the addition to the preceding talk. In *Table 6.2*, the clause types are categorised according to their relation to the main-clause (Þráinsson 1995 and 2005) in relative clauses and adverbial clauses (no extensions with complement clauses were found). All the main syntactic phrases occur as other-extensions, some of them frequently, others rarely, as can be seen in *Table 6.2*:

Table 6.2: The syntactic structures of other-extensions

	Total
Relative clauses	6
Adverbial clauses	
- temporal clause	1
- causal clause	2
- result clause	3
Clauses - Total	12
Phrases	
- Comparative Phrase	5
- Noun Phrase (NP)	12
- Prepositional Phrase (PP)	37
- Adverbial Phrase (AP)	3
- Verb Phrase (VP)	3
- ad-infinitival Phrase	1
Phrases - Total	61
Clauses and Phrases - Total	73

The most frequent other-extensions consist of syntactic phrases or 84% of all instances (see Bockgård 2004: 108). The phrases that occur in most instances are PPs, which are 51% of all other-extensions. Relative clauses are the most frequent ones among clauses; they count for 50% of all the clauses used as other-extensions and 8% of all instances. The syntactic forms that occur most rarely are temporal clause and ad-infinitival, only one of each type is found in the data.

It is obvious that the contribution of the second speaker is significantly longer in other-extensions than in completions. Most completions consist of one or two words and the most prominent phrases in completion are NPs which are projected by the clause so far (see Table 5.6). Completions are therefore limited and designed to fit into a specific slot in the ongoing clause. Other-extensions are neither syntactically nor prosodically projected (they can of course be pragmatically projected), and they leave more freedom for the second speaker to add a lengthy clause or phrase to the utterance and even to take the dialogue into a different direction (see Bockgård 2004: 108–109).

6.2.1.1 Relative clauses

The first category of subordinate clauses used as extensions are relative clauses which seem to be used for various interactional purposes. Sometimes the second speaker adds to the preceding clause in order to address an upcoming problem in the conversation. It happens for instance when the second speaker seems to perceive his partner's words ambiguous. This is therefore a

repair process which could clear up the ambiguity, not only for the B himself but for everyone participating in the dialogue.

An example of a relative clause used to deal with a problem is shown in (6.1) below. In the excerpt, three participants, a 16 year old boy and his parents, are discussing A's whereabouts one particular evening and he is trying to explain that if he had not been babysitting that evening he would have gone to see his friend Jón. B, the father, does not seem familiar with the friend's name and after a long pause (line 7) he repeats it in a way that shows his total lack of understanding (line 8). A replies by repeating the friend's name once more (line 9) and then B adds a relative clause (line 10) to try to identify the boy, *sem var hérna* 'who was here':

- (6.1) *Jón who? (ISTAL 05-730-01)*
 [A – male, 16 years old, son of B and C; B – male – married to C, father of A; C – female, married to B, mother of A]
1. C: þú varst að passa (.)
you be.2.PT to baby-sit.INF
 'you were baby sitting'
 2. B: já var hann að passa↑
PRT be.3.PT he to baby-sit.INF
 'yes, he was baby sitting'
 3. A: (xx) annars annars hefði ég
(xx) otherwise otherwise have.1.SUB.PT I
 (xx) 'otherwise I would'
 4. bara farið til Jóns
just go.PP to Jón.GEN
 'have gone to Jón'
 5. eða eitthvað
or something.N
 'or something'
 6. jájá
PRT
 'yes'
 7. (2.1)
 8. →B: Jón↑
Jón
 'Jón'
 9. →A: °Jón°
Jón
 'Jón'

10. →B: **sem var** **hérna**↑
who be.3.PT here
'the one who was here?'
11. →C: **Jón Þór**
Jón Þór
'Jón Þór'
12. B: **já:**
PRT
'yes'
13. C: **Jónsson**↑
Jónsson
'Jónsson'

The relative clause in line 10 has the function of an appendor question (Sacks 1995(I): 660, see 4.3.2 above) to which C, the mother, replies in line 11 by giving the full Christian name of the friend rather than describe him physically (see Schegloff 1998: 460). B responds to C's words with a *já* 'yes' and C adds the boy's surname.

In (6.2), A and B are co-telling a story about a journey on which they took. In line 1, B begins to describe a part of this trip by telling a visiting couple about a fishing trip which was a part of their tour. A is B's husband and was her partner on the tour and he adds to B's story the duration of the fishing trip (lines 3–4), it took approximately half an hour. After that, B takes the floor again; it is after all her story so perhaps she finds herself entitled to carry on with it. Her contribution in line 5 is a relative clause with information on that the fishing tour was included in the tour they bought:

- (6.2) *Sea angling included (ISTAL 06-220-02)*
 [A – male, husband of B; B – female, wife of A;
 C – male, husband of D; D – female, wife of C]
1. →B: **og svo fórum** við í **sjóstangaveiði**
and then go.1.PL.PT we in sea angling.F.ACC
'and then we went sea angling'
2. **líka** [með]
also with
also with'
3. →A: [hálf tíma]
half hour.M.GEN
'half an hour'

4. sjóstangaveiði eða hvað það var
sea angling.F.ACC or what.N it be.3.PT
'sea angling or whatever it was'
5. →B: sem var innifalið í túrnunum
which be.3.PT include.PP in tour.M.DAT.DEF
'which was included in the tour'
6. A: og [það sem við mokuðum af þorski maður]
and that which we shovel.1.PL.PT of cod.M.DAT man.M
'and we shoveled up a whole lot of cod'
7. B: [og þetta va:r svo]
and this.N be.3.PT so
'and this was so much'
8. [skemmtilegt]
fun
'fun'
9. C: [var það]
was it
'was it'

This excerpt is a part of a longer narrative where B is the primary speaker; the conversational floor belongs to her, she initiated the topic and she is the main storyteller. A's role in the part of the story that leads to the excerpt shown in (6.2), was to assist B when she was in lack of words, e.g. to fill in place-names A did not remember. In the part shown in (6.2), the role of the two persons in the story-telling are interwoven, i.e. they speak like one person. This part of the story goes like this – as one chunk of the narrative but produced by two people:

- (6.3) (B) *And then we went sea angling .../(A) half an hour of sea angling or what it was/ (B) which was included in the tour/(A) and we shoveled up a whole lot of cod/ (B) and this was so much fun.*

The excerpt shows the co-operation of the couple where they co-tell their story; each of them has a part to play. Speaker B produces the first part, A the second, B the third and A the fourth and B concludes this episode as shown in (6.3) (their contributions divided by a forward slash /). This is an excellent example of what Sacks calls *spouse-talk* (1995(II): 437–443) and what sometimes is referred to as a *duet* (Szczepek 2000b: 2 ff.).

6.2.1.2 Adverbial clauses

The category of adverbial clauses in Icelandic includes several clause types which take their name from the conjunctions that most often precede them (Þráinsson 2005: 147). Three of these sentence types occur as extensions in my data; i.e. temporal, causal and result clauses. The conjunctions at the beginning of adverbial clauses show the semantic relation to the main clauses. A temporal clause will start with a temporal conjunction, *þegar* ‘when’; a causal clause will start with the conjunction *af því að* ‘because’ and a result clause with *vegna þess að/svo að* ‘because/then-so’. Below, each clause type within the group of adverbial clauses will be discussed separately.

6.2.1.3 Temporal clause

There is only one example of a temporal clause used as an extension in the data. In (6.4) two couples are discussing river rafting and that you have to be careful if you fall into the water because you can hurt yourself. When describing how it is best to behave, B extends her utterance by adding a temporal clause to her partner’s words (line 11):

- (6.4) *Feet up (ISTAL 06-220-02)*
[A – male, B’s husband; B – female, A’s wife
C – male, D’s husband; D – female, C’s wife]
1. B: að að þegar að þú ferð út í
that that when that you go.2 out in
‘that when you go out into the water’
 2. þá verður þú að hafa vit á því
then must.2 you to have.INF sense.N.ACC on it.N.DAT
‘you must have the senses’
 3. að leggjast á bakið (0.5)
to lie.INF on back.N.ACC.DEF
‘to lie down on your back’
 4. og upp með lappirnar
and up with feet.F.PL.ACC.DEF
‘and put your feet up’
 5. C: já
PRT
‘yes’

6. A: því ef þú ert með niður með lappirnar
because if you be.2 with down with feet.F.PL.ACC.DEF
'because if you keep your feet down'
7. >(og ert bara) eitthvað svona<
(and be.2 just) sort of PRT
'and you are just'
8. → þá geturðu rekið lappirnar í stein
then can.2+you bang.PP feet.F.PL.ACC.DEF in stone.M.ACC
'then you can bang your feet against a stone'
9. → og fótbrotið °þig° (0.8)
and leg break.PP you
'and break your leg'
10. C: já=
PRT
'yes'
11. →B: =þegar þú ferð út í=
=when you go.2 out in=
'when you go into (the water)'
12. →C: =þú ert á [svo mikilli ferð]
=you be.2 on so much.F.DAT speed.F.DAT
'you are in such a speed'
13. →A: [já þegar] þú ferð út í
PRT when you go.2 out in
'yes, when you go into the water'

B's extension in line 11 seems to be tailored to make it clear that *if* and *when* people fall into the water they have to remember holding up their feet to avoid bumping into stones. By this addition, he eludes a misinterpretation of A's words and makes things clear for C, who, like himself, does not seem to be familiar with river rafting.

6.2.1.4 Causal clauses

We find three causal clauses as other-extensions in the data. In the conversation leading up to the next excerpt in (6.5), D, the daughter of B and C, has revealed her ignorance in geography. In the first lines of the excerpt her mother expresses her view that her daughter really should know by now where Faxaflói is, she has explained it to her so often, and it is nowhere close to Akureyri in the North-East Iceland which was D's first guess. In line 6, D tries to mitigate for her mistake and give a better guess by asking *ókei er hann þá nálægt Reykjavík* 'okay is it then

close to Reykjavík'. D's mother still tries to help her daughter and agrees with her suggestion in line 7. The girl's father and her aunt react differently; they ridicule the girl because D's guess does not include the fact that Reykjavík is literally built around Faxaflói (-flói = 'bay') and by this wild guess she really shows her ignorance. The aunt is still in the joking mood in line 8 when she says that Faxaflói is in fact *mjög* 'very' close to Reykjavík, with an extra stress on *mjög* 'very'. In line 9, D's father explains why her suggestion is in a way correct despite the way it is put forward. He does so by attaching a causal clause preceded of *vegna þess að* 'because':

(6.5) *Where is Faxaflói (ISTAL 04-701-05)*

[A – female – sister of C; B – male – husband of C;
C: female - wife of B; D – female, daughter of B and C]

1. C: Faxaflói↑ heyrðu
Faxaflói.M listen.2.IMP+you
'Faxaflói –listen'
2. D: já
PRT
'yes'
3. C: þetta var ég búin að fara yfir
this be.3.PT I finish.PP to go.INF VP
'I had already explained this'
4. svo oft og mörgum sinnum yfir með þér
so often and many.N.DAT times.N.DAT over with you.2.DAT
'many times for you'
5. að Faxaflói er hvergi nálægt Akureyri↑
that Faxaflói.M is.3 nowhere near Akureyri.F.DAT
'that Faxaflói is nowhere near Akureyri'
6. D: ókei er hann þá nálægt Reykjavík
PRT is.3 he then close Reykjavík.F.DAT
'well, is it then close to Reykjavík?'
7. C: [já]
PRT
'yes'
8. →A: [já] hann er **mjög** nálægt Reykjavík
PRT he is.3 very close Reykjavík.F.DAT
'yes, it is very close to Reykjavík'
9. →B: **vegna þess að Reykjavík stendur við Faxaflóa**
because that Reykjavík.F stand.3 at Faxaflói.M.ACC
'because Reykjavík is located at Faxaflói'

10. →A: (hlær)
 ((laughs))
 '(laughs)'

In line 9, B attaches his clause to the previous one by uttering *vegna þess að* 'because' in the same humorous way that A seems to indicate by emphasising *mjög* 'very' in the preceding utterance.

6.2.1.5 Result clause

In two instances, the two 'authors' of the extended clauses have exact knowledge of the topic. In example (6.6) the extension seems to be prototypical for a result clause, where the extended clause expresses the consequence of the preceding one. Less prototypically, this sentence is composed by two speakers, a father and his daughter. In the beginning of the excerpt in (6.6), the participants have been discussing the weather for a while and continue doing so when, in line 1, A informs the others on the conditions of the golf course, that it is still covered with snow. To A's utterance, B adds the result clause and by it he assumes that because of the snow mentioned in the main clause a guy named Halli is not able to play golf. After a short pause, A replies in line 5 by agreeing to B's words, and adds to them that Halli has not made any attempt to go to the golf course yet:

(6.6) *Snow on the golf course (ISTAL 04-701-05)*
 [A – male, husband of C; B – female, daughter of A and C;
 C – female, wife of A; D – female, sister of C]

1. →A: **það er enn þá snjór á golfvöllinum**
it be.3 still snow.M on golf course.M.DAT.DEF
'there is still snow on the golf course'
2. →B: **svo Halli kemst ekki í golf**
so Halli come.3 not in golf.N.ACC
'so Halli will not be able to play golf'
3. (0.7)
4. ((dynkur))
 ((bump))
5. →A: **nei ég held**
PRT I think.1
'no, I think'

6. **hann hafi ekki gert neina tilraun enn þá**
 he have.3.SUB not make.PP any attempt.F.ACC yet
 'he has not made any attempts yet'

B's extension in line 2 rests upon the previous utterance that the golf course is covered with snow with the consequence that Halli cannot practice his golf skills.

6.2.2 Phrases

As shown in *Table 6.2*, syntactic phrases are most frequent as other-extensions. The phrase types we find over and over again as extensions are mainly PPs and NPs. In this section, we will look at these phrases and how they are used as other-extensions. It is noteworthy that all the syntactic phrases appear as extensions except for the Adjective Phrase; APs and VPs occur only rarely.

6.2.2.1 Comparative phrases

There are five comparative phrases in the data; two are initiated by *eins og* 'as', and the remaining phrases with three different conjunctions; *bara sem* 'just as', *heldur en* 'than' and *eða* + a comparative of the adjective *mikill* 'or more'. In (6.7) we see in line 11 that here it is the comparative conjunction *eins og* 'as', preceded with an adverb 'svona' 'just', which is used to introduce a comparison of how European pigs and readhaired people will be equally sensitive to sunlight:

- (6.7) *Pigs afloat (ISTAL 06-220-02)*
 [A – male, D's husband; B – female, 's C's wife;
 C – male, B's husband; D – female, A's wife]
1. A: svo voru þeir með svín um borð (1.2)
 then be.3.PL.PT they.M with pigs.M.PL.ACC aboard
 'and then they had pigs aboard'
2. (x) mat og annað (1.3)
 (x) food.M.ACC and other.N.ACC
 'food and other things'
3. þeir voru með evrópsk svín
 they.M be.3.PL.PT with European pigs.N.PL.ACC
 'and they had European pigs'

4. sem voru svona bleik (1.3)
 who be.3.PL.PT like pink.N.PL
 'who were pink'
5. og þeir hættu því nú fljótlega
 and they.M quit.3.PL.PT it.N.DAT PRT soon
 'and they gave it up soon'
6. því þeir þau fengu
 because they.M they.N.PL get.3.PL.PT
 'because they were allowed'
7. að vafra sko um þilfarið
 to wander.INF PRT about deck.N.ACC.DEF
 'to wander about on the deck'
8. þau sólbrunnu öll
 they.N sunburn.3.PL.PT all.N
 'and they sunburned all over'
9. C: ((hlær)) *já*
 ((laughs)) PRT
 '((laughs)) yes'
10. →A: þau urðu alveg ómöguleg sko=
 they.N become.3.PL.PT totally impossible.N.PL PRT=
 'they became totally impossible'
11. →B: svona eins og rauðhært fólk↑
 just like red-haired.N people.N
 'just like redhaired people'
12. →A: já=
 PRT=
 'yes'
13. =þau eru einu dýrin
 =they.N be.3.PL only.N.PL animal.N.PL.DEF
 'they are the only animals'
14. sem sólbrenna
 who sunburn.3.PL
 'who will sunburn'

In line 10, A describes how badly the pigs endured the sunlight. He only said that they became impossible but did not explain in what way. In the next line, B seems to check her understanding on the preceding utterance and does so by using a comparative clause *eins og rauðhært fólk* 'as red-haired people' where the verb *sólbrunnur* 'sunburns' is omitted. By the comparison B checks whether her understanding is valid, and when she has it confirmed, the conversation can go on.

6.2.2.2 Noun Phrases

Most of the NPs stand alone as extensions to previously uttered clauses, or 9 out of 12. In (6.8) two male friends are talking when an insect, a blacksmith, appears. B seems to sense that his friend is not particularly fond of them and he asks, in line 3, whether he is afraid of blacksmiths. Speaker A replies and denies being afraid of blacksmiths (line 4) and then B extends A's words in line 5 by adding an NP *bara kóngulær* 'only spiders', which connects B's question to A's preceding utterance.

- (6.8) *Only spiders (ÍSTAL 07-230-02)*
 [A male; B male. Friends.]
1. B: hm jájá þetta er alveg fullt af þeim
 hm PRT this.N be.3 PRT lot.N of they.M.PL.DAT
 'hm, yes, there is a lot of them'
 2. A: er það
 be.3 it.N
 'is it right?'
 3. B: **já (.) ertu svolítið illa við þetta eða**
 PRT be.2.+you a little.N badly with this.N.ACC or
 'yes, are you a little afraid with this or'
 4. →A: **nei ekki járnsmiði**
 PRT not blacksmith.M.PL.ACC
 'no, not blacksmiths'
 5. →B: **bara kóngulær**
 only spider.F.PL.ACC
 'only spiders'
 6. →A: **já veit ekki af hverju ég meina ég=**
 PRT know 1.not of what.N.DAT I mean.1 I
 'yes, I don't know why, I mean I'
 7. B: =það er voðalega (f-) margir
 it be.3 terrible (f-) many.M
 'there are terribly many'
 8. sem eru með svona kóngulóarfóbiur
 who be.3.PL with PRT spider phobia F.PL.ACC
 'who are with phobia for spiders'

The extension in excerpt (6.8) shows an NP following an adverb, *bara* 'only'.

The examples of NPs as other-extensions are not all easily categorised. Some are initiated with a conjunction, two with *og* 'and' and one with *eða* 'or'. In most cases, the extensions

could be interpreted as reduced clauses where the copula is omitted. The excerpt in (6.9) shows one of these NPs. A is talking about a party he went to and he is telling his interlocutors which people he met at the party. In lines 1–4 he is listing up people who have complicated relations to each other and in line 6, B joins in and adds to A’s list:

- (6.9) *Complicated relations (ISTAL 01-112-04)*
 [A – male, B’s husband; B – female, A’s wife; C – male, A’s brother, silent in the excerpt]
1. A: =ja þarna var systir hans Jóa
 =PRT there be.3.PT sister.F he.GEN Joe.M.GEN
 ‘well, there were Joe’s sister’
2. og fyrrverandi kærastinn
 and former.M boyfriend.M.DEF
 ‘and her former boyfriend’
3. B: .já
 PRT
 ‘yes’
4. → A: og svo nýja konan hans
 and then new.F wife.F.DEF he.GEN
 ‘and his new wife’
5. >°þetta er auðvitað fáránlegt (.) (x)°<
 this be.3 of course ridiculous.N
 ‘this is ridiculous, of course’
6. →B: og ný- og nýi maðurinn hennar
 and new- and new.M. husband.M.DEF she.GEN
 ‘and her new husband’
7. →A: já nýi maðurinn hennar sko
 PRT.new.M. husband.M.DEF she.GEN PRT
 ‘yes her new husband’

This example shows a delayed other-extension. In line 6, B is adding to A’s apparently completed list. In the intervening line 5, A is evaluating what already was said. He says ‘this is of course ridiculous’ in a low voice and at a rapid speed as not to disturb the flow of the conversation. After B’s entry in line 6 the listmaking which A started in line 1 can continue.

6.2.2.3 Prepositional Phrases

As revealed in *Table 6.2* above, most of the other-extensions, in fact half of all the instances, are PPs. In the excerpt in (6.10) two men are talking about travelling; A is telling about cheap

fares he and his wife found on the Internet. Speaker B listens carefully, and in line 9 he asks a question and uses a PP to do so:

(6.10) *With Go? (ÍSTAL 06-220-02)*

[A – male; B – male. Also present but silent in the excerpt are the wives of both the men]

1. A: ef maður nennti að leita að þessu
if man.M feel.3.PT to look.INF for this.N.DAT
'if you felt like looking for this'
2. °á netinu
on internet.N.DAT.DEF
'on the internet'
3. tók smá tíma°
take.3.PT little time.M.ACC
'it took some time'
4. B: jú það gerir það ((hlær))
PRT it do.3 it.N.ACC ((laughs))
'yes it does'
5. A: og þetta með Go sko
and this.N with Go.DAT PRT
'and with Go'
6. → **við fundum ódýrustu fargjöldin**
we find.1.PL.PT cheap.SUP fares.N.PL.ACC.DEF
'we found the cheapest fares'
7. **alla leið**
all.F.ACC way.F.ACC
'all the way'
8. (1.0)
9. →B: **með þeim↑**
with they.M.DAT
'with them'
10. →A: **með Go já↓**
with Go.DAT PRT
'with Go yes'

The appendor question in line 9, which comes first after a pause, is a request for a more explicit explanation on A's utterance about the cheap fares. What is not clear from A's words is whether they travelled the whole way with Go, the low fare airline, and that is exactly what B asks about in line 9. B asks 'with them' and refers to Go by using the plural form of the

personal pronoun *þeir* (dat. *þeim*) ‘them’. A confirms B’s understanding in line 10, they went all the way with Go. In the data, many examples similar to this one were found. They show that PPs as extensions are frequently used for this purpose in Icelandic.

6.2.2.4 Adverbial Phrases

APs as extensions occur only three times in the data. In one example, it is a humorous addition to the preceding clause and in another episode it is used to upgrade the first speaker’s words. The following example shows how B uses a simple AP, the adverb *hérna* ‘here’ as an extension, i.e. as a question in line 10, to check his understanding of A’s words. The excerpt in (6.11) shows the same interactants as (6.10) above and the topic is the same as before, cheap travelling:

- (6.11) *Here? (ISTAL 06-220-02)*
 [A – male; B – male, husband of C; C, female, the wife of B,
 and D, female, wife of A are also present but silent in the excerpt]
1. A: og þetta er allt saman leiguflug (0.9)
and this.N be.3 all.N together charterflight.N
 ‘and these are all charter flights’
 2. og svona áætlunarflug
and PRT scheduled flight.N
 ‘and scheduled flights’
 3. frá öðrum heldur en Flugleiðum
from other.DAT than Icelandair F.PL.DAT
 ‘with other than Icelandair’
 4. B: já
PRT
 ‘yes’
 5. A: þannig að þetta er [um aukist (ros-)]
thus that this.N be.3 um increase.PP (heav-)
 ‘this is increasing’
 6. B: [(stóraukist)]
increase.PP heavily
 ‘risen sharply’
 7. A: já aukist rosalega mikið
PRT increase.PP tremendously much.N
 ‘yes, it has risen tremendously’
 8. (0.8)

9. →A: þetta verður örugglega s
this.N become.3 definitely s
 'this will definitely become'
10. stærsta ferðasumar (0.4) ever sko
big.SUP travelling summer.N ever PRT
 'the biggest tourist summer ever'
11. →B: hérna↑
here
 'here'
12. →A: já
PRT
 'yes'

A's reply in line 11 is the affirmative particle *já* 'yes' and thereby he confirms B's understanding of his previous words.

6.2.2.5 Verb Phrases

Only three instances of VPs as extensions are found in the data, two of which are initiated with a conjunction, one with *og* 'and' and one with *eða* 'or'. These two are either an addition to a list in making or to a story in progress. Example (6.12) shows a VP where the two friends, the same two as in two previous excerpts, are describing an idyllic vacation. In line 3, A starts describing how he sees the perfect holidays. He uses *þú* 'you' in line 5 (the pronoun is omitted in lines 3 and 4) as a generic pronoun including both the participants in the conversation. In line 7, where A is in the middle of his account, B joins in and adds a comment:

- (6.12) *Listen to the birds (ISTAL 06-220-02)*
 [Participants: A, male; B, male. Friends.]
1. B: það er (x)
it be.3 (x)
 'it is (x)'
2. [toppurinn sko ((hlær))]
top.M.DEF PRT ((laughs))
 'the top'
3. A: [horfir ekki á klukkuna
watch.2 not VP clock.F.ACC.DEF
 'do not watch the clock'
4. og horfir ekki hlustar ekki á fréttir]
and watch.2. not listen.2 not VP news F.PL.ACC
 'or watch or listen to the news'

5. → þú bara borðar og drekkur
you just eat.2 and drink.2
'you just eat and drink'
6. → þegar þér dettur það í hug
when you.2.DAT fall.3 it in mind M.ACC
'when you think of it'
7. →B: hlustar á fuglinn=
listen.2 VP bird.M.ACC.DEF=
'listen to the birds'
8. →A: =liggur í grasinu og hlustar á fuglinn
=lie.2 in grass.N.DAT.DEF and listen.2 VP bird.M.ACC.DEF
'lie in the grass and listen to the birds'
9. B: já ekkert að gera sko
PRT nothing N. to do.INF PRT
'yes not doing anything'
10. A: það bara vindur ofan af þér alveg hreint sko
it only winds 3. VP off you.DAT totally straight PRT
'it will unwind you totally'
11. stressið og vitleysan
stress.N.DEF and nonsense.F.DEF
'the stress and the nonsense'

A has been describing his ultimate vacation and listing up what he does not do in his idleness, not watching the clock, not listening to the news, only eating and drinking if and when he feels like it. B's entry in line 7 is a VP by which he is adding to A's list that listening to the birds is something they should do in their vacation. It is obvious that B builds upon A's previous utterances because he uses the same form of the verb in line 7, *hlustar* 'listen' as A does in line 5, i.e. 2nd person singular. In line 8, A shows that he appreciates B's addition by immediately incorporating his extension in his own utterance.

6.2.2.6 Complement phrase (*að*-infinitival-phrase)

Out of the 73 examples of other-extension there is only one where the previous utterance is extended by an addition of a non-finite complement phrase, i.e. a *að*-infinitival phrase which is shown in (6.13) below). The participants are discussing where they would like to spend their summer vacation, whether they could perhaps rent a cottage somewhere and that is where the

place name *Einarsstaðir* comes up:

(6.13) *To go to Einarsstaðir (ISTAL 04-701-05)*

[A – female, sister of B; B – female, sister of A and wife of C;
C – male, B’s husband; D, daughter of B and C, silent]

1. A: er ekki hægt að fá hérna á Einarsstöðum↑
is.3 not possible.N to get.INF PRT at Einarsstaðir.M.DAT
‘is it not possible to rent Einarsstaðir’
2. >eða þið ykkur langar²⁴
or you.2.PL you.2.ACC.PL want.3
‘or perhaps you don’t’
3. kannski ekkert að vera þar↑<
maybe not to be.INF there
‘want to stay there’
4. B: °nei allt of nálægt°
PRT all.N too close.N
‘no it is far too close’
5. A: of nálægt
too close.N
‘too close’
6. B: heimabyggð
home town.F.DAT
‘our home town’
7. C: æ ég held að það sé nú ekki (x)
PRT I think.1 that it be.3.SUB PRT not (x)
‘I think it is not’
8. →A: eins og þetta var nú spennandi
as this.N be.3.PT PRT exciting
‘as exciting as it was’
9. hérna fyrir nokkrum árum=
PRT for some.N.PL.DAT years.N.PL.DAT
‘some years ago’
10. →B: =að fara upp í Einarsstaði
=to go.INF up to Einarsstaðir.M.ACC
‘to go out to Einarsstaðir’
11. →A: fara upp í Einarsstaði↑
go.INF up to Einarsstaðir.M.ACC
‘go out to Einarsstaðir’

²⁴ A subject in accusative does not affect the succeeding verb; the verb that follows is always in 3rd person singular. See more in footnote 6 above.

12. B: já það er mjög skemmtilegt
PRT it be.3 very enjoyable.N
'it is so much fun'
13. gott að vera þarna á Einarssstöðum
good.N to be.INF there at Einarssstaðir.M.DAT
'it is good to stay at Einarssstaðir'

In the excerpt, the interactants are discussing their upcoming vacation. A suggests to go to *Einarssstaðir* – a summerhouse area – but she does so half-heartedly, because as soon as she has put forth her idea, she draws it back by saying in line 2, *eða þið ykkur langar ekkert að vera þar* ‘or you (2nd person nom.) you (2nd person acc.) don’t want to stay there’. The repair in line 2, where A shifts from using the personal pronoun in nominative to accusative is probably connected to her still unproduced verb; if she had chosen the verb *vilja* ‘will’ she would have used the nominative form but as it turns out she chooses *langa til* ‘want to’ which takes a subject in accusative. In line 9, when A comes to an obvious TRP, B joins in (line 10) and utters the *að*-infinitival clause *að fara upp í Einarssstaði* ‘to go out to Einarssstaði’ which here seems to be an affirmative exclamation. B reacts by repeating A’s words but now with a rising intonation (line 11) and thereby makes it a part of her own contribution.

It could be assumed that B’s extension of the previous utterance has its origin in a vague reference in A’s clause in lines 8–9 when she says: *eins og þetta var nú spennandi hérna fyrir nokkrum árum* ‘as exciting as this used to be several years back’. Here, the reference frame for *þetta* ‘this’ is perhaps not clear for B or – in her opinion – for her and the other participants in the dialogue. Therefore B’s tries to prevent a misunderstanding by her extension which contains what could be looked at as the missing subject in A’s utterance, referred to by the semi-subject *þetta*.

6.3 Syntax and social action

6.3.1 Form and function of other-extensions

In the 73 examples of other-extensions the participants carry out different social actions; they assist their partners by adding to their stories in the making and they ask for confirmations of their understanding of what was said and sometimes their main task is to solve some upcoming

problems by repairing what already has been said. The next step is to take a closer look at the functions of the extended utterances in talk-in-interactions.

The social actions carried out by other-extensions fall into three functional categories; two which include most of the examples, i.e. *Supportive Actions* and *Checking Understanding*, and one small category which includes what is called *Eða-Extensions* because the two examples found in the category start with *eða* ‘or’. These actions are carried out with certain grammatical forms and therefore it is necessary to use a formal classification to describe them. This is illustrated in *Table 6.3*:

Table 6.3: The relation between syntactic structures and the functions of other-extensions

	<i>Supportive Actions</i>	<i>Checking Understanding</i>	<i>Eða-Extensions</i>	
<i>Relative clause</i>				
- <i>relative clause</i>	3	3		6
<i>Adverbial clause</i>				
- <i>temporal clause</i>		1		1
- <i>causal clause</i>	2			2
- <i>result clause</i>	3			3
				12
<i>Phrases</i>				
- <i>Comparative Phrase</i>	2	3		5
- <i>Noun Phrase</i>	7	5		12
- <i>Prepositional Phrase</i>	17	19	1	37
- <i>Adverbial Phrase</i>	2	1		3
- <i>Verb Phrase</i>	2		1	3
- <i>að-infinitival</i>		1		1
				61
<i>Total</i>	38	33	2	73

As shown in the table most of the other-extensions have the function of *Supportive Actions* or 52% and 45% function as *Checking Understanding*. The remaining 3% are *Eða-Extensions*. The table also shows that the categories distribute quite evenly between different phrases and clauses. These categories will be discussed in the next sections.

6.3.2 Supportive actions

The category *Supportive Actions* is not easily defined. Given the collaborative nature of informal conversations it would probably be possible to put almost all the data used in this study under the concept of supportive actions, including those who fall under the other categories discussed here, *Checking Understanding* and *Eða-Extensions*. Despite these difficulties in categorising the concept is used here as an umbrella term over three sub-

categories all of which will be discussed below. These sub-categories are *duetting*, *explicating* and *highlighting*. The category of *duetting* includes co-operative story-tellings and co-listings where two people who both are knowledgeable about the events of a story or the nature of listed items, jointly take part in the production of the utterance. The concept *explicating* is used over instances where the second speaker gives additional information to what the previous speaker had already said, most often as a clarification or an interpretation of her words. The third concept, *highlighting*, is here used over instances where the second speaker lifts his interlocutor's words by upgrading, interpreting or foregrounding them and by his action, giving his partner's utterance more weight. Obviously, duetting is sometimes overlapping the two other sub-categories, i.e. when a co-teller in a story is explicating or highlighting his partner's words.

6.3.2.1 Duetting

The first type of *Supporting Actions* discussed here is the one of *duetting* where two people share the conversational floor in certain activities. This category does primarily consist of story-tellings but we also find a few examples of co-listing and jointly produced accounts.

In excerpt (6.14) the couple A and B are co-telling a story of their visit to one of the most posh restaurants in Reykjavik. B is developing a story-line and reaching the climax of his narrative when A, his wife, joins in (line 8) and gives a lively description of the couple's condition after the meal (lines 8–9). Her remarks gain applause in the form of laughter (line 10) and this could be interpreted as a closure of the narrative. In line 11–12 she explains further why they were so loaded; each of them had drunk a whole bottle of red wine. In line 13, B extends A's preceding utterance by reiterating the utterance he already had used in line 7, *með matnum* 'with the food' as to still emphasise the absurdity of the event and also he could be reclaiming the floor as he carries on in line 13:

(6.14) *Too much wine (ISTAL 06-220-02)*
 [A – female, B's wife; B, male, A's husband;
 C – male, D's husband; D, silent, C's wife]

1. B: og ég (held að hafi verið)
 and I (think.1 that have.3.SUB be.PP)
 'and I think that it was'

2. eina eina skiptið
one.N.ACC one.N.ACC occasion.N.ACC.DEF
'the only occasion'
3. sem við höfum komið inn á
which we have.1.PL. come.PP inside
'that we have been in'
4. °Holtið° sko (0.8) borða
Holt.N.ACC.DEF PRT eat.INF
Holtið restaurant, dining'
5. svo pantaði ég tvær
then order.1.PT I two.F.ACC
'and I ordered two'
6. alveg *rándýrar* ((hlær)) *rauðvínsflöskur*
really expensive.F.PL.ACC ((laughs))red wine bottle.F.PL.ACC
'very expensive bottles of red wine'
7. *með matnum* ((hlær))
with food.M.DAT.DEF ((laughs))
'with the meal'
8. A: við vorum alveg á rassgatinu
we be.1.Pl.PT totally on ass.N.DAT.DEF
'we were totally loaded'
9. á eftir ((hlær))
on after ((laughs))
'afterwards'
10. ((hlátur))
((laughter))
'((laughter))'
11. →A: við vorum búin að drekka
we be.1.Pl.PT finish.PP.PL to drink.INF.
'we had emptied'
12. → sithvora rauðvínsflöskuna hvor °hvort°
each of us.F.ACC red wine bottle.F.ACC.DEF each.F/M each.N)
'a bottle of redwine each of us'
13. →B: með matnum sko
with food.M.DAT.DEF PRT
'with the food'
14. →C: já
PRT
'yes'
15. B: og svo var hérna whisky eftir matinn
and then be.3.PL PRT whisky.N after dinner.M.ACC
'and then we had whisky after dinner'

In (6.14) the couple A and B develop the story-line together; they are both familiar with the gist of the story, they both know exactly what happened because the story is about an event that they both experienced. Therefore they both have the ‘author’s’ right to tell it and both of them use it.

We also find duetting where two of the participants in a dialogue appear as one person when they take part in listing some items they both know. The next excerpt shows this activity. A is describing a family-gathering where the relations within the family were complicated for those who were present. When A appears to have concluded his list in line 4, he evaluates the situation and finds it bizarre. Only after A’s evaluation in line 5, B, his wife, adds one more item (line 6) and A agrees immediately in line 7 (this excerpt is also discussed in (6.9) above):

- (6.15) *Complicated relations (ISTAL 01-112-04)*
 [A – male, B’s husband; B – female, ’s A’s wife;
 C – male, A’s brother]
1. A: =ja þarna var systir hans Jóa
 =PRT there be.3.PT sister.F he.GEN Joe.M.GEN
 ‘well, there were Joe’s sister’
2. og fyrrverandi kærastinn
 and former.M boyfriend.M.DEF
 ‘and her former boyfriend’
3. B: .já
 PRT
 ‘yes’
4. →A: og svo nýja konan hans
 and then new.F wife.F.DEF he.GEN
 ‘and his new wife’
5. >°þetta er auðvitað fáránlegt (.) (x)°<
 this be.3 of course ridiculous.N (x)
 ‘this is ridiculous, of course’
6. →B: og ný- og nýi maðurinn hennar
 and new- and new.M husband.M.DEF she.GEN
 ‘and her new husband’
7. →A: já nýi maðurinn hennar sko
 PRT.new.M husband.M.DEF she.GEN PRT
 ‘yes her new husband’

A has completed a three-part list in line 4 and after that, in line 5, he comments upon the absurd situation and how embarrassing it was. After that, in line 6, B joins in

and adds the fourth item to the list by extending the list form used by A as to further add to the description of the complexity in the family.

These two examples show the second speakers using other-extensions in duetting, i.e. when two participants share their syntax by attaching their utterance to the form of the preceding one. This interactional behaviour is by no means hostile; on the contrary, this would be interpreted as an action of solidarity as is displayed in line 7, where A accepts B's extension and includes it in his extended list.

6.3.2.2 Explicating

One of the *Supporting Actions* is *explicating*, i.e. the extension is the second speaker's attempt to explain the first speaker's words. In the excerpt in (6.16) the topic of the dialogue is how the municipality could and should create more jobs for the inhabitants:

- (6.16) *Cheaper (ISTAL 03-620-03)*
 [A, female, B's wife; B, male, A's husband;
 C, male, D's husband; D, female, C's wife, silent]
1. B: =ég er aftur á móti að tala um hitt=
 =I be.1 again on against to talk.INF about other thing.N.ACC
 'I am on the other hand talking about different thing'
 2. A: =já
 =PRT
 'yes'
 3. B: að sveitarfélagið (s-)
 that municipality.N.DEF (w-)
 'that the municipality'
 4. búi til verkefna=
 create.3.SUB VP projects.N.PL.ACC.DEF
 'should create the work'
 5. C: =já
 PRT
 'yes'
 6. B: =en ég er ekkert endilega að segja sko
 =but I be.1 nothing.N necessarily to say.INF PRT
 'but I am not necessarily saying'
 7. að það eigi að bara að
 that it shall.3.SUB to just to
 'that it should'

8. fara í eitthvað
go.INF into something.N
'go into something'
9. A: nei ég meina
PRT I mean.1
'no, I mean'
10. það kemur náttúrllega á sama stað niður
it come.3 of course into same place.M.ACC down
'it would of course be the same outcome'
11. ef hitt næst
if other.N obtain.3
'if they manage to obtain the other thing'
12. (1.1)
13. B: já: en það er miklu ótryggara
PRT but it be.3 much.COM unreliable.COM
'yes, but is is more unreliable'
14. (0.7)
15. →A: það er líka ódýrara
it be.3 also cheap.COM
'it is also cheaper'
16. (1.3)
17. →B: fyrir sveitarfélagið
for municipality.N.ACC.DEF
'for the municipality'
18. →A: fyrir sveitarfélagið
for municipality N.ACC.DEF
'for the municipality'
19. (0.8)
20. B: ekki spurning ((hlær))
not question F. ((laughs))
'it is not a question'

The topic in (6.16) is how the local authorities should approach the challenge to keeping up the employment in the municipality. In line (15) A adds the cost factor to what already was listed as a benefit for the municipality as a whole. A is obviously paying attention to and copying the syntactic form of B's preceding utterance in line 13 when she starts with *það er* 'it is' and uses the comparative form of the adjective *ódýrara* 'cheaper' where in line 13 B had used *ótryggara* 'more unreliable'. After a long pause in line 16, which could be due to ambiguity of A's

previous utterance, B comes in (line 17), and adds an explication to A's comment, a PP based on the preceding utterance and by this the vagueness possibly found in A's utterance is lifted.

Another example, (6.17), shows how an extension (line 3) is used to explicate or specify *why* the people had fun in a trip they went to the year before:

- (6.17) *It was fun (ISTAL 05-730-01)*
 [A – male, 16 years old, son of B and C; B – male – married to C, father of A; C – female, married to B, mother of A]
1. C: það var dældið gaman að því (.)
 it be.3.PT a little.N fun.N at it.N.DAT
 'it was quite fun'
2. →A: það var nokkuð gaman
 it be.3.PT a little.N fun.N
 'it was quite fun'
3. →B: af því að veðrið var svo gott
 because weather.N.DEF be.3.PT so good.N
 'because the weather was so good'
4. (3.1)
5. →A: °(veðrið veðrið)°
 (weather.N.DEF weather.N.DEF)
 'weather, weather'

In line 1, C is referring to his account of his activity in the summer vacation when he utters his evaluating comment, *það var dældið gaman að því* 'it was a little fun'. The reaction of his interlocutors is different; A repeats C's words almost verbatim (line 2) but B adds an explanation on *why* it was so much fun (line 3). To do so, B uses a causal clause which depends upon A's (and C's) preceding utterance. After a long pause in line 4, we see A's reaction to B's extension, he repeats the main noun in his clause and says *veðrið, veðrið* 'weather, weather' (line 5) as to underline the importance of the weather when travelling in Iceland, it all depends on the weather.

6.3.2.3 Highlighting

In (6.18) we see an example of what here is called *highlighting* which is the third sub-category of *Supportive Actions*. In the excerpt below, the second speaker is confirming what the first speaker has already said by highlighting it, and by that giving the previous speaker's words

more weight. In the excerpt, A is talking about the dense population in foreign countries in comparison to Iceland:

- (6.18) *Crowded (ISTAL 06-220-02)*
 [Participants: A, male, husband of B; B, female, A's wife;
 C, female, wife of D; D, male C's husband]
1. A: [ég meina maður skilur þetta
 I mean.1 man.M understand.3 this.N.ACC
 'I mean, you understand this'
 2. þegar maður er þarna úti]
 when man.M be.3 there out
 'when you are abroad'
 3. C: [ekkert fólk að kássast] utan í
 no.N people.N to bump.INF in VP
 'no people to bump into you'
 4. B: já
 PRT
 'yes'
 5. →A: það er allt fullt af fólki
 it be.3 all.N crowded.N of people.N.DAT
 'it is so crowded with people'
 6. →B: hvar sem þú ferð=
 where you go.2
 'wherever you go'
 7. →A: =hvar sem þú kemur (0.3) já
 =where you come.2 PRT
 'wherever you come'
 8. (1.1)
 9. A: ekkert nema fólk og læti og vesen sko
 nothing but people.N and noise.N.PL and nuisance.N PRT
 'nothing but people and noise and nuisance'

In the excerpt, the interactants are discussing the difference in travelling in Iceland and other countries they have visited. In line 5, A talks about how you are always surrounded by people when abroad, and B agrees with his statement by adding to it *hvar sem þú kemur* 'wherever you go' in line 6. B's extension highlights or upgrades A's previous words using a relative clause for his purpose. A receives B's extension in line 7 by repeating a part of it but he uses the verb *koma* 'come' instead of *fara* 'go', i.e. it is as B is talking about going to some place but A seems to situate himself in a certain place.

The excerpt in (6.19) shows another example of *highlighting*. The participants are discussing what could happen in Iceland after a period of good years where everybody seemed to be able to buy anything; e.g. cars and flats. They predict that this period cannot last forever and they assume, in a humorous mode, that if you buy a flat or a house in the downfall, the seller will have to throw in a car and perhaps a subscription to the gym:

- (6.19) *ISTAL 06-107-03 Flats for sale*
 [Participants: A, male, husband of D; B, female, C's wife;
 C, male, B's husband; D, female, A's wife]
1. B: =næsta niðursveifla kemur sko
 =next.F down fall.F come.3 PRT
 'the next down fall will come'
 2. D: þú veist þá verður örugglega
 PRT then will.3 definitely
 'you know and then it will definitely'
 3. (1.0)
 4. A: þá verða íbúðir á [útsölu]
 then become.3.PL flats.F.PL on sale.F.DAT
 'then we will have flats for sale'
 5. B: [þá verður þetta]
 then will.3 this.N
 'then it will be'
 6. jájá einmitt
 PRT exactly
 'yes exactly'
 7. C: jájá það [verður það]
 PRT it will.3 it
 'yes, that is the way it will be'
 8. →A: [og] bíll með ((hlær))
 and car.M with ((laughs))
 'and we will have a car'
 9. ((hlátur))
 ((laughter))
 ((laughter))
 10. →B: í kaupbæti ((hlær))
 in rabate.M.DAT ((laughs))
 'thrown in'
 11. →A: *já* ((hlær))
 PRT ((laughs))
 'yes' ((laughs))

This excerpt includes two extensions; first in line 8 and then in line 10. In line 8, A extends his own utterance which he started in line 4. His extension is delayed, it comes first after B’s attempt to join in (lines 5–6) and C’s feedback in line 7. By the self-extension, A is trying to carry on with the topic which he initiated earlier. The second extension, and the one which is discussed here, is an other-extension in line 10, where B adds a PP to A’s previous words, and by that, in a humorous way, highlights A’s words in line 8. This extension is also delayed and comes in after a laughter.

In (6.20) we see one more example of *highlighting*. In the excerpt, A is addressing what he considers to be less knowledgeable recipients (K-) (Heritage 2012), i.e. C and D, the visiting couple. He is about to tell them about a film he and his wife saw (line 1) when his wife changes the course of the utterance with her extension (line 2) in which she points out to A that they had seen the film together, all four of them:

- (6.20) *In the cinema with ..? (ISTAL 06-107-101)*
 [Participants: A, male, B’s husband; B, female, A’s wife;
 C, male, husband of D; D, female, wife of C]
1. →A: **ég sá við fórum í bíó um daginn**
I see.1.PT we go.1.PL.PT in cinema.N.ACC about day.ACC.DEF
‘I saw - we went to the cinema the other day’
2. →B: **með þeim**
with them.N.DAT
‘with them’
3. →A: **já (0.3) ((hlátur)) með ykkur já**
PRT ((laughter)) with you.2.PL.DAT PRT
‘yes (.) ((laughter)) with you all yes’
4. D: **já**
PRT
‘yes’
5. A: **hei þið munið eftir því ((hlær))**
hey you.2.PL remember.2.PL after it.N.DAT ((laughs))
‘hey, you remember it ((laughs))’
6. D: **já**
PRT
‘yes’

In the excerpt, A is about to flout one of the social norms with respect to epistemic access, he is about to “inform already knowing recipients about some state of affairs” (Stivers, Mondada and

Steensig 2011: 10). A's wife saves him from further embarrassment by carrying on with A's utterance and guiding him on the right track. Her humorous way of correcting the course of the dialogue is a subtle way of repairing A's utterance, it is a *face saving act* (see Yule 1996: 61), i.e. an attempt to get A out of an embarrassing situation in which he otherwise could find himself. As pointed out by Jefferson (1987: 86), "while various activities can be done explicitly, they can as well be accomplished without emerging to the conversational surface" (86) (see more on humour and laughter in 6.3.5 below). In the example, B extends her husband's previous utterance humorously and by that reminds him in an embedded way of that they had been at the cinema with their interlocutors.

6.3.3 Checking Understanding

Checking Understanding by adding an extension to the previous utterance is one of the social actions accomplished by other-extensions. The category includes examples where B, the second speaker, is not convinced of his understanding of what has been said and tries to fix the potential problem he discerns in the continuation of the dialogue and does so by extending the first speaker's clause.

In example (6.21), A, B and C are talking about fitness centres. In the conversation leading to what is shown in the excerpt, C mentions the place name Kópavogur and before that, they have mentioned Britain. B seems to be lost in the conversation; she might be unsure of why the place name was brought up in the first place or in which context it should be understood and in lines 1–2 she asks for explanation. Speaker A volunteers in line 3 to give more exact information, and seems to be referring to C when he says that *hann* 'he' is slaving (i.e. working out) in Kópavogur. This response seems to be a sufficient one. However, B asks another question, i.e. *í sundlauginni* 'in the swimming pool', a noun with a definite article and by that connects it to the swimming pool in Kópavogur. After C's response in line 5, B carries on and keeps asking (lines 6–7):

(6.21) *In the swimming pool (ISTAL 01-112-04)*

[A, male, B's husband and C's brother;
B, female A's wife; C, male, brother of A]

1. B: bíddu hvað eruð
wait.2.IMP+you what be.2.PL
'wait, what are you'
2. þið að tala um Kópavog↑
you to talk.INF about Kópavogur.M.ACC.
'talking about Kópavogur'
3. →A: hann er í Kópavogi að púla (x)
he be.3 in Kópavogur.M.DAT to slave.INF
'he is working out in Kópavogur'
4. →B: í sundlauginni↑
in swimming pool.F.DAT.DEF
'in the swimming pool'
5. →C: já það er líkamsræktarstöð þar
PRT it be.3 fitness centre.F there
'yes, there is a fitness centre there'
6. B: jájá (1.3) jájá er það bara miklu betra
PRT PRT be.3 it just much.COM better.COM
'yes, yes, this is much better'
7. heldur en það sem er í Bretlandi↑
than that which be.3 in Britain.N.DAT
'than that in Britain'

B seems to be satisfied with the explanation given in line 5 and now she can relate it to Britain (line 7) which was also mentioned in the conversation.

In (6.22) the participants, A and B, are discussing films and what requirements are made when making dogma films. B does not seem sure what the dogma rules include and A is explaining the rules. In line 5, A says that only the use of a certain kinds of cameras are allowed; he says that you can only use *svoleiðis* 'that kind' and B does not seem to be quite certain of whether he is still talking about dogma films, and asks *i dogma* 'in dogma?' (line 6) as to asking A to further explain his words. A replies with *já* 'yes' (lines 7–8), and after pausing for a while he adds a bit more information about the requirements a dogma film has to meet:

(6.22) *In dogma films (ISTAL 07-107-04)*

[Participants: A, male; B, male]

1. A: það er bara standard (1.0) góð
it be.3 just standard good.F
'it is just a standard, good'
2. eða eitthvað ég veit ekki
or something.N I know.1 not
'or something, I do not know'
3. hvernig þessar venjulegu sko kvikmyndafilmur
how these.F.PL usual.F.PL PRT movie celluloids.F.PL
'how these usual movie celluloids'
4. B: þrjátíuogfimm millimetrar
thirty five millimetres.M.PL
'thirty five millimetres'
5. →A: **já** (.) **það má bara nota svoleiðis**
PRT it may.3 only use.INF that kind
'yes, it is only allowed to use that kind'
6. →B: **í dogma**↑
in dogma.N.ACC
'in dogma'
7. →A: **já** (2.0) **og** (2.4.) **það eru held ég**
PRT and it be.3.PL think.1 I
'yes, and they are, I think'
8. einu skilyrðin svona
one condition.N.PL.DEF PRT.
'the only conditions'

As shown in the excerpts in (6.21) and (6.22), this category includes incidents where participants are both checking their understanding and asking their interlocutors to confirm their understanding. In both instances, the second speakers are uncertain about what was said but one can perhaps discern a little higher degree of uncertainty in (6.21) above than we see in excerpt (6.22).

In three examples in the category of *Checking Understanding*, the second speaker extends the preceding utterance by using an appendor question but does not wait for a reply but answers himself, i.e. seems to assume that his 'guess' is right or otherwise his interlocutor would correct him. An example of this is shown in (6.23). In line 5, A asks a question about his interlocutor's plans. B gives a reply in line 6 but first he adds to the previous utterance as to check whether he has understood exactly what was said. After having done that, without the first speaker

intervening, he answers the whole question, i.e. the first question, uttered by A in line 5, and his own extension to the preceding question (*á morgun* ‘tomorrow’, line 6). The reason for the second speaker to make it clear that he is talking about ‘tomorrow’ could lie in the fact that in lines 1 and 2 he is talking about him wanting to bike somewhere next summer – there is a slight change of topic there even though they both include biking:

- (6.23) *Tomorrow (ISTAL 06-220-02)*
 [A, female, B’s wife; B, male, A’s husband;
 C, male, D’s husband; D, female, C’s wife]
1. B: mig langar svo að hjóla eitthvert
I.ACC want.3 so to bike.INF somewhere.N
‘I would so much like to bike somewhere’
2. (0.7)
3. í sumar (0.9) og fara eitthvert
in summer.N and go.INF somewhere.N
‘this summer and go somewhere’
4. (1.7)
5. →A: voruð þið Stjáni hættir við að fara→
be.2.PL you.2.PL Stjáni desist.3.M.PL VP to go.INF
‘had you and Stjáni desisted from going’
6. →B: á morgun↑ nei↓ við ætlum að fara sko=
tomorrow PRT we intend.1.PL to go.INF PRT=
‘tomorrow? No we intend to go’
7. →A: =ætlið þið að fara↑=
=intend.2.PL you.2.PL to go.INF=
‘are you going’

The social action pursued in the excerpt is obviously checking understanding but it is unusual because it is the second speaker who responds to a question which is partly his own (line 6). By this he avoids slowing down the pace of the dialogue while waiting for his interlocutor to reply to the question. This method should be included as one of the methods used to extend the partner’s utterance, i.e. to check the understanding by raising a question but not slowing down the conversation by waiting for an answer but trust the interlocutor to interfere and offer a correction if the reply is built on some kind of misunderstanding.

In *Checking Understanding* the second speaker is obviously carrying out a repair process. Even if A has not shown any signs of trouble in her utterance, B seems to be uncertain of what

was said and in his adjoined utterance he tries to find out whether his understanding is correct. The repair is therefore other-initiated but A has the last word in these sequences and either confirms B's understanding or rejects it.

6.3.4 Eða-Extensions

Other-extensions sometimes seem to have the functions of correcting the previous speakers by offering them an alternative to what they have said in their preceding utterances. That is the case with *Eða-Extensions*. There are only two instances of *Eða-Extensions* in the data, both initiated by the conjunction *eða* which has the nature of disjuncting the items on each side of it (see Blöndal 2008).

The topic of the sequence in (6.24) is someone the interlocutors refer to as *hann* 'he'. He still smokes but apparently he does not have many places left where he can practice his smoking so they wonder whether he feels a little isolated. There are a few places, they say, where people can still smoke and they name one of them, the farm at *Hóll*, where apparently at least one of the inhabitants is a smoker. This raises a question about the inhabitants at *Hóll* in line 12, where A asks whether they (perhaps Hanna and her family) actually live at *Hóll*. As it appears, they had probably not been too sure of the name of the farm and B is quick to react to that by naming another farm (or house), *Gardur*, introducing it with the disjunction, *eða* 'or' which connects her utterance to the preceding one:

- (6.24) *Isolated smoker (ISTAL 04-701-04)*
 [Participants: A, female, wife of D; B, female, wife of C;
 C, male, husband of B; D, male, husband of A]
1. B: það eru örfáir hann fer yfir til Sigurðar
 it be.3.PL a few.M he go.3 over to Sigurður.GEN
 'there are a few – he goes over to Sigurður'
 2. D: °jájá°
 PRT
 'yes yes'
 3. A: já þannig
 PRT so
 'yes it is so'
 4. C: og út á Hól
 and out in Hóll.M.ACC
 'and in Hóll'

5. ja þar er bannað að reykja
PRT there is.3 prohibited.PP to smoke.INF
'well there it is prohibited to smoke'
6. held ég
think.1 I
'I think'
7. A: nú er það
PRT be.3 it
'well is it'
8. B: þau reykja úti
they.N smoke.3.PL outdoors
'they smoke outdoors'
9. C: þau (x) [þarna Hanna]reykir
they.N (x) PRT Hanna smoke.3
'they, well Hanna smokes'
10. B: [eða Hanna reykir]
or Hanna smoke.3
'or Hanna smokes'
11. C: >frammi í gangi<
out in corridor.M.DAT
'out in the corridor'
12. →A: bíddu búa þau á Hóli↑
wait.2.IMPER.+you live.3.PL they.N in Hóll.M.DAT
'wait, do they live at Hóli'
13. →B: eða í Garði↓
or in Garður.M.DAT
'or at Garður'
14. →C: eða Garði↓
or Garður.M.DAT
'or Garður'
15. →A: eða Garði↓
or Garður.M.DAT
'or Garður'

It is not obvious why the misunderstanding in (6.24) comes up. Perhaps the farm houses are located close to one another or the participants are not too familiar with the area they talk about or the people who live there. By the *eða*-phrase in line 13, B tries to repair the mistake and her extension in line 13, the repair clause, is echoed almost verbatim twice, first in line 14, by C, the one who brought the name Hóll (acc. Hól; dat. Hóli) into the conversation (line 4), and then by A (line 15), the one who raised the question in line 12. In line 15, A seems to confirm the

suggestion made by B and C in lines 13 and 14 by herself repeating their answers once more. It is noticeable that the phrase *eða í Garði* ‘or in Garður’ (dat. Garði) is expressed with a falling intonation contour as a signal of confirmation (see Hilmisdóttir 2007: 266). This extension seems to function as an embedded or subtle correction (Jefferson 1987) or negotiated repair, carried out by offering an alternative.

The second excerpt shows a different kind of *Eða-Extension*. In (6.25) there is no doubt of A being right in line 7, but anyhow, B extends her utterance with an ‘or’ clause and by that gives her another view of the matter they are discussing:

(6.25) *Turn the tires over (ISTAL 01-112-04)*

[Participants: A, female, B’s wife; B, male, A’s husband; C, B’s brother (silent)]

1. A: bara kaupa ný hjól↑
just buy.INF new wheels.N.PL.ACC
‘just buy new wheels’
2. (0.9)
3. Gróa ætlaði að láta sig hafa það
Gróa mean.3.PT to let.INF herself have.INF it
‘Gróa was going to lump it’
4. að vera á gömlu [hans Helga]
to be.INF on old.F.DAT he.GEN Helgi.GEN
‘to be on Helga’s old’
5. B: [(x)]
(x)
‘(x)’
6. (1.4)
7. →A: já fá þarf að fá ný dekk↑
PRT get.INF need.1 to get.INF new tires.N.PL.ACC
‘yes have to get new tires’
8. →B: eða snúa dekkjunum við
or turn tires.N.PL.DAT.DEF with
‘or swap the tires’
9. (1.1)
10. →A: snúa dekkjunum við↑ =
turn tires.N.PL.DAT.DEF with=
‘turn the tires over’

11. B: =þá eyðast þau öðrum megin sko
 =then wear.3.PL they.N other.DAT side PRT
 'then they will wear down on the one side'
12. A: jájá
 PRT
 'yes yes'

By adding the 'or'-clause to the preceding one in line 8, B gives an alternative option to the one A had presented herself in line 7. Instead of buying new tires she could use them a little longer by swapping them, i.e. to use the ones at the left side on the right side and vice versa. A seems not to be too sure of what to make of B's addition and in line 10, after a pause, she repeats B's words and thereby asks for more information. Then A joins in again in line 11 and explains what B will gain by following his advice, i.e. the tires will last a little longer.

This class of extensions is the smallest one by far with only these two instances shown above, both starting with *eða*, therefore the name of this micro-group. The class of *Supporting Actions* shows different actions where the second speaker lifts or highlights or explicates what the first speaker had already said and one could expect *eða*-examples to be more related to the class of *Checking Understanding*. A closer look reveals that these two classes are different. *Checking Understanding* is most often one word or a phrase, perhaps an appendor question, put forth to check whether the second speaker's understanding is the correct one. One of the two examples of *Eða-Extensions* shows the second speaker offering a substitute for something mentioned in the preceding utterance. B's contribution in *Eða-Extensions* is designed to convert A to a different opinion if she so decides, like in (6.24) where B's words expose that the participants did not have a place name right, and in (6.25), where B offers a different solution than A herself had presented in her preceding utterance.

The conjunction *eða* is in fact a disjunction, which has the nature of converting the meaning of the previous clause or excluding something said before – the action carried out in this micro-class can therefore be predicted from the role of the conjunction. It should also be noted that the *Eða-Extensions* show a form of repair as the category *Checking Understanding*. They are not used to correct a mistake or to solve an ambiguity in the utterance-making. Their main role is to convert the meaning of the utterance, to divert the topic to another place, either because the first speaker has shown herself not familiar with the situation (as in (6.24) or to direct the interlocutor to another solution than the one she had come up by herself (as in (6.25)).

6.3.5 Social actions and directionality

Other-extensions are constructions added to utterances that already have come to potential completions. By that time, the first speaker seems to be about to conclude her turn and her interlocutor knows already what it takes either to build upon it in his next turn or to extend it in one way or another. This makes other-extensions a relevant object of study, and, by it, shed a light upon how the syntactic structures and interaction are interwoven in the social context of a dialogue. Other-extensions are an excellent manifestation of how skilled people are when it comes to “investigating” what is really going on in the dialogue in which they are participating, for example what they can expect their interlocutors to say next and what it takes to complete or build upon the ongoing utterance. This action of negotiating meaning is carried out in a hardly measurable or noticeable time; actions like speaker change rarely slow down the flow of the conversations. As pointed out by Sacks (1995(1): 650) this must be done within one or two tenths of a second after the first speaker appears to conclude his utterance.

The three categories of social actions accomplished by other-extensions are sometimes sub-actions of story-telling, listing or of humorous events. Other-extensions are quite common when two persons are giving an account of something they have experienced together (see Szczeppek 2000b: 24–25). An example of this kind was shown in (6.14) above, where a couple is co-telling a story; one of them starts and carries on until the other one joins in with a concluding remark. When co-telling a story, the second speaker adds extensions of various types to what has already been said; he sometimes adds more exact information than originally given, e.g. by adding an exact time or location to the story. The second speaker, who could be seen and referred to as the accompanying narrator, can also add a concluding utterance when the story has been fully told as is also shown in (6.14). Similar to co-telling a story is co-listing which also falls under the category of duetting (see 6.15 above), in which the second speaker continues and perhaps completes a list which was initiated by another speaker.

In the category of *Checking Understanding* we see that people are in fact negotiating the meaning of the unfolding utterance; they are dealing with ambiguity and trying to follow the course of the conversation, avoiding running into trouble by misunderstanding or lack of understanding. Sometimes they seem to *almost* understand but find it safer to check (see (6.22)). In other instances, they seem to be confused and therefore decide to ask for further explanation of what they understood by the previous talk (see e.g. (6.21) above).

I mentioned above that one of the large-scale social actions carried out with extension is of humorous nature as some of the extensions seem to be put forward in a “joking mode”. Humour and laughter has been noted to be important in creating a *common ground* in a dialogue (see Bister 2002), i.e. to identify “the sum of their mutual, common, or joint knowledge, beliefs, and suppositions” (Clark 1996: 93). Humour can also be used as a part of a repair process. Using a humorous remark to repair an utterance could be looked at as a face saving act (as in (6.20) above). Laughter is a meta-communicative action where the one who laughs can express his or her attitude to the topic (see Adelswärd 1998: 19). Humorous sequences often develop the climax of a narrative (see Eriksson 1997: 147) as in (6.19) where the interactants are discussing how the Icelandic economic life could develop in the nearest future. Another similar excerpt is (6.14) where the main purpose of the comments of A and B seems to be to kindle laughter and maintain it. Laughter is one of the ways which people use to mitigate a correction as in (6.20), i.e. it is one of the face saving acts used in conversations (see Bister 2002: 36). Gail Jefferson touches upon this in her article from 2004 where she claims that “a laughing troubles-teller is exhibiting ‘trouble-resistance’ and a non-laughing troubles-recipient is exhibiting ‘troubles-receptiveness’” (2004: 125). Humorous extensions are found in clauses and in phrases of various forms, i.e. NPs, APs and PPs. Twisting the interlocutors’ words humorously to make them laugh is obviously something that is often obtained by other-extensions.

The social actions discussed above are carried out by syntactic means. What is of interest here is the relation between the extended parts and the main-clause, and, especially, whether there is a discernible difference in how clauses and phrases relate to the preceding clause. Do the extensions continue TCUs already in the making or do they produce a new TCU? To which of the participants in the dialogue is the extension directed, to A, the one who previously held the floor or to the other participants? Are the extensions really “continuing the prior action recompleting it (backwards orientation)” (Couper-Kuhlen and Ono 2007: 513) or are they forming “a new action (forwards orientation)” (*op.cit.*: 513–14)? In Lerner’s (2004b: 160) words:

When a speaker ties their utterance to a previous speaker’s possibly completed turn, the action accomplished through that contribution can constitute one of two types of connections: The action accomplished through that contribution can constitute it as an increment of that turn (forwarding the action of that turn for its recipient) or as a distinct turn in response to it but one built off of the prior turn syntactically.

The distinction between these two types of other-extensions which Lerner (*ibid.*) mentions, is primarily the one of action. The first category mentioned in the quotation above, continues the action of the first speaker and maintains the turn's directionality of address (Lerner 2004b: 161). In other words, the utterance of the primary speaker and the other-extension go into the same direction, towards the other participants in the dialogue. Example (6.26) shows this (see longer version in 6.14 above):

- (6.26) *Too much wine (ISTAL 06-220-02)*
 [A – female, B's wife; B, male, A's husband;
 C – male, D's husband; D, silent, C's wife]
1. →A: **við vorum alveg á rassgatinu**
we be.1.Pl.PT totally on ass.N.ACC.DEF
 'we were totally loaded'
 2. **á eftir ((hlær))**
on after ((laughs))
 'afterwards'
 3. **((hlátur))**
((laughter))
 '((laughter))'
 4. **við vorum búin að drekka**
we be.1.Pl.PT finish.PP.PL to drink.INF.
 'we had emptied'
 5. **sithvora rauðvínsflöskuna hvor °hvort°**
each of us.F.ACC red wine bottle.F.ACC.DEF each.F/M each.N
 'a bottle of redwine each of us'
 6. →B: **með matnum sko**
with food.M.DAT.DEF PRT
 'with the food'
 7. →C: **já**
PRT
 'yes'
 8. B: **og svo var hérna whisky eftir matinn**
and then be.3.PL PRT whisky.N after dinner.M.ACC
 'and then we had whisky after dinner'

In line 6, B, who was one of the two main storyteller in this episode, regains the floor by extending A's utterance, completed in line 5, and by that he continues the action initiated by A.

The second type of extension mentioned in Lerner's (2004b) quotation above, constitutes a separate TCU because it implements a responding action from the first speaker, i.e. it reverses

the directionality from the prior turn (*op.cit.*: 161). In (6.27), speaker A, a female teacher, is telling her family and friends about her experience of going with her students to the countryside where they stayed for a few days and practiced out-door activities. The youngsters were not too keen to go to sleep and A is describing how it went:

- (6.27) *Than him? (ISTAL 04-701-05)*
 [Participants: A, female, B's sister; B, female, C's wife
 and A's sister; C, male, husband of A; D, female, 11 years,
 daughter of A and C]
1. A: =það var íþróttakennarinn
 =it be.3.PL.PT sport teacher.M.DEF
 'it was the sport teacher'
 2. hann fór líka með sko (2.3)
 he go.3.PL.PT also with PRT
 'he went with us'
 3. svo skiptum við með okkur (herb-)
 then share.1.PL.PT we with us.1.PL.ACC (roo-)
 'then we split up the two of us'
 4. það voru tvö herbergi
 it be.3.PL.PT two.N.PL room.N.PL
 'we had two rooms'
 5. og við skiptum á á okkur sem sagt
 and we.1.PL share.2.PL.PT on on us.1.PL.ACC PRT
 'and we split up'
 6. að vera í sitthvoru herberginu
 to be.INF in each.N.ACC room.N.ACC.DEF
 'and occupied one room each'
 7. B: .já
 PRT
 'yes'
 8. (3.9)
 9. A: og það var alveg sama
 and it be.3.PL.PT totally same
 'and the same was up with his group'
 10. nema mér skildist nú á honum
 except I.ACC. understand.3.PL.PT PRT on him.ACC
 'except, as I understood him'
 11. → að þau höfðu
 that they.N have.3.PL.PT
 'that they had'

12. nú eitthvað sofnað aðeins fyrr
PRT somewhat sleep.PP little soon.COM
'fallen asleep somewhat earlier'
13. þarna hjá honum
there with him.DAT
'there over with him'
14. →B: heldur en hjá þér
than with you.2.DAT
'than with you'
15. C: *já* ((hlátur)) (.)
PRT ((laughter)) (.)
'yes ((laughter))'

In the excerpt, B's utterance in line 14 is tied to the previous utterance syntactically but it is a different action, a question which is directed to the first speaker and which A herself and the other participants recognise it as such. It is C, A's husband, who responds to it in line 15. The difference in directionality is illustrated in *Figure 6.1*:

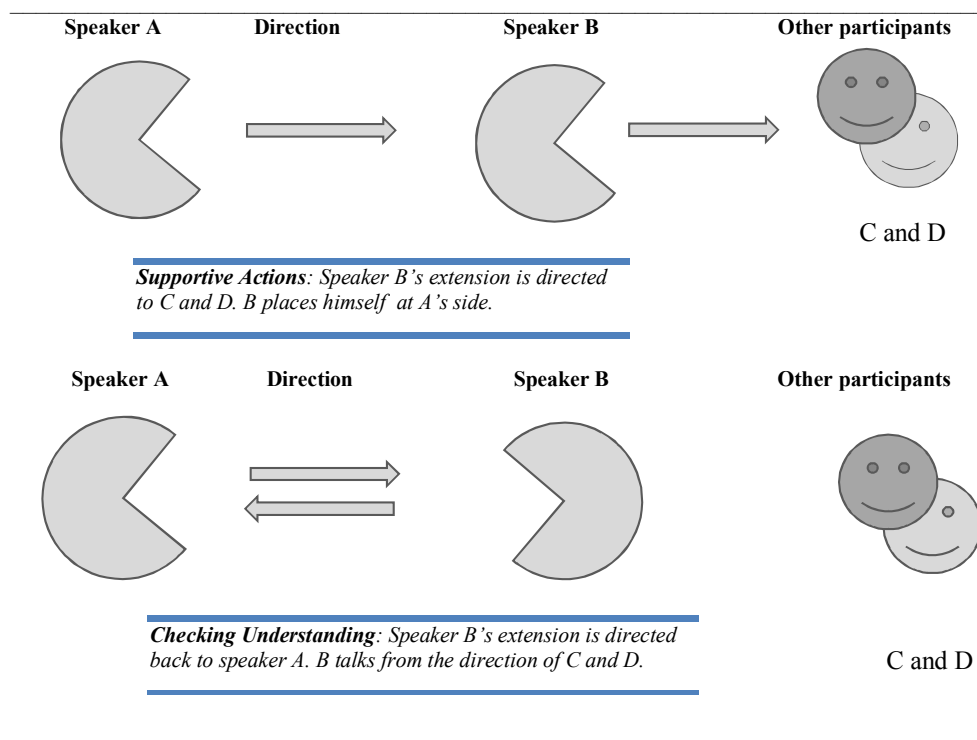


Figure 6.1: Other-extensions: Difference in directionality

There is a clear division between the categories of *Checking Understanding* and *Supporting Actions* when it comes to the directionality of other-extensions. The action of *Checking Understanding* (and the small class of *Eða-Extension*) directs the extension backwards, i.e. the extension directs the previous turn back to the first speaker again, and thereby creates a new TCU. The category of *Supporting Actions* is different. The category is an umbrella over three sub-categories which each have their own characteristics. What they have in common, is that their contributions continue the preceding TCU, i.e. they go into the same direction as their interlocutor in the preceding utterance. Their contributions are sometimes a part of their roles as co-narrators, they occasionally highlight the first speakers' words and in other instances they use the extension to explain something they find obscure in the previous utterance.

The categories *Checking Understanding* and *Supporting Actions* have one feature in common; they both are devices of active listenership. By checking understanding it is possible for the second speaker to achieve several interactional goals at the same time. He can prevent misunderstanding and deal with ambiguity created by insufficient information or vague description, and, by the same action, he will support his interlocutor when she carries on with the ongoing activity. By his extension, the second speaker will also show to his interlocutor how devoted a listener he is; he convinces her of his eagerness to keep the conversation on the cooperative track.

6.4 Responses to the extensions

6.4.1 Three moves of a sequence

As stated in Ch. 5 above, collaborative actions have to be looked at as a sequence consisting of three parts or moves. In other-extensions the first move is where A occupies the floor and completes her utterance syntactically and prosodically. The second move is where the first utterance is extended by B, and the third move where A evaluates B's entry and accepts it, rejects it, or perhaps ignores it. The main questions concerning the third moves are: How do the participants continue after the extension? Does the extension affect the next move and if so, in what way?

In the conversations which constitute my data, almost all the examples of extensions show an acceptance of the second speaker's utterance in the second move. Only in three instances the

extensions are rejected or not fully accepted. Below, I will discuss which methods the first speaker uses to embrace her interlocutor's extension to her previous words and how these methods reflect the different functions of the extensions.

6.4.2 The response to *Supporting Actions*

Judged from how they are responded to in the dialogue, the three types of *Supporting Actions*, i.e. *duetting*, *highlighting* and *explicating*, are apparently as highly co-operative actions as the name of the category implies.

Supporting Actions are received mainly in two different ways, i.e. by *continuing actions* and *repeats*. The notion of *continuing action* refers to instances where the first speaker carries on with her talk in the third move, without a verbal reaction to what was said in the extension, as most often is the case. In a few instances, a third speaker takes up the thread without a further delay or hesitation and without including anything from the other-extension in his talk. Due to the nature of the data, it is not possible to exclude the possibility of the use of a non-verbal expressions to the second move.

A third move of this type is shown in (6.28) below, where A is listing up what was included in the lease of a house they rented during their vacation. They have been browsing a brochure with pictures when A starts listing the equipment that came with the rented cottage. In lines 1–8, A and B jointly create the list and a child (C) joins in (line 6) and takes part in listing the items in the rented house:

- (6.28) *And a fan (ÍSTAL 06-220-02)*
[Participants: A, male, husband of B; B, female, wife of A;
C, a child; D, female, wife of E, silent; E, male, husband of D, silent]
1. A: >það er eldavél og það er bakaraofn
it be.3 *cooker.F.* and it be.3 *oven.M*
'there is a cooker and there is an oven'
 2. það er ísskápur <→
it be.3 *fridge.M*
'there is a fridge'
 3. (0.7)

4. B: það eru glös og
there be.3.PL glass.N.PL and
'there are glasses and'
5. [diskar og grill og garðhúsgögn]
dishes.M.PL and barbeque.N and garden furniture.N.PL
'dishes and barbeque and garden furniture'
6. C: [það er vifta og ((xxx)) (.)]
it be.3 fan and
'there is a fan'
7. B: og sólstólar→
and deck chairs.M.PL
'and deck chairs'
8. →C: og vifta
and fan.F
'and a fan'
9. →B: og svona (m-) sólhlíf líka (0.8) og
and PRT (m-) parasol.F. also and
'and a paraply also and'
10. →C: og garðstólar
and garden chairs.M.PL
'and garden chairs'

The excerpt shows how the participants carry on with the topic without any disruption. The girl, C, joins in (line 6) and adds an item, i.e. *það er vifta* 'there is a fan' but her words are uttered in the same time-slot as B continues with her list. In line 7, A carries on with the list and then (line 8) C repeats *og vifta* 'and a fan', the repeat possibly due to the simultaneous speech shown in lines 5 and 6 where A and B both talk for a while. It could also be that the girl, C, is eager to participate in the conversation and list whatever things she liked most, i.e. the fan and the garden chairs.

In some instances the second speaker, the one who adds the extension to the previous utterance, keeps the floor himself after the extension is uttered. This is usually done when B has held the floor before his partner uttered her turn and B's extension could perhaps be interpreted as an attempt to reclaim the floor. This is the case in (6.29). As seen in (6.15) above, where the excerpt is shown in full length, this is B's story; he initiated it and keeps it going until A, his wife, adds to the narrative (line 1) a vivid description of the couple's condition after the wine-drinking. B has therefore the right to continue after A's insertion to his story and he uses his

right (see the full excerpt in (6.14) above, see also (6.26)):

- (6.29) *Too much wine (ISTAL 06-220-02)*
[A – female, B’s wife; B – male, A’s husband;
C – male, D’s husband; D – female, C’s wife, silent in the excerpt]
1. →A: **við vorum alveg á rassgatinu**
we be.1.Pl.PT totally on ass.N.ACC.DEF
‘we were totally loaded’
 2. **á eftir ((hlær))**
on after ((laughs))
‘afterwards’
 3. **((hlátur))**
((laughter))
‘((laughter))’
 4. **við vorum búin að drekka**
we be.1.Pl.PT finish.PP.PL to drink.INF.
‘we had emptied’
 5. **sitthvora rauðvinsflóskuna hvor °hvort°**
each of us red wine bottle.F.ACC.DEF each.F/M each.N
‘a bottle of redwine each of us’
 6. →B: **með matnum sko**
with food.M.DAT.DEF PRT
‘with the food’
 7. C: **já**
PRT
‘yes’
 8. B: **og svo var hérna whisky eftir matinn**
and then be.3.PL PRT whisky.N after dinner.M.ACC
‘and then we had whisky after dinner’

As seen in the excerpt, B keeps on closing his story in line 6 after A’s explanation in lines 1–5. This is carried out as a co-operative action; nothing in the dialogue indicates that A is looked upon as a hostile intruder. These excerpts show how other-extensions are received by *continuing actions*.

The other frequent reception mode in the category of *Supporting Actions* is *repeats* where phrases or words from the previous speech are repeated or recycled in the third move. Sometimes the repeat is verbatim, even though the words have a different function in different contexts (6.30) (see the excerpt in full in (6.16)):

(6.30) *Cheaper (ISTAL 03-620-03)*

[A, female, B's wife; B, male,
A's husband; C, male; D, silent]

1. →A: **það er líka ódýrara**
it be.3 also cheap.COM (.)
'it is also cheaper'
2. (1.3)
3. →B: **fyrir sveitarfélagið**
for municipality.N.ACC.DEF
'for the municipality'
4. A: **fyrir sveitarfélagið**
for municipality.N.ACC.DEF
'for the municipality'
5. (0.8)
6. B: ekki spurning [] ((hlær))
not question.F ((laughs))
'it is not a question'
7. A: [(nei)]
(PRT)
'no'

Sometimes the extensions are received by a *repeat* with some elements either preceding or succeeding it (see (6.31) below where the response particle *já* 'yes' precedes the repeat; see the excerpt in full length in (6.15) above):

(6.31) *Complicated relations (ISTAL 01-112-04)*

[A, male, B's husband; B, female, A's wife;
C, male, A's brother]

1. A: =ja þarna var systir hans Jóa
=*PRT there be.3.PT sister.F he.GEN Joe*
'well, there were Joe's sister'
2. og fyrrverandi kærastinn
and former.M boyfriend.M.DEF
'and her former boyfriend'
3. B: .já
PRT
'yes'
4. →A: **og svo nýja konan hans**
and then new.F wife.F.DEF he.GEN
'and his new wife'

5. >°þetta er auðvitað fáránlegt (.) (x)°<
this be.3 of course ridiculous.N (.) (x)
'this is ridiculous, of course'
6. →B: **og ný- og nýi maðurinn hennar**
and new- and new husband.M.DEF she.GEN
'and her new husband'
7. →A: **já nýi maðurinn hennar sko**
PRT.new husband.M.DEF she.GEN PRT
'yes her new husband'

In the excerpt, A receives and reuses the utterance B offered (line 7), i.e. a new item to the list, with the addition of *já* in front of it and the discourse particle *sko* in the end; by this, A reframes the utterance and makes it his own contribution to the list.

In some instances extensions are received with a *repeat* where the repeated utterance is slightly altered from what it was in the previous talk. This is shown in (6.32) below (for the full excerpt see (6.18) above):

- (6.32) *Crowded (ISTAL 06-220-02)*
 [Participants: A, male, husband of B; B, female, A's wife;
 C, female, wife of D; D, male C's husband]
1. A: [ég meina maður skilur þetta
I mean.1 man.M understand.3 this.N
'I mean, you understand this'
2. þegar maður er þarna úti]
when man.M be.3 there out
'when you are abroad'
3. B: [ekkert fólk að kássast] utan í]
no.N people.N to bump.INF in
'no people to bump into you'
4. C: já
PRT
'yes'
5. →A: það er allt fullt af fólki
it be.3 all.N crowded.N of people.N.DAT
'it is so crowded with people'
6. →C: hvar sem þú ferð=
wherever you go.2
'wherever you go'
7. →A: =hvar sem þú kemur (0.3) já
=wherever you come.2 PRT
'wherever you come'

8. (1.1)

9. ekkert nema fólk og læti og vesen sko
Nothing.N but people N. and noise.N.PL and nuisance.N PRT
'nothing but people and noise and nuisance'

As shown in (6.32), A repeats B's word with a shift in the focus which is expressed by his choice of the finite verb. While B chooses the verb *fara* 'go' in A's version it is swapped for *koma* 'come' and the utterance is closed with a confirming *já* 'yes' which often seems to follow a repeat of the preceding words or a part of the previous utterance (see Hilmisdóttir 2010). After that, A completes his utterance by reiterating how crowded the places can be and closes with a three item list, *fólk og læti og vesen* 'people and noise and nuisance' ending with the discourse particle *sko* which he seems to use to emphasise his strong opinion on the matter discussed in the dialogue (on *sko* see Hilmisdóttir 1999: 74).

In a few cases, we do not find a repeat but rather that the first speaker (or at times any other participant) recycles some words or even a syntactic pattern from the second move. This is shown in (6.33):

(6.33) *In California (ÍSTAL 06-220-02)*

[A – female, B's wife; B, male, A's husband;
C – male, A's husband; D, female, C's wife]

1. A: hérna húsbilarnir þeir voru svona
PRT recreational vehicle.M.PL.DEF they.M be.3.PL.PT like
'the recreational vehicle they were like'
2. eins og meðal svona #ee# nautgripa hérna lestir
same as average PRT cattle.M.PL.GEN PRT trains.F.PL
'like an average flock of cattle'
3. C: já
PRT
'yes'
4. A: lestir svona rísa
trains.F.PL PRT giant.GEN
'flocks like giant'
5. að þá var það líð
that then be.3.PT that lot.N
'that then was that lot'
6. með annað hvort bát
with either boat.M.ACC
'with either a boat'

7. → eða bíl hangandi sem (það dró)
 or car.M.ACC hanging PRT (it pull.3.PT)
 'or a car hanging, which they pulled'
8. →B: >og með húsbílinn
 and with recreational vehicle.M.ACC.DEF
 'and with the recreational vehicle'
9. aftur í [sko] <
 astern PRT
 'astern'
10. C: [((hlær))]
 ((laughs))
 '((laughs))'
11. →A: [dró aftan]
 pull.3.PT behind
 'pulled behind'
12. í húsbílinn sko
 into recreational vehicle.M.ACC.DEF PRT
 'into the recreational vehicle'

In the excerpt above, A is describing how the travellers in California were equipped (lines 4–7) when in line 8, B joins in and extends A's description. What B says is a little ambiguous and in the utterance in lines 11–12 A tries to include B's words, i.e. she tries to recycle the word *húsbíll* 'recreational vehicle' as a part of a PP but not as an independent NP as in B's utterance. A seems to use the particle *sko* in this context to connect the utterance in line 12 to her previous attempts to form an intelligible utterance in line 11 (see Hilmisdóttir 1999: 75).

These two classes of reception, *continuing actions* and *repeats* are the most prominent ones for the whole category of *Supporting Actions*. Out of 36 examples of *Supporting Actions*, 25 would fall into these categories, or approximately 70% (see *Table 6.4* and *Table 6.5* below).

In *duetting* and *explicating*, two of the three subcategories of *Supporting Action*, most of the receptions fall into these two classes of receptions, i.e. *continuing actions* and *repeats*. In *duetting* 9 out of 10 extensions are responded to in that way (90%); in *explicating* all the 5 examples fall into these two categories; 60% fall into the class of repeats and 40% into the class of continuing actions. *Highlighting* is the third subcategory of *Supporting Actions* and there 11 out of 22, or 50% of all the examples, fall into the two reception classes, continuing actions and repeats. Obviously there is more variety in responses in this subcategory than in the other two. In fact all of the reception modes listed in *Table 6.4* appear in *highlighting* except from a

verbatim repeat and a refrain. In the third response class, called *yes / no (+)* 8 instances (36%) are found in the category of *highlighting* whereas these responses are not found in the other two categories of *Supporting Actions*. These three classes, continuing actions, repeats and *yes/no* replies account for 18 out of the 22 receptions in *highlighting*, or 82% of all instances in this category. The remaining four instances where the reception does not fall into one of the three categories are of four different reception types. We find no instances of a verbatim repeat or a laughter in *highlighting*, in one instance it was impossible to classify the third move and once the extension was rejected.

The reception modes mirror the actions carried out with the different types of extensions. In *duetting* two people tell a story together or behave like a one person in a conversation and the second speaker's contribution is always welcomed, most often by including his words in the next utterance or by repeating his words in one way or another. Other-extensions with the function of *explicating* are received in the same way. The second speaker's intention there seems to be to explain his partner's previous words, for himself or for other participants in the conversation, and the first speaker most often either uses B's words in her next utterance as to underline that it was a relevant contribution to the dialogue. In the third subcategory, *highlighting*, the extensions are received partly in different ways from the other two. The main role of extensions by *highlighting* seems to be to underline A's preceding utterance, to add to it and lift it, sometimes to add a funny bit to it. The receiving modes are diverse in this category, apart from the two it has in common with the other two subcategories, extensions in *highlighting* are often received with an affirmative particle (or a negative one); i.e. sometimes the first speaker agrees to B's words (or denies them) and sometimes she just includes them in her next entry.

6.4.3 The response to Checking Understanding

The second main category of other-extensions is the one of *Checking Understanding*. There a totally different pattern of responses is found. In the data 33 instances of this type of extension occurred and they were mainly received by a response token, either *já* 'yes', *jájá* or *nei* 'no'. In 10 instances, these response tokens were standing alone and unaccompanied by other linguistic material. Other times, they were followed by laughter or a continuing utterance. In 23 instances out of the 33, these third moves start with these response tokens or in 70% of all instances, 'já'

in 21 instances. The excerpt in (6.34) shows one example of this in line 3 (see the excerpt in full length in (6.21):

- (6.34) *In the swimming pool (ISTAL 01-112-04)*
 [A, male, B's husband and C's brother; B, female A's wife;
 C, male, brother of A]
1. →A: **hann er í Kópavogi að púla (x)**
he be.3 in Kópavgur.M.DAT to slave.INF
'he is working in Kópavogur'
 2. →B: **í sundlauginni↑**
in swimming pool.F.DAT.DEF
'in the swimming pool'
 3. →A: **já það er líkamsræktarstöð þar**
PRT it be.3 fitness centre.F there
'yes, there is a fitness centre there'

On two occasions, the third move starts with *nei* 'no' – not because the first speaker disagrees with her partner's extension, on the contrary. She uses the negative particle to confirm a negative statement or a negative question. This applies to both instances. Reception of this type is shown in (6.35) below, line 3 (see the full excerpt in (6.6) above):

- (6.35) *Snow on the golf course (ISTAL 04-701-05)*
 [A – male, husband of C; B – female, daughter of A and C;
 C – female, wife of A; D – female, sister of C]
1. →A: **það er enn þá snjór á golfvöllinum**
it be.3 still snow.M on golf course.M.DAT.DEF
'there is still snow on the golf course'
 2. →B: **svo Halli kemst ekki í golf**
so Halli come.3 not in golf.N.ACC
'then Halli will not be able to play golf'
 3. (0.7)
 4. →A: **nei ég held**
PRT I think.1
'no, I think'
 5. **hann hafi ekki gert neina tilraun enn þá**
he have.3.SUB not make.PP any attempt.F.ACC yet
'he has not made any attempts yet'

In the excerpt, B's insertion includes a negative statement as both a response and continuation of A's previous words in line 1, and by using the negative response particle, *nei* 'no', A ratifies his statement.

The remaining examples of *Checking Understanding* are either received by *continuing actions* or *repeats*, 5 instances in each reception class. Excerpt (6.36) below is an example which reveals a third move which consists of an almost verbatim repeat. In the third move, it is only the infinitive marker *að* 'to' which is omitted (see the full excerpt in (6.13) above):

- (6.36) *To go to Einarstaðir (ISTAL 04-701-05)*
 [A – female, sister of B; B – female, sister of A and wife of C;
 C – male, B's husband; D, daughter of B and C, silent]
1. →A: **eins og þetta var nú spennandi**
as this be.3.PT PRT exciting
 'as exciting it was for'
2. **hérna fyrir nokkrum árum=**
PRT for some.N.PL.DAT years.N.PL.DAT=
 'some years ago'
3. →B: **=að fara upp í Einarstaði**
=to go.INF up to Einarstaðir.M.ACC
 'to go out to Einarstaðir'
4. →A: **fara upp í Einarstaði↑**
to go.INF up to Einarstaðir.M.ACC
 'to go out to Einarstaðir'

These three classes of receptions account for all the instances found in the data.

There is a clear-cut division between the reception of the two main categories of *Supporting Actions* and *Checking Understanding*, and it is most likely due to the different social actions carried out in the two types of other-extensions. *Supporting Actions* include actions where the second speaker is adding information to a story or a list in the making. He works for the first speaker to highlight her words, to smooth out or prevent any possible misunderstanding by explicating, for himself or the other participants in the dialogue, what has already been said. All these actions work in favour of the first speaker and therefore it is understandable that the additional utterance, provided by speaker B, is welcomed by his partner in these instances. The category of *Checking Understanding* is different; there the second speaker either asks for further information by his extension, or he checks whether his present

understanding is the correct one. Most often these extensions have the functions of questions, i.e. appendor questions (see on appendor 4.3.2 above). Therefore, is it natural for the first speaker to start with a response token in the third move, i.e. *yes* or *no*, before she carries on with what she was going to say. In Ch. 6.3.1 above, it was stated that to find out which social action was carried out, it is relevant to look at how an utterance is received (see Schegloff 1984: 34–35). The reception in the category of *Checking Understanding* confirms that this category is different from the one of *Supportive Action*. The difference lies in the directionality as illustrated in *Figure 6.1* above.

6.4.4 The acceptance of Eða-extensions

The two examples of *Eða-extension* are both accepted by the first speaker as shown in (6.37) below; see also (6.24) and above):

- (6.37) *Isolated smoker (ISTAL 04-701-04)*
 [Participants: A, female, wife of D; B, female, wife of C;
 C, male, husband of B; D, male, husband of A]
1. →A: **bíddu** **búa** **þau** **á Hóli**↑
wait.2.IMPER.+you live.3.PL they.N in Hóll.M.DAT
 ‘wait, do they live at Hóll’
2. →B: **eða í Garði**↓
or in Garður.M.DAT
 ‘or at Garður’
3. →C: **eða Garði**↓
or Garður.M.DAT
 ‘or Garður’
4. →A: **eða Garði**↓
or Garður.M.DAT
 ‘or Garður’

In this example, two of A’s interlocutors respond to her utterance in line 1. In both examples in this category, the first speaker goes on in similar ways; either she repeats B’s words, verbatim or slightly changed. In the excerpt shown in (6.37), speaker A repeats C’s extension verbatim, by omitting the preposition *í* ‘at’ which was a part of B’s extension in line 2.

As said above, this category of other-extensions is not really a category in itself as it includes only two examples. These two examples did not fit into the other categories and

therefore they are dealt with separately. When it comes to the reception, these two examples do not differ from other categories of other-extensions; they are accepted by the first speaker who approves them and reuses them in his next utterance (see *Table 6.5*).

6.4.5 Rejected or not fully accepted other-extensions

In only three instances other-extensions are not fully accepted. This is shown in the excerpt in (6.38) where two couples are discussing a relative who has not always been on the right track in life. This relative, A's brother had in the past, a car with blue police lights and this is the topic in the excerpt:

- (6.38) *Criminal minds (ISTAL 06-220-02)*
 [Participants: A, male, husband of B; B, female, wife of A, C, female, D's wife;
 D, male, husband of C not active in this excerpt]
1. →A: **Jóhann bróðir var með svona ljós**
Jóhann brother.M be.3 with such lights.N.ACC
'Jóhann, my brother, he had lights like this'
 2. (0.3)
 3. B: **já er það↑**
PRT be.3 it
'yes, it is so?'
 4. A: **já hann**
PRT he
'yes he'
 5. →B: **á einhverjum skoda eða→**
on some.M.DAT Skoda.M.DAT or
'on some Skoda or'
 6. →A: **nei hann var á þarna einhverjum þarna**
PRT he be.3.PT on PRT some.M.DAT there
'no he was on some'
 7. **Þessum japanska sem hann**
this.M.DAT japanese.M.DAT which he
'this japanese which he'
 8. **átti ég man ekki hvaða tegund það var**
own.3.PT I remember.1 not which type.F it be.3.PT
'had, I don't remember which type it was'
 9. **hann var að nota þetta**
he be.3.PT to use.INF this.N.ACC
'he was using this'

10. eða hrekkja féлага sina
 or rag.INF pals.M.PL.ACC his.REF
 'or to rag his pals'
11. C: ((hlátur))
 ((laughter))
 ((laughter))
12. B: bróðir hans er sko glæpamaður
 brother.M he.GEN be.3 PRT gangster.M
 'his brother is a gangster'

In line 1, A tells his interlocutors that his brother had a police light on his car and after a pause and two minor insertions, from B in line 3 and A in line 4, B extends A's utterance in line 5 by asking an *eða*-question, i.e. an appendor question ending with *eða* 'or'. The question put forward in line 5 has the form of a PP which is based on A's assertion in line 1, i.e. it is a *delayed extension*. In the third move in lines 6–8, A rejects the suggestion put forth in B's question. The utterance in line 5 would be a complete question without *eða* but the *eða*-ending probably mitigates a possible negative reply (see A. Lindström 1999 and Blöndal 2008:). Its role is to allow for a dispreferred answer to the question. And that is the reaction B's words get in line 6. B then closes this sequence in line 12, by explaining the funny part of the story, i.e. that A's brother, the one who had the police lights on his car, was in fact not totally law obedient himself.

The next example shows a different type of rejection. The three participants, A, B and C are discussing a trip and how they should prepare for it. A and B, a couple, are not sure whether they can buy anything on the road at the time of travelling, and C, B's brother, takes part in the discussion but does not participate in the dialogue shown in the excerpt. The extension comes to A's utterance which is potentially complete and is in the form of an appendor question:

(6.39) *Open or closed? ITAL 01-112-04*

[Participants: A, female, B's wife; B, male, A's husband; C, male, B's brother]

1. A: þú hefur verið rosa hérna heimilislegur meðan ég (x)=
 you have.2 be.PP terribly PRT domestic.M while I (x)
 'you have been terribly domestic while I'
2. var í (burtu)
 be.1.PT in (away)
 'was (away)'

3. B: =ég var að hugsa um ferðina
 =I be.1.PT to think.INF about trip.F.ACC.DEF
 'I was thinking about the trip'
4. líka norður sko ég ætlaði
 also north PRT I intend.1.PT
 'north, I intended'
5. að hafa keks í henni
 to have.INF biscuit.N.ACC in her
 'to take biscuit with me'
6. A: já
 PRT
 'yes'
7. (1.6)
8. C: ((hóstar))
 ((coughs))
 '((coughs))'
9. →A: er nokkurs staðar opið [á leiðinni]↑
 be.3 some.M.GEN place.M.GEN open.N on way.F.DAT.DEF
 'is it open somewhere on the way'
10. →B: [á leiðinni]↑ já
 on way.F.DAT.DEF PRT
 'on the way, yes'
11. →A: er ekki allt lokað↑=
 be.3 not everything.N closed.PP=
 'isn't it closed everywhere'
12. B: =það er það hefur alltaf verið
 =it be.3 it have.3 always been.PP
 'it has always been'
13. þarna hefur ekki alltaf verið opið á Akureyri↑
 PRT. have.3 not always be.PP open.N on Akureyri.F.DAT
 'hasn't it always open at Akureyri?'

In line 10, A asks whether some places would stay open during the night on the highway. When A has completed what could be interpreted as a full sentence (*er nokkurs staðar opið* 'is it open somewhere', B joins in and simultaneously they produce an identical PP, *á leiðinni* 'on the way' after which B adds a confirming particle, *já* 'yes' to his own PP (line 11). At first impression his *já* strikes as a confirmation of A's previous utterance. In line 12, A responds to B's insertion in the preceding line by rephrasing his question of the opening hours of the diners on the road. A's reiteration of the question could point to that she perhaps has understood B's *já* 'yes' as a confirming reply to the question about the opening hours. In that case, B's *já* 'yes'

would be understood as an answer to the question *er nokkurs staðar opið á leiðinni* ‘is it open somewhere on the way’, or it could indicate that A is herself unsure of what to make of her husband’s utterance. This other-extension is obviously not accepted in the usual way but certainly not rejected in a direct manner either. This is an example that shows a third move where A does not fully accept her partner’s addition, and she shows it by asking the same question again, but phrasing it differently.

6.4.6 The reception of other-extensions – an overview

When B decides to use his partner’s previous utterance to build his contribution upon, it is A’s role to evaluate B’s contribution and react upon it, by either accepting the extended utterance or rejecting it. In the text above, I grouped together similar ways of reactions, i.e. all receptions which include repeat are grouped together and another group consists of those which start with *já* ‘yes’. Within each category of reception there are different ways of using repeats and response particles; repeats do for instance vary from being verbatim to being changed or expanded. *Table 6.4* gives a fuller picture of how different response types constitute each category and how they connect to and reflect different social actions carried out with the extensions:

Table 6.4: Overview of the third move – the reception of the extended utterance

Reception	Supporting Action			Check.underst.	éða- extensions	Total
	Duetting	Highlighting	Explicating	Checking	éða-extensions	
Cont.Act.A ²⁵	4	5	2	3		14
Cont.Act.B	1	1				2
Repeat	1			1	1	3
+Repeat		1				1
Repeat+		1	1	2		4
RepCh.	1	1	1	1	1	5
Yes+Repeat	2	1		1		4
Recycled		2	1			3
Refrain	1					1
Laughter		1				1
Yes ²⁶		2		9		11
Yes+		4		9		13
No		1				1
No+		1		3		4
Not Accepted				3		3
Other		1		2		3
Total	10	22	5	34	2	73

²⁵ Cont.Act.A and Cont.Act.B =Continuing Action by the first speaker, A, or the second speaker, B; +Repeat and Repeat+=repeats, either preceded or followed by something else (not a response token though); RepCh=repeat but with a slight change. Other descriptions will be clear from the text.

²⁶ Under the rubric *Yes* are in *Checking understanding* two instances of the answer *jájá* ‘yesyes’.

From the table we can read that *continuing actions* are carried out mainly by A, the first speaker (in 14 instances), and only in two instances it is B who continues talking. We also see in the table that *yes no (+/-)* are most frequently found in the category of *Checking Understanding*. Repeats are distributed evenly in all the categories.

The picture becomes clearer when related reception modes are grouped together. This is shown in *Table 6.5*:

Table 6.5: Categories of reception

<i>Reception</i>	<i>Supporting Action</i>			<i>Checking underst.</i>	<i>Eða- Extensions</i>	<i>Total</i>
	<i>Duetting</i>	<i>Highlighting</i>	<i>Explicating</i>	<i>Checking</i>	<i>eða-extensions</i>	
<i>Cont. Actions</i>	5	6	2	3		16
<i>(+)Repeats(+) Recycling</i>	4	6	3	5	2	20
<i>Yes/No (+/-)</i>		8		21		29
<i>Not Accepted</i>				3		3
<i>Other</i>	1	2		2		5
<i>Total</i>	10	22	5	34	2	73

From *Table 6.5* we can read that most of *continuing actions* after other-extensions appear in the categories of *Supporting Actions*, or 13 out of 16. This method of reception is probably the one which causes least disturbance in the flow of the interaction; the contribution of the second speaker is accepted just by including it in the dialogue, i.e. it comes as a natural bridge between the first move and the third one. Repeats are used in all categories quite evenly but *já* – the response particle – is apparently the preferred acceptance token in *Checking Understanding*. This is understandable when considering the nature of this category which includes mainly questions – subtle or overt – concerning A’s words in the first move. Sometimes these questions are used to check whether a certain understanding is the right one and then these discourse particles are the most appropriate replies.

Other-extensions are not accepted in three instances in the data. They all fall under the category of *Checking Understanding*. This is to be expected. The category of *Checking Understanding* is the one where we find other-extensions which consist of questions and requests to the first speaker to either confirm the suggestion put forth in the other-extension, or to deny it and lead her partners on the right path in the dialogue.

6.5 Summary

In the previous sections, I have looked at other-extensions from different angles. Other-extensions, which met my criterion expressed in Ch. 4.4.2 and 4.4.3, were found in 73 instances in my data and occur in 55% of all the conversations in the ISTAL data bank. Most often other-extensions occur only a few times in each conversation. The dialogue which lasted longest had the most instances of other-extensions, and, interestingly, it is the same dialogue where most completions were found. In this dialogue, which lasts for almost two and a half hours, either completion or other-extension occur approximately once every three minutes. This has probably not so much to do with the duration of the conversation but rather the social actions carried out in the dialogue and how comfortable the participants are to share the conversational floor. That thread will be taken up again in Ch. 7.5 below.

By analysing their form, I found that most other-extensions consist of syntactic phrases, they are 61 or 84% of all other-extensions. Prepositional Phrases stand out by being more frequent than any other syntactic phrase; they are 37 or 51% of all the phrases. Next to them are Noun Phrases which occur 12 times or 16%. Clauses are less frequent in this position, they occur in 12 instances or 16% of all instances and most of them fall under the category of adverbial clauses (see *Table 6.2 above*).

After having analysed the form of other-extensions, I looked at the function of the constructions; i.e. which social actions were carried out by using other-extensions. I divided all other-extensions into three categories, *Supportive Actions*, *Checking Understanding* and *Eða-Extensions*. Most of the other-extensions fall under the categories of *Supportive Actions* and *Checking Understanding* and these two categories do not differ much in size. These two categories also show a clear division when it comes to directionality. The other-extensions in the category *Checking Understanding* are directed back to the first speaker, i.e. to create a new TCU but the other-extensions in the three categories of *Supportive Action* all continue the TCU the previous speaker started, i.e. they all go into the same direction as the original utterance. This is due to the fact that in *Supporting Action* the second speaker is highlighting or explicating his partner's previous utterance and by that he continues the first speaker's action. In *Checking Understanding* the second speaker is asking a subtle question and by that he directs his utterance to speaker A. B's action is carried out in order to avoid a problem later on

in the sequence, i.e. he initiates a repair process and asks A either to confirm his understanding or give him better information.

As regards the third move, there are only three instances where the first speaker does not fully accept the extensions. Most often, the first speaker shows her acceptance but it appears that the extensions result in different reactions according to their function. The most frequent responses to other-extensions are either repeating the extended part, fully or partly, or replying with *já* 'yes', with a clause following. However, there is a difference between the categories. Repeats are frequent in all categories as a third move, but the response particle *já* 'yes' is preferred in *Checking Understanding*; this is what could be expected given the nature of this category. The third way to show a kind of acceptance is not to react to the extension but carry on with the conversation as nothing had happened. This is most frequent in the category of *Supporting Action* and understandably so. There, the second speaker's extension does not direct his contribution to the first speaker but continues the action which A initiated.

7. Summary and outlook

7.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapters, I have discussed completions and other-extensions separately. However, it is obvious that these two phenomena share some common features. That is the reason for the fact that they are dealt with jointly in the literature (see J. Lindström 2008) and in the current study. This chapter will sum up the findings and explore what exactly these two phenomena have in common and where they differ.

Below, completion and other-extension will be discussed both as formal entities and dialogical processes. In Ch. 7.2, the frequency and the structural features of the phenomena will be compared and discussed. In Ch. 7.3, their interactional functions will be summed up. In Ch. 7.4, the reception is explored and related to how those who hold the floor treat completions and other-extensions in their succeeding moves. In an excursus in Ch. 7.5, the focus is on concepts that tend to be problematic when dealing with completions and other-extensions, i.e. the conversational turn and the floor. Lastly, in Ch. 7.6, some research topics that have come up in the process of working on the current study will be introduced and discussed.

7.2 Frequency and structuring features

As mentioned in Ch. 6, completions and extensions often occur in the same dialogues (see *Table 6.1* above). Out of 126 instances of these two phenomena, 103 occur in the same dialogues or 82%. There is one particular dialogue that stands out for how frequently the collaborative productions are found. In this dialogue (marked 06-220-02) there are four participants, two married couples. This dialogue includes 46 instances out of the 103 (45%) where these two phenomena are co-occurring in the dialogues. Completions or other-extensions are found with approximately three minutes interval through the whole dialogue which lasts for almost two and a half hours. The participants are taking turns in telling stories. The story-telling is the most significant feature of this dialogue and the stories frequently include occurrences of completions and extensions. *Table 6.1* illustrates that it is not the number of participants in a conversation that is the most important factor when it comes to practicing the collaborative actions. Perhaps it is rather the nature of the relationship which is the main reason for how willing the participants are to share the conversational floor; i.e. the

intimacy of the participants, how closely they relate with each other and how familiar they are to each other's conversational behaviour and the topics discussed. This topic will be revisited in 7.5 below.

When a speaker completes his partner's utterance, he most often adds a single word or a phrase to it, sometimes because his interlocutor is in trouble, other times to show his interest. He anticipates what the first speaker is about to say and wants to let her know that he is following her path. The vast majority of the completing entries consist of one or two words. More than half of the induced completions were one-word utterances, often a part of a phrase in the making, while in non-induced completion 80% are longer than two words (see *Table 5.6 above*). This should not be surprising given the nature of these two categories of completion. When the second speaker reacts to overt signs of a trouble in the utterance making, which most often is a search for a word or words, he tries to give only what is needed in the context of the utterance. When, on the other hand, he completes an utterance where no problem is discernible, he has more freedom to give a longer utterance.

The length of the utterances in other-extensions shows a different picture. Some of the extensions consist of clauses (16% of all instances) but clauses rarely occur in completions (6% of all instances), 84% of all instances consist of syntactic phrases. The difference between these two constructions lies also in the fact that in most of the syntactic phrases where completions occur we find Noun Phrases (or 55%). All except one of them are parts of a syntactic phrase in the making (see *Table 5.6 above*). Most frequent syntactic phrases in other-extensions are Prepositional Phrases. They occur in 51% of all the phrases found in this position. PPs are mostly found in the category of *Checking Understanding*. PPs in this context are a vital part of the repair system, i.e. asking an appendor question is one way to clear up what really was said in the preceding utterance (see on appendor questions in 4.3.2 above). As expected, *Table 6.5 above* reveals that the third move in that category is Yes/No (+/-), i.e. the confirmative response particle *já* or the negative one, *nei* with or without some item preceding or succeeding the reply. The particle *já* can both function as a confirmative response to a question and as a discourse particle. In all the instances shown in *Table 6.5*, the particle is an answer to an appendor questions. Appendor questions are a neat way for the second speaker to ask for further information or to check on whether his understanding is an adequate one in the given context.

7.3 *The interactional functions of completions and other-extensions*

One of the research questions was whether something in the previous speakers' talk seemed to trigger the second speakers to react in the way they do when they choose one of the two interactional processes. The topic of this section is how people go about creating such a delicate weave as they do when they either complete an utterance or extend it with a construction that totally connects to and depends on the previous one.

When completions are not induced the reason for the action is not triggered by anything in the preceding talk. In these instances the second speaker uses this method to show interest in what his interlocutor is saying. The most obvious ways of eliciting completions are when completions are prompted by some overt disruption as in induced completions. As discussed in 5.4 above, induced completions are the result of some malfunction in the dialogue and this elicits the second speakers to join in. The source is most often a problem and the completion therefore a repair process. The overt signs that the second speaker becomes aware of are pauses, repeats, stuttering and sometimes the use of fillers, e.g. *hérna* 'here'. In some instances more than one of these items are used in connection to one another in an attempt to deal with a problem (see *Table 5.2* above).

In instances as described above, it is obvious that the conversation comes to a halt because the current speaker either hesitates or stops in the middle of her turn construction, most often because she is searching for an appropriate word. In other instances, which were included in the category of induced completion, there is no hesitation or other overt signs of trouble in the unfolding utterance. These completions are initiated by discourse particles which possibly will – in a subtle way – disrupt the flow of the conversation, because they will come between the meaningful units and divide the utterance into two pieces. This categorisation is not conventional, and therefore it needs some grounding.

The categorisation in the current study is based on the view that a completion prompted by a discourse particle seemed to belong more naturally to the family of induced completions than it would to the non-induced completions. My argument is that a discourse particle in the middle of a meaningful utterance is no less of a disruption and no less triggering other speakers' interference than pauses and stuttering. The particle that most often was found in this position was the versatile 'sko' (see *Table 5.3* above; on *sko* see Hilmsdóttir 1999). As it turned out in these instances, people joined in immediately after the occurrence of the discourse particles and

seemed to react to the discourse particle as signifying syntactic boundaries or a trouble spot. These occurrences will not be dealt with at length here, there are too few occurrences in the data to expand on it, but certainly, this is worth a further investigation and then preferably with a larger data set. We would need to ask several questions concerning occurrences of these instances. Amongst those are, for example, whether there are other subtle indicators accompanying the discourse particles, e.g. in intonation or stress or even some inaudible signals.

We have now discussed what prompts the second speaker to join in to complete his partner's utterance in the making, sometimes when the first speaker obviously is in trouble and almost asks for help, and other times when the utterance production seems to be going smoothly. The situation is different in other-extensions where the first speaker has apparently completed her utterance and there is no urge for the second speaker to extend it or use it as a base for his own contribution to the dialogue. In what circumstances does it become a relevant choice for the second speaker to act in that way? In my account, other-extensions have various functions; in some instances, they support the current speaker in her utterance-making and in other instances, they prevent a trouble that could arise later on if things were not cleared up immediately, i.e. they show features of other-initiated repair.

It is obvious that other-extensions are not triggered in the same way as completions. Apparently, there is no overt disturbance in the flow of the utterance previous to the extended one. On the other hand, when looking closer, it is clear that this description only applies to the category of *Supportive Actions*, which here is divided into three sub-categories, *duetting*, *explicating* and *highlighting*. The category *duetting* overlaps with the other two, because by e.g. co-telling a story, the second speaker will sometimes highlight the first speaker's words, and in other instances, explicate what she said, or 'translate' it for the other partners in the conversation. Nevertheless, these three categories are kept separated in order to look closer at the phenomenon of duetting, in which the collaborative actions on its highest level occur. Duetting are found in instances where two (or more) people in the dialogue know the facts of which they are talking. They have both (or all) heard the story, they have both (or all) experienced what they are talking about. Sometimes they probably only want to add a small detail to the story, sometimes they want to correct their partner or give another version based on their own experience. Another reason for a speaker to add to his partner's completed

utterance is that he wants to explain something he considers obscure in his partner's preceding talk, or, to elaborate on her words. That is what is found in the sub-category *explicating*. In other instances the second speaker is highlighting something in his partner's words or giving her words more weight. The category of *highlighting* consists of examples of this type. It should also be mentioned that an extension is often used to give a funny twist to what already was said. This tendency is found in all three categories of *Supportive Actions* (see (6.14), (6.16), (6.19) and (6.20) above).

When we look at the second of the two big categories, *Checking Understanding*, we see a different picture. In this category there appears to be some obscurity in the utterance, which could result in a trouble or misunderstanding later on in the dialogue if passed by unnoticed or unattended. That is the reason for the second speaker to respond in the way he does, by attaching his next utterance to the previous one as tightly as possible. After the extension the second speaker's utterance and the preceding one form an intact sentence, according to the criteria set for this study (see Ch. 4.4.2 and 4.4.3). For that to happen the second speaker has to choose carefully how he ties or "glues" his utterance to his partner's (see Couper-Kuhlen 2007). He has to choose an item that both serves his interactional goal and fits to the closure of his partner's utterance. This goes for all the three categories, *Supportive Actions*, *Checking Understanding* and *Eða-extension*, and, as it turns out, there is not any significant difference in how it is done. The usual way to go about it is to attach clauses or phrases to the previous utterances, most often adverbial phrases. The clauses and the phrases are then connected to the preceding utterance with an appropriate item, be it a conjunction or a preposition, in each utterance type.

Both the collaborative actions of completions and other extensions are utilised to show affiliation, "the affective level of cooperation" (Stivers, Mondada and Steensig 2011: 20), and to express the fact that keeping the dialogue going is a mutual task for which both or all the interactants are responsible. The comradeship is obvious when considering the other options the second speaker has in these circumstances. What could he do when his partner hesitates, stutters or repeats herself? He could of course do nothing; just keep quiet until his interlocutor finds her way and reaches the next boundaries, the next TRP. That could result in an awkward situation. He could probably also ignore his sense of not understanding and allow the conversation to run its course instead of extending his partner's previous utterance and try to

clear up what was said. By doing nothing, he could probably work the meaning out when his interlocutor carries on or he could of course clarify something later on, if he still needs it.

Sometimes these two collaborative processes are used apparently without a visible reason. There is no discernible trouble existent or upcoming in the dialogues and everything seems to go smoothly. Then the processes still show solidarity and carry the meaning “I am with you”, and, “I agree with you”. In these instances these two phenomena have a role similar to feedback tokens (Green-Vänttinen 1998: 77).

It is also worth reiterating that the processes discussed above have at times a humoristic function. Then either the second speaker chooses an unexpected item to complete his partner’s utterance or he extends the previous utterance by using a playful addition, apparently intended to amuse his partners in the conversation.

The comradeship is not least discernible in how willing the interactants are to share the conversational turn and by that the conversational floor. I will take up the discussion on turn- and floor-sharing acts in 7.5 below.

7.4 Reception

As discussed in Ch. 5 and 6, completion and other-extension are received and reacted to in similar ways. The first speaker in a sequence has a choice of whether to respond to the second speaker’s contribution at all. She can carry on as nothing has been said, she can repeat her interlocutor’s words, verbatim or with changes or additions, or she can react to them differently.

Collaborative completion could be regarded as a support to the one who holds the floor at each time. Apparently, in some contexts, completion is closely related to feedback tokens. As revealed in *Table 5.8* above, the most frequent reaction to completion is that the first speaker continues the utterance in the making and passes the completed part over without it causing any audible disturbance. Passing over is found both in induced and non-induced completions.

The third move is also often in the form of repeats where the first speaker repeats her partner’s words, rarely verbatim, but most often by adding something to his words or recycling them in her contribution. Only two instances of a non-acceptance of completions are found. In those instances, the first speaker does not fully agree with the content or the choice of words in the candidate completion.

When looking at the reaction to other-extensions similar features appear. In most of the examples, the first speaker's choice is to continue her talk and leave her partner's remark unnoticed. She passes it by. This reaction is mostly found in the category of *Supportive Actions*, just a few instances in *Checking Understanding*, as shown in *Table 6.5*. On the other hand, as expected, most instances of reactions in the form of *já* 'yes' and *nei* 'no' with or without some additions, are found in the category of *Checking Understanding*. When the second speaker is checking his understanding of what was said, the first speaker either confirms or rejects what he says and therefore one would expect 'yes/no'-answers to the extended part. In *highlighting*, the sub-category of *Supportive Actions*, *já* and *nei* responses frequently occur but there their role is different from what was found in *Checking Understanding*. In *highlighting*, B, the second speaker, is commenting on A's previous utterance. The first speaker frequently reacts to B's words by using the affirmative particle *já* 'yes', not to answer a question but to welcome his contribution and agree with him (see (6.19) and (6.20) above).

In three instances, other-extensions are not accepted. They all fall under the category of *Checking Understanding*. This category includes instances where the second speaker extends his partner's utterance in order to clear up what she meant with her words or whether his understanding is adequate. Apparently, he can reveal and clear up some misunderstanding by his extensions and therefore one can expect to see a rejection or at least non-acceptance in a few instances.

What the third moves have in common in completion and other-extension is that they are normally positively accepted by the first speaker. Only on rare occasions the first speaker hesitates to fully accept her partner's entry. Both these phenomena are highly collaborative and friendly interactional gestures and accepted as such. Another feature, which combines the reception of these two productions, is that in both cases they are frequently accepted by passing them by. The first speaker does not let her partner's remark distract her utterance making in any way, she carries on after her partner has completed his insertion, and either includes his words or seems to look at them as a valid part of her contribution. Behaviour of this kind is looked at as a friendly way of receiving collaborative productions of the type discussed in this study.

7.5 Excursus: Some notes on the conversational turn and the conversational floor

One of the research questions in this study (stated in Ch.1.1 above) concerns the conversational turn. Therefore I consider it relevant to discuss this undebated core unit in conversation here, after I have concluded my study on collaborative constructions. As discussed in Ch. 3.3.1 above, the turn consists of at least one TCU. Problems arise when the utterance is consisting of several TCUs (multi-unit). When a speaker starts speaking, he is entitled to complete at least one TCU, which then forms her turn. The debate about the longer stretches of talk was discussed in 3.3.2 above, and the term *discourse unit*, which serves to refer to multi-unit turns in conversations, was introduced. Problems arise also when discussing short contributions, e.g. feedback tokens, which are not an attempt to get the floor but rather intended to express the speaker's enthusiasm or to inform the current speaker of that the floor could be hers yet for a while (Renkema 1993: 111).

The *turn* is a concept that creates problems when dealing with completions. When the second speaker completes his partner's utterance, he obviously completes the formal entity of the TCU. That seems to be the general understanding (see Lerner 1996: 244). On the other hand, there is no agreement on what counts as a turn and whether completion should be looked at as a new turn or as an addition to the previous turn-so-far. Below, I will take a closer look at turns-at-talk and discuss how they should be treated when dealing with completions and other-extensions, i.e. whether it is possible to look at the turn-making as a collaborative action.

Lerner (2004a: 229) introduces the term *collaborative turn sequence* to describe the outcome when the conversational turn is produced by two people. The term is used over completions that seem to be designed to launch a sequence – a collaborative turn sequence – in which the original speaker reasserts authority over the turns-at-talk by responding to the proffered completion (*op.cit.*: 225).

In Lerner's (*ibid.*) view, the completing utterances that launch a collaborative turn sequence, could be characterised in four ways. The first is that the affiliating utterance produced by the second speaker uses the same syntactic pattern used in the ongoing turn. The second is that it has to be contiguous with the preceding utterance and maintain the progressivity of the first speakers talk. The speaker transition will occur naturally in contrast with premature incomes of another nature, when second speakers make their entry evident verbally (*op.cit.*: 226). Lerner's third observation is that normally the second speaker does not

go any further than to the next TRP, in other words, to the next possible completion place. Finally, Lerner notes that when the second speaker has delivered his completion, it is regarded and treated by the first speaker as a candidate completion and nothing else (*op.cit.*: 228).

Bockgård (2004) also discusses whether the first speaker's uncompleted utterance and the candidate completion should be looked at as one turn (*op.cit.*: 274). He asks: Is it sufficient to describe the turn as a verbal action delivered by a single speaker in an uninterrupted continuous time slot? Alternatively, would it be appropriate to look at the turn as a time slot where the speaker can – by herself or in collaboration with another speaker – have a social arena where the speaker can produce a turn? Bockgård concludes by adopting Lerner's term *collaborative turn sequence* and, as Lerner, uses it only when the second speaker continues the first speaker's social action (*op.cit.*: 274). By this, according to Bockgård, the conversational turn is rather seen as a social action than only a syntactic unit or a time slot.

The results from my data have convinced me that Lerner's definition of the turn sequence is an accurate way of describing completions. I see the turn as the core unit, regardless of whether it is looked at from a pragmatic, syntactic or prosodic viewpoint. In addition, it belongs to one person at a given time. Sometimes the speaker needs assistance and asks for it by using recognisable verbal and non-verbal items, i.e. discourse particles, repeats and pauses. When the second speaker steps in and offers his help by providing a lexical item that would be suitable in the context, he is not trying to win the floor. When, on the other hand, he joins in without anything indicating that his assistance is needed, he normally does so to show his interest in the topic, e.g. by adding a bit to a story or an item to a list in the making. In these instances, he usually does not go any further than to the next possible completing point, the floor continues to be the first speaker's territory and therefore also the right to complete the turn she has initiated. My conclusion is that the completed part in both induced and non-induced completions should not be looked at as a new turn or a new TCU but as a part of a collaborative turn sequence.

The criterion for the collaborative turn sequence put forward above, is only valid for completions. That leaves unanswered the question of how other-extensions should be looked at regarding the conversational turn. The main difference between these two phenomena lies in the fact repeatedly stated above that completion is attached to an utterance in the making, but other-extensions occur after the original speaker has reached a possible completion place; the

extension is therefore an addition to an already full-blown turn. That is an important fact when it comes to deciding whether the first speaker's utterance and the extension should be looked at as one turn or two.

In Ch. 6, two main categories of other-extensions were introduced. The difference between these two categories lies in their directionality (Lerner 2004b: 161; see Ch. 6.3.5 above and *Figure 6.1*). In *Supportive Actions*, the second speaker directs his contribution in the same direction as the first speaker's utterance, similar to what happens when the second speaker completes his partner's utterance (see excerpts (6.14), (6.16) and (6.18). In *Checking Understanding*, he, on the other hand, directs his words towards the first speaker, i.e. he is speaking from the direction of the 'audience', and therefore he carries out a different social action. In the latter case, I see the two speakers involved in the action produce two turns which go in different directions (see *Figure 6.1*).

The category of *Checking Understanding* is the one which is interactionally related to induced completions, meaning that in both instances the second speaker is trying to find out what his partner is actually saying. In induced completions, the second speaker is only filling in a word or a phrase; he is assisting the original speaker to complete her turn. In *Checking Understanding* the situation is different. In those instances, the second speaker steps in and adds to a turn which is already completed. In the latter, I see these two participants carry out two turns. The excerpt in (7.1) shows this (see the excerpt in length in (6.22) above):

- (7.1) *In dogma films (ISTAL 07-107-04)*
 [Participants: A, male; B, male]
1. →A: **já (.) það má bara nota svoleiðis**
PRT (.) it may.3 only use.INF that kind
 'yes, it is only allowed to use that kind'
2. →B: **í dogma↑**
in dogma.N.ACC
 'in dogma'
3. →A: **já (2.0) og (2.4.) ((andar)) það eru held**
PRT and it be.3.PL think.1
 'yes, and they are, I think'
4. **einu skilyrðin svona**
one.N.PL condition.N.PL PRT
 'the only conditions'

In (7.1) B is verifying his understanding on the preceding utterance, i.e. whether his interlocutor is still talking about dogma films or if he has perhaps missed out a topic shift. This excerpt shows that B's words are directed to the first speaker and A's reaction to his partner's extension confirms that.

The situation is different in the category of *Supportive Actions*. There is a relevant reason to look at the main clause and the dependent extension as one turn, perhaps a compound turn or a collaborative turn sequence. It is evident in the following three excerpts, the first showing duetting (see the full extract in (6.14), see also (6.26) and (6.29) above):

(7.2) *Too much wine (ISTAL 06-220-02)*

[A – female, B's wife; B – male, A's husband;
C – male, D's husband; D – female, C's wife, silent in the excerpt]

1. A: **við vorum búin að drekka**
we be.1.Pl.PT finish.PP.PL to drink.INF
'we had emptied'
2. **sitthvora rauðvinsflöskuna hvor °hvort°**
each of us.F.ACC red wine bottle.F.PL.ACC.DEF each.F/M each.N
'a bottle of redwine each of us'
3. →B: **með matnum sko**
with food.M.DAT.DEF PRT
'with the food'
4. C: já
PRT
'yes'

In the excerpt, A and B are co-telling a funny story. They take turns in telling the story and in this part, A is the main storyteller but B was the one who held the floor in the story-telling leading up to the part shown in (7.2). In line 3, B offers additional information to his wife's previous utterance, as to underline how absurd the situation was. His position is at his wife's side and the extension is directed to their partners in the conversation. A similar pattern emerges in the category of explicating (7.3) where B explains A's word, probably for the other interlocutors (see the full extract in (6.16) above):

(7.3) *Cheaper (ISTAL 03-620-03)*
 [A, female, B's wife; B, male, A's husband;
 C, male, D's husband; D, female, C's wife, silent]

1. →A: **það er líka ódýrara**
it be.3 also cheap.COM (.)
'it is also cheaper'
2. (1.3)
3. →B: **fyrir sveitarfélagið**
for municipality.N.ACC.DEF
'for the municipality'
4. (0.8)
5. →A: **fyrir sveitarfélagið**
for municipality N.ACC.DEF
'for the municipality'

The next example shows how B highlights A's words and gives them more weight (see the full extract in (6.18) above):

(7.4) *Crowded (ISTAL 06-220-02)*
 [Participants: A, male, husband of B; B, female, A's wife;
 C, female, wife of D; D, male C's husband]

1. →A: **það er allt fullt af fólki**
it be.3 all.N crowded.N of people.N.DAT
'it is so crowded with people'
2. →B: **hvar sem þú ferð=**
wherever you go.2
'wherever you go'
3. →A: **=hvar sem þú kemur (0.3) já**
=wherever you come.2 PRT
'wherever you come'

These three excerpts illustrate the second speaker's position and how he prolongs the preceding turn. Therefore, the whole category of *Supportive Action* seems to fit into Lerner's collaborative turn sequence.

The conclusion is then that it seems plausible to adhere to Lerner's category of collaborative turn sequence for all completions and for part of the other-extensions, namely the category of *Supportive Actions*. That leaves out the other main category within other-

extensions, *Checking Understanding*, where, in my view, the extension should be regarded as a separate turn.²⁷

It should be emphasized here that Lerner (2004a: 229) excludes completions which are uttered with a try-marker. Examples of that type are included in my data and I see them as a part of collaborative turns even though they function as subtle questions and seem to be related to the extensions in *Checking Understanding*. The reason for my conclusion could be questioned: What is the difference between a completion uttered with a try-marker, i.e. a question, and therefore possibly a new action, and an extension in the category of *Checking Understanding*? Why is a turn completed with a try-marker seen as a single turn when an extended utterance in *Checking Understanding* is not? My answer is: When a completion is uttered with a try-marker the reason for it is usually found in the first speaker's previous utterance. Most often the first speaker is searching for a word and has run into trouble with her construction and the completion is uttered to help her to end her utterance. In these instances the second speaker is only assisting his partner, he is trying to find what she is looking for and offering his assistance and he has no choice of how he will form his contribution. The structure of the utterance is the first speaker's, she has most often already produced the utterance almost to the end and normally the second speaker only fills in one or two words that match the empty slot in the utterance. That is the main difference between try-marked completion and the category of *Checking Understanding*. In *Checking Understanding* the second speaker has more freedom to choose the structure and the meaning of his contribution. Lastly, it is worth noting that in *Checking Understanding* the second speaker directs his words towards the first speaker, the speakers carry out two different social actions and produce two turns. In try-marked completions the second speakers' words go into the same direction as the utterance in the making, i.e. the completion continues the social action that A started, the two participants share the turn and the floor.

One aspect of defining collaborative activities is to define the conversational floor, not necessarily as something that belongs to one person but as a collective arena for sharing. One person would usually be most prominent on the floor at each given time but others would be welcomed and even encouraged to join in at certain places and in certain contexts. If the

²⁷ I leave out here the third category within other-extensions, *Eða-Extensions*, which only consists of two excerpts (3% of all the examples). The other two categories cover 97% of the data and they are of similar size.

participants share their turns, they also share the conversational floor. As discussed before, these two phenomena go against the notion Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson put forward in their article from 1974: 700, “one party talks at a time”, i.e. at each given time, the conversational floor belongs to one single speaker. Sacks *et al.* also mention that at times this rule is flouted, sometimes two or more people utilise the floor at the same time, but only for a very short while, because one of the partners will soon withdraw and give the floor to the “competing” interlocutor, i.e. the one who shared the floor with him or her. The main rule would be unchallenged; the floor should belong to one person at a time.

If the speaker of the turn-in-the-making is the one who is entitled to the floor, it would be expected that she would become annoyed when someone else joins in. That is not what happens. The first speakers seem to look at the conversational floor as an arena to which everybody has access. Even if one person is the main occupant of the floor at each time, other participants are welcome to join in with shorter comments, feedbacks, completions and extensions to the previous utterance. All this behaviour is well accepted and could be seen as a vital part of what is called collaborative interactional behaviour.

One of the mutual elements for completions and other-extensions is that in these activities, the second speaker, the one who is “off-floor“ at the moment, is deliberately flouting the possibility he has to create something that is totally his own and, by that, occupy the conversational floor for a while. He is flouting the possibilities with which the creative nature of language provides him. Instead of creating an independent utterance, he chooses either to step into the first speaker’s unfolding utterance and find a word or a phrase he considers suitable in the context, or to use his entry to build a phrase or a clause which parasites on the one previously produced by his partner. Normally when speakers take over the conversational floor, they are entitled to create something of their own and most often they do. In a real-life conversation, they have to come up with something that is in line with the preceding words, they have to make their contribution cohesive and coherent for their partners to understand, and, something that is a natural continuation of the previous actions in the dialogue. In the two processes discussed in the study, it is acceptable that a second speaker joins in at non-TRPs, but then only for a short while and then give the floor back to the one who held it before the intervention.

From the literature one can conclude that a conversation is in some way a battle for the

conversational floor. The metaphors used in association with the floor are homogeneous and most often connected to a competition or a battle; people “strive to “get the floor”, “fight for it” and so on” (Jones and Thornborrow 2004: 400). It could be inferred that in a conversation the participants were constantly fighting for the floor.

Edelsky (1981) challenged this view on the conversational floor in her article *Who’s got the floor?* Her observations showed that the one-person-at-a-time floor (F1) was not an arrangement suited for everyone in every situation. Edelsky coined the notion of a collaborative developed floor (F2) which is characterised by the fact that the participants seem comfortable with sharing the floor with their co-participants. According to Edelsky, these two modes of organisation did not agree with all parties in a conversation. She claims that F1 is preferred by males, but F2 by females. Males seemed to adhere to the rule of “one speaker speaks at a time” but females prefer the rule “the floor is potentially open to all participants simultaneously”. This open floor is a key feature of women’s talk: “Their voices “meld” to produce a collective voice” (Jones and Thornborrow 2004: 402, see Coates 1989: 511). Coates has argued that this “construction of talk” is shared in all female groups where the women know each other well, and also that women even do not function as individual speakers (Jones and Thornborrow 2004: 402). It is not included in my research questions to look at sociolinguistic variations like different linguistic behaviour of men and women. Nothing in my data did suggest that women were more comfortable in turn-sharing than men, rather how well they were connected to their interlocutors.

The relevant issue here is the fact that it is not only possible to talk about a collaborative turn sequence as was introduced above, it is also possible to talk about “a collaborative floor”. It is in fact relevant to look at the floor as an arena to conduct certain activities. To “hold the floor” could involve “having what you say attended to by others” (Jones and Thornborrow 2004: 403). The listenership is therefore necessarily included in the notion of conversational floor.

In the context of the current work, both completions and other-extensions can be looked at as one way of floor-sharing. Even if the second speaker does not go any further than to the next possible transition place, he shares the floor with the first speaker for a while, or, he ties his utterance so closely to the preceding one that the utterances put together form a totally intact sentence.

As stated before, there are some difficulties in defining the conversational turn although it is undoubtedly a strong interactional unit. When listening to and looking over my material, I repeatedly discerned what I would call “the psychological reality” of the conversational turn. By using that term I am highlighting how “real” the turns seem to be in their producers’ minds. One feature that frequently emerged in my investigation is the eagerness of the current speakers to complete their own turns when the second speakers already had provided them with suitable completing parts. In (7.5), we see how the repetition of the completing utterance also serves as a perfect continuation of what was initiated in line 1 (this example is also discussed in 5.3.2.1, excerpt (5.16); see also (5.8) and (5.35) above):

- (7.5) *Dinner or ...? (ÍSTAL 04-730-07)*
 [Participants: A, female; B’s sister and C’s wife; B, female, sister of A and C, female, sister of A and B]
1. →A: **jú það er ég held að það hafi nú**
PRT it be.3 I think.1 that it have.3.SUB PRT
 ‘yes I think that’
2. **flestallir verið með**
majority.M be.PP with
 ‘most people have been with’
3. (1.1)
4. →B: **mat ((geispar))**
food.M.ACC ((yawns))
 ‘dinner’
5. →A: **með mat**
with food.M.ACC
 ‘with dinner’

In the excerpt, B offers a completion after A halts in the production of her turn. B seems to have come up with the exact lexical item which speaker A intended to use or at least she repeats the completion with the addition of repeating the preposition from the first part of the turn. By this, she also completes the turn she started and which, obviously, is hers. Examples similar to this one are quite frequent, as shown in Ch. 5.

It must have some meaning that even when the first speakers seem to have accepted their partners’ supplements, they still feel the urge to complete their turns as they had intended to do. This fact underpins the importance of the conversational turn as a unit for the interactants and

the unwritten interactional rules that govern their behaviour. The participants in a talk-in-interaction are not only entitled to complete their turns when they can do so uninterrupted; it is also an accepted interactional behaviour to do so after intervention in one form or another.

Lerner (2004a), mentions similar behaviour, i.e. the urge of the first speakers to complete what they started even when the last part has been delayed by a remark from another participant in the dialogue, both when the second speaker comments on the turn-so-far as in (7.6), and when he offers a candidate completion to it as shown in the excerpt in (7.7) (both examples from Lerner 2004a: 235). In (7.6) we see how the first speaker continues his turn after his partners comment:

(7.6) [GTS]

Dan: as a matter of fact we may not have a group going after
//²⁸ the uh
Roger: maybe you`er screening `em too hard
Dan: next couple of weeks

In the excerpt in (7.6), Dan uses the third move to complete what he had started. In (7.7) we see how the first speaker completes his turn by repeating verbatim the completion offered by his partner (*op.cit.*:238):

(7.7) [HIC]

Sparky: it sounds like what you`re saying is that let them make
the decisions
Kerry: an let us know wh//at it is
Sparky: and let us know what it is
Kerry: yeah

In (7.7), Sparky uses the third move to echo his partner's words, and by that, to recapture his turn and complete it as he is entitled to do. This tendency of the first speaker to complete a turn she has started, is perhaps most prominent when the current speaker is about to tell a story; then she has given her partner a clue by a story preface which should give her the time she needs for an extended turn. This does not prevent the other participants from joining in if they so choose, e.g. to ask for some information concerning the narrative.

²⁸ The double slash seems to indicate that there after the speech is overlapped by a talk of another (see Jefferson (2004:24).

In the longest narrative in the data and the one in which most occurrences of completions and extensions took place, four people take part. Story-telling is a characteristic of this dialogue, all the participants tell stories and they come in rounds. In spite of that, in this two and a half hours talk-in-interaction, the occurrence of *schism* never occurs (Egbert 1997), i.e. the conversation never divides into two, e.g. when a group of four splits up into two dyads. In these cases, there are at least two arenas, i.e. two floors, or as many as the topics being discussed. In this long dialogue, the floor is one all the time, but a collaborative floor is quite common and that type of floor allows for high frequency of co-productions of the type discussed in the current work. Whether the participants in a conversation like to occupy the conversational floor alone or prefer to share it with their friends depends on the relationship between the co-participants.

The conclusion of my close look at the conversational turn is that the turn is a strong interactional unit; a unit which the participants in a dialogue know and on which they rely. The interactants are convinced of their right to complete their turn but they are ready to share it in some instances, when the second speaker's entry goes in the same direction as the first speaker's. By sharing the turn they share the conversational floor for a while, e.g. when they complete or extend their partners' utterances. However, the participants are well aware of to whom the turn belongs and therefore the second speaker seldom goes further than to the next TRP, then the floor is again the first speaker's territory. The first speaker, the one who initiated the turn in question, often uses her next move to complete herself her utterance, often by repeating all the second speaker's contribution or a part of it.

7.6 Future research

At the time this is written, the field of interactional linguistics is limited in Iceland. In fact, it is hardly possible to talk of a field at all. Interactional linguistics is not taught at a regular basis at the universities and those working in the field in Iceland are fewer than the fingers of one hand. One can perhaps say that the field is large, but scarcely populated and mostly unploughed so the possibilities for future research are endless. This situation could be regarded as a problem, but alternatively, this fact opens up opportunities for the future research. There will not be any shortage of research opportunities in interactional linguistics and the topics in Icelandic are countless. I will mention only a few that connect to my topic.

First it should be mentioned, that the data I used for my research are homogenous and consist solely of friendly conversations in homes or at working places. What I would foresee in future research on collaborative activities, is an investigation of how the situation is when working with different conversations, e.g. classroom discourse, dispute talk and talk at formal meetings.

There are other topics which have come up in the process of writing this thesis which could and should be research topics in their own right. One of them is obviously whether a larger and more diverse data set would give a clearer picture of the role of discourse particles, i.e. whether some of them are considered to function as semi-boundaries where the second speaker can join in if he so wishes.

Narratives occur frequently in the data and they offer much to explore. In fact, various research topics crop up when listening to the story-telling. One is how the stories are introduced, i.e. how the narrator manages to claim an extended turn with a story-preface. Another subject matter to look at is how the narrator can leave the topic of the story to explain or to check how well her interlocutors know the story settings or the characters in the story and how she finds her way to the thread of the story again and how she marks these detours.

Topic shift is another research subject which is worth exploring. In the long dialogue that had most of the collaborative activities in my study I found the topic shift interesting. This conversation lasted for more than two hours and included many narratives. What is interesting there is how one topic merges into another and how the participants take turns in telling stories. In this dialogue, two couples take part and they often appear as one narrator. They complete each other's utterances, or extend them, and all this is done without any overt signs of them competing for the floor.

The current work is based on authentic Icelandic conversation, and as such, it adds to the knowledge linguists have already obtained on the use of the Icelandic language. To give a holistic picture of Icelandic and its use in all aspects of daily life it is important to know how the language is used in mundane conversation. My wish is that my investigation on these collaborative productions will shed light upon how native speakers of Icelandic manage to structure their utterances and how the syntactic elements and their interactional role are intertwined. I would also encourage student teachers and teachers of Icelandic, both mother tongue teachers and those who teach Icelandic as a second or foreign language, to make use of

the research on Icelandic conversations as it could add a new dimension to their work with the language. Knowledge on how dialogues are carried out would also give interpreters, translators and speech therapists tools to work with. In the field of spoken language, it is obvious that grammar is shaped by the interactional need and shapes it as well. In interactional linguistics the focus is both on the grammatical forms and on interactional processes and therefore we obtain a picture which is hopefully less distorted than it would be if only looked at from a single point of view.

Sammanfattning på svenska

Syfte och frågeställningar

I denna avhandling studeras samkonstruktioner i isländska vardagssamtal. Undersökningens syfte är att studera samkonstruktionernas form, funktion och mottagande. Avhandlingens frågeställningar är som följer:

- Hur vanliga är ifyllnader och annan-tillägg i vardagliga samtal?
- Finns det något i interaktionen som kan förklara förekomsten av ifyllnader och annan-tillägg? Är det något i satskonstruktionen eller yttrandets semantiska innehåll som bidrar till detta?
- Finns det likheter mellan ifyllnadernas och annan-tilläggs syntaktiska struktur? Vad skiljer dem åt i detta avseende?
- Vilken funktion har ifyllnader och annan-tillägg? På vilket sätt liknar dessa kategorier varandra? Hur skiljer de sig åt med avseende på deras funktion i samtal?
- Hur reagerar andra deltagare – särskilt den som har ordet – när samtalspartnern bidrar med en ifyllnad eller ett annan-tillägg?

Frågeställningarna här ovan kan i sin tur kopplas till ett övergripande tema som gäller samtalets grundenhet, dvs själva turen. Hur är den beskaffad och hur konstrueras den? Kan en tur enbart bestå av en enskild talares bidrag eller kan den produceras av flera deltagare?

Material och metod

Forskare som studerar språk närmar sig sitt ämne på olika sätt. Vissa arbetar utifrån ett monologiskt perspektiv och ser varje yttrande som en enskild samtalsdeltagares bidrag. Andra utgår från ett dialogiskt perspektiv och studerar varje deltagares yttrande inom ramen för den kontext där det yttras. Yttrandet anpassas till mottagaren, påverkas av det som sagts tidigare och påverkar det som följer (Linell 1998). Interaktionell lingvistik diskuteras i kapitel 2.

I denna avhandling studeras samkonstruktioner ur den interaktionella lingvistikens perspektiv (se Selting och Couper-Kuhlen 2001; Steensig 2001; J. Lindström 2008). Inom den interaktionella lingvistikens används den etnometodologiska samtalsanalysens (CA) tillvägagångssätt att samla in, transkribera och analysera autentiska samtal (Sacks 1995; Jefferson 2004a). Huvudfokus ligger dock på själva språket och lingvistisk argumentation. Metoden är huvudsakligen kvalitativ men de kvalitativa analyserna kombineras till en viss grad

med kvantitativa uppgifter.

Den interaktionella lingvistik integrerar två forskningsfält: syntaktiska studier och samtalsanalys. I kapitel 3 redogörs för de begrepp som är centrala för denna studie.

Undersökningsmaterialet består av audio inspelningar av vardagliga samtal som ingår i den isländska databanken ÍSTAL. Databanken består av omkring 20 timmar av gruppsamtal mellan vänner och bekanta. Samtalen har ca 3–4 deltagare, män och kvinnor mellan 30 och 60 år (i enstaka fall deltar även barn i samtalen). Samtalen är inspelade i någon av deltagarnas hem eller på deras arbetsplats.

Turtagning och gemensamt konstruerade turer

I samtal turas deltagarna om att ha turen. En person talar åt gången och varje talare har rätt att tala tills han eller hon har fullbordat en tur (Sacks *et. al.* 1974). Det finns undantag från denna regel, t.ex. när två talare inleder en tur samtidigt eller när en talare överlappar en annan, men överlappningar brukar vara korta. När samtalsdeltagare upptäcker att det har uppstått ett problem angående turreglerna brukar den ena deltagaren ge turen över till den andra.

Turen är samtalets grundenhet. Den består av en eller flera turkonstruktionsenheter (TKE) som kan beskrivas som syntaktiska, pragmatiska och prosodiska enheter (Schegloff 1996: 53 och 54). Turens uppgift är att genomföra sociala handlingar, t.ex. att ställa frågor, svara, acceptera, klaga och ge komplimanger (Schegloff 2007: 7).

Vid varje turavslutning finns det en möjlighet för en ny talare att ta turen och där uppstår det som kallas för en turbytesplats (TBP). Vid ett turbyte gäller den regeln att om den som talar inte har nominerat den följande talaren, t.ex. genom att ställa en fråga eller genom att tilltala henne med namn, och om ingen annan samtalsdeltagare tar över turen, kan samma talare ta turen igen och fortsätta att tala (Sacks *et al.* (1974: 703–704; se även Steensig 2001: 46–47).

I samtal brukar talaren få fullborda sin tur och det är också oftast fallet att varje yttrande utgör ett självständigt samtalsbidrag. Yttrandet måste dock anpassas till den föregående turen. Detta är inte fallet när det gäller samkonstruktioner. Samkonstruktioner skulle kunna tolkas som brott mot samtalets samarbetsprinciper men som den här studien visar så är inte fallet. Tvärtemot förefaller samkonstruktioner vara ett tydligt tecken på deltagarnas samarbetsvilja.

Mycket har skrivits om samkonstruktioner i andra språk, särskilt i svenska (Bockgård 2004) och engelska (Lerner 2004b). Dessa studier presenteras i kapitel 4. I samma kapitel

definieras också centrala begrepp som ifyllnader och annan-tillägg. I denna undersökning utgår jag ifrån att när en ifyllnad eller ett annan-tillägg har producerats fungerar yttrandet som en fullbordad sats. Ingenting kan inflikas i satsen förutom att den som producerar den andra delen kan upprepa funktionella ord ur talarens tur, t.ex. prepositioner.

I denna avhandling definieras en samkonstruktion som en syntaktisk helhet som produceras av två samtalsdeltagare. Samkonstruktioner kan delas in i två huvudkategorier: ifyllnader och annan-tillägg.

En ifyllnad är en del av ett yttrande som två (eller flera) deltagare konstruerar tillsammans. Talare A har ordet och inleder turen men B kommer in med ett bidrag utan att samtalspartern har kommit till en traditionell turbytesplats. B:s syfte är aldrig att överta ordet från A. Istället kan man säga att han tillägger ett eller några få ord och tillåter sedan A att fortsätta. Exempel (1) visar ett belägg på en *ifyllnad*. I utdraget diskuterar A och B mat och dryck som serveras på konfirmationsfester:

(1) *Middag eller...? (ÍSTAL 04-730-07)*

[Deltagare: A, kv., B kv. A och B är systrar]

1. →A: **jú það er ég held að það hafi nú**
PRT det er.3 jag tro.1 att det ha.3.SUB PRT
'jo jag tror nog att'
2. **flestallir verið með**
flesta.M.PL vara.PP med
'de flesta hade'
3. (1.1)
4. →B: **mat ((geispar))**
mat.M.ACC ((gäspar))
'middag'
5. →A: **með mat**
med mat.M.ACC
'med middag'

Talare A har ordet men på rad 3 kommer en lång paus efter en preposition. Prepositionen visar att talaren inte har avslutat sin tur. Antagligen är det pausen som leder till att talare B inflikar en kommentar även om en naturlig turbytesplats ännu inte nåtts. B verkar inte ha några problem med att hitta relevanta ord. Här hjälper den semantiska kontexten samtidigt som A:s användning av en preposition innebär att en nominalfras i akkusativ måste följa i denna

kontext. A visar att hon accepterar B:s ifyllnad genom att upprepa B:s bidrag. A upprepar dock inte turen ordagrant. Hon inleder sitt yttrande med prepositionen *með* 'med' (jfr rad 2).

Annan-tillägg skiljer sig från ifyllnader på så sätt att de följer efter ett till synes fullbordat yttrande. På så sätt produceras en fras eller en sats som en naturlig fortsättning på det som kommit innan. Exempel (2) visar ett belägg på en *annan-tillägg*. Här diskuterar A och B en planerad utlandsresa och deras sökande efter billiga flygbiljetter:

- (2) *Med Go? (ÍSTAL 06-220-02)*
 [Deltagare: A, m.; B, m.; C och D, kv. tysta i sekvensen]
1. →A: **við fundum ódýrustu fargjöldin**
við hitta.1.PL.PT billiga.N.PL.ACC. SUP biljetter.N.PL.ACC.DEF
 'vi hittade de billigaste resorna'
 2. **alla leið**
all.F.ACC väg.F.ACC
 'hela vägen'
 3. (1.1)
 4. →B: **með þeim→**
með de.PL.DAT
 'med dem'
 5. →A: **með Go já↓**
með Go PRT
 'med Go, ja'

I utdraget ovan har A avslutat sin tur och det uppstår en möjlighet till talarbyte. B väljer dock att syntaktiskt anknyta till A:s tidigare tur. Hans yttrande bildar inte en självständig enhet. Det bygger på den föregående turen och blir ett slags fortsättning på den. B fortsätter inte förrän efter en lång paus på rad 3. Eventuellt väntar han på en fortsättning som inte kommer. På rad 4 kopplar B sina ord till den föregående talarens yttrande genom att lägga till en prepositionsfras. Detta gör han för att få ett förtydligande av det som A har sagt, dvs han försöker bekräfta att han förstått yttrandet rätt. På detta sätt förebygger han att missförstånd dyker upp senare i samtalet.

Resultat

I kapitel 5 diskuteras ifyllnadernas form, funktion och mottagande i samtal. Ifyllnader kan delas in i två kategorier: å ena sidan *föranledda ifyllnader* (se exempel (1)) och *icke-föranledda ifyllnader* å den andra. Det som här kallas *föranledning* är oftast det att talare A har svårt med att formulera sig: hon hittar inte ord, kommer inte ihåg namnet på ett företag eller en person, hon tvekar, upprepar sig eller använder fyllnadsord, och visar på så sätt att hon har problem. Detta beteende leder ofta till att talare B ingriper och hittar det ord som han tror passar bäst in i det som A redan har yttrat, syntaktiskt och semantiskt. I exempel (1) är det antagligen pausen i A:s tur som leder till att B tillägger en fras som är syntaktiskt anpassad till det tidigare yttrandet.

I icke-föranledda ifyllnader finns det ingen uppenbar förklaring till att B ingriper på det sätt han gör. I dessa fall kan B:s beteende förklaras av att han vill visa sitt intresse för diskussionsämnet eller visa sin samtalspartner att han uppfattat det som sagts. Här fungerar ifyllnaden som något slags uppbackning. I dessa fall försöker A aldrig att ta över turen. När han har inflikat ett ord eller en kort fras tystnar han oftast.

Kapitel 6 handlar om annan-tillägg. I avhandlingen delades annan-tillägg in i tre huvudkategorier: a) stödjande handlingar, b) utredande handling (se exempel (2)) och c) *edå*-tillägg. Ungefär 97% av alla belägg tillhör det två första kategorierna och beläggen fördelas ganska jämnt mellan dem. I den tredje kategorin finns endast ett fåtal belägg. En jämförelse av de två stora kategorierna visar att det finns en stor skillnad mellan dem. I de belägg där annan-tillägget fungerar som en stödjande handling positionerar sig talare B ”bredvid A” och riktar sitt yttrande åt samma håll som hon, mot andra deltagare i samtalet. B:s yttrande är således en fortsättning på A:s tur, antingen som en förklaring till tidigare talares yttrande eller som ett sätt att framhäva det som har sagts.

I de belägg där annan-tillägget har den funktionen att utreda om B har förstått A:s yttrande rätt (utredande handling) riktar B sitt yttrande till A, dvs som en åhörare, och riktar sitt yttrande (annan-tillägget) mot henne. I denna kategori är en stor del av beläggen prepositionsfraser (54%). De består gärna av en fråga och utgör därmed en ny handling. Exempel (2) utgör ett belägg på detta. Där försöker B att reda ut vad A säger genom att tillägga en prepositionsfras som fungerar som en fråga. A besvarar frågan på rad 5. Oavsett vilken kategori det rör sig om är det dock aldrig B:s syfte att få ordet. Han ger ordet tillbaka till A så

fort han har tillfogat ett kortare tillägg, som dock är något längre än vad som oftast gäller för ifyllnader.

Ifyllnader och annan-tillägg får en positiv reaktion från talare A, som antingen fortsätter som om ingenting hade hänt, vilket gör att B:s tillägg blir ett naturligt bidrag till samtalet, eller upprepar B:s ord och placerar dem i ett nytt sammanhang. Här skiljer sig utredande handlingar från stödjande. Vad gäller den förra kategorin är det vanligare att turen som följer efter annan-tilläggen inleds med *já 'ja'*. Detta beror på att turtillägget ofta behandlas som en fråga.

I kapitel 7 jämförs ifyllnader och annan-tillägg. Båda typerna är vanliga i samtal. Ifyllnader hittades i 67 % av samtalen. De flesta innehöll ett eller två belägg men i några samtal förekom ifyllnader upprepade gånger. Den största delen av ifyllnaderna består av nominala fraser (55 %). Oftast fungerar de som en del av en prepositionsfras som den tidigare talaren har påbörjat. I de flesta fall består ifyllnader av ett eller ett par ord och föranledda ifyllnader tenderar att vara kortare än ifyllnader som inte är föranledda.

Annan-tillägg förekommer i 55% av samtalen och i några samtal förekommer de flera gånger. Annan-tillägg är oftast längre än ifyllnader och de har ofta en syntaktisk struktur. Totalt 16 % av annan-tilläggen är satsformade men endast 6 % av ifyllnader. Det är emellertid vanligare att annan-tillägg, precis som ifyllnader, består av en fras. Ifyllnader består oftast av nominala fraser men annan-tillägg av prepositionsfraser.

Undersökningen visar att ifyllnader och annan-tillägg är ett ganska vanligt förekommande fenomen i samtal och att båda typerna ofta förekommer i ett och samma samtal. I det längsta samtalet förekommer samkonstruktioner varje tredje minut. I detta samtal förekommer 46 av de 126 belägg som ingår i studien (37 %). Deltagarna i detta samtal är två äkta par som turas om att berätta historier. De uppträder ofta som tillsammans som berättare och bidrar till varandras samtalsturer såväl med ifyllnader som annan-tillägg. Det stora antal belägg förklaras antagligen inte av samtalets längd utan av samtalsstilen. Detta visar också andra långa samtal där det inte finns många belägg på dylikt samarbete.

Det finns inga stora skillnader på samtalsdeltagarnas respons på ifyllnader och annan-tillägg. Den tidigare talaren reagerar i de flesta fall positivt till samkonstruktioner. Han gör samtalsdeltagarens bidrag till sitt eget genom att upprepa dem nästan ordagrant (se exempel (1)), eller fortsätter som om ingenting hade hänt. På så sätt gör han ifyllnader och annan-tillägg till en naturlig del av samtalet. Exempel där annan-tillägg fungerar som en utredande handling

får en annan typ av reaktion. Som tidigare nämnt utgörs en stor del av denna kategori av frågor. Oftast reagerar samtalspartnern genom att producera ett *ja* 'ja'. I bland innehåller turen också något ord före eller efter partiklarna (se exempel (2)). Det hör till undantagen om tidigare talare inte accepterar samtalspartnerns bidrag. Endast i tre belägg godkänns inte annan-tillägget. Samtliga belägg hör till kategorin utredande handlingar.

Vidare visar undersökningen att de två typerna av samkonstruktioner, ifyllnader och annan-tillägg, har en hel del gemensamt. Bägge processerna visar på en klar samarbetsvilja, och i materialet som används i denna studie finns det inga tecken på att de tillfogade elementen orsakar någon konflikt. Varken ifyllnader eller annan-tillägg är ett försök att överta ordet. På denna punkt har samkonstruktioner mycket gemensamt med uppbackningar.

Även om samkonstruktioner innebär att två olika talare producerar en enskild syntaktisk enhet så är det inte alltid fallet att resultatet blir en gemensam tur. För att det ska ske måste A:s yttrande och B:s ifyllnad eller annan-tillägg ha samma riktning, dvs de måste riktas till andra samtalsdeltagare. Detta kan även uttryckas så att B måste positionera sig bredvid A och prata i samma riktning. Det handlar om det som Lerner (2004b: 160) beskriver som *directionality*:

When a speaker ties their utterance to a previous speaker's possibly completed turn, the action accomplished through that contribution can constitute one of two types of connections: The action accomplished through that contribution can constitute it as an increment of that turn (forwarding the action of that turn for its recipient) or as a distinct turn in response to it but one built off of the prior turn syntactically.

Ifyllnader och annan-tillägg som fungerar som en stödjande handling riktas till åhörarna. I dessa produceras turen av två parter vilket betyder att det rör sig en så kallad samkonstruktion, inte enbart ur en syntaktisk synpunkt utan man kan också säga att två talare tillsammans producerar en tur (se Lerner 2004a: 229 om *collaborative turn sequence*). Vad gäller annan-tillägg som har funktionen att utreda om B har förstått A:s yttrande rätt positionerar sig B däremot i förhållande till A och riktar annan-tillägget till henne. I dessa fall kan man tala om en ny handling och en ny tur.

En av undersökningens huvudslutsatser är att turen är en mycket stark kommunikativ enhet. Talare verkar vara medvetna om sin rätt att avsluta den tur de har påbörjat, även om deras samtalspartner redan har fullbordat turen genom att tillfoga ett relevant ord. Deltagarna i undersökningsmaterialet verkar se samtalet som en scen som alla har rätt att träda in på. Även om enbart en deltagare kan stå på scenen åt gången kan de andra deltagarna inflika korta

kommentarer, uppbackningar, ifyllnader och annan-tillägg utan att man uppfattar det som att de tar över turen. Det rör sig om en språklig resurs och i själva verket fungerar den som ett tecken på samtalsdeltagarnas samarbetsförmåga och utgör således en viktig komponent i vardagliga samtal.

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