

Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugric and Scandinavian Studies
Faculty of Arts
University of Helsinki

RESPONDING IN OVERLAP

AGENCY, EPISTEMICITY AND SOCIAL ACTION
IN CONVERSATION

Anna Vatanen

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

To be presented, with the permission of the Faculty of Arts of
the University of Helsinki, for public examination in the Small Hall (Fabianinkatu 33)
on November 8th, 2014, at 12 noon.

Helsinki 2014

Supervisors: prof. Ritva Laury (University of Helsinki)
prof. Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (University of Helsinki)
prof. Leelo Keevallik (Linköping University)

Pre-examiners: prof. Nick Enfield (University of Radboud / Max Planck
Institute, Nijmegen)
prof. Esa Lehtinen (University of Vaasa)

Opponent: prof. Nick Enfield (University of Radboud / Max Planck
Institute, Nijmegen)

Cover: Olli Romppanen

Albert Edelfelt
Women of Ruokolahti on the Church Hill, 1887
Ateneum Art Museum
Photo: Finnish National Gallery / Hannu Aaltonen

© Anna Vatanen

Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies

ISBN 978-951-51-0279-9 (paperback)
ISBN 978-951-51-0280-5 (PDF)

Unigrafia Oy
Helsinki 2014

ABSTRACT

This study examines overlapping talk in naturally occurring interaction by focusing on the social actions that are accomplished through both the overlapping and the overlapped turns with the aim of determining the motivation for early turn-onset. The focus is on the agreeing non-minimal responding turns that start up in overlap at a point that is not a transition relevance place, that is, in the “middle” of a turn, where not all projected elements have yet been produced. The data consist of such responding turns from seven hours of monolingual everyday face-to-face conversation in Finnish and Estonian. This study adopts the framework of conversation analysis, which is supplemented by interactional linguistics.

The analysis highlights the recipients’ perspective on emerging interactional and linguistic units. The early-onset responses are typically positioned rather late in the larger sequence of interaction. Early turn-onset is facilitated through the course of the ongoing utterance and of the sequence: these are among the factors that make the gist of the turn both recognizable and projectable for the recipient.

The early-onset responses are rather uniform in the social action types they implement. While they affiliate and align with the overlapped initiating action, they all convey an aspect of independence in epistemic access. Three different response types are attested in the data: (1) claims of similar knowledge and experience, (2) independent agreements, and (3) demonstrations of understanding. The participants do not orient to these overlapping responses as being interruptive.

The overlapped initiating actions belong to a previously understudied turn type, assertion. In assertion turns, the speaker describes or makes a claim concerning a general state of affairs, often attaching an evaluative, personal stance to it. Comparing the early-onset overlaps to other turn-onset types, it is shown that early response-onset is due to an aspect of epistemic independence in the turn rather than to the turn being in agreement with the prior one. In other words, epistemic factors are crucial in explaining the early response-onset. The motivation for this turn-onset type lies in the recipient’s expression of equal commitment to the assertion being made. The recipient thus strives for a more balanced, symmetrical relationship between the participants with regard to both time (turn-onset point) and agency (rights to make the assertion).

Early-onset overlap is shown to be a patterned practice for indicating strong agreement from an independent stance. Based on this study, certain key conversation analytic concepts – transition relevance place, turn-constructive unit, and turn – undergo slight revision. The data suggest that in everyday conversations, participants do not invariably aim for no-gap-no-overlap; instead, the social action type also affects turn-taking practices.

Patterned and legitimate turn transfer does not occur solely around transition relevance places but also elsewhere. Nevertheless, notions such as ‘incomplete’ and ‘complete’ with regard to turns-at-talk are indirectly confirmed through the observations of this study. This means that the lack of completion of the prior/ongoing turn is exploited for the interactional purpose of implementing the responsive social action types that are attested here.

The speakers in the Finnish and Estonian data use both similar and dissimilar resources – linguistic elements and practices – in these turns. Furthermore, and contrary to popular belief, this analysis presents evidence indicating that there are no differences between Finnish and Estonian conversations in terms of the phenomenon investigated here.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are numerous people who have had an impact on the present study and who have been part of the process in its various phases. It is impossible to name you all individually, yet I wish to extend my warm thanks to you all! Without you, this study truly would not have become what it is now.

The greatest thanks go to my wonderful supervisor team, Ritva Laury, Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen and Leelo Keevallik. The three have offered me honest and supportive feedback all the way through. Yet they have been wise enough to let me learn a lot by finding my way partly by myself alone. Knowing that they all have always believed in my skills has encouraged me greatly. Ritva has been the most thorough on the details related to grammar and other linguistic issues, and her constant support has been crucial since my MA studies. Betty's in-depth wisdom concerning various interactional phenomena and conversation analysis has been enormously influential to my work, and she has contemplated profoundly, and gone deeply into, the core of the research questions with me. I also appreciate her help with the use of English in my texts. Leelo has provided invaluable support in my analyses of the Estonian data, and she also hosted me warmly in my two-month visit at Linköping University in the fall 2013, during which she helped me to further my work considerably. To me, Leelo has been a model of a young, productive, and innovative scholar, and I admire her kindness and warmth. Kiitos, thank you, aitäh!

The FiDiPro project "Grammar and interaction: linking actions in speech and writing" has provided a great intellectual environment to work in. In addition to Ritva and Betty, I am indebted to Marja Etelämäki and my fellow FiDiPro PhD candidates Mai Frick, Katariina Harjunpää, Marjo Savijärvi, Aino Koivisto, Saija Merke and Lauri Haapanen for all their comments and discussions, which have been most helpful and have influenced my work a lot. In the FiDiPro meetings I have encountered perhaps the most perceptive and the toughest critique ever, but always in a very constructive and forward-taking manner. The weekly FiDiPro meetings also expanded my knowledge of the literature on grammar and interaction considerably.

Monitieteinen PTV-jatkokoulutusverkosto ("Puhe, toiminta ja vuorovai-
kutus") tarjosi hedelmällisen ympäristön esitellä tutkimusta sen eri vaiheissa ja saada hyödyllisiä kommentteja. Lämpimät kiitokset Anssi Peräkylälle, verkoston johtajalle, sekä muille verkoston ohjaajille Anu Klipille, Ritva Laurille, Jan Lindströmille ja Liisa Tainiolle inspiroivasta ja kannustavasta ilmapiiristä. Sydämelliset kiitokseni myös PTV:n jatko-opiskelijakollegoilleni Martina Huhtamäelle, Timo Kaukomaalle, Kati Pajolle ja Elina Weistelle loistavasta vertaistuesta alusta tähän asti.

In addition to my supervisors, also several other scholars have helped me by reading and commenting on some of my chapters and/or by discussing my

work with me on various occasions, including the Langnet and Tvärminne/Lammi seminars and the research seminars at our department. In addition to the scholars already mentioned, many thanks to Jan Anward, Markku Haakana, Marja-Liisa Helasvuo, Jyrki Kalliokoski, Liisa Raevaara, Ann Weatherall and others! Langnet, the Finnish doctoral programme in language studies, deserves special thanks for the interesting courses, valuable seminars, and travel funding I have received, and especially for enabling the networking with linguists from all over Finland. Thanks also to the many people who have insightfully commented on my work at various conferences, seminars, and symposia in Finland and all over the world.

The Finnish Centre of Excellence in Intersubjectivity in Interaction has created a greatly inspiring and supportive research community, and also provided financial support and other possibilities, including the opportunity to present work at various events. My sincere thanks to the leaders Marja-Leena Sorjonen and Anssi Peräkylä, and to the whole staff for their help in many practical and other issues. The CoE has hosted several different events that have influenced my work, but I wish to mention especially the affiliation-epistemics reading group, where Auli Hakulinen and many others engaged in discussions that expanded my understanding of various interactional phenomena. Last but not least, the data sessions, first organized at our department and later at the CoE, have enhanced my skills in analyzing interactional data closely and from so many points of view.

Kiitokseni myös koko suomen kielen, suomalais-ugrialaisten ja pohjoismaisten kielten ja kirjallisuuksien laitokselle, joka on mukavien ihmisten ansiosta eläväinen ja viihtyisä työyhteisö. Kiitän useita laitoksen ihmisiä hyvästä ja viihdyttävästä seurasta kahvi- ja lounastauoilla. Työhuone-toveruuden ja akateemisen elämän monien puolien jakamisesta ja useista hyvistä neuvoista kiitän erityisesti Liisa Voutilaista, Mikko Virtasta, Irina Piippon, Tapani Möttöstä, Sonja Koskea, Martina Huhtamäkeä ja Mai Frickiä. Edellä jo mainittujen kollegoiden lisäksi haluan kiittää myös Tomia, Elinaa, Heiniä, Anua, Uwea, Jarkkoa, Melisaa, Mikkoa, Juttua, Kaarinaa, Kimmoa ja Hanna-Ilonaa mitä parhaimmasta seurasta ja tuesta monissa jatko-opiskeluun liittyvissä tilanteissa ja kysymyksissä.

Rahoituksesta ja siten koko tutkimukseni mahdolliseksi tekemisestä haluan kiittää etenkin PTV-verkostoa, jonka rahoittamana työskentelin suurimman osan jatko-opiskeluajastani, mutta myös FiDiPro-projektia, Intersubjektiviisuus-huippuyksikköä sekä Helsingin yliopistoa.

This study is a follow-up to my MA thesis, which concerned various types of overlapping talk in Finnish and Estonian conversations. The idea to explore that topic came originally from Tiit Hennoste, who suggested to me possible MA thesis topics in which there might be some variation in the Finnish and Estonian data. Tiit deserves genuine thanks for his suggestion – without his input at the very beginning of my MA studies, I would not have conducted the present study either. Aitäh, Tiit!

I am grateful to my pre-examiners, professors Nick Enfield and Esa Lehtinen, who provided me with insightful feedback and sharp comments on my manuscript. With their help, I was able to make my text and argumentation clearer; they helped me to improve the manuscript considerably in its very final stages. I also wish to thank Nick Enfield for agreeing to be my opponent.

Eriti tahan tänada neid eestlasi, kes lubasid mul filmida hetki nende igapäevaelust ja kasutada neid salvestisi oma uurimuses. Kiitokset myös suomen kielen oppiaineelle siitä, että sain käyttää keskusteluarkiston aineistoa tutkimuksessani.

Kannen suunnittelusta ja toteutuksesta kiitän ystävääni Olli Romppasta.

Rakkaita ystäviäni ja perheenjäseniäni, isoja ja pieniä, kiitän kaikesta siitä hyvästä, jota olen teiltä elämäni saanut. Usein olette ansiokkaasti irrottaneet ajatukseni yliopistomaailmasta, mikä on ollut tarpeen – sekä elämän itsensä että tutkimisenkin kannalta.

Helsingissä 10.10.2014

Anna Vatanen

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	3
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	5
CONTENTS	9
1 INTRODUCTION	13
1.1 TALKING TOGETHER	13
1.2 THE STARTING POINT AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS	15
1.3 DELIMITING THE PHENOMENON	19
1.4 CONVERSATION ANALYTIC METHODS AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	22
1.5 DATA AND THE LANGUAGES INVOLVED	28
1.6 THE ORGANIZATION OF THIS STUDY	32
2 TURN TAKING AND OVERLAPPING TALK: SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE	33
2.1 THE TURN-CONSTRUCTIONAL UNIT AND TRANSITION RELEVANCE PLACE	33
2.2 TURNS AND TURN TRANSITION IN FINNISH AND ESTONIAN TALK-IN-INTERACTION	42
2.2.1 STUDIES RELATED TO TURN TAKING IN FINNISH CONVERSATION	43
2.2.2 STUDIES RELATED TO TURN TAKING IN ESTONIAN CONVERSATION	47
2.3 OVERLAPPING TALK AND INTERRUPTIONS	49
2.3.1 OVERLAPPING SPEECH AND SILENCE FROM A CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE	50
2.3.2 ON TERMINOLOGY: WHAT ARE <i>INTERRUPTIONS</i> AND WHAT IS <i>OVERLAP</i> ?	53
2.3.3 CONVERSATION ANALYTIC STUDIES ON OVERLAPPING TALK	55
2.3.4 CULTURE-SPECIFICITY IN CA STUDIES OF OVERLAPPING SPEECH	60
2.3.5 OVERLAPPING TALK AND INTERRUPTIONS IN RELATION TO GENDER AND DOMINANCE	62
3 PROJECTION AND RECOGNITION IN SEQUENCES WITH OVERLAP	65
3.1 NON-TRANSITIONAL OVERLAP: PROJECTIVE SYNTAX AND PROSODY	65
3.2 EARLY TURN-ONSET FACILITATORS: OPPORTUNITIES FOR RECOGNITION	72
3.3 A FIRST GLANCE AT THE ACTIONS IN SEQUENCES WITH OVERLAP	79
4 OVERLAPPING CLAIMS OF SIMILAR KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE	81
4.1 CLAIMS OF SIMILAR KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE IN THEIR SEQUENTIAL CONTEXTS	81
4.2 THE LINGUISTIC RESOURCES USED IN FINNISH AND ESTONIAN	90
4.3 SUMMARY	91

5	<u>OVERLAPPING INDEPENDENT AGREEMENTS</u>	92
5.1	INDEPENDENT AGREEMENTS IN THEIR SEQUENTIAL CONTEXTS	96
5.2	THE LINGUISTIC RESOURCES USED IN FINNISH AND ESTONIAN	115
5.3	SUMMARY	120
6	<u>OVERLAPPING DEMONSTRATIONS OF UNDERSTANDING</u>	121
6.1	DEMONSTRATIONS OF UNDERSTANDING IN THEIR SEQUENTIAL CONTEXTS	123
6.1.1	TYPES OF DEMONSTRATIONS: CONDITIONS, REASONS AND EXPLANATIONS	124
6.1.2	TYPES OF DEMONSTRATIONS: GENERALIZATIONS, SPECIFICATIONS AND FURTHER CONGRUENT POINTS	136
6.1.3	THE CONTINUUM OF RESPONSIVENESS: GRAMMAR AND ACTION	151
6.2	THE LINGUISTIC RESOURCES USED IN FINNISH AND ESTONIAN	168
6.3	SUMMARY	172
7	<u>EARLY RESPONSES VERSUS WELL-TIMED, DELAYED AND MISSING RESPONSES</u>	176
7.1	WELL-TIMED, DELAYED AND MISSING RESPONSES IN ASSERTION SEQUENCES	177
7.2	COMMON FACTORS IN EARLY-ONSET RESPONSES: INDEPENDENCE AND POSITION IN THE LARGER SEQUENCE	190
8	<u>ON TURN-ONSET TIMING AND ACTIONS</u>	196
8.1	THE OVERLAPPED TURN: ASSERTION TURNS AS PRACTICES AND SOCIAL ACTIONS	196
8.2	THE OVERLAPPING TURN AND ITS MOTIVATION: AGENCY AND ENCHRONY	209
8.3	SUMMARY	215
9	<u>DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS</u>	218
9.1	SUMMARY OF RESULTS	218
9.2	EARLY RESPONSE-ONSET AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR AFFILIATION AND EPISTEMICS	220
9.3	EARLY RESPONSE-ONSET AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR TURN-TAKING ORGANIZATION AND UNITS OF TALK	226
9.4	CONCLUSION	230
	<u>EPILOGUE</u>	233
	<u>REFERENCES</u>	235
	<u>APPENDIX 1. TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS</u>	253

1 INTRODUCTION

It is a common stereotype of Finns that they do not interrupt or talk simultaneously (Tiittula 1994). Both Finnish and Estonian proverbs also imply that talking a lot is not necessarily appreciated (Heinsoo 1999). Furthermore, it is a rather common lay understanding among the members of these cultures that Estonians engage in more simultaneous talk than the Finns do – and this has been claimed in the academic literature as well (Pajupuu 1995a). Talking a lot, and perhaps especially talking in overlap (or “interrupting”), is obviously not an innocent act, and various assumptions concerning it prevail. What speakers do, or aim to do, when they talk in overlap is an interesting question, and the main objective of this study is to contribute to our understanding of it. Overlapping someone’s talk is related to how people take turns in conversation in general. It could be thought that overlaps happen accidentally in conversation, or that overlapping talk is a result of speakers not paying attention to each other. Yet it could also be argued that something specific is being accomplished via the overlap. If so, are participants who respond in overlap behaving as agents? The present study will propose answers to these questions.

1.1 Talking together

How do people talk and interact with each other? How do the different ways of speaking – what is said and when (at which point in time) it is said – influence what people accomplish when talking together? These simple yet enormously broad and multi-faceted questions have long intrigued us, and scholars from various disciplinary backgrounds – philosophy, anthropology, ethnography, psychology, sociology, communication, pragmatics, linguistics – have explored these questions from their own vantage points. It has also been established that speaking and participation in social situations is related to power, attitudes, sociocultural norms and expectations (Hymes 1974). This means that a deviation from the culture-specific norms, concerning not only what is said but also how it is said and when, may result in misunderstandings (Gumperz 1982). In short, the observable and dynamic practices in human interaction can be viewed as purpose-oriented behavior, which does not necessarily mean that it is conscious or intentional.

Speaking is fundamental in many ways, as it is through that we enact ourselves, express power and norms, and so forth. It is also through talk that we convey these matters to novices, including children. Not only is the manner in which adult members of society act in the world highly dependent on talk, but also the ways in which we raise our children. It is from adults and peers that children learn how to interact with each other through language

and other communicative means (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986). In some cultures, such as Finnish and Estonian, children are generally taught to wait until others (mostly meaning: adults) have spoken and only then to state what they have in mind (on the Finnish culture, see S. Lehtonen 2014).

As for talking and especially the different ways of talking, there is a range of interpretations of what is considered to be polite. How do we perceive simultaneous talk? For instance, is overlapping someone's talk impolite? We have acquired many norms concerning these facets of talk, and all these issues are also a matter of great cultural variability (Gumperz & Hymes 1972). Besides being related to politeness, simultaneous (overlapping) vocal acts can belong to established cultural performances. For instance, a phenomenon resembling simultaneous talk occurs in the history of oral performances and folk songs both in Finland (Laitinen 2006) and in Estonia (Laugaste 1986). Here the timing and rhythm of the separate parties' alternation was crucial and conventionalized, and the singing turn was transferred to the next party with some simultaneous production (i.e., singing together) in between the separate parties' turns. This means that simultaneous sounds are produced not only when singing, but also when speaking, and the transition points in talk are also crucial.

When interacting with each other, it is clear that we do not always talk one at a time and one after another, but sometimes more than one speaker talks at the same time. These situations can be very complex, and simultaneous talk can be used for various purposes. We talk rather often in chorus when we come together, say goodbye to each other, or when we reminisce about something we have experienced together (Lerner 2002, 2004a, Pillet-Shore 2012). If we have experienced something with someone, we might both tell about this incident to a third person, talking simultaneously (Lerner 1992). Moreover, if someone, either a non-native or native speaker, has difficulties in word finding, we may help her/him and suggest a word s/he might be looking for (Goodwin & Goodwin 1986, Kurhila 2006) – and this may also be in overlap. In addition, many other practices that occur in simultaneous talk have been identified, and this study will offer additional insight within this domain.

The timing of talk – when we begin to respond to something someone is saying or has just said to us – can contribute to the meaning of what we are saying. If we are generally in agreement with the prior speaker, for instance, we are willing to accept his/her invitation, we are more likely to begin our response early with regard to the prior talk, maybe even in overlap with the prior speaker, as in the following authentic example 1.1 (the square brackets denote the overlapping of speech¹). But on the other hand, if we hesitate in our acceptance and are not too willing to join in, we are more likely to delay our actual response and to present various reasons for our rejection, as in

¹ For a full list of transcription symbols, see Appendix 1.

example 1.2 below. (Pomerantz 1984a; these two examples are taken from Heritage 1984b: 265–266.)

(1.1) SBL 1-10

01 Ros: Why don't you come'n see me so:me[ti:mes.
02 Bea: [I would li:ke to:.

(1.2) SBL 1-10

01 Ros: And uh the: if you'd care tuh come ovuh, en visit u
02 little while this morning I'll give you cup of coffee.
03 Bea: Uhh-huh hh Well that's awfully sweet of you I don't
04 think I can make it this morning, hheeuhh uh:m (0.3)
05 .tch I'm running an a:d in the paper 'nd an:d uh hh I
06 I haveta stay near the pho::ne,

These examples show that both the timing of our talk in conversation, and what we say, may play a role in understanding our talk and others' talk in relation to one another.

When do speakers, then, begin their turns when they interact with each other, and how does one investigate this? Research within conversation analysis has focused precisely on the onset points of conversational turns. Conversation analytic studies aim to explore talk in natural settings, how people really interact with each other in their everyday life, endeavoring not to omit any detail in the course of communication that might be of importance in interpreting what was said, how and when. As suggested by the founder of conversation analysis, Sacks (1992), everything that happens in interaction is potentially meaningful for the participants then and there. In other words, interaction or conversations are not by nature chaotic and disorderly but there is “order at all points,” as Sacks has famously formulated (1992a: 484; 1984). One of the means by which conversation is structured is turn taking, and the timing of a turn-at-talk is a key feature in the organization of conversation (Sacks et al. 1974).

1.2 The starting point and research questions

The departure point for this study is the turn-taking organization in talk-in-interaction (see Sacks et al. 1974). The main focus of this study is on turn transition and on the timing of turns-at-talk, in particular on turn transitions where overlapping talk occurs. Turn-taking rules, as suggested by Sacks et al., set a preference for the earliest possible start by the next speakers (ibid. p. 706 ff.). The question and specifics of the early start-up of the turns-at-talk is exactly what is addressed in the current work.

The key object of interest in this study is overlapping talk in interaction. The central question concerns what speakers accomplish when they position

their turn-at-talk sufficiently early that it overlaps with the prior turn. As is assumed in the usual lay interpretations, speakers actually do something by talking in overlap (by not “waiting until the other has finished”). However, what that “something” constitutes has not yet been fully subjected to a qualitative data-driven analysis. This is my primary objective in my work, and as will become evident, the answers to the following questions are somewhat different from (most) lay understandings: what happens in overlap situations, and what do speakers accomplish with overlapping talk in the data of this study?

First, we might want to ask the simple question of why we or anyone should be interested in the timing and positioning of turns-at-talk. In addition to what has already been mentioned in the previous section, Ford et al. (1996: 427) formulate the answer to this question convincingly: “[t]iming of speaker onset is crucial to the making of meaning in conversation, whether that onset is produced in overlap, after some gap or precisely at the point where a current speaker stops.” Turn-onset timing is therefore one of the resources that participants in interaction utilize for conversational meaning-making. In other words, when a speaker begins to talk is significant for the interpretation of that talk, together with what is said, by whom, to whom, and in which situation.

I will refer in this study to the early timing of conversational turns exclusively as overlap and not as interruption. This is because interrupting someone’s talk implies that the interrupted participant treats the conduct as complainable (Schegloff 2002); to categorize a turn as an interruption would require explicit participant orientations to the turn as being such (Bilmes 1997). Furthermore, associating interrupting with complaining is reflected in how people usually talk about this type of behavior. Overlap, by contrast, is a descriptive concept that refers to the mere fact that more than one person is talking at a time. (For more on terminology, see section 2.3.2.) The conversation analytic method selected for this study (for more detail, see section 1.4) does not engage in value judgments. Instead, through a detailed data-driven moment-by-moment analysis of authentic spontaneous interaction, the research goal is to investigate the actual interactional work that speakers accomplish; in this case, this entails what they are doing with turns that are produced in overlap and how their interlocutors orient to these turns. The data are from both Finnish and Estonian everyday interactions (for additional details, see section 1.5), which entails some comparative analysis between the two data sets. It will become clear that overlapping another’s talk is neither accidental nor mistaken behavior in the data. Most typically, the overlapping turns are not treated as being interruptive (the overlappers are not made accountable for the timing of their turns) and there is no repair or recycling in the sequences.

As an initial illustration, let us consider the following example. In this fragment, as well as in all other data extracts in this study, I provide an idiomatic translation in English in addition to the original utterances in

Finnish or Estonian (the original language is marked after the example name), and for the target lines, I provide a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss as well.² The turn that becomes overlapped is marked with a single arrow “->,” and the overlapping target turn is marked with a double arrow “=>”.³ This data fragment is from a situation where three female friends in their twenties are spending time at home. Susa is telling Miia and Anu that she has read an article on solariums in a magazine; the magazine is referred to in the first line by *siinä*, ‘there,’ and similarly in the fourth line by *siin*, ‘there.’ The overlapping target turn in this fragment occurs in line 8.

(1.3) Solarium (Finnish)

Sg 151, 17:18

- 01 Susa: ja *siinä* [↑]*suasiteltii* *viä* *ku* *yhes*
and they even recommended ((it)) there you know since at one
- 02 *vaiheessa* *viäl* *oli* *että* @solarium *on*
point it still was like @the solarium is
- 03 *vain* *pahaksi* *pahaksi* *pahaksi* *älkää* *käykö*
just damaging damaging damaging don't go
- 04 *solariumissa?*@ *.h* *mut* *siin* *sanottii* *näi*
to the solarium@ .h but there they said like this
- > 05 *että*, (.) *se* *on* *et* *jos* *niinku* *täältä*
COMP *DEM3* *be.3SG* *COMP* *if* *PRT* *DEM1LOC:ABL*
that (.) it is that if like from here
- > 06 *just* *esime'ks* *talven* *keskeltä*
right *example:TRA* *winter:GEN* *middle:ABL*
right in the middle of winter for example
- > 07 [*ku* *ihminen* *on* *täysin*,]
when/as *human.being* *be.3SG* *completely*
[when one is totally]
[]

² See Appendix 2 for glossing symbols. The glosses of the elements are placed beneath each of them.

³ To help the reader to recognize the overlap in the examples, I have added square brackets to both the translation line and to the transcription line. As the grammars of Finnish, Estonian and English are very different (e.g. their word order), this often means that the part of speech between the square brackets in the translation line does not fully correspond to the overlapped and the overlapping elements in the original talk. Therefore the reader would benefit from following not only the translation line, but also the gloss line to see what actually is overlapped and overlapping in the extracts.

In addition, some other features of talk, such as pauses and breathing, have been added to the translation line.

Introduction

- => 08 Miia: [tottakai sehä o iha luonnollis]ta;=
of.course DEM3:CLI be.3SG just natural:PAR
[of course it is pretty natural you know]
- 09 Susa: =nii; .h ku tääl ei oo mitää [sillon]
yeah, .h because here at that time the[re's no]
[]
- 10 Miia: [mm: ?]
- 11 Susa: i- ihol pigmenttiä eikä muuta; .h
pigment on the s- skin and nothing else .h

This fragment is an example of one participant telling, claiming, or asserting something to others about a certain issue. Here the matter being discussed concerns attitudes towards going to a solarium. Prior to this exchange, at one point, the attitude was negative (*yhes vaiheessaha viäl oli että solarium on vain pahaksi*, ‘at one point it still was like the solarium is just damaging’, lines 1–3), but now the magazine has recommended solariums (*sinähä suositeltii viä*, ‘they even recommended ((it)) there’, line 1). From line 5 on, Susa elaborates on the story in the magazine. Just as she has uttered *jos niinku täältä just esime’ks talven keskeltä*, ‘if like from here right in the middle of winter for example,’ at a point where her telling and the utterance at hand is also not yet complete, her addressee Miia takes a turn and displays agreement with the assertions reported by Susa: *totta kai sehä o iha luonnollista*, ‘of course it is pretty natural you know’ (line 8). Miia places her agreeing turn in overlap with Susa’s telling, and it is evident from her turn that she seems to know what Susa was about to say. In other words, the overlap does not cause a problem for the speakers or for the interaction. Here Miia pursues her response until its projected end, and Susa, although not pursuing the unit begun in line 7, continues talking without a break, first acknowledging Miia’s incoming turn (*nii*), and then proceeding further with an account (*ku tääl - -, ‘because here - -’*).⁴ This is a rather typical example of the phenomenon this study is devoted to, and in the following chapters, the phenomenon will be examined in detail.

No previous study using conversation analysis has used the position of the turn as the departure point for analysis and systematically investigated the social actions⁵ that are produced in the overlapped and overlapping turns. This is exactly what this study aims to address. The research questions are the following:

1. Which social actions are the speakers implementing through the responses that begin in early overlap? What type of interactional work is being done?

⁴ For a full analysis of this fragment, see example 5.6 on page 112.

⁵ *Actions* can be conceptualized in several ways. The concept *action* in this study is used to denote *social action* in the sense of Levinson (2013) among others; see also sections 1.4 and 8.1 below.

2. What are the recurrent linguistic resources they use in order to implement these action types?
3. What type of turns and social actions have early-onset responses?
4. What unites the various overlapping turns, and what motivates the early turn-onset?
5. Which factors in the ongoing turn and in the sequence-thus-far facilitate the early turn-onset?
6. Are there any differences between the Finnish and the Estonian data with regard to the questions above?
7. When considering this phenomenon, what implications are entailed with regard to turn-taking organization and especially to turn transitions and the participants' orientations to the units of talk?

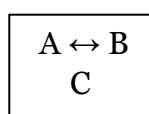
Question 1 is addressed in the three main analytic chapters (4, 5, 6), which are organized according to the actions in the overlapping turns. Question 2, the linguistic resources, is discussed in relation to each analytic chapter. The overlapped actions (question 3) are dealt with in all the analytical chapters and collectively in section 8.1. Research question 4 is discussed in sections 7.2 and 8.2. The answers to question number 5 are provided in chapter 3 (as well as in the analytical chapters 4–6). Questions 6 and 7 are addressed in the conclusion together with its discussion (chapter 9).

1.3 Delimiting the phenomenon

This study does not take into consideration all instances of overlapping talk. The two most important restrictions concern the exact timing of the overlap onset and the sequential position of the turn. First, I have included only those overlapping turns that begin in the middle of the prior/ongoing turn, not those that begin very close to the beginning or to the end of a turn. The “middle” of a turn is a place where turn transfer is ordinarily not expected to occur, and that is why it serves as a particularly interesting arena for research. In conversation analytic terminology, the place where turn transfer usually occurs is referred to as the transition relevance place, or the TRP (for references and more detail, see section 2.1). Consequently, the turn-onset place that I am focusing on in this study can be referred to as a non-TRP. I therefore refer to the turn-onset positioning that occurs at this place as *non-transitional*, and the target turns as *non-transitional overlaps*.⁶ (For more detail on the turn-onset positioning, see section 3.1.) Because I am not focusing on overlap at the TRP, I have also excluded cases where two speakers simultaneously take a turn at a TRP.

⁶ My *non-transitional* overlaps are roughly equivalent to Jefferson's (for example, 1983) *interjacent* overlaps.

The second restriction concerns the position of a turn in a sequence. I have included only those turns that are responses to the prior/ongoing turn. In other words, this study does not take into account those initiating turns that are produced in overlap. The addressee of the turns is rather straightforwardly the only other participant in the dyadic interactions, but in multi-party conversations, determining the addressee can be more complicated. For multi-party interactions, I have taken into account only those overlapping turns that are addressed to the prior/current speaker as responses to his/her turn. This means that I do not address cases where more than one speaker tells a story jointly to a third party and where the turns by the tellers may overlap. Schegloff's (2000: 8) schematization of the participation framework I focus on is the following, where the arrows mark the direction of speech:



Here, speakers A and B address their talk to each other, and (possible) speaker C is neither directly addressed nor speaking.⁷ The turns that are the focus of this study thus occur either when A responds to B's initiating turn in overlap, or the other way round. Schegloff (ibid.) also describes two other "forms of overlap configuration," but in this study only the one mentioned above is discussed.

A third restriction concerns the "size" of the overlapping turns: turns consisting of one particle only⁸ were excluded and only longer turns were included in the collection.⁹ There are several reasons for this: particle turns, especially particle responses, have been investigated rather thoroughly already, especially for Finnish (for example, Hakulinen 1989a, Raevaara 1989, Sorjonen 2001a), but also to a certain extent for Estonian (Kasterpalu 2005, 2013, forthcoming, Keevallik 1999). Particle-only turns can also function as what are referred to as continuers (Schegloff 1982) or back-channeling (Yngve 1970), which are employed specifically not to take a turn,

⁷ The number of participants in the conversations in my collection is not always three, but it varies between two and four.

⁸ My collection includes at least one case where the response is a particle chain, *no ei nü* (Finnish, see fragment 6.3). This is a special case if only because the negation element *ei* functions (also) as a verb in Finnish, making the "particle chain" exceedingly clause-like.

Note that other responses that are one-word long, such as *muidugi*, 'of course' (Estonian, see fragment 5.2) are included in the collection.

⁹ This solution differs from the one adopted in the work by Thompson et al. on responsive actions (forthcoming), where all responsive turns are considered and classified on the basis of their linguistic formatting. Their categories are: particle formats, lexical/phrasal formats, minimal clausal formats, expanded clausal formats, graded clausal formats, and unrelated clausal formats. This study includes examples of all but the particle formats in the classification by Thompson et al.

but to indicate to the current speaker that s/he can continue talking and that the other participant, the particle-speaker, will remain in a recipient position. On occasion, a particle can also be used as a relevant next action (see Sorjonen 2001a), but those cases are not included here, either. Furthermore, since particles are minimal, they do not necessarily enter the other speaker's turn space – they do not disrupt the other speaker's turn even if they are positioned in overlap. Anything longer than a particle is more likely to be interpreted as an attempt to take over, as entering the other's turn space (for example, see Lerner 1996 on turn completions). In addition, the power of expression for particle-only turns is rather limited as compared to longer turns; they lack morpho-syntax and therefore, they can only express rather simple propositions. For these reasons I decided to concentrate on longer turns only.

The final delimitation concerns the preference status of the responding turn. For the sake of research cohesion, the current collection included only agreeing or agreeing-like responses. Whereas overlapping disagreeing responses occur in my data as well, they are in the minority and will not be dealt with here. Nevertheless, let me briefly note that in disagreements, the motivation for early turn-onset apparently differs from the one found in the agreeing-like turns. In disagreements, the speaker attempts to remedy or to put the record straight on a debatable issue from the prior turn, whereas in agreements, the interactional work of the turn can be far more subtle, and the accounts for the transition timing seem to be different. Investigating disagreements would also inevitably involve phenomena such as quarreling and public arguing, both of which are affect-laden and culture-bound activities.

To summarize, the current collection consists of turns that are responses directed to the speaker of the prior/ongoing turn, positioned in non-transitional overlap with the prior/ongoing turn, longer than a mere particle, and agreeing in nature. Now, there are yet other possible delimitation factors that previous scholars have applied whereas I have not. For instance, these include the prosodic formatting of the turns and speakers' gaze behavior during them. In my collection, the turns vary in prosodic formatting (pitch and loudness). I did not restrict the collection based on any particular pitch and loudness configurations, as described in the studies by French and Local (1983, 1986) of certain types of overlapping turns-at-talk in English conversation. According to them, speakers compete for the floor by designing their incoming turns with high pitch and loud volume. However, French and Local do not include an analysis of the social actions (for example, in the sense of Levinson, 2013) that the overlapping turns are implementing, which is the specific aim in this study. My collection of early-onset turns, as described above, involves patterns that are both prosodically competitive and non-competitive (in the sense of French and Local, *ibid.*). Perhaps surprisingly, the prosodically competitive turns are in the minority in my collection. Moreover, the type of prosodic formatting described above is not

found to be a discriminating factor between the major social action types that the turns are implementing. In other words, in all chapters, that is, in all social action types that the overlapping turns implement, various prosodic formats are present.¹⁰

The present collection is also not restricted in terms of the specifics of the speakers' gaze behavior (on gaze behavior and its importance for certain aspects of interaction, see Goodwin 1981, Seppänen 1998, Rossano 2012). When analyzing my data, I focused also on the direction of the gaze of the speaker and the recipient, but for the vast majority of the cases, this did not explain the timing of the turn onsets. It is important to mention that there are no recurrent patterns in the participants' gaze behavior at or near the place of overlap onset in the current data. In some examples, however, gaze behavior may be of importance, and in these fragments, gaze has also been transcribed. However, in the other examples, the gaze markings have been omitted from the transcriptions. In short, for the vast majority of cases in my collection, gaze behavior is not a determining or critical factor in explaining overlap onset.

1.4 Conversation analytic methods and theoretical background

The present study concerns turn taking in spontaneous interaction, and therefore ethnomethodological conversation analysis (henceforth CA) was selected as a suitable method for analysis. (On CA as a method, for example, see Heritage 1984b, Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998, Sidnell 2010, Sidnell & Stivers 2013, Tainio ed. 1997.) One of the very first CA articles, the ground-breaking and enormously influential paper by Sacks and his colleagues (Sacks et al. 1974), concerns the ways in which turn taking in conversation is organized, and this article has influenced many lines of subsequent CA research. Sacks and his colleagues investigated the rules and the nature of conversational turn taking in naturally occurring interactions, and several scholars after them have continued this enterprise (for example, see Hakulinen 1997, Londen 1997, and other literature reviewed in section 2.1). The central presupposition in conversation analysis is to orient to talk-in-interaction as collaboratively constructed by the participants and to examine its details from the participants' perspective. As regards turn taking in everyday interaction, as Sacks et al (ibid.) argue, the distribution of turns, their length and their content, and the point at which turn transfer occurs are all locally managed and negotiated between the participants, moment-by-moment and

¹⁰ It may also be that the prosodic patterns for English, as described by French and Local (1983), are not applicable to Estonian and Finnish. These two languages may have some other type of coherence in their prosodic formats. However, it is apparent that this question warrants further research.

for each occasion individually. From this perspective, turn taking is an interactive achievement, and CA analysis reveals how it is accomplished between participants in real time.

According to the CA theoretical orientation, it is essential to take into account the sequential context of each detail examined. Thus, the analyst's interpretation of utterances, turns and actions depends crucially on their preceding and subsequent environment, involving what occurred before and what came next. This important information is captured by sequential analysis (see especially Schegloff 2007). Each turn is therefore considered to be both context-sensitive and context-renewing. In short, each turn is occasioned by and reactive to the prior turn, and at the same time it also creates both expectations and the context for the next turn to be followed by it (Heritage 1984b). In this manner, turns-at-talk have reflexive relationship with the context they occur in. Interaction as well as its linguistic elements are therefore viewed as being thoroughly temporal in nature and are analyzed and interpreted as they unfold and emerge locally in time. In short, the interactional and conversational time, the "enchrony" (Enfield 2013), underlies and affects everything that occurs in the co-present social situations between participants.

A major premise of conversation analysis is that the data are authentic and naturally occurring (for additional details, see section 1.5). The starting point is that the primary home environment and the context of language use is in spoken face-to-face interaction, and that everyday talk-in-interaction is the primary site of sociability and the essence of humanity and meaning-making (for example, Schegloff 1996a: 53, Schegloff 2006). This position is one of the reasons that conversation analysis is considered to be not only a method, but a mentality as well, as it has an attitude towards what is the most appropriate and fruitful type of data to examine (for example, Mondada 2013) and the most faithful and revealing way to analyze it (for example, Sidnell 2013). Furthermore, the analyses are data-driven: the analyst is loyal to the data and investigates only what emerges from there as well as how the participants themselves orient to the phenomena. The participants' orientations to the departures from norms constitute a means for analysts to reveal the norms that structure interaction. According to the CA position, every next turn reflects how the prior turn was perceived, and the ways in which the next speaker takes the prior turn constitute the key for the analyst in interpreting its meaning as well. This means that the analytical claims are warranted only on the basis of data-internal evidence. (Sacks 1992, Sacks et al. 1974: 728–729; for an overview on the methods, for example, see Sidnell 2013.) The current study follows these principles, which have had an influence, for instance, on the type of data used, on referring to the phenomenon in question as "overlap" and not as "interruption," on studying the social actions that the participants accomplish with the turns they position in overlap, and on examining the wider sequential environment in which these turns occur.

One of the aspects in studying conversations and the design of turns-at-talk is their linguistic composition. In the present day, this type of scholarly work is typically conducted within the interactional linguistics (IL) framework, to which my study is also connected. IL and CA are tightly intertwined fields and are not always easily distinguishable. To characterize IL simply, scholars in this tradition are interested in how certain linguistic elements are used in interaction and how they shape interaction, and to study this, CA methods are exploited (for introductions to the field, for example, see Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2001, Hakulinen & Selting eds. 2005; also Schegloff et al. 1996). This line of study is most clearly evident in the current work in the sections that examine the linguistic elements of the early-onset turns and actions (sections 4.2, 5.2 and 6.2). Particularly in these sections, cross-linguistic comparison is adopted as a method (on combining conversation analysis and cross-linguistic comparison, see Härmävaara, Vatanen & Frick 2013). Comparing languages is of the essence in IL: as Couper-Kuhlen and Selting (2001: 8) observe, “the way interaction itself is conducted may be influenced by (typologically) different language practices.”

The analysis of linguistic form is relevant in understanding how participants act in conversation and as well in analyzing the actions they accomplish. One ground-breaking aspect of CA is how it has contributed to our understanding of the design of social actions. Conversation analysis began as an approach to studying social action (on the history of CA, see Heritage 1995, Maynard 2013), and actions have ever since been a central object of interest for CA scholars (for an overview of this field of enquiry, see Levinson 2013). Action is what the speaker accomplishes or implements with his/her turn. As Levinson (2013: 107) defines it, a social action is the “main job” of the turn, one with which the “response must deal with in order to count as an adequate next turn.”¹¹ (On actions in general, see also Enfield 2013, Schegloff 1995, 1996b, and section 8.1 below.) Understanding actions as social entities thus always introduces another person, implicating the participation of another. In this way, social actions, as they are understood in CA, differ from other aspects of communication, such as speech acts (Austin 1962, Searle 1969). In this study, when the word *action* is used, it always denotes a *social action*.¹²

¹¹ Levinson’s (2013) definition of *action* is in line with Ochs’ (1996: 410) definition of *social act*, which she describes as “socially recognized goal-directed behavior” (for example, a request, an offer, or a compliment). Ochs (1996: 410) differentiates *act* from *activity*, which for her is “a sequence of at least two social acts” (such as disputing, storytelling, interviewing, and giving advice). Simply put, *activity* is a larger-scale phenomenon that applies to a wider sequence such as a telling, whereas *action* is considered to be something that can be attributed to a single turn, such as an offer or an invitation.

¹² Furthermore, many other aspects can be thought of as actions, such as competing for turn-space (French & Local 1983) or closing a conversation (Schegloff & Sacks 1973), but this type of usage of *action* is different from the one adopted here.

Studying actions is deeply connected to the basic organization of turns-at-talk and talk-in-interaction in general (Schegloff & Sacks 1973, Schegloff 2007). Many of the turns-at-talk form what are called adjacency pairs in which there is a first turn or a first pair-part (initiating action) that sets expectations for what the second turn or a second pair-part (responsive action) should be like. For instance, a greeting is followed by another greeting (see Pillet-Shore 2012), questions result in answers (see Raevaara 1993, 1996, and 1997), etc. There can also be a set of several alternatives from which the second pair-part is selected. After an invitation, for instance, either an acceptance or a declination may follow. Adjacency-pair sequences may also be further expanded in various ways (see Schegloff 2007). In this study, the main focus is on responsive turns, that is, on the second pair-parts.

A turn's action is relevant for all the participants in a given situation. For the speaker, it is a question of how to construct or design the turn so that its action will be recognizable by the recipient (this is called "action formation"). For the recipient, it is a question of how to ascribe meaning to what the other speaker is doing with his/her turn in order to be able to respond adequately (this is referred to as "action recognition" or "action ascription"). (For example, see Levinson 2013 and the references therein.) When analyzing data, both participants' perspectives need to be considered.

Actions must be analytically kept separate from practices, as Schegloff (1997) observes. Practice refers to the specific ways in which turns are designed and constructed and through which various actions then become implemented (see also Enfield 2013, Levinson 2013). There is no one-to-one relationship between any particular practice and action; instead, some practices can be exploited to implement various actions, depending on the occasion. For instance, certain questioning forms, such as *huh?*, or repeats of a prior turn, can serve as a practice for the action/activity of other-initiated repair, but on other occasions, they can be exploited to implement other actions as well, such as pursuing a response or promoting a telling (Schegloff 1997). This study concerns the social actions that are involved in the sequences containing a response that is positioned in overlap, and the linguistic and other practices with which these actions are implemented will also be investigated. The positioning of a turn, such as the non-transitional overlap discussed in this study, can also be conceived of as belonging to the practices that the speakers have available for turn and action construction and meaning-making.

Examples of some of the social actions that have been studied extensively are requests (see Drew & Couper-Kuhlen, eds., forthcoming) and offers (for example, Curl 2006). The current work will contribute some additional understanding of yet another well-studied action, the assessment, but also of what is referred to as an "assertion", a turn type that has not yet profited from much scholarly attention. An assessment involves evaluating a referent that one has knowledge about or experience of (Pomerantz 1984a). An assertion usually denotes a statement or a claim in talk, whose truth is at

issue; it is not necessarily evaluative. Assertions may, however, also be conceptualized as including assessments (Stivers 2005); it is not always simple to distinguish between the two. (For more on assertion turns, see section 8.1.) Concerning assessments specifically, scholars have described the different formats that they can take and the sequential environments they appear in (Pomerantz 1984a), how assessments are used in their contexts and the temporal character of them as well as their participation framework configurations (Goodwin & Goodwin 1987, 1992). Additional studies have been published on the use of multimodal resources in assessment sequences, especially in institutional settings (Lindström & Mondada 2009) as well as on how epistemic particles may be mobilized for specific interactional purposes within assessment sequences (Hayano 2011, 2013).

Assessments, as well as all the other actions mentioned above, are first actions. However, in comparison to first actions in general, second or responsive actions (responses to firsts) have been analyzed more extensively. A response is a recipient's relevant next action, which is invited by the prior turn, which may or may not meet the expectations established by the first action (first pair-part). Responses can also be classified according to their linguistic content and structure, varying from the particle-only responses to the longer clause-formatted turns (see Thompson, Fox & Couper-Kuhlen forthcoming). Sorjonen (2001a) distinguishes some environments for interactional responses in general and investigates the division of labor between the Finnish response particles *joo* and *nii* in these action environments. Thompson et al. (ibid.), like Sorjonen, discuss responding in general, and examine certain responsive actions from English language interactions, including the responses to assessments. Prior to Thompson et al., responses to assessments have also been investigated extensively in some languages. These studies include Pomerantz, Heritage and Raymond (Pomerantz 1984a, Heritage 2002, Heritage & Raymond 2005, Raymond & Heritage 2006) who study responses to assessments in English, and Tainio, Hakulinen and Sorjonen who investigate them in Finnish (Hakulinen & Sorjonen 2009, 2011, Sorjonen & Hakulinen 2009, Tainio 1993, 1996). Both lines of investigation demonstrate how the linguistic format of the response can be crucial for the interpretation of the fine-grained interactional work that the turn accomplishes. For instance, the grammatical formatting (such as the interrogative versus the declarative) or the word order in the response can reflect how the recipient orients to the implications of the first turn.

One crucial aspect of responsive turns is their epistemics.¹³ This has been one of the focuses of research interest in the early decades of CA (for example, Sacks & Schegloff 1979; see also Sharrock 1974, Heritage 1984a, Drew 1991) and has recently become an object of heightened interest within the CA community (for example, see Hayano 2013, Heritage 2012a, b, 2013,

¹³ Epistemics is discussed here only from the point of view of the second position, but epistemics has also been demonstrated to be relevant in first position (Heritage 2012a).

Stivers 2005, Stivers et al. 2011). The conversation analytic research on epistemics focuses on the local distribution of knowledge between participants and on how participants orient to this in their moment-by-moment interaction. Perhaps most crucial from the perspective of the current study is the analysis of knowledge in assessment sequences. Heritage and Raymond (Heritage 2002, Heritage & Raymond 2005, Raymond & Heritage 2006) have demonstrated how English speakers orient to what they and their co-participants know and how they know it when assessing. They argue that this becomes visible in both the composition and sequential position of the assessing turns: how the speakers design their turns and when (at which position) they produce them in the local interactional situation. The sequential and temporal positioning of a turn, its composition, as well as its epistemic dimensions are all crucial in the current study as well.

In addition to the content of the assessment itself, the responding speaker needs to indicate whether s/he agrees with the epistemic implications of the first assessment. Hayano (2011, 2013) analyzed assessment sequences in Japanese, demonstrating how Japanese speakers exploit various pragmatic particles for this purpose. Hayano also introduces the useful notion of epistemic congruence. She states that when the participants' epistemic stances are compatible, there is epistemic congruence, and when they are not, the turns are epistemically incongruent. Stivers et al. (2011) make a further distinction between epistemic access congruence and epistemic primacy congruence. Both these types of congruence involve the participants either agreeing or disagreeing with the epistemic positioning of one another. This agreement or disagreement concerns who knows what (access), who knows better/more (primacy), and how. (On epistemic congruence, see also Heritage 2013.) The examples in this study contain "disagreement" over epistemic matters, or epistemic incongruity. Sometimes this phenomenon is also called epistemic competition (see Stivers 2005), which is when the speakers fight over, or, less dramatically stated, they negotiate and manage the epistemic assumptions and claims in their own and others' talk. Epistemic congruence is largely a matter of local, situated and subtle negotiation – often implicit, yet sometimes surfacing explicitly, as the current work will demonstrate.

The strength of CA as a method for analysis is in its focus on participants' perspective and on the analyses of sequences. This refers to how participants orient to the talk of one another and, hence, how they relate to each other. This is my interest as well, and to investigate these aspects, I gathered my data from authentic everyday interactions and focused especially on early-onset responses, as they reflect especially clearly the current speaker's relation to the prior speaker.

1.5 Data and the languages involved

The data for this study consist of everyday face-to-face talk-in-interaction between friends and family members in two distinct languages – in Finnish and Estonian (a brief introduction to these languages will be provided below). The data have been gathered from naturally occurring situations, involving predominantly people talking at home. These interactions would have occurred without this study because they were not organized for the sake of recording. In that sense, the talk in the data is spontaneous and authentic. (For the CA view on other issues in collecting data, see Mondada 2013.) The Finnish data have been acquired from the conversation data archive at the Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugric and Scandinavian Studies at the University of Helsinki. The videotaped Estonian data are from my own data collecting field trip to Estonia in January 2010. I selected the situations I filmed so that they would be comparable to the Finnish data in terms of the number of participants, their age and relations, and the setting. This study also accesses an additional corpus of audiotaped Estonian face-to-face data from the Corpus of Spoken Estonian at the University of Tartu.

The Finnish data, 3 hours and 15 minutes, have been videotaped. Those parts of the Estonian data that I have collected have also been videotaped (2 hours 40 minutes); the Tartu Corpus conversations are audiotaped (1 hour).¹⁴ The number of participants in each interaction varies from two to four people, and no individual takes part in more than one conversation. The age of the speakers varies between 16 to 76 years, the majority being young adults in their twenties. The total number of participants is 36, out of which 25 are female and 11 are male. More detailed information of each conversation is provided in Table 1 below.

The Finnish data are organized according to signum (“sg”) in the Helsinki archive. The Estonian audio data are numbered (“nr”) in the Tartu archive, and the abbreviations for the Estonian video data have been established for this study alone. Each of the videotaped Estonian conversations are organized in three separate files (1–3), but the conversations themselves are continuous. From the table above, we also see that all but one recording was made in the 2000s, and the length of each conversation varies.

The data have been transcribed according to the CA transcription system that was developed originally by Gail Jefferson (for example, see Hepburn & Bolden 2013, Jefferson 2004b, Seppänen 1997). All the initial transcripts have been prepared by someone other than me, but for each fragment I make use of, I have checked the transcription and made changes and corrections as needed. For most of the fragments I present here, only the talk is transcribed (what has been said and how, which means the linguistic content and the

¹⁴ Most of the data fragments I present in this study originate from the videotaped corpus, and being the default case, this is not marked in the extracts. Instead, if the fragment is from the audiotaped corpus, there is a note “audio” at the beginning of the extract.

Table 1. *The data.*

	Data item	Length of analyzed conversation	Year of recording	Number of participants	Age and gender (m/f) of participants ¹⁵
Finnish, video	Sg 151	50 min.	1995	4	f21, f21, f21, f21
– –	Sg 346	60 min.	2003	4	f21, f21, f21, m20
– –	Sg 377	45 min.	2007	3	f32, f32, f30
– –	Sg 398	25 min.	2006	2	f50, f50
– –	Sg 441	15 min.	2009	4	m54, f54, f23, m16
Total Finnish	5 conversations	195 min. / 3 h 15 min.	1995–2009	17 participants	14 females, 3 males, between 16–54 years of age
Estonian, video	AN (1–3)	80 min.	2010	2	f31, f28
– –	PI (1–3)	20 min.	2010	4	m58, f56, m46, f42
– –	TÄ (1–3)	60 min.	2010	3	f26, f25, f21
Estonian, audio	Nr 522	20 min.	2003	3	f76, f21, m21
– –	Nr 626	20 min.	2006	3	m23, m19, m19
– –	Nr 648	20 min.	2007	4	m25, m23, f23, f23
Total Estonian	6 conversations	220 min. / 3 h 40 min.	2003–2010	19 participants	11 females, 8 males, between 19–76 years of age
Total all	11 conversations	415 min. / 6 h 55 min.	1995–2010	36 participants	25 females, 11 males, between 16–76 years of age

corresponding prosody). Bodily-visual behavior, such as gaze and gesture, has also been transcribed where I have considered it directly relevant to the phenomenon in question (those transcriptions are mine). When presenting the data, there is an idiomatic translation into English below the original transcription line, and for the target lines, I also provide a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss. All names and other elements in the data that would enable an identification of the participants have been changed.

Table 2 below shows the number of cases of the non-transitional overlapping responses that occur in the data, which are listed according to each identified response type. This division is thus based on functional

¹⁵ For instance, f21 = female, 21 years old.

categories. The table offers a general idea of the occurrence of the phenomenon in the data:

Table 2. *Tokens of each responsive action type in the collection.*

	Claims of similar knowledge	Independent agreements	Demonstrations of understanding	Total
Finnish	4	5	35	44
Estonian	8	6	33	47
Total	12	11	68	91

As we can see, the total number of the cases is rather similar in both languages, but the differences emerge in the different types of responses. The numbers are smaller for the first two categories than for the third. However, the fact that this is valid for both languages may reflect a wider generalization concerning the preference status of the actions involved. Even though I have provided the numbers of the cases in the table above, it is important to emphasize that I do not put much weight on counting the numbers of the cases in each language and/or response type in this study. There are several reasons for this: in this type of qualitative study, the amount of data is relatively small and so the variation in the number of different cases can to some extent be coincidental. The variation may arise due to what the situation happens to be and what the participants happen to be talking about and how. (On quantifying phenomena in conversational data, see Haakana 2002, Schegloff 1993.) It is highly challenging to find empirical evidence indicating that the possible variation is due to national characteristics, language, gender, power or something of that sort – and apart from the language, I have not coded the examples according to these types of variables. Furthermore, calculating quantified data is not one of the main aims of this study (cf. the research questions presented in section 1.2 above). (Compare to some of the studies reported in section 2.3.)

In addition to the 91 cases presented in Table 2, I have compiled a comparative collection of approximately 50 cases where the interactional situation is otherwise similar to that in the basic cases but where the response is not positioned in non-transitional overlap. This collection will be analyzed in chapter 7.

The data include talk-in-interaction both in Finnish and Estonian. The two data sets are examined in order to not to restrict the analysis to one language only or to one conversational culture, and to be able to conduct a comparative analysis on the phenomenon. The similarity of these two languages makes it possible to hypothesize that any possible differences in turn-taking behavior are probably not due to radical differences in language structure but caused by something else. And moreover, there is the possibility of very fine-tuned differences appearing when the relation between related languages is close. Furthermore, the lay understanding of

differences in the interactional behavior among the Finns and the Estonians, alluded to in the very beginning of this chapter, could be tested at least with regard to the specific phenomenon examined in this study. Finnish and Estonian thus provide a fruitful base for comparison both between the languages and between the (alleged) conversational cultures.

Estonian and Finnish are both members of the Finno-Ugrian language family, and belong to the same sub-group, the Baltic Finnic languages. Besides being genealogically close, these languages share most of their typological features. For example, agglutination prevails in both languages, their word classes are the same, and they share the same grammatical categories such as cases. Finnish and Estonian also have similar declension and conjugation systems, and the inflectional morphemes are likewise to a great extent similar. For instance, the nouns in both languages are inflected for number and case, and the modifiers take the same marking as the head of the phrase (in Estonian, there are a few exceptions to this). The languages also share basic syntactic structures, such as having the basic SVX word order (for example, Huumo 1993, 1994). At the same time, the word order of these languages is not regulated by the grammatical rules. Even so, there are some differences between the grammars of Finnish and Estonian, and according to Metslang (2009), these differences are mostly due to the changes in Estonian that have led to a simplification of the grammar, with the Finnish grammar remaining more complex. In addition, many parts of the lexicon are dissimilar in these languages (*ibid.*), and this is at least partly due to their different origins of influence (mainly Swedish for Finnish and German for Estonian). Within phonology, the differences include sound quantity and speech rhythm. In Estonian, for instance, there are three distinguishable quantities for both vowels and consonants, whereas in Finnish, there are only two. As for speech rhythm, Finnish has traditionally been characterized as syllable-timed (Karlsson 1983), but this view has recently been challenged (for example, O'Dell et al. 2007). In connection with Estonian, stress-timing has been mentioned, but not exclusively (Eek & Help 1986). (On Finnish grammar, see ISK, and on Estonian grammar, see EKG.)

Considering these linguistic dissimilarities, it has not been within the scope of this study to investigate whether they might have any special significance for turn taking. At least overall, seen from the perspective of the big picture, they do not seem to be relevant. In other words, the more important aspects of the two languages are their similarities. The morpho-syntactic resources in both languages are important for turn taking, such as case marking with its various functions (for Finnish, see Helasvuo 2001b, 2004). Indeed they are among the cues that enable the “early” projectability of the utterance completion in both these languages. (For additional information on this, see the analyses of examples 4.3, 5.3, 5.5, 6.3, 6.4, 6.9 and 6.11 below.) Nonetheless, this study does not claim that the existing differences in morphology or other parts of grammar bring about unequal opportunities for the speakers of these languages to act in interaction. The

syntactic differences between these languages do include the differences in certain word orders; this will be mentioned more precisely in section 5.2, as it becomes relevant for the analyses. Yet these differences concern more the ways in which participants accomplish actions in their turns, not the ways in which turn taking is organized.

1.6 The organization of this study

This study is organized as follows. Chapter 2 will present an overview of the research literature on the phenomenon to be investigated. The subject of this chapter is primarily turn-taking organization because the current study is essentially an investigation of turn taking, albeit branching out in a specific direction. Chapter 3 functions as a lead-in to the analytic chapters and presents an introductory analysis of the focus phenomenon. This chapter includes a clarification of the overlap type that this study concerns, an overview of the sequences these turns appear in, and a brief introduction to the actions in these sequences. The social actions in the overlapping turns will be analyzed in chapters 4–6, both with regard to their contexts of occurrence and their sequential trajectories as well as to the linguistic resources used in them. These chapters are defined according to the action type in the response. Chapter 7 presents a comparison of the early-onset responses to well-timed, delayed and missing responses. Recapitulating all early-onset responses, their specific nature will be discussed. Chapter 8 brings together the threads of the analytic chapters and aims at two generalizations about the phenomenon. The first concerns the overlapped actions and the second one relates to the general motivation for the positioning of the overlapping turns. Finally, chapter 9 provides a summary of the research results and concludes by offering a discussion of some of the general topics that have been raised in the analyses. This chapter also presents a discussion of the implications of this study for understanding early response-onset, turn-taking organization and the role of grammar and units of talk.

2 TURN TAKING AND OVERLAPPING TALK: SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter, the phenomenon of beginning a turn in overlap will be positioned among other ways of taking a turn-at-talk. As a necessary background, turn-taking organization in general will also be introduced, especially regarding turn construction and turn transition. Section 2.1 offers an overview of the conversation analytic turn-taking literature mainly relating to languages other than Finnish and Estonian. The existing literature that concerns these two languages will be summarized in section 2.2. In section 2.3, I will discuss the literature of overlapping talk and interruptions in various research fields. In this survey of the literature, I will point out some existing gaps and demonstrate how the current investigation will fill them. In short, the topic of this chapter is turn taking and overlapping talk in general, and only chapter 3 will reveal the details of the specific overlap type that this thesis analyzes.

2.1 The turn-constructive unit and transition relevance place

How talk is organized into units has long been a topic that has interested many linguists and some sociologists. How do speakers construct units of talk and how do their recipients recognize them? Early studies of this phenomenon contrasted spoken language with the long dominating written language and analyzed narrative monologues and speakers' resources in marking unit boundaries in them (for example, Chafe 1979). These studies introduced structures in talk such as the idea unit and the intonation unit. However, these earlier studies neither adopted an orientation towards interaction nor the concept of the interactive organization of talk. The paper by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) was seminal in, among other things, that it highlighted the accomplishment of talk and units of talk being a joint enterprise between the speaker and his/her recipient(s). This starting point enabled the appreciation of many features of talk that now are thought of as central, including talking simultaneously. This conversation analytic study by Sacks and his colleagues assumed that the basic unit of talk is the turn-at-talk or a turn-constructive unit and focused on how turn taking is managed in everyday interaction.

From this theoretical bedrock, the current section will discuss the following questions: How are turn taking and turn transition organized? Furthermore, what resources do speakers use to construct their turns-at-talk and to interpret and project the construction and completion of their co-participants' turns-at-talk? And how do these various resources relate to each

other? Another important question is whether there are language or culture specific matters involved. More specifically, what types of units are there in conversational talk? What is then the importance of these units for turn taking and turn transition? And finally, what do we know about overlapping talk, which is thought to be a departure from the norm?

Spontaneous talking among people in everyday life is accomplished turn-by-turn. As Sacks et al. observed in their seminal paper (1974; on turn-taking organization,¹⁶ see also Hakulinen 1997), in ordinary conversation, turn transition not only occurs but recurs. A conversational turn is therefore usually defined as a chunk of talk that is situated between speaker transitions, in that the speaker change delimits a turn (ibid.). In addition, turns¹⁷ are composed of turn-constructive units,¹⁸ which can be of various sorts and sizes (Sacks et al. 1974). In essence, this is the basic conversation analytic answer to the question of units of spoken language: they are phenomena that occur in interaction, typically among several participants. The turn-constructive unit (TCU) has been initially characterized as a “unit-type with which a speaker may set out to construct a turn” (ibid. 702). This perspective emphasizes the function of units in conversation. In other words, speakers construct turns-at-talk from them. Let us consider a simple example from Sacks et al. (p. 721):

(2.1)

- 1 Tourist: Has the park cha: nged much,
2 Parky: Oh:: ye:s,
3 (1.0)
4 Old man: Th' Funfair changed it 'n [ahful lot [didn' it.
5 Parky: [Th- [That-
6 Parky: That changed it,

This example demonstrates, among other things, the diverse composition of turn-constructive units. Here every line (except for the fifth, perhaps) represents one such unit, and as we see from above, they take various forms.

In this connection, the term utterance¹⁹ is also used; it is defined as “a functional whole that occurs in speech” (ISK § 1003). It follows then that an utterance can be a clause, but it can also be a particle or a phrase (ibid.). Furthermore, utterances make up a turn or a part of it (ISK § 1004); they can thus be equated with TCUs. An important feature of the turn-constructive unit is that it always occurs and exists only in context; its production and recognition are context-dependent and context-sensitive processes. The TCU and its boundaries are therefore determined only in its context of occurrence

¹⁶ Finn. *vuorottelujäsennys*, Est. *vooruvahetusmehhanism*

¹⁷ Finn. *vuoro*, Est. *voor*

¹⁸ Finn. *vuoron rakenneyksikkö*, Est. *vooruehitusüksus*

¹⁹ Finn. *lausuma*, Est. *lausung*

and by the conversational parties jointly and, as Ford et al. (1996: 428) observe, it is “contingent and interactionally achieved.”

When participants interact, they need to know when the turns by others will end and when it will be their turn to start talking. Conversation analysts have called this point in time the transition relevance place²⁰ and it is by reference to these places that participants organize turn transitions. According to Sacks et al. (1974), a transition relevance place (TRP) emerges at the end of each TCU, at its first possible completion point (for illustrations of these points, see the example above, especially the places where Parky attempts to take a turn in line 5). The TRP is therefore a place where a legitimate turn transfer occurs from one speaker to another and, according to Sacks et al. (ibid.), all turn transfer is organized around TRPs. (For later discussion on TRPs and TCUs in different positions, for example, see Houtkoop & Mazeland 1985, Selting 2000, Ford 2004 and below.) However, TRP is not merely the narrow slot or the short gap between TCUs, but can be thought of as extending somewhat in both directions, backward and forward (in time). This means that a TRP begins (or can begin) a few sounds, syllables or even words before the end of the current TCU, and it can extend to the very first elements of the subsequent TCU (for example, see Jefferson 1983, 1986).

The specifics of turn transition in the sense of who speaks next are not explored in depth within the scope of this study. However, as these questions are significant for grasping the full picture of turn taking, I will briefly summarize the most relevant literature on these phenomena.

There are certain ways in which the transition of turns from one speaker to another is accomplished so that a simple rule-set applies. According to Sacks et al. (1974: 704), the turn-taking rules for ordinary conversation are the following – in this order:

1. At the end of a TCU, at a first TRP, one of the following will occur:
 - a) If the speaker in their turn has selected the next speaker, the latter (and no one else) is entitled and obliged to take the next turn,
 - b) if the next speaker has not been selected, anyone (a first starter) may take a turn,
 - c) if no one else takes a turn, the prior speaker may continue.
2. If at the first TRP rule 1c has operated and the same speaker has continued, the same rule-set a-c will apply again at the next TRP (and the next) until the turn has been transferred to another speaker. (Sacks et al. 1974: 704.)

The particulars of the next speaker selection have later been specified by scholars such as Lerner (2003), who examines the role of gaze direction, address terms and other, more subtle ways to select a next speaker (see rule 1. a), and by Mondada (2007), who focuses on pointing as a practice to self-select oneself as a next speaker (see rule 1. b).

²⁰ Finn. *siirtymän/vuoronvaihdon mahdollistava kohta*, Est. *voorusiirdekoht, vooruvahetuskoht*

We notice that in the system described above, turn transition is organized exclusively around transition relevance places (TRPs) (see Sacks et al. 1974: 708). Interactants may, however, also start talking elsewhere than at the TRP, which regularly results in overlapping talk. This is one of the observations that underlie the research interest of the current study.

A participant who wishes to talk next not only waits and determines when the ongoing turn by another has come to a completion, but instead uses a range of resources to predict a possible end point to the turn. Indeed, a highly relevant and determining feature of turns, TCUs and TRPs is that their possible ends are projectable. This was first noted by Sacks et al. (1974: 720), who state that turn-constructional units “have points of possible [- -] completion, [- -] which are projectable before their occurrence.” This is also the cornerstone of a speaker’s ability to anticipate the turn transition places and to position his/her next turns accordingly. (On projection, see Auer 2005 and chapter 3 below.) In the following, I will provide an overview of the literature that analyzes these phenomena in different languages. The relevant questions are therefore the following: How do speakers know when the turn (-unit) is going to be complete and turn transition can occur? How are turns and TCUs organized, and which resources do speakers use to construct and recognize them?

Within the past decades, researchers in conversation analysis have been engaged in an extensive discussion on the construction and nature of units of talk. A number of scholars have analyzed the build-up and recognition of units and especially the resources that speakers use when accomplishing these tasks. The earliest paper to address this question – and actually the paper that first introduces the whole topic – emphasizes the syntactic structure of units and its importance. Sacks et al. define the possible ending points of TCUs with reference to syntax only (1974: 720–721; for an illustration, see also the example provided above). Syntax has been the focus of investigation in later studies as well, especially in the comparisons between English, the language that the first (and still most) studies investigate, and structurally very different languages such as Japanese (for example, Lerner & Takagi 1999, Tanaka 2000). However, several contributions, Ford and Thompson (1996) being among the first, have demonstrated that prosody – including intonation, rhythm, and phonetic features of talk – is at least as important in constructing and interpreting the trajectory and completion of turns. This was briefly mentioned already in Sacks et al. (1974: 721–722)²¹; later studies have demonstrated how speakers of various languages (mostly English but also languages such as Japanese and Finnish), in constructing turns and organizing turn transitions, orient to aspects of language such as speech rhythm, prominent pitch peaks (accents),

²¹ Sacks et al. only mention that “discriminations between *what* as a one-word question and as the start of a sentential (or clausal or phrasal) construction are made not syntactically, but intonationally” (ibid.).

intonational patterns, loudness changes, sound lengthening, as well as changes in tempo and voice quality (Auer et al. 1999, Chafe 1994, Couper-Kuhlen 1993, Cutler & Pearson 1986, Fox 2001, Local & Kelly 1986, Local et al. 1985, Ogden 2001, 2004, Schegloff 1998, Szczepek Reed 2004, Tanaka 2004, Wells & Corrin 2004, Wells & Macfarlane 1998, Wells & Peppé 1996).²² Furthermore, the relative significance of the features is discussed in the literature.

Acknowledging the importance of both syntax and prosody, many researchers have focused on their interplay in unit construction (for example, Bockgård 2007, Helasvuo 2001a, J. Lindström 2008, Selting 1996, 2005, Steensig 2001a, 2001b, Tanaka 1999, Tao 1996). In different languages, the precise roles that syntax and prosody play in interaction may and do vary, as the scholars mentioned above have established for Swedish, Finnish, German, Danish, Turkish, Japanese and Mandarin. Concerning the languages that this study examines, the study of Finnish, Helasvuo (*ibid.*) is the only one that deals with these questions.

Not only syntax and prosody, but the actions and sequential position of the turns are also generally widely acknowledged in the CA literature to be significant and to contribute to turn-unit construction and projection (for example, see Houtkoop & Mazeland 1985). This aspect is rather often called “pragmatics” – for instance, Ford, Fox and Thompson (1996: 429) use that term to cover “the sequential location and the interactional import of an utterance.” Sometimes the term “semantics” is also used for this feature (for example Oreström 1982, 1983). Schegloff (1996a: 59) speaks of a pragmatically completed turn when the turn “recognizably implements an action.” However, not all studies that analyze turn construction and projection take into consideration the import of actions specifically. Some exceptions include Huiskes (2010) on Dutch and Steensig (2001a, b) on Danish and Turkish, in addition to the scholars mentioned above (see also Ford & Thompson 1996, Schegloff 1988). One issue that unifies many of these scholars is that they see “pragmatics” as a challenging feature to take into account. Ford and Thompson admit that their analysis of this remains “intuitive and provisional” (1996: 150), and they even include intonational completion in the parameters for pragmatic completion, which has later been criticized. Ford and Thompson make a distinction between two types of pragmatic completion. These types are, first, local pragmatic completion that is a place where the speaker projects more to come but a co-participant can take a minimal turn, while the second type is global pragmatic completion that refers to a point where no more talk by the current speaker is projected, i.e., the whole story or other agenda is complete. Nonetheless, these two types both count equally as “pragmatic completions” for their study. (*Ibid.* 150–151.)

²² For a different viewpoint concerning the importance of prosody, see De Ruiter et al. 2006.

An additional cue that has been found to provide essential information for turn transition was first introduced by Charles Goodwin (1979, 1981, 1995), who acknowledged the bodily-visual makeup of turns and units and the bodily-visual cues for turn transition. The research conducted by Schegloff (for example, 1984b, 1988) is also important in this respect. These bodily-visual cues include gaze, gestures, body position and movements, facial expressions, material objects in the scene and the surroundings in general. In later contributions on turn construction and turn taking, these facets of interaction have received more attention in studies of talk-in-interaction that have been conducted on a variety of languages including Lao (Enfield 2009), Finnish (Kaukoma et al. 2013, 2014, forthcoming, Laury & Ono 2014, Seppänen 1998), English (Ford et al. 2012, Kendon 2004), Italian (Kendon 2004), Chinese (Li 2013), French (Mondada 2006, 2007), Ilokano (Streeck 1995, Streeck & Hartge 1992), and Thai, German, and Japanese (all three in Streeck 1995). These scholars have demonstrated the rich ways in which speakers deploy various resources for the tasks related to turn taking in combination with syntax, prosody and pragmatics.

Studying and describing units of talk by relying a priori on linguistic units – as in some of the works mentioned above – has recently drawn criticism. For example, Ford, Fox and Thompson (2013) suggest that this type of analysis is “neither adequate nor appropriate” when investigating naturally occurring interaction from the participants’ perspective. Instead, they argue that analysts need to adopt “a descriptive meta-language” that is based on the participants’ categories and on actions as they emerge online. These authors further argue that traditional linguistic categories can be used when empirical evidence warrants that they are relevant for the participants.

In addition to the resources for turn construction discussed above, conversation analytic literature has established that various repair practices (Fox et al. 1996, Jefferson 1974, Kurhila 2006, Schegloff 1979a, Schegloff et al. 1977) and recipient monitoring (for example, Goodwin 1979, Houtkoop & Mazeland 1985) are also relevant for turn construction. However, these facets will not be further discussed in the present analysis.

A crucial feature in constructing turns is that they are always flexible and negotiable between the participants at the very moment of their interaction (Schegloff 1987a). The turns, their elements and factors such as their length (for example, Local 1992) are manipulatable and exploitable by the speakers according to interactional contingencies and exigencies. Thus, turns emerge in real time. Some examples of this specific line of research include Selting’s study (2001) on the fragments of units and their use in interaction in German data (see also Kim 1999 for Korean), and Koivisto (2011), who investigates the occurrence and the use of turns that end in conjunctions in Finnish. Whereas these turns are traditionally thought of as incomplete, Koivisto demonstrates how participants can treat them and orient to them as complete, and Koivisto therefore re-analyzes the “conjunctions” as final particles.

That turns and (grammatical) units are “(semi-)permeable” by nature has been convincingly demonstrated by Lerner (1991, 1996; also 1992, 1993, 2002, 2004a; however, see earlier studies by Sacks 1992a: 647ff, 1992b: 437ff). Lerner has also provided evidence that systematic places in turns occur where a co-participant can (and indeed frequently does) come in and join in their construction.²³ Co-constructing a “compound” turn/TCU is also a systematic place for the occurrence of overlapping talk, and this will be discussed in more detail in chapter 6 below.²⁴ This line of investigation calls into question the widely accepted principle proposed by Sacks et al. (1974) that turn transfer is organized solely around TRPs. This theme will also be addressed later in this dissertation, especially in chapter 9.

Various scholars have illustrated how turns may be extended or expanded even after their projected completion (for example, Ford et al. 2002, ISK § 1052–1078 and references therein, and Schegloff 2001). The construction of turns is therefore incremental by nature. The studies dealing with this phenomenon have focused on the formatting of continuations/increments (Auer 1996) in a cross-linguistic perspective (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007, Luke et al. 2012, Vorreiter 2003), on the specifics of same-speaker versus other-speaker increments (Lerner 2004b, Sidnell 2012a), and on the intersection between increments and clause combinations (Couper-Kuhlen 2012a, Seppänen & Laury 2007). These studies are yet another demonstration of the contingent and flexible nature of both turns and TCUs, a claim which will be corroborated by the current study as well.

Early studies in the CA literature addressed the question of the turns that consist of multiple units and how a TRP is projected in them. For instance, the Sacks et al. (1974) model for turn construction and turn taking includes an apparent weakness: it states that at the possible completion point of each TCU, turn transfer becomes timely. Yet speakers do frequently produce turns with more than one TCU without involving turn transition attempts from the co-participants. Some scholars have analyzed the mechanisms by which speakers manage to get and produce these long turns (for example, the earliest studies in Sacks 1992b: 137ff., 1992b: 175ff, 1974, 1978, Jefferson 1978), but others have concentrated more on the definition of a unit or a TCU with reference to the following situations: Are there different types of TCUs, such as final and non-final?; How are longer stretches of talk organized and

²³ Some other scholars have also studied similar phenomena; they only have not always referred to them as co-constructed turns, as various terminology has been used (for example, see Falk 1980, Helasvuo 2004, Goodwin 1984, 1987, Mandelbaum 1987, Tainio 2000, Szczeppek Reed 2006); for a discussion, see section 6.1.3.

²⁴ Lerner (1996) has examined what are referred to as co-constructed turns and the recipient’s possibility to produce talk starting up at a point where the current turn is not yet completed. Some, but not all of my cases resemble those of Lerner’s in terms of how the previous turn is structured, where the next turn begins, and what the turn is doing. The starting points and the questions in my work and his are different, and nevertheless there are several interfaces between them.

how should they be analyzed? The earliest solution was proposed by Houtkoop and Mazeland (1985), who suggest a distinction between TCUs and open and closed discourse units. However, their idea and terminology has not received wide acceptance.

A more influential work in this respect has been conducted by Ford, Fox and Thompson (1996). They first aimed at defining a TCU and at counting the number of TCUs in long turns but end up emphasizing the multitude of practices (for example, instead of focusing on syntax only) in constructing participation and in projecting turn trajectories. They highlight the manipulatability and negotiability of turn end points and convincingly demonstrate that by concentrating on “units” only, the true nature of everyday talk-in-interaction can be easily missed. Along the same lines, Ford (2004) heavily emphasizes the role of contingency for unit construction and for interaction in general. Selting (2000), in contrast, preserves the notions of TCU and TRP, proposing that these two should remain analytically separate. In her suggestion, a TCU is a “smallest interactionally relevant complete linguistic unit in their given context” (ibid. 512), and it does not necessarily end in a TRP, as particular linguistic and interactional resources may be used to postpone the TRP. This therefore means that all turns are TCUs (or multiples of them), but not all TCUs are themselves turns, that is, not all of them end in TRPs. Consequently, according to Selting, only a turn ends always in a TRP – which suggests that her position is that TRPs can be defined on a post hoc basis only.

We can conclude that state-of-the-art research on unit construction and on the projection of TRPs should take into consideration as widely as possible all the semiotic resources that the speakers themselves exploit (for some restrictions, see Mondada 2013). The contingent and negotiable nature of units must be borne in mind as well, as that is how participants approach units. The current study pays closest attention to syntax, prosody and social action in turn construction. Aspects such as gaze, gestures and body movements are considered when they appear to be relevant for the object of interest, which is when there are significant changes in these features around the turn transition places. From investigating the resources for turn construction and projection in the data, this study moves on to consider wider action-related issues. These include what participants use specific turn onset points for, and what they accomplish with particular turn-onset timings in interaction.

This study is based on interactions carried out in Finnish and Estonian, two languages that have not been studied extensively from this perspective. This raises the question of how much we can rely on work that has concentrated on other languages for the study of these two languages. Indeed, the question of possible language specificity is highly interesting in considering turn construction and its resources. In 1974, Sacks et al. (p. 730) pointed to this when they note that “turns are at least partially organized via language-specific constructional formats, e.g. syntactic construction”. The

authors are also careful to stipulate that they are talking about “unit-types *for English*” (emphasis mine) when they list “sentential, clausal, phrasal, and lexical constructions” (ibid. 702). However, extensive research has not been conducted on this topic from a cross-linguistic point of view – research that would focus specifically on the turn construction and units of talk in different languages and language communities (the studies of Japanese and German are the most notable exceptions). Nonetheless, taking into consideration all CA and other CA-informed research on some aspects of turn taking and turn construction (for example, including increments and overlapping talk), a range of other languages have been analyzed from various perspectives and also with somewhat varying methods, including statistics. In addition to the different varieties of English, the languages in which these topics have been studied thus far include the following (in alphabetical order, with some examples from the literature):

Table 3. *Turn-taking literature concerning languages other than English.*

Language	Examples of studies	Language	Examples of studies
Caribbean English Creole	Sidnell 2001	Lao	Enfield 2009, Stivers et al. 2009
Danish	Steensig 2001a, b	Mandarin Chinese	Li 2013, Luke 2012, Tao 1996
Dutch	Houtkoop & Mazeland 1985, Huiskes 2010	Navajo	Field 2007
Estonian	(see the literature in section 2.2)	Samoan	Duranti 1997a
Finnish	(see the literature in section 2.2)	Swedish	Bockgård 2007, J. Lindström 2008
French	Chevalier 2008, Chevalier & Clift 2008, Mondada 2006, 2007	Thai	Moerman 1988
German	Auer 1996, Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007, Selting 1996, 2001, 2005	Turkish	Steensig 2001a
Ilokano	Streeck & Hartge 1992	Tzeltal	Stivers et al. 2009
Italian	Stivers & Rossano 2010, Stivers et al. 2009	Yélf-Dnye	Stivers et al. 2009
Japanese	Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007, Lerner & Takagi 1999, Stivers et al. 2009, Tanaka 1999, 2000, 2004	ᄃĀkhoe Hai om	Stivers et al. 2009
Korean	Kim 1999, Stivers et al. 2009	Gui	Sugawara 2012

Despite this rather long list of examples of the research literature, English has clearly been the primary focus of scholarly attention (especially when considering orthodox CA research), and apart from German, Japanese, Danish, Swedish, Dutch, Mandarin Chinese, and Finnish, the amount of research on the other languages mentioned above has been rather minimal and typically focused on one small aspect only. In addition, not all of this research has concentrated on mundane talk, which is our interest.

Not many of the studies mentioned above directly address the issue of language (variety) specificity versus universality (examples of this are:

Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007, Lerner & Takagi 1999, Luke et al. 2012, Steensig 2001a, Stivers et al. 2009, Wells & Peppé 1996). Whereas some of the studies examine one language only, they nevertheless directly compare their results to previous studies of other languages. A number of the studies state clearly that they are discussing a specific language and that the results may vary across languages (examples of this are: Bockgård 2007, Couper-Kuhlen 1993, Fox 2001, Huiskes 2010, Kim 1999, Li 2013, Lindström 2008, Local et al. 1985, 1986, Moerman 1988, Sidnell 2001, Steensig 2001b, Szczepek Reed 2004, Tanaka 1999, 2000, 2004, Tao 1996). The studies that ignore the importance of the language they examine, that is, the studies that do not address the role the language itself might play in the practices, are almost invariably studies of English. Some studies again seem to presuppose (or even state clearly) that regardless of the language in which the talk-in-interaction is spoken, the machinery itself remains the same (for example, Sacks et al. 1974, Schegloff 1996a, Selting 2000, 2005). Other studies target precisely turn-taking organization and its (possible) variability (see Moerman 1988, Sidnell 2001 and some of the literature in section 2.3). The studies that have been (to my knowledge) the most conscious of language-specificity are those that have focused on increments or turn continuations (see the special issues edited by Couper-Kuhlen and Ono in *Pragmatics*, 2007, and by Luke, Thompson and Ono in *Discourse Processes*, 2012). Moreover, some studies on prosody are explicit on this matter (for example, Couper-Kuhlen 1993, Fox 2001, Ogden 2004, Szczepek Reed 2004, and Tanaka 2004).

Consequently, we need to remember that the particulars of the language that our data represents may affect the precise roles that syntax, prosody and other resources have in turn transitions. In short, the results based on research in one language cannot be straightforwardly applied to another language, but of course the existing research in any language is of help when investigating similar phenomena in other languages.

2.2 Turns and turn transition in Finnish and Estonian talk-in-interaction

Conversation analysis has long been a rather popular research method in Finnish linguistics, sociology, and logopedics.²⁵ Likewise in Estonia, there are several CA scholars working on interactional data. Despite this, very few

²⁵Finland has a rather long history of conversation analytic research. The first edited volumes of conversation analytic studies of Finnish talk-in-interaction appeared in 1989 and 1996 (both edited by Auli Hakulinen), and some of the earliest studies include Klippi 1996, Laakso 1997, Sorjonen 1997, Arminen 1998, Peräkylä 1998, Seppänen 1998, Haakana 1999, and Vehviläinen 1999. Later on, extensive research has been conducted; some of the most recent monographs in English include Frick 2013, Pajo 2013b, and Stevanovic 2013.

studies directly concern turn construction and the projection of TRPs in naturally occurring Finnish or Estonian talk-in-interaction, and studies such as those conducted for certain other languages (see, for example Selting 1996 and 2005 on German) do not exist. Introductions to conversation analysis are available both in Finnish (Tainio, ed., 1997) and Estonian (Hennoste et al. 2001), and they both discuss turn taking as well, providing examples in these languages. Other research that touches upon these issues is based on non-authentic interaction and has used different methods from the one(s) I am adopting here. Most of the CA-based results concerning turn taking have been a result of a by-product of studies whose primary focus is elsewhere. The body of existing literature is especially limited for Estonian; Finnish interactions have been investigated more extensively.

2.2.1 Studies related to turn taking in Finnish conversation

The study of turn taking in Finnish conversation was introduced by Hakulinen (1997, in a volume on CA edited by Tainio). Whereas her article does not delve into detail about the turn construction or TRP projection methods, it does discuss the basics of turn taking in a precise manner and provides illustrative examples from Finnish data. In addition, other chapters in the volume edited by Tainio (1997) provide insight into how Finnish conversations are organized – yet they do not focus on the particularities caused by the language per se. The aim of the articles has rather been to introduce conversation analysis to a Finnish audience and to apply the method to Finnish data.

The recent descriptive grammar of Finnish (ISK, 2004) discusses turn taking in Finnish interaction from several analytical perspectives, including the nature and structure of turns and turn-constructional units (for example, in terms of multi-unit turns and increments), the various forms turns and TCUs can take and how they are created in interaction between the participants (ISK § 1003–1051). Actual and possible turn ends are also discussed (ISK § 1037–1043), and some elements that typically occur at turn ends are mentioned, including stance-markers, cuddling terms, swear words, certain particles such as *joo*, ‘yeah,’ and *sitte*, ‘then,’ and certain crystallized idioms such as *tai jotain*, ‘or something.’ The interplay of various features, such as the prosodic and grammatical structures at turn ends, is not extensively discussed (see ISK § 1010). A few other publications have dealt with interactional prosody, and I will summarize them below because they serve as relevant background information for the current study in understanding the phenomena occurring near turn transition places.

In an early CA-informed study combined with statistics, Tiittula (1985a, b) analyzes the verbal, prosodic and non-verbal means that Finnish speakers use to signal the upcoming end of their turns, which are the signals that foreshadow turn transition. Her data were institutional interactions from three conversations at a university course (one very formal, one very

informal, one in between). During these conversations, the primary turn transition signals were the syntactic and pragmatic completeness of a turn, falling intonation and the gaze from the speaker to hearer. Other, additional cues included creaky and soft voice as well as nodding. An interesting result in Tiittula's study is that she finds all intonation types – strongly falling, slightly falling, level, slightly rising and strongly rising – in these conversations, and apart from strongly rising intonation, all of them occur at turn endings (1985b: 324). Of the various final intonation patterns she analyzed, the most common was the strongly falling intonation. When examining overlapping turn onsets (based only on the informal conversation), Tiittula observed that they were most often preceded by one or several turn transition cues that she had discovered that occurred in the other turn transitions – gaze was the most frequent cue, utterance completeness the second, and intonational or other prosodic cues were sometimes also present. Compared to Tiittula's work, my study does not afford generalizations on prosodic turn-taking cues, as the focus of the present analysis is different. However, some related conclusions can be drawn (see especially section 9.3 below). After Tiittula, gaze behavior was the focus in Seppänen's (1998) study, in which she investigates how gaze organizes turn transfer and next speaker selection in everyday Finnish conversations, which are especially related to third-person pronoun selection when referring to a co-present participant.

Finnish intonation and prosody have been investigated by several scholars using read-aloud sentences or other non-spontaneous speech as data (for example, Aaltonen & Wiik 1979, Hirvonen 1970, and Iivonen 1998). These studies have claimed that the overall intonation in Finnish is falling (and rather monotonous), but also that level intonation is used, for example, to signal an intention to continue. There is also a research tradition focusing on spontaneous monologic speech from dialect data, but identifying the various prosodic units in dialects has been claimed to be rather complicated (for example, Yli-Luukko 1996).

Concerning prosody, it is important to note that unlike in English, intonation and sentence type (statement, question, exclamation) are not related in Finnish. For instance, Finnish does not have what is referred to as question intonation but instead, questions are marked lexically and morphosyntactically (Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 281ff., Raevaara 1993) and also through their position in the sequence in interaction (Raevaara 1993). Therefore intonation is also not used to mobilize a response, at least not in the same sense or in the same way as in English and Italian (see Stivers & Rossano 2010).

The prosody of spontaneous Finnish speech has also been investigated by Aho and Yli-Luukko (Aho 2010, Aho & Yli-Luukko 2005). Their data include both interviews, monologues and conversations, and most of them are either excerpts from Finland Swedish or from non-native Finnish, but native Finnish excerpts are also included. Their method is an acoustic and auditory

phonetic analysis of prosody (entailing different premises from the ones adopted here). Their most important result is an intonation unit model for the prosodic parsing of spontaneous speech, in which they distinguish between major and minor units. Aho and Yli-Luukko define their criteria as follows: “A boundary is a pause and/or a change in intonation, speed of delivery or loudness. Form mainly refers to the form of F₀ curve, but also coherence brought about in any other way” (Aho & Yli-Luukko 2005: 220). According to Aho and Yli-Luukko, the most important criteria for identifying intonation units are their boundaries and form for the major units as well as the form and rhythm for the minor units. Their transcription system places one minor unit per line.²⁶ My transcripts, however, do not follow this principle, as the question of intonation units is not the main line of interest of this study.

Aho and Yli-Luukko’s studies are (primarily) not based on naturally occurring talk-in-interaction, and what is more central from the current perspective, the authors do not relate their intonation units to turns-at-talk. For these reasons, their studies do not provide us with an understanding of how TCUs or turns are formatted prosodically in Finnish. However, their studies do inform us that unit form, rhythm and various boundary phenomena are probably relevant for the prosodic formatting of both turns and TCUs. Aho also emphasizes that it is crucial to trust one’s auditory impression when identifying the unit boundaries and then use the acoustic analyses in specifying those boundaries (Aho 2010: 44–47). In my study, only impressionistic listening is used, and the specifying acoustic analyses are left for follow-up studies. It has to be noted here as well that analyzing the prosody of overlapping talk with programs such as Praat (Boersma & Weenink) is difficult if the recording is mono, as is the case in my data.

The prosody of turn endings in naturally occurring Finnish talk-in-interaction has also been studied. For example, Ogden’s conversation analytic studies (2001, 2004) reveal that Finnish speakers use non-modal voice quality such as creaky, breathy and whispery voice frequently near TRPs. This means that non-modal voice quality signals an upcoming TRP in Finnish. Another study of the prosody in Finnish conversations notes that rising utterance-final intonation does not signal transition relevance, but is used for other functions (Ogden & Routarinne 2005). Indeed, Routarinne (2003) has demonstrated that in naturally occurring Finnish conversations, the final rise is used in story-telling environments and especially in the parenthetical phases in them. Nonetheless, these studies do not suggest an interdependence between intonation patterns and utterance functions (see above).

As for the interplay between prosody and syntax in Finnish talk-in-interaction, studies by Helasvuo (2001a, b, 2003) are focal. Helasvuo

²⁶ A similar transcription system is also used by Chafe, Du Bois and their colleagues (Chafe 1994, Du Bois et al. 1993).

transcribed her corpus into intonation units according to the conventions established by Du Bois et al. (1993), and reported (*ibid*, p.c.) no difficulties in applying that system to Finnish interactional data. According to Helasvuo (2001a, b), Finnish clause cores (by which she means predicates with their core arguments) tend to be presented in one intonation unit. Furthermore, optional arguments (such as adjuncts) may or may not appear in the same intonation unit with the core. Crucially, Helasvuo (2001a, b, 2003) also presents evidence that if the clause core is split into several intonation units, the boundary is more likely to occur between the predicate verb and the object, not between the subject and the predicate verb²⁷, as has been suggested in the literature on English intonation (Cruttenden 1986). Thus in Finnish, the intonation unit boundaries are not necessarily located at places that have been regarded as “major constituent boundaries” (referring here to the boundaries between clauses and between the subject and verb phrase), and these “constituents” should be viewed as being more flexible.

The studies by Helasvuo discussed above have started with the notion of intonation unit: she has examined the type of syntactic constituents that are present in them. As our concern is more on turn construction and turn transitions, no direct benefit/help can be gained from her work in the quest for the resources of constructing turns-at-talk. However, looking at Helasvuo’s transcriptions, the reader gets the impression that turns-at-talk (and even TCUs) are regularly produced in several intonation units in Finnish. This could suggest that at least we should not conceive of turns or TCUs as being produced in or consisting of (single) intonation units; there does not seem to be a one-to-one relationship there. Helasvuo’s studies also suggest that the completion of an intonation unit does not necessarily or usually mean the completion of a TCU or a turn.

Helasvuo (2004) has also demonstrated the various ways in which Finnish speakers use syntactic and other grammatical means to co-construct clauses and phrases (see also Kurhila 2006 for “completing candidate understandings” in second language interaction in Finnish). Moreover, Helasvuo’s earlier studies (2001a, b) offer insights into the syntax of mundane talk and how participants use and orient to it. She also demonstrates how noun phrases are important in projecting turn transitions (2001b). In addition to Helasvuo, other scholars have studied aspects of turn construction in Finnish talk-in-interaction. Koivisto (2011, 2012) has analyzed the grammar of (possible) turn endings and has found that in certain environments, complete(d) Finnish turns-at-talk may also end in conjunctions. This discovery is in contrast to several prior studies that have assumed or claimed that a turn that ends in an element that has been traditionally analyzed as a conjunction is not yet complete or transition-ready. In Koivisto’s data, participants occasionally orient to these conjunction-final turns as being interactionally complete. According to

²⁷ Finnish is a SVX language with relatively free word order (see Vilkuna 1989).

Koivisto, turns with conjunctions that occur at the end are used for specific purposes in interaction, such as marking a detailing list as non-exhaustive in the case of turn-final *ja*, ‘and.’

Various studies of Finnish talk-in-interaction have focused on specific linguistic elements and how they work in interaction. Laury, Seppänen and Koivisto have studied the functions of complement clauses in Finnish interaction (on the *että*, ‘that’ -clauses, see Seppänen & Laury 2007, Laury & Seppänen 2008, Koivisto et al. 2011; on *jos*, ‘if’ -clauses, see Laury 2012). This body of research demonstrates among other things that clauses that have traditionally been analyzed as subordinate can constitute independent, complete turns-at-talk, and also that these clauses can be used to build increments to an already complete(d) turn.

The grammar of responsive turns has been examined in detail by Hakulinen and Sorjonen (Hakulinen 2001c, Hakulinen & Sorjonen 2009, 2011, Sorjonen 2001a, b, Sorjonen & Hakulinen 2009). They do not focus on the resources that the speakers use to signal the completion of these turns, but instead demonstrate how the syntactic structure and the interactional functions of the responsive turns are interdependent. In other words, their results concern the various syntactic structures with which speakers may construct a complete turn-at-talk in a response position; the authors have focused on the wide array of verb repeat responses used by speakers of Finnish.

As we have learned from the overview above, extensive worthwhile information concerning turn construction and its resources in Finnish arise from the existing body of work, primarily concerning syntactic structures that can be used for certain types of (complete) turns. The knowledge that we acquire from the studies on prosody can be exploited as well, but with the proviso that most of it has not been conducted from perspective of turn taking.

2.2.2 Studies related to turn taking in Estonian conversation

In connection with introducing conversation analysis to Estonian audiences in general, turn-taking organization has also been briefly presented (Hennoste 2000–2001, Hennoste et al. 2001, Kasterpalu & Gerassimenko 2006; see also Keevallik 2002 for an introduction to interactional linguistics in Estonian). These introductions also provide Estonian examples of the basic phenomena of turn taking (see also Hennoste et al. 2011 for an analysis of the adjacency pairs that occur in internet commentaries in Estonian). In one of these studies, Hennoste (2000–2001) provides an overview of spoken Estonian features that is informed by CA and takes in other perspectives to spoken interaction as well. The analysis by Hennoste includes lexical analyses (such as particles), non-verbal characteristics of speech (including prosody), and utterances and their construction. Hennoste considers an utterance to be the element out of which turns and TCUs are constructed and

states that utterance boundaries constitute possible TRPs. According to Hennoste (ibid. 2234–2235), there must be several completion markers to indicate an actual utterance completion. He argues that the most important marker is intonational completion (although he does not specify this), and other main markers are syntactic, semantic and/or pragmatic completion. Potential additional signals are those such as voice loudness lowering, pauses, and (interestingly) hesitation markers. Hennoste acknowledges that the syntactic structures in utterances can be diverse and he lists compound clauses, single clauses, phrases, words and even sounds. He discusses each of these and their combinations with, for example, certain particles, provides examples of them and analyzes their use briefly (ibid. 2239ff.).

The prosody of Estonian has been studied rather widely (for example, Lippus et al. 2013, Asu & Nolan 2001), but the focus in these studies is on speech phonetics per se, not on how these features function in interaction or how they may be used for interactional purposes. Some results, however, confirm that the overall intonation of Estonian clauses is falling, and that the pitch is higher on focused elements (Pajupuu 1990). An exception to this line of research is the CA-informed analysis of spontaneous interaction in Estonian by Keevallik (2003b). She demonstrates that contrary to prior claims, a rising intonation contour is indeed used in Estonian. Keevallik also suggests that that this intonation contour has specific functions, and at least when used in response tokens, it is reportedly “doing expecting more to come” (ibid.). Similar results have been reported by Asu (2006) that rising intonation exists in spontaneous Estonian conversation, and she is able to further distinguish between two phonetic shapes of rising contours with different discourse functions.

Kasterpalu (2013) has demonstrated that the intonation contour of the Estonian discourse particle *jaajaa*, together with the co-participants’ orientation to the familiarity of the information being given, has an influence on how turn taking in the given situation is managed. Evidence has also been presented that the choice between the response particles *ahhaa* and *ahah* reflects the responding speaker’s differing orientations to turn transition. For example, the *ahhaa* speaker is oriented to remaining in a recipient position, whereas after uttering *ahah*, the responding speaker typically takes over (Kasterpalu & Keevallik 2010). Concerning turns other than particles, Laanesoo (forthcoming 2014) analyzes ‘what’-initial interrogatives in spoken Estonian and reports that their prosodic format (and semantics) is crucial in determining the social action they accomplish in interaction, whether used as a request for information, or as a reproach.

Turn taking in Estonian is also mentioned in several studies by Keevallik (for example, 2003a, 2006, 2011a, 2012). Keevallik demonstrates that it is essential that one takes into account turn taking and interaction when analyzing the function and nature of linguistic elements in general. In addition, in studying Estonian classroom data from a multi-modal perspective, Mihkels (2012), mentions phenomena related to turn taking in

her analyses of repair sequences. Keevallik (2009b, 2010c), in turn, investigates answers to polar questions and presents the possible variants together with the interactional functions they are used for. She presents evidence that the sequential position of the question affects the choice of the form of the response (Keevallik 2010c). In another study, Keevallik (2008b) reports that for specific purposes in interaction, speakers of Estonian use a certain utterance type, a complement clause beginning with *et*. Moreover, when speakers begin a clausal utterance with the complementizer *et*, they typically attribute the content of the turn to the previous speaker. Keevallik's work thus demonstrates how speakers use certain types of turns-at-talk to accomplish sequences of action collaboratively. In addition, the on-line creation of turns-at-talk in Estonian has been investigated by Hennoste (2013) by focusing on a specific syntactic structure, the pivot construction, and especially on how it is used in repair sequences. This analysis by Hennoste sheds light on how the projected structure of turns can be extended through pivot constructions.

The research of interactional Estonian that is related to turn taking provides an understanding of how various types of turns-at-talk can be constructed, especially with regard to their grammatical characteristics. Concerning the prosody of interactional Estonian, there are a few observations that are important from the perspective of turn taking.

As a conclusion to this section, Finnish and Estonian conversationalists also signal the completion of a turn using a variety of resources. The interplay of the resources/cues is important, although this has yet to be investigated thoroughly. When Finnish and Estonian are compared to languages that have been thus far extensively analyzed, these two languages are similar regarding the basics and the principles of turn-taking organization, turn construction and turn projection, but the exact resources and practices may differ. In general, however, the research on Finnish and Estonian talk-in-interaction also relies on the body of work discussed in section 2.1.

2.3 Overlapping talk and interruptions

This section concerns overlapping talk²⁸ and interruptions²⁹, the relationship between the two, and the explanations given for them by researchers from various scholarly backgrounds. I will begin by reviewing the literature that analyzes overlapping speech and silence from a cross-cultural perspective. I will then discuss the variable terminology concerning the phenomenon bundle and explain the orientation and stance that is adopted in this study. The next section will review the studies of overlapping talk that have been conducted using conversation analysis as the principal method of

²⁸ Finn. *päällekkäispuhunta*, Est. *pealerääkimine*, *korraga rääkimine*

²⁹ Finn. *keskeyttäminen*, Est. *katkestamine*

investigation. I will also touch upon the issue of culture-specificity. Finally, I will briefly review the studies that focus on interruptions, gender and dominance.

2.3.1 Overlapping speech and silence from a cross-cultural perspective

In the studies of cross-cultural communication (and national stereotypes and self-images), the Finns have been claimed to be the silent party. It has been claimed that other nationalities overlap the Finns' speech in cross-cultural encounters, and that other nationalities use more overlapping talk among themselves as compared to conversations among Finns. When comparing Finns to Estonians, the claim is that also Estonians use overlapping talk more than Finns, and relatedly, that Finnish conversation contains more and longer pauses than Estonian conversation. This is the picture that emerges from the literature, and it is this picture that is challenged in the current study. It is worth mentioning here at the outset is that coding and counting silences and overlaps/interruptions and then correlating them with national identity categories is difficult and complicated. This type of research has, nevertheless, been conducted, and various methods have been used. Let us now take a closer look at the prior literature.

The background of the national stereotype concerning "the silent Finn" has been discussed from the perspective of communication and culture (Lehtonen & Sajavaara 1985, Sajavaara & Lehtonen 1997; see also Tiittula 1994). Compared to other nationalities, Finns are claimed not to talk much, and when they do talk, they talk slowly and use a high number of pauses. The latter article by Sajavaara and Lehtonen adds yet another facet: the purported quiet listenership of Finns. It is not directly stated in these articles, but their claims can be taken also to imply that the "opposite" behavior does not belong to the Finnish character, that is, Finns do not talk in overlap (see also Rusanen 1993). In addition, several other studies of speech communication state that compared to other nationalities, Finns are silent (Tiittula 1993, several articles in Isotalus 1994). Regarding the self-images of people of different nationalities, the Finns judge themselves as being more silent than other nations (see Daun, Verkasalo & Tuomivaara, 2001). The same is true for Estonians: at least when compared to Canadians, they judge themselves as being more silent (Kivik 1998). Furthermore, research on communication stereotypes maintain that Estonians are more silent than Russians (Mizera et al. 2013). A study of attitudes by Tulviste et al. (2011) has discovered that Estonian adolescents have more negative or neutral attitudes towards talkativeness than Swedish adolescents, whose attitude to talkativeness depends more often on contextual factors. The studies of attitudes and stereotypes are predominantly based on impressions and evaluations; in contrast, the current work is based on the analyses of spontaneous, naturally occurring interactional data. In short, most of the

methods and the type of research are different than those adopted in the present study.

Targeting cross-cultural encounters, some studies have investigated the communication of Finns with members of another country, and the results have been compared. Based on the analyses of structured, assignment-based telephone conversations among Finns in Finnish, among North Americans in English, and among these two groups interculturally in English, Sneek (1987) finds that compared to Americans, Finns use more and longer pauses both between and during speaker turns, and Finns also take longer and fewer turns in the conversations in general. Furthermore, the amount of overlapping talk is smaller in Finnish conversations. It is interesting that Sneek claims that when Finns speak with Americans (in English), the amount of simultaneous speech is high, and it is specifically the Finns who “interrupted” their interlocutors. Sneek interprets this as a “malfunctioning” of the turn-taking system or “mis-timed” backchannel (*ibid.*); however, he does not explain how he arrives at this negative interpretation.

In a rather similar research frame, focusing on naturally occurring intercultural business telephone calls between Americans and Finns, Halmari (1993) reported that the Americans interrupted the Finns three times more frequently than the reverse. According to Halmari, Finnish businessmen rarely interrupt their interlocutors, and when talking simultaneously, they mostly produce “interjections” that are suggestive of understanding. Halmari observes that Finns begin simultaneous speech only on the last syllables of the other’s turn, whereas Americans usually begin already in the middle of the prior turn.

The comparisons between the Estonians and the speakers of other nationalities or cultures have been conducted within the framework of the politeness theory. Vogelberg (2002) discusses some studies that have compared the requesting strategies between Estonians and Russians and between Estonians and Anglo-Americans. These studies were based on questionnaires (with questions such as “how would you ask a friend to open the window?”) and focused on the politeness of the different forms of requests and the factors that might have an influence on the choices. These studies suggest that different nationalities may prefer different politeness strategies, for example, when performing requests. Estonians and other nationalities have also been compared by consulting authentic interaction data with a focus on the amount of talk. In family situations, Estonians have been reported to talk less when compared to Americans and Swedes (Junefelt & Tulviste 1997, Tulviste 2000).

Finally, Finnish and Estonian communicative styles have been compared. Pajupuu’s (1995a, b, 1997) data were conversations on the radio between the host of the program and his/her guests. Based on the calculations of speech rate and the lengths of turns and pauses, the author claims that compared to Finns, Estonians talk faster, use shorter turns, switch speakers more often and use more overlapping talk. Pajupuu also characterizes some of the

Estonian turns as putting words into the interlocutor's mouth in order to avoid long pauses and to advance in the conversation (cf. section 6.1.3 in this book). In contrast, the Finns are characterized as the opposite of Estonians; their turns are long, overlapping their talk is very sparse, and when listening, interlocutors remain silent. However, there has also been research that has reported similarities between the Finnish and Estonian communication styles. For example, in the context of family mealtime situations, Tulviste et al. (2003) reported that in terms of the amount of talk they produced, Finns and Estonians are both equally silent (compared to Swedes).

The current study will continue this line of research by presenting the similarities between the Finns and Estonians in terms of their communicative behavior. As will be evidenced in the analytic chapters below, this study provides evidence that the overlapping talk investigated here displays no notable differences between Finnish and Estonian conversationalists. On the contrary, overlapping talk occurs regularly in conversation in both these languages, and the amount of overlapping talk in the data is also rather similar in both languages (see Table 2 on page 30). Furthermore, this study will demonstrate that speakers of Finnish and Estonian use overlapping talk for interactional ends that are similar in the two languages, and that in both, overlapping talk is treated as normal interactional behavior. The image of the silent Finn thus vanishes. At least in this respect³⁰, the Finns are not found to be different from other nationalities – and specifically not from the Estonians.

The differences between the research results in this study and earlier studies are intriguing, and I suspect that they are in part due to the different type of data used (compare people's attitude expressions, questionnaires concerning interaction behavior, non-authentic, structured talk, authentic radio talk and naturally occurring everyday talk), and, more importantly, to the different research aims/questions and methods of investigation (quantitative versus qualitative, etc.).³¹ It may also be that prevalent and attested cultural stereotypes are not accurate reflections of the ways in which people actually speak. More recent research has also cast doubt on whether any direct and indexical relationship exists between a linguistic feature and a "function," such as between the amount and types of overlapping talk and/or silences and a given nationality (for the discussion concerning gender studies and the constructionist approach, see below and, for example, Schegloff 2002, Weatherall in press).

³⁰ I have not analyzed the amount and use of silences/pauses in interaction, so definite claims about them have to be postponed until more is known.

³¹ The studies mentioned above speak typically of specific nationalities, not speakers of a given language. For example, it is rather obvious that "a Finn" does not equal to "a speaker of Finnish." The present study consists of analyses of native speakers' talk-in-interaction. However, I do not aim to draw any links to the purported overall communicative behavior of the nations these participants belong to; I suspect it would be difficult to find empirical, naturally occurring evidence of that.

2.3.2 On terminology: what are *interruptions* and what is *overlap*?

There are essential differences in how “interruption” and “overlap” have been defined and understood in the vast and variable body of research literature. Beginning from the early studies, Zimmerman and West (1975) consider “an overlap” to consist of the incomings that occur one word (or, as they specify in their later contribution [West & Zimmerman 1983], two syllables) prior to or after the TRP; if the onset of an incoming is positioned more deeply in the ongoing turn, the incoming is “an interruption” to them. The authors consider overlap to constitute “an error in the transition between speaker turns” and interruption to entail a violation of turn-taking rules. Later interruption literature (for example, Ferguson 1977, Beattie 1981) distinguishes between interruptions that are successful and those that are not. The successful interruptive turn causes the first speaker to break off. The authors also argue that “interruption” does not necessarily require overlapping talk. This means that an interruptive next turn may begin during an intra-turn silence, when the prior turn was not yet complete (Beattie 1981, Bennett 1981, Ferguson 1977; for a critique of these criteria, see Tainio 1989).

Bennett (1981) characterizes “overlap” as a descriptive term used by analysts, and “interruption” as an interpretive category used by participants in relation to the “rights and obligations in actual situations” (ibid. 176). Bennett also relates the phenomenon to the participants’ feelings about overlapping talk. In other words, interruption is the participants’ interpretation, and it is dependent on the particular situation. Moreover, Murray (1985) discusses “interruption” as a members’ category, as a violation of a speaker’s right to turn completion. To Murray, the severity of interruption depends on four factors. These are the proportion of the speaking time between the participants, whether the speaker has had a chance to make his/her point in the turn (although he acknowledges the difficulty of identifying “a point”), the management of the topic, and the speakers’ special relations to specific topics. According to Murray, simultaneous speech is “neither necessary nor sufficient” as a criterion for determining interruption.

In their early studies of interruptions, both Bennett (1981) and Murray (1985) maintain that as a members’ category, defining interruption depends on how the speakers *feel* about it. Nonetheless, neither of these two studies defines what is meant by *feeling*. It does not seem to be an easy task to grasp participants’ feelings as a determining factor for interruptions, as suggested by these authors. However, it is possible to identify participants’ orientations to interruptions by using traditional conversation analytic tools, as Bilmes (1997) and Hutchby (1992) have demonstrated. By studying argumentative radio talk, Hutchby (ibid.) analyzes interruptions (by which he refers to turn start-ups at non-TRPs) as part and parcel of ‘disagreement’. In short, interruptions and arguments mutually constitute each other. Furthermore, Bilmes (ibid.) argues that parties can display that they are “doing interrupting” and especially “doing being interrupted” by using certain

expressions claiming that the co-participant is interrupting and/or by designing their talk with certain prosodic features such as increased loudness and tempo, and argues that there are systematic practices for displaying an ongoing competition for the floor. Crucially, he also underlines that analysts can only study “claims of interruption,” not “interruptions” per se: what can be observed are the phenomena of “doing interrupting” and “doing being interrupted.”

Olbertz-Siitonen (2009) also analyzed the turns that were treated as interruptions by participants in an institutional setting, and observed that overlapping talk and interruptions are separate phenomena with both parties needing to collaborate to accomplish an “interruption.” Moreover, Olbertz-Siitonen maintains that for the participants’ determination of the interruption, pragmatic features of the utterances are more important than unfinished syntax in the prior turn. In a related fashion, Edmonds, McManamon and Weatherall (2014) suggest that claims of interruptions are more related to sequences of action rather than to turn construction. This makes an important difference to previous work concerning the phenomenon – it seems that interruptions have, all in all, been predominantly studied from a mistaken perspective. The orientation is that “interruption” should be interpreted as a members’ category as evidenced by the interactants’ orientation to it. Studying interruptions from this perspective reveals important issues about the value of the conversation floor, the nature of the turn-taking system and the importance of utilizing turns to accomplish actions. By acknowledging interruptions as a phenomenon, however, the focus in the current study is elsewhere.

The classical CA literature refers to simultaneous talk exclusively as “overlap,” not as “interruption” (for example, Jefferson 1983, 1986, 2004a, Schegloff 2000, 2002). Explaining this and critiquing much of the literature that relates interruption to gender and dominance (see section 2.3.5 below), Schegloff (2002) argues that “overlap” refers merely to the fact that more than one speaker is speaking at the same time; it is therefore a descriptive category. “Interruption,” he explains, is a vernacular term and it suggests that one is not “merely describing,” but also complaining about the behavior that is at issue. Often this has meant, for many of the authors who discuss this subject, both starting to speak while another is already speaking and “not letting them finish,” or “continuing to talk until the prior speaker stops.” In summary, Schegloff observes that overlaps that start up at points more remote from the possible completion/recognition points are more vulnerable to being heard as “interruptive” (see also Drew 2009: 91). Criticizing Bennett (1981) and Murray (1985), he argues that characterizing a turn as an interruption is relevant to participants and, without the participants explicitly stating it, it is impossible for analysts to judge (cf. Bilmes 1997).

Building on Sacks’ (1992) analysis on membership categorization devices, Schegloff (2002, see also Schegloff 1987b) also suggests that there are inherent serious analytical shortcomings in the prior literature that relates

interruptions to gender, power and to other categories (this occurs in most of the articles reviewed below) and in the literature that purports that other conversational activities are associated with a certain category such as supportive overlapping talk being associated with women (as in Coates 1996 and Tannen 1994, see below; see also section 2.3.1 above on studies of interactional behavior associated with certain nationalities). To cite a simple example, a given male in a given conversation may not “interrupt” his female co-participant just “by virtue of being themselves male and the others being female.” In other words, there is insufficient evidence that “these categories informed the parties - - as the relevant capacities - - in which conduct was being produced and understood,” as Schegloff (2002: 309) observes. More contemporary gender studies consider gender (and other categories and roles) as being something that the participants bring into being, not as something they inherently exhibit (for example, see Weatherall in press and references therein). A different type of methodology must be adopted to show that, for instance, by using a given interactional (or other) practice, the participants are specifically constructing their gender or nationality (or other roles or identities), and not doing something else in their interaction.

One perspective that is lacking from most of the studies mentioned above is that of social action as described scholars such as Levinson (2013). In many of the above-mentioned studies, overlapping turns have been rather straightforwardly labeled as “interruptions,” but precise analyses of the actions or activities being carried out have not been provided. My study aims at filling this gap by providing analyses of the actions and of the functions of a certain type of overlapping turn in everyday interaction (cf. Goodwin & Goodwin 1987). In this way, the phenomenon of interruption is separated from the phenomenon of overlapping talk. Continuing the argumentation from some of the studies reviewed above, my intention is to argue that positioning a turn in overlap does not mean it “is” or is viewed by the participants as an interruption, and that “interruption” seems to be a phenomenon on a different level from that of social action (for example, see Olbertz-Siitonen 2009, Edmonds, McManamon & Weatherall 2014). In my understanding, speakers accomplish various actions by their turns-at-talk, and the timing of a turn may have its own implications for the interpretation of that turn.

Let us now turn to review the (rest of the) overlap research conducted within a conversation analytic framework, while at the same time discussing the position of the research questions of this study in relation to the existing literature in the CA field.

2.3.3 Conversation analytic studies on overlapping talk

One of the first purely CA studies concentrating on overlapping talk was conducted by Jefferson (1983, 1986), who uncovered the fine details of timing a next turn-at-talk. Analyzing the variable places where an

overlapping turn may start up, she provides a classification of three different “types” of overlap onset: transitional, recognitional and progressional. “Transitional” overlaps begin at a point that is at, or very near, the possible completion of an utterance, that is, at (or near) a transition relevance place (TRP). Transitional overlaps are again divided into those that have unmarked next-positioned onset, those that have possible completion onset, those that have terminal onset, and those that have last-item onset, all of which are lawful places to take a turn, as they are all located (or near) the TRP. Here the speaker anticipates or projects the very end of a turn with the help of all the aspects of projection and begins his/her own contribution just before the previous/current turn is about to become complete (within a few sounds, or one to two syllables before the actual end of an utterance). In the current work, I do not address these types of incomings, but instead focus on those that are non-“transitional,” the ones that Jefferson calls “interjacent” overlaps. These are divided into recognitional and progressional onsets.

Jefferson’s (1983, 1986) “recognitional” overlap onsets do not come at a TRP, but rather at least a few syllables away from it. With recognitional overlap, the incoming speaker is not so much orienting to the completeness of the utterance as to its adequacy. Jefferson divides this group into two sub-types so that either the incoming speaker targets a specific item in the ongoing/prior turn, or s/he attends to the general sense of the ongoing utterance. In addition, Jefferson observes that the turns with a recognitional onset consequently begin at a point where “an understanding of at least the general thrust of the utterance can have been achieved” (Jefferson 1983: 20). In her examples incoming speakers orient to their own talk as being somehow out of place, as possibly “interruptive” (ibid. p. 21). This turn-onset type is the same, or at least very similar, to what I am examining in my study; yet in my examples, the incoming speaker rarely orients to his/her turn as being “interruptive,” but instead, produces it as if it was totally legitimate, without any hesitation markers or other cues, such as competitive prosody. In this work, I will also address the “legitimacy” of these turns, but I will focus most on the interactional work that the speakers of these turns accomplish in the specific interactional situations in question, an issue which Jefferson does not discuss at length in her work. Instead, Jefferson’s main concern was to determine the different types of turn-onset timing, whereas mine is social action together with the consequences of turn-onset timing. I will also consider the factors in the prior/ongoing turn and in the current sequence that facilitate an early positioned response by the next speaker.

A final category of overlap onset in Jefferson’s (1983, 1986) work is a “progressional” onset. A turn that sets in at this point may begin at any grammatical point in the prior turn, but only where there has been some type of breakdown in the progressivity or fluency of the turn, such as a silence or stuttering. Jefferson notes that this type of behavior may be aimed at getting the recipient to become active (the same point is made earlier in Goodwin 1981; for later research on the phenomenon, for example, see Chevalier

2008). When collecting the database for the purposes of this study, I did not systematically examine the silences or stuttering in the talk. In some of my cases, this type of phenomenon appears, whereas in the majority, it does not. Based on my data, it seems that the speakers of the early incoming responses use their turns for the same interactional functions, regardless of whether or not any form of dysfluency occurs in the overlapped turn. This is one reason I do not focus on this phenomenon in my analyses. (See also section 6.1.3 for a further discussion of this question.)

More recently, the most significant investigations of overlapping talk in the field of CA include the work by Schegloff (2000), who describes an “overlap-resolution device,” which fills certain gaps in the turn-taking system (Sacks et al. 1974). Schegloff successfully addresses the questions of how participants manage the situation of more than one party talking at a time, and how they regain the state of one party at a time. Schegloff also identifies the resources participants use on these occasions, the places where these resources are used, and their logic. In a contribution partly similar to Schegloff’s (2000), Jefferson (2004a) examines the systematics of the practices by which speakers decide and manage who shall drop out, and how the situation is subsequently dealt with.³² Furthermore, these questions, albeit interesting, are beyond the scope of the present study.

The different prosodic and phonetic patterns that are associated with overlapping talk have also been examined. For instance, French and Local (1983, 1986) investigate overlapping incomings that are hearable as competitive in their English data, and they conclude that neither the point of the turn’s onset, nor its semantic content, is responsible for a turn being hearable as competing for the floor. Rather, it is the speakers’ use of the prosodic features of high pitch and loud volume that make a turn competitive. French and Local classify these turn-competitive incomings as one sub-set of “interruptions.” Continuing the work on turn competition and overlapping talk, Kurtić et al. (2013) examine the phonetic features that most reliably determine whether or not a turn is hearable as competitive. Their data come from institutional meetings, which makes a difference compared to the current study. But in my view, what is more problematic in their study is the notion of competition, which they take for granted and use to make a basic distinction between turns. The relevance of this ‘competition’ for the participants is not established empirically in their paper. Kurtić et al.’s main result is, nevertheless, that overlap placement is more important than prosodic features in indicating turn competition. In any case, as regards the current study, the question of which turns are hearable as competitive is likely to be different in Estonian and Finnish from what it is in English, as the languages themselves are different. This dimension has not been foregrounded in the present study.

³² Despite the later publication year, Jefferson’s work actually pre-dates Schegloff’s; see Lerner 2004c.

Couper-Kuhlen (1993) introduces a rhythm-based metric for turn taking in English and demonstrates how it accounts better for both overlapping talk, silences and turn-competitive incomings than the analyses that are based on the turn-taking system as described by Sacks et al. (1974) and the literature following it (see the studies by Jefferson, French and Local mentioned above). According to Couper-Kuhlen, the unmarked case of turn transition is one that maintains the rhythm and tempo of the prior talk (*ibid.* p. 126); in addition, there are several marked types of turn transition. Moreover, different overlap types can be identified by using this metric. However, as both Finnish and Estonian are prosodically different from English in terms of variables such as rhythm and intonation (on the prosody of read-aloud Finnish, see Hirvonen 1970, Iivonen 1998; on Estonian, see Asu & Nolan 2006) and somewhat different from one another as well (Pajupuu 1990), it is doubtful whether this metric, despite its obvious advantages, could be used for these languages. Although this is not within the scope of the current study, this matter deserves attention in future research.

For English conversation, Wells and Macfarlane (1998) have determined that the beginning of a TRP can be identified on the basis of the phonetic characteristics of the accented syllable preceding it. They report that some accented syllables are TRP-projecting while others are not. Again, these results cannot be directly applied to Finnish and Estonian conversation, but they can be taken as hints that in these two languages, some prosodic features may also play a significant role in signaling the transition-readiness of turns. However, the specifics of this type of research are also beyond the scope of this study.

Besides matters of prosody, several conversation analytic studies have discovered specific interactional environments where (early) overlapping talk regularly occurs, and some possible functions that overlapping talk may have in conversation. Next, I will summarize these findings and relate them to the new knowledge that my own study affords.

A well-known practice that is recurrently found to be accompanied by the overlapping of turns is that of agreeing assessments (Goodwin 1986, Goodwin & Goodwin 1987, 1992, Pomerantz 1984a). Pomerantz and the Goodwins have demonstrated how after a first assessment, an agreeing response often occurs early, as early as in overlap during the course of the first assessment, whereas disagreeing responses tend to come later, often after a gap. Some of my data extracts include assessments as well as subsequent, overlapping agreements. However, I will demonstrate that the analysis of the early positioned agreeing turns can be developed even further (see especially sections 8.2 and 9.2 below).

Another environment that tends to attract overlapping turns is shared telling and turn-sharing (for example, Lerner 1992, 1996, 2002, 2004a). This occurs when more than one person tells a story or produces some other talk together with a co-participant, and their talk is sometimes simultaneous (shared telling is excluded from the present study, see section 1.3 above;

however, not all of Lerner's examples are from that environment). Lerner (*ibid.*) has identified several distinct practices within this domain. In one of his papers (1996), Lerner examines compound TCUs and discusses the various practices that occur at the juncture between the preliminary and the next component – in the middle of the ongoing turn, and sometimes in overlap – where another participant produces the subsequent part of a compound TCU as an anticipatory completion. As a supplement to Lerner's work, my data demonstrate that not only compound TCUs, but also one-part structures may be not only responded to (chapters 4, 5 and 6) but also "continued" (section 6.1.3) in overlap by the next speaker in specific ways. In another study, Lerner (2002) shows how choral co-productions – a phenomenon where more than one participant voices part of a turn together, simultaneously – are used in openings and closings, when reminiscing together and also in turn-competitive environments. For example, choral co-productions can be used to exhibit understanding of and affiliation with a current speaker, and they can also express shared entitlement to an issue. My study will provide evidence that various other practices also occur in overlap and accomplish partly similar interactional work as is described above for choral co-productions.

In addition to agreeing assessments, joint tellings and other related actions and practices, greetings and farewells are also often produced in overlap (for example, Auer 1990, Pillet-Shore 2008). As these are not one of the main focuses of this study nor highly frequent in the current data, they will be mentioned only briefly in section 8.1. In addition, the recipient behavior that is accomplished by various particles, such as continuers and other response tokens, is often produced in overlap with the ongoing turn (for example, Gardner 2002, Goodwin 1986; see also Sorjonen 2001a). Particle-only turns were, however, excluded from the current study.

Practices related to conversational repair may also involve overlapping talk. The repair initiators that a co-participant produces – other-initiated repairs – are typically delayed in their timing (for example, Couper-Kuhlen 1992), whereas confirmations that occur after repair (initiation) turns can be positioned in overlap. Pajo (2013) examines the positioning of the confirmation of a repair turn in conversations with a hearing-impaired person and discusses overlap as a means of maintaining the progressivity of conversation and of advancing the course of conversation.

Nonetheless, the departure point for the research described in the preceding four paragraphs differs somewhat from the study that I am proposing because most scholars have started from a particular activity and then discovered that overlapping talk occurs in those sequences. In contrast, I have first included all the instances of non-transitional overlap in my data, then restricted the collection as reported in chapter 1, and subsequently examined the functions of these overlapping turns. This type of procedure provides us with a broader view of the phenomenon of overlapping talk in everyday interactions (although it will necessarily be restricted in other

ways). The questions that my study attempts to address are thus different from those in the (CA) literature mentioned above. My work aims at finding an answer to what the participants achieve with overlapping turns, positioned as they are at non-transitional points in the ongoing turn.

Somewhat similar to the analysis proposed by this dissertation is the departure point of the conversation analytic work by Olbertz-Siitonen (2009) on institutional goal-oriented meetings in German and Finnish. Olbertz-Siitonen examined turns that start up before the ongoing turn has reached completion and noticed that in her institutional data, these turns were most often used to repair a sudden problem in talk and to prevent an unwanted course of conversation. These turns begin very soon after the occurrence of the trouble source. Although Olbertz-Siitonen's research question somewhat resembles mine, it is interesting that in analyzing a different type of data from what I am consulting, her findings are also different from the results that will emerge in the current study. A rather similar study has been conducted by Ahrens (1997); however, the data for that study were non-authentic, pre-structured interactions and many of the possible variables had been determined in advance. Ahrens refers to the overlapping turns as interruptions and observes that they regularly occur in disagreement environments, and she identifies different functional types among them.

In his article on the "overlap resolution device," Schegloff (2000) proposes four types of overlapping talk in conversation that are initially unproblematic in terms of turn taking and that do not require any special device for resolution. These types are terminal overlap, continuers, help in turn production and other co-produced utterances, and utterances that are to be produced in unison, such as laughter and greetings. I have excluded terminal overlap, continuers and aspects such as laughter from my collections, but my position on co-produced utterances is somewhat different (for more details, see section 6.1.3). This dissertation will demonstrate that there is still something more to be discovered on the unproblematic nature of overlapping talk (see also Vatanen 2008, 2010): the analytic chapters will demonstrate that non-transitional overlapping responses are a patterned, orderly practice and that overlapping is used in rather uniform activities.

2.3.4 Culture-specificity in CA studies of overlapping speech

Some scholars working within a conversation analytic framework have examined possible cultural differences in turn-taking practices. These studies use conversation analytic methods (and sometimes other methods as well) to discuss cultural specificities in the use of overlapping talk in natural conversations. For example, adopting both CA and linguistic anthropology as frameworks, Duranti (1997a) investigates Samoan ceremonial greetings and detects that overlapping talk is used for specific purposes in them. In a similar vein, a study by Sugawara (2012) examines the functions of overlaps in everyday talk among the !Gui in southern Africa, using both CA and other

methods. In the IGui conversations, both cooperative and antagonistic overlaps resemble that which has been reported in Western cultures, but Sugawara also detects some uses of overlapping talk that are not attested in Western cultures/languages. These follow their own rules and systematics (not those of the Sacks et al. turn-taking system, argues Sugawara) and are not “disorder or chaos” (ibid. p. 600) as they would seem to Westerners.³³

The studies by Duranti and Sugawara suggest that there may, after all, be certain cultural specificities in turn-taking behavior. However, not all studies of non-Western conversations claim this. For instance, Moerman (1988) analyzes conversations that are conducted in Thai and states that overlap occurs in team talk, agreement, and cooperation (and in competition, when parties start simultaneously) – and this has been confirmed in the studies of conversations in Western languages as well. In addition to CA, Moerman uses ethnographic methods in his analyses and reports that culture and the participants’ social roles are also important in how parties attach meanings to various issues. Sidnell (2001), in turn, examines turn taking in a Caribbean English Creole and reports that the principles for turn taking (including overlapping talk) are fundamentally the same as, if not identical to, what Sacks et al. (1974) proposed for English conversation. Sidnell (ibid.) demonstrates how prior claims about (cultural) differences in turn taking in the Caribbean area, as advanced, for example, by Reisman (1974), are actually invalid. In his studies of Antiguan conversations, Reisman (ibid.) did not provide data transcripts to substantiate his claims about the differences, but implies nevertheless that recordings were made. It is thus difficult to find evidence for what he claims in his paper. Sidnell (ibid.), in turn, offers rich illustrative materials to demonstrate the similarities (identical features) he has found in turn-taking practices in Caribbean English Creole and English conversations.

Other scholars who analyze turn taking and overlapping talk are Gardner and Mushin (2007). They studied these phenomena in a Garrwa community in Australia and discovered that the systematics are for the most part similar to the ones that have been proposed by Sacks et al. (ibid.). However, Gardner and Mushin suggest that there may be slight cultural differences regarding the “normal” timing of turns. They also identify one overlap type (in short, the “post-start-up overlap”) that has not been attested in previous studies of other languages, but nevertheless they do not go so far as to claim that it is related to the language/culture they examine per se.

Both Sugawara (2012) and Moerman (1988) have detected many systematic uses for overlapping talk, and some of these are similar to those that I report on in this study for Finnish and Estonian talk-in-interaction. Furthermore, Sugawara (ibid.) focuses on a non-Western society and hints at the results being culture-specific, while Moerman does not do this. My investigation of overlapping talk in two Western speech communities reports

³³ There is presumably variation within each of the Western languages and cultures as well.

results that are similar. This indicates that at least in these four communities (two in Northern Europe, one in southern Africa and one in South-East Asia), the systematics of overlapping talk are similar. This further suggests the possibility that these functions could be universal, deriving as they do from how humans interact with each other. This is also what Sidnell (2001: 1287) observes: “some aspects of human social interaction are based on a species-specific adaptation and are not open to a great deal of cultural diversification.” And that is my understanding as well; at least my analyses of the Finnish and Estonian data reported in this study do not reveal anything that would contradict Sidnell’s hypothesis.

2.3.5 Overlapping talk and interruptions in relation to gender and dominance

In addition to cultural differences, one aspect that has attracted abundant interest among scholars is how overlapping talk and interruptions might be related to gender and dominance. The question of power and its distribution across individuals has long intrigued researchers in various fields. Yet the literature reported in the following is based predominantly on interactions in English (in the Anglo-American culture), as by far most research has dealt with that community. It is interesting that the focus of these studies is not on cultural differences, but typically on possible differences in gender and dominance patterns in interruptive behavior in interaction; the effect of the language or the cultural group of the participants is barely mentioned (see James & Clarke 1993: 265; see, however, Tannen 1994, 2005). Although the focus in my study is not on gender and dominance differences that are related to simultaneous talk, I will offer a brief review of this body of literature, as the connection to these has been prevalent among scholars investigating the phenomenon of overlapping talk.

It is also important to again note that the studies exploring these questions have major differences in how they define and understand “interruptions.” For the most part, these analyses equate interruptions with some type of overlapping talk, and usually no attempts are made to further explore the social actions in the turns. As both Bilmes (1997) and Drew (2009) point out, much of this work lacks a detailed examination of turn taking as it is actually constructed. Furthermore, most of the studies do not clarify what is meant by dominance. (Cf. Hutchby’s [1992] study of interruptions and arguments reviewed above.) Most of this literature conducts a rather facile and simplified analysis by linking a language feature to an identity category, a procedure that has been elsewhere largely demonstrated as being problematic (in addition to Schegloff 2002 reviewed above, for example, see Bucholtz & Hall 2005, Ochs 1992, Weatherall in press). With these provisos in mind, let us now briefly review the related literature.

Some early and widely cited studies of interruption, gender and dominance have claimed that men interrupt women more than the reverse, and that men are more likely to use interruptions to dominate in interaction (for example, West & Zimmerman 1983, Zimmerman & West 1975).³⁴ On the other hand, others (e.g. Beattie 1981) have found no significant differences between the sexes with regard to their interruptive behavior. A critical review of the literature by James and Clarke (1993), based on a large survey of the interruption literature, reveals inconsistencies in the research results and in the methods adopted. James and Clark argue that the majority of interruption studies have reported no significant differences in the amount of interruption between the genders.

The majority of the studies that have reported gender differences are based on conversations in contexts other than casual interaction. Most of them investigate previously unacquainted people talking in a laboratory setting, sometimes even on a given topic. Due to the different data used, as well as the dissimilarities in methodology and theoretical assumptions, these studies are not directly comparable to the current study. An exception from the regular setting in this field is Ferguson (1977), whose results, which are based on casual conversation, support the idea that many of the interruptions in casual interaction are non-dominance-related – and this more closely reflects the results I have obtained as well.

In their literature review, James and Clarke (1993) also argue and demonstrate, based on several studies (including the analysis by Ferguson [1977] mentioned above), that not all interruptions are disruptive, nor are they used for dominance-related purposes, but often the function they serve is the opposite of reflecting disruption and dominance. Very few of the interruption studies have analyzed the function of interruptions (inter alia, the studies by Zimmerman and West, mentioned above). However, several of those that have, have observed that, considering the larger context of the interruption, at least some, if not the majority of “interruptions,” function as supportive, collaborative, and rapport-building (see Bennett 1981, Coates 1996, Edelsky 1981, Tannen 1994, 2005). This approach more closely approximates the one adopted in the current study in questioning what functions the overlapping turns serve, and what the speakers (try to) achieve with them.

However, there are some important differences between the current study and many of the works mentioned above. For example, Coates (1996), studying all-female conversations only, explains the behavior in question as something that is typical for women especially (see above for a critique of this line of enquiry), whereas Tannen (1994, 2005) relates the phenomenon to a

³⁴ As mentioned in section 2.3.2 above, *interruption* is defined in these two studies as “violation of speakers’ turn at talk” (West & Zimmerman 1983: 103), which for these authors refers to a turn that starts up elsewhere than at or near the boundary of the current turn-unit; more accurately, this means more than one word or two syllables away from the boundary.

specific conversational style that she refers to as a *high involvement style* (as opposed to a *high considerateness style*), and Edelsky (1981) describes it as typical for collaboratively constructed floors where several people share the floor jointly and engage in “free-for-all” turn taking (instead of the usual one-at-a-time turn taking). The current study, by contrast, analyzes the actions of the turns. This is undertaken without differentiation on the basis of aspects such the gender of the participants³⁵, their communicative style or the type of the floor that is prevalent at the moment. Furthermore, as already stated above, here the phenomenon under exploration is exclusively referred to as overlapping talk, not as interruption, which is conceptualized as a distinct phenomenon. The current work is an attempt to describe the interactional work that speakers achieve by positioning their responsive turns in overlap at a non-completion point in the ongoing turn, where that turn is not yet transition-ready and where the turn transition is, according to the turn-taking system (Sacks et al. 1974), not yet expected. The focus is therefore on the social actions in these turns as well as on the possible consequences that turn-onset timing might have for them. This topic will now be considered in more detail.

³⁵ However, it is true that in most of my data extracts, the participants are women. The reason for this is that there were more women than men in my data in general. Nevertheless, the behavior that I describe is also exhibited by the men in my data, so the larger proportion of females in the examples stems only from the larger proportion of females in the data itself.

3 PROJECTION AND RECOGNITION IN SEQUENCES WITH OVERLAP

This chapter provides some initial observations on the data and at the same time explicates how projection and recognition function in sequences with overlap, as these are crucial in understanding the phenomenon. First, I will describe the points of overlap onset that are taken into account here – the non-transitional overlaps (section 3.1). That section includes a discussion of how syntax and prosody provide resources for projecting utterance completion. I will then proceed to examine the target turns in a larger context and investigate the resources that contribute to the opportunities for the recipient to recognize ahead of time what the utterance is going to be about before its actual completion (section 3.2). Finally, I will make a brief, initial examination of the actions in the target turns, both the overlapped and the overlapping ones (section 3.3). What the speakers accomplish by these turns will be analyzed in more detail in chapters 4–6 that follow.

3.1 Non-transitional overlap: projective syntax and prosody

The focus of the present analysis is on those overlapping responses that begin while the ongoing initiating turn has not yet reached its (possible) completion. Thus, the responses begin at a point that is not the transition relevance place (TRP). I refer to these onset points as “non-transitional.” Non-transitional onset points include all those points in the ongoing turn that are not within the TRP – either the TRP that precedes the ongoing turn-constructive unit (TCU), or the one following it (see Figure 1 below). TCUs and TRPs have been discussed extensively in chapter 2, so here I will only briefly highlight the most crucial issues that are based on the literature reviewed in that chapter. A TRP is the place where legitimate turn transitions occur, the place where a would-be next speaker can legitimately take a turn. A TRP is a possible completion point in the ongoing turn. A turn’s possible completion entails the possible completion of the projectedly-last TCU in the turn. The possible completion of the TCU hinges on, among other things, the possible completion of the turn’s syntactic and prosodic structure and of the social action the turn is performing. Hence, a non-TRP refers to a moment during the unfolding of the ongoing turn when these projections have not yet been fulfilled. This is when the “non-transitional” turn onsets occur.

Participants in face-to-face interaction have a vast set of resources for constructing their turns-at-talk and for recognizing and projecting the production and completion of turns-at-talk by their co-participants. In addition to grammar, prosody and action, these resources include body

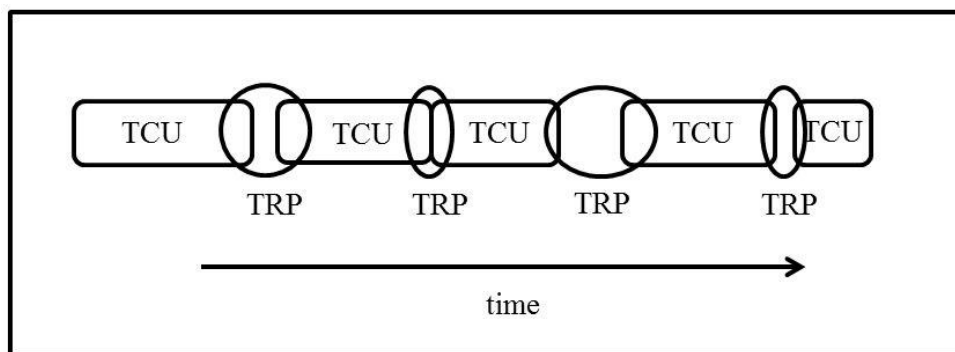


Figure 1 TCUs (produced by one or several speakers) and TRPs in time.³⁶

posture and body movements and gaze behavior. The focus of the present study is on how participants use grammatical (morpho-syntactic) and prosodic resources and on whether the turn recognizably implements a social action. Factors such as gaze and body movements are taken into account (and also transcribed) only when they change close to the overlapping turn onset point, that is, when they seem immediately relevant for turn transition.

As Sacks et al. (1974: 702) suggest, the grammatical form of a TCU (in English) can be either sentential, clausal, phrasal or lexical. And speakers of Finnish and Estonian seem to exploit similar TCU forms (see section 2.2). In the current collection, however, all utterances that are followed by a non-transitional overlapping response are clausal, consisting of either one or more clauses. In a sense, this is not surprising, as Thompson et al. (forthcoming) demonstrate that clausal forms are typical for initiating turns. It is nevertheless interesting to inquire as to why only clausal turns are followed by non-transitional overlapping responses. The answer might not, after all, concern the clausal form per se, but with the fact that in the languages examined here, the amount of talk and “content” is greatest in clauses (when compared to phrases, for instance). It has also been argued that clauses enable the strongest or the farthest-reaching projection (Laury, Ono & Suzuki 2013), which also makes early overlapping responses possible.

For a clausal turn to be complete in the languages examined here, basically all the complements required by its predicate verb (or its argument structure) are needed. These complements can be explicitly displayed in the turn, or they can be inferred from the context, as the grammar of a conversational utterance may be influenced by its position in a sequence and by the overall context (for example, see Schegloff 1996a). (On the grammar of conversational language in general, see for example Ono & Thompson 1995, Thompson 2002, Thompson & Hopper 2001.) As Ford and Thompson (1996: 143) state, “an utterance [is] syntactically complete if, in its discourse

³⁶ This figure, as a simplified illustration, does not capture aspects such as the interactive accomplishment of the TCUs, the negotiability of the TRPs, speaker change, or the turns consisting of multiple TCUs.

context, it could be interpreted as a complete clause, that is, with an overt or directly recoverable predicate.” They note further that the “points of syntactic completion may be incremental,” and that syntactic completion is “a potential terminal boundary for a recoverable “clause-so-far”” (ibid.).

When constructing prosodically complete and coherent units, the participants may use various means such as final intonation, stress, voice quality, rhythm, etc. In the current study, the main focus is on final pitch movement, voice quality and partly on the primary stress of the utterance, too. According to Tiittula (1985b: 324), all final intonation contours except for the strong final rise exist at turn-endings in conversational Finnish. I assume that in complete prosodic units, the intonation contour is coherent, whatever its form (cf. Chafe 1994), and hence, if the contour has not yet signaled a move to completion, the turn is regarded as prosodically incomplete. In Finnish, transition relevance is also signaled by changing the voice quality to non-modal, such as creaky or whispery (Ogden 2001, 2004). In Estonian, the resources for prosodic completion of turns-at-talk have not been studied. Concerning prosodic completion, the transcriptions of the Estonian data are thus based on the transcribers’ intuitions; for the most part, the transcriptions have been prepared by native Estonians as well as by me. Thus, the judgments on the prosodic completion in the Estonian data, and also somewhat in the Finnish data, are inevitably impressionistic.

Judging the completion of a social action – sometimes called pragmatic completion – is not always straightforward. In some prior literature, pragmatic completion has been dealt with in very general terms, as the point or sense of the turn (for example, Jefferson 1983). Ford and Thompson (1996) distinguish between local and global pragmatic completion, yet both of these constitute pragmatic completions for them. To Schegloff (1996a: 59), a turn can be considered to be pragmatically complete when it recognizably implements an action. This last-mentioned criterion invariably requires a clear understanding of what an action is, which is not always simple (for discussions on actions, for example, see Couper-Kuhlen 2010, Heritage 2012a, Levinson 2013, Schegloff 1996b, 1997, and section 8.1 below). Some actions, such as requests and news deliveries, have been investigated extensively, whereas for some other actions, there is hardly any literature. In addition to an action, what the speaker implements with his/her turn can also be a broader activity, such as telling a story. Either way, my aim in this analysis is to view pragmatic completion from the participants’ perspective, examining how they orient to turns-at-talk as being complete or not.

All these features – grammar, prosody, and action – are projectable, that is, after a turn onset, its later course and progress can be expected before the elements actually occur. Co-participants exploit all these features to project the course of a turn and its possible completion point and position their own turn accordingly. Sometimes recipients may position their responses already before the TRP (or actually, between the TRPs; see Figure 1 above). At a non-TRP, one or several of the different projections have not yet been fulfilled so

that there is still something in the turn that is expected to occur. The different facets of projection do not always coincide. For instance, a grammatically complete TCU may be prosodically incomplete, and vice versa. However, the various turn features usually go hand-in-hand. In other words, if there is a syntactic element missing, the prosodic unit will also not yet be completed, for example in a situation where the final intonation has not yet reached its projected end point. Similarly, often at these points, the turn's action or activity has not yet come to an end.

I will now initially illustrate non-transitional onset points by offering some examples. Only the target lines of the examples are provided here – the overlapped and the overlapping turns. The initiating turn that is followed by a non-terminal overlapping response is marked with an arrow.

(3.1) Vaatetta päälle / Clothes on (Finnish)

Sg 377, 05:00

- > 11 C: se, (.) show oli vähän semmone [laimee.
DEM3 show be:PST.3SG a.bit DEM3.ADJ bland
the show was kind of [bland
12 A: [>nii sil ois
PRT DEM3:ADE be:COND.3SG
[yeah she could
- 13 varmaa ollu vähä< itsevarmempi olo
probably be:PPC a.bit self-confident:CMP feeling
have felt a little more self-confident
- 14 jos se ois oikeesti pistäny kuitenkin
if DEM3 be:COND.3SG really put:PPC anyway
if she had really put
- 15 vähä #vaatetta päälle.#
a.bit cloth:PAR on:ALL
some clothes on after all

When the responding turn in line 12 begins, the initiating turn in line 11 – *se show oli vähän semmone laimee*, ‘the show was kind of bland’ – lacks the head of its projected predicate complement, the adjective *laimee*, ‘bland.’ Other, modifying elements of the predicate complement (*vähän semmone*, ‘kind of’) have already occurred, but they are still missing the head of the phrase. (*Semmone* could also basically stand as the head of the phrase, without the subsequent adjective, but then it would probably be prosodically stressed, which is not the case here; see Helasvuo 2001b: 45, en. 4.) In this example, the adjective *laimee* is an essential part of the “content” of the turn, at the core of the description accomplished by the turn. The nominative case in the words *vähän semmone* indicates their syntactic role as (part of) a predicate complement in the emerging clause. The clause thus far (the elements and their cases and syntactic roles) also helps project that the rest

of the utterance is likely to be an adjective in the nominative case, and that this element would complete the syntactic structure of the clause and phrase that has begun. Concerning prosody, the turn is complete only when the speaker has completed the lexeme *laimee*. It is common for there to be a stressed word at the end of an utterance (stress is indicated by underlining>, and here the stress is on *laimee*. Hence, at the overlap onset point, the main stress has not yet occurred. Furthermore, at the end of *laimee*, the intonation falls low (although it is already dropping when the overlap begins).

The following is another example:

(3.2) Pärís hea olla / Feeling quite good (Estonian)

AN3, 05:30

- > 06 M: see `mõjub et tal on
DEMI have.influence:3SG COMP 3SG:ADE be.3SG
 it/that has an effect that s/he is
- > 07 `tege[lt]
 actually
 actu[ally]
 []
- 08 K: [apso]`luutselt [mõjub. ta on ju `t]ema:ga:
absolutely have.influence:3SG 3SG be.3SG PRT 3SG:COM
 [it abs]olutely [has. s/he is you know w]ith him/her
 []
- 09 M: [päris ea olla.]
quite good be:INF
 [feeling quite good.]
- 10 K: .hhh äää=ener`geetiliselt `ka väga lähedases kontaktis.
 .hhh uhm in a very close contact also in terms of energies.

In the example above, at the point of next turn onset in line 7, the initiating turn's ongoing possessive clause³⁷ lacks the item possessed (and so, its crucial "content"): *tal on tegelt pärís hea olla*, 's/he is actually **feeling quite good**' (the English equivalent is in a different form, not a possessive clause). This part of the utterance is a clausal complement to the framing clause *see mõjub*, 'it/that has an effect,' followed by the complementizer *et*. The subject of the predicate *mõjub* is split on either side of it, *see...et tal on* -, and so it resembles an extraposition (on English extrapositions in talk-in-interaction, see Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson 2008). As for the prosodic formatting of the turn, the intonation contour is incomplete when the next

³⁷ A possessive clause in both Estonian and Finnish is structured as follows: "possessor:ADE on possessed", e.g., *Maial on kass*, 'Maia has a cat.' If the possessed element is a noun, it is typically in nominative case; on some occasions, it is in the partitive case. The "possessed" element can also be a clause, as it is in this extract.

speaker begins her turn, as it has not yet initiated a move to any recognizable terminal direction.

The following is the last example in this section:

(3.3) Maistuu maidolta / Tastes like milk (Finnish)

Sg 377, 03:53

- 12 A: ↑kyl mä juon mielelläni vettäki
PRT 1SG drink:1SG with.pleasure:POSS.1SG water:PAR:CLI
 I do like to drink water too
- > 13 °mut sit jos mä juon maitoo ni
but PRT if 1SG drink:1SG milk:PAR PRT
 but if I drink milk then
- > 14 mä haluun et se [#maistuu maidolta#°;]
1SG want:1SG COMP DEM3 taste:3SG milk:ABL
 I want it [to taste like milk]
 []
- 15 B: [>tosiaa et< jos nyt]
indeed PRT/COMP if PRT
 [indeed if]
- 16 kerran juo maitoo ni voi se ny
once drink.3SG milk:PAR PRT can.3SG DEM3 PRT
 (one) once drinks milk then it can
- 17 sit olla saman tien jotakin mikä nyt
PRT be right.away something what PRT
 be as well something that
- 18 maistuuki jollekki?
taste:3SG:CLI something.ALL
 also tastes like something

In this example, there is a next turn onset (line 15) that occurs immediately after the subject *se*, ‘it,’ of the ongoing clause, which eventually emerges in the form of *se maistuu maidolta*, ‘it tastes like milk.’ All other elements of the clause, and hence, the important parts of its “content,” are yet to come at this point. As in the previous example, this clause is also embedded as a part of another clause, here as the object of the clause *mä haluun (et)*, ‘I want (that)’ (according to the traditional syntactic analysis), which again is a part of a larger, bipartite syntactic structure *jos—ni(in)* ‘if—then,’ begun in line 13, *mut sit jos mä juon maitoo ni - -*, ‘but if I drink milk then - -.’ In this example the overall intonation is slightly falling, but there are no significant movements in it prior to the overlap onset. The speaker’s voice has become softer (see symbol ° in the transcript) already in line 13. In addition, the voice takes on a creaky quality (see the symbol # in the transcript), which according to Ogden (2001, 2004), signals transition relevance in Finnish. At this point, however, the creak begins at the same time as the overlapping

response, and hence the recipient would not yet have heard it when beginning her response.

The examples above demonstrate that the points at which non-transitional next turn onsets occur can be of various types. These examples illustrate some possible points of non-transition; they do not exhaust the points that exist in the data. What is common to them all is that there are both syntactic and prosodic projections that have not yet been fulfilled at those points. The aspect of social action is more complex, and we will come back to that below. The first speaker's behavior is also relevant here. In examples 3.1 and 3.3, the first speakers bring their turns to completion without any perturbation, even though the response sets in. In 3.2, instead, the overlapped speaker first cuts off, and then continues her turn after a moment, still in overlap with the response. The practice mentioned first is typical in the data, whereas the latter practice is not.

Prior CA literature has identified and named several “non-transitional” or non-completion points, and they are relevant here to different degrees. For instance, Lerner (1996) investigates compound TCUs and reports that at the juncture of the two parts (before the completion of the latter part), an “opportunity space” occurs (see also Lerner 2004a) that allows the recipient to come in with certain types of “anticipatory completion” turns. Concerning increments, Lerner (2004b: 158) has determined that recipients regularly initiate increments creating a point of “maximum grammatical projection,” and that this prompts the prior speaker to elaborate his/her prior turn (as in the following, taken from Lerner 2004b: 162: A: I just returned / B: from / A: Finland). Chevalier and Clift (2008, also Chevalier 2008) discuss unfinished turns that lack something grammatically projected, but that nevertheless are responded to appropriately. Related to the phenomenon addressed here is also Schegloff's (1996a: 92ff.) discussion of points of “maximum grammatical control,” located at “post-beginning” positions, where the producer of a TCU may stop momentarily. This does not create a possible completion point where a turn transfer could occur. Iwasaki (2009, 2013), in turn, examines points inside a TCU in Japanese talk-in-interaction at which certain recipient's actions are legitimately produced: in Japanese, units are constructed segmentally via sub-unit components, and recipients are invited to contribute at the local boundaries of these components (Iwasaki refers to these as *intervention-relevance places*). Most relevantly for the current work, Jefferson (1983, 1986) analyzes the points of recognition that emerge within a turn; we will return to discuss her work shortly.

All the positions illustrated in the examples and mentioned in the literature reviewed above here occur at points that I have termed “non-transitional”; this category is thus rather broad. Having discussed the grammatical and prosodic characteristics of these turns and some ways in which particularly grammar facilitates projection, let us now proceed to some initial observations of the other factors that facilitate the early onset of responses in my data: those related to the larger sequence.

3.2 Early turn-onset facilitators: opportunities for recognition

This section will introduce some factors that facilitate and make possible the non-transitional overlap onsets that occur in my collection. In these cases, despite the next turn onset being at a non-transitional point in the ongoing turn, something in the course of the ongoing turn is already recognizable for the recipient. This is somewhat similar to what Jefferson (1983) refers to when discussing the “recognitional” overlap onset type (see also the “interjacent” onset point in Jefferson 1986). Her recognitional turns begin at a point where “an understanding of at least the general thrust of the utterance can have been achieved” (1983: 20), yet she neither specifies this nor does she provide extensive context in her extracts. The main difference between Jefferson’s recognitional or interjacent onsets and my non-transitional onsets is that in Jefferson’s examples, the next speaker is analyzed to be orienting to his/her talk as being somehow out of place, whereas in the majority of my examples, this does not occur. The syntactic point in the ongoing turn at which the overlapping turn onset occurs may still be similar. However, compared to Jefferson’s (1983) recognition points, the ones examined here typically occur somewhat earlier in the ongoing turn-unit.

Let us now examine some examples. The fragments I will provide are the same as the ones in the previous section, but here I will include more context with the target turns. As the syntactic and prosodic build-up of the target lines has already been discussed in the prior section, I will now focus only on the development of the sequence, on the recognizability of the utterance as well as on some other features in the fragments. In the first extract, three young women (one of them, C, is off camera) are talking about pop singer Britney Spears and her latest show, which they felt had not gone well (they have all either seen the show or read/heard about it). Just prior to this fragment, speaker A has wondered, in rather a negative fashion, about Spears being on the stage in a bikini. Speaker C responds as follows:

(3.1') Vaatetta päälle / Clothes on (Finnish)

Sg 377, 05:00

- 01 C: no siis ↑sitä mäki vähän ihmettelin e
well I was wondering about that too
- 02 eihän se nyt ehkä ihan s- niinku parhaas
maybe she wasn't quite in her best
- 03 (.) kuosissaan °ollu°.
(.) shape.
- 04 A: nii-i,
indeed
- 05 (0.5)

- 06 A: mut, (0.3)
but (0.3)
- 07 C: mut siis (.) ↑ois< eihän se nyt< siis
but (.) (she) could, she didn't (I mean)
- 08 ↑hyvätähän se ↑näytti.
she was looking good.
- 09 mut et [ku se
but [as the
[
- 10 A: [mm-m,
- > 11 C: se, (.) show oli vähän semmone [laimee.
DEM3 show be:PST.3SG a.bit DEM3.ADJ bland
the (.) show was kind of [bland
[
- => 12 A: [>nii sil ois
PRT DEM3:ADE be:COND.3SG
[yeah she could
- => 13 varmaa ollu vähä< itsevarmempi olo
probably be:PPC a.bit self-confident:CMP feeling
have felt a little more self-confident
- 14 jos se ois oikeesti pistäny kuitenki
if DEM3 be:COND.3SG really put:PPC anyway
if she had really put
- 15 vähä #vaatetta päälle.#
a.bit cloth:PAR ON:ALL
some clothes on after all
- 16 B: nii kyl ↑mun mielestä se on niinku niin
yes in my mind it is like so
- 17 ankeeta et aina pi[tää=noitten esiintyvien=
dull that those perfo[rming artists
[
- 18 A: [mmm
- 19 B: =taiteilijoiden olla silleen niinku, (1.5)
always have to be like (1.5)
- 20 £alk:k(h)areis lavalla sillee et;£
on the stage in their underwear

At the beginning of this fragment, the participants' stance toward the show (and thus, the tone of the conversation) has already been established and is clear to all of them, and the stances are mutually aligning. Until line 4, speakers A and C have agreed that Spears was not *parhaas kuosissaan*, 'in her best shape,' on the stage in a bikini (the response particle *nii* in line 4 is engaged in this work; Sorjonen 2001a). However, after that, the two start

something contrastive, with speaker A uttering the contrastive conjunction *mut*, ‘but,’ in line 6 and then cutting off, and speaker C in line 7 beginning with the same conjunction and going on with her utterance. After several restarts, speaker C ends up claiming that *hyvältähän se näytti*, ‘she was looking good.’ The clitic particle *-hän* in the adjective *hyvältähän*, apart from signaling common knowledge, does a concession and projects a contrast to follow (Hakulinen 2001a: 64). The subsequent conjunction *mut*, ‘but,’ begins a clause embodying a contrast, and this is the context in which our target utterance (line 11) appears. The structures of the turn- and the sequence-so-far have thus projected something negative and contrastive to come, and the emerging utterance meets these projections: *mut et ku se, se show oli vähän semmone [laimee*, ‘but as the, the show was kind of [bland.’ The recipient, speaker A, recognizes this and starts up her response before the completion of the utterance. In this context, the modifiers *vähän semmone*, ‘a little kind of,’ (for these types of pronouns in Estonian talk-in-interaction, see Keevallik 2011c) appear as a collocation and project a negative characterization to follow (some negativity is projectable based on the preceding contrastive elements as well). All of this – the build-up of both the utterance (the TCU) and the sequence – facilitate the would-be next speaker’s recognition of the gist of the talk (characterizing the artist and her show somewhat negatively), and therefore she can position her response (line 12) early.

The next fragment is an extract from a conversation between two young women, Margit and Katrin. In line 1 here they start to talk about their mutual acquaintances, a couple who had gone together on a trip (*sinna* ‘there’ in line 3) and the state of their relationship.

(3.2’) Päriss hea olla / Doing quite well (Estonian)

AN3, 05:30

- 01 M: et see on, `ikkagi vastab see `tõele mis
so it is, it nevertheless is true, what
- 02 ma ju sulle ju nagu `ütlesin ennem et noh,
I said to you previously you know, that like,
- 03 nad läksid ikkagi vaata `eraldi sinna
see they went anyway separately there
- 04 on[ju.]
rig[ht.]
[]
- 05 K: [jaa,] apso`luutselt.
[yeah,] absolutely.
- > 06 M: see `mõjub et tal on
DEMI have.influence:3SG COMP 3SG:ADE be.3SG
it/that has an effect that s/he is

-> 07 `tege[lt]
 actually
 actu[ally]
 []
 => 08 K: [apso]`luutselt [mõjub. ta on ju `t]ema:ga:
 absolutely have.influence:3SG 3SG be.3SG PRT 3SG:COM
 [it abs]olutely [has. s/he is you know w]ith him/her
 []
 09 M: [päris ea olla.]
 quite good be:INF
 [feeling quite good.]

 10 K: .hhh äää=ener`geetiliselt `ka väga lähedases kontaktis.
 .hhh uhm in a very close contact also in terms of energies.

 11 (1.0)
 12 K: kuna ta=on nii=öelda `eraldi.
 as s/he is so to speak on his/her own.

 13 (2.4)

What is important for the context of the talk here is that Margit's turn in line 1, *ikkagi vastab see tõele*, 'it nevertheless is true,' is what is being claimed in the talk now. The referents' identities also seem to be clear (shared, common knowledge) to both speakers, since Margit uses only the anaphoric demonstrative pronouns *nad*, 'they,' for the people and *sinna*, 'there,' for the place that is being talked about in line 3 (see Pajusalu 2005, 2009). Katrin agrees with Margit already in line 5 with *jaa, apsoluutselt*, 'yeah, absolutely.' After that comes Margit's turn, *see mõjub et tal on tegelt - -*, 'it/that has an effect that s/he is actually - -,' which is followed by a non-transitional overlapping response by Katrin. Even though the preceding turns do not offer much detailed information about the matter discussed, at least the agreement between the participants has been set up already and the referents are known. From Margit's turn in line 6, it is recognizable that a certain sort of effect is being discussed (*see mõjub et*, 'it has an effect that'), and it seems that whatever its details, Katrin agrees with it. In doing this, she uses a verb repeat together with an intensifier (*apsoluutselt mõjub*, 'it absolutely has') and further offers more information about her own understanding of the "effect" in question (*ta on ju temaga - -*, 's/he is you know with him/her - -'). However, this example is exceptional in the whole collection in the sense that here the overlapped speaker first cuts off and then continues her turn in overlap with the response (line 9). Hence, the overlapped speaker treats the completion as being 'necessary' for the record.

In the third fragment, speaker A has just told speaker B what happened to her earlier that day – she had had non-fat milk in her coffee in a café. In speaker A's opinion, one should get at least low-fat milk instead; the consequences of the milk choice (both the color and the taste) are now taken up. The participants, especially B and C, have (rather jokingly) discussed people's different preferences for coffee milk, especially about those who

want full-fat milk or even cream in their coffee. Immediately prior to the fragment here, speaker A has stated that she will accept full-fat milk in her coffee but not non-fat milk. Speaker B comes in with her assessment (line 1) as some type of agreeing summary of the prior talk, yet she remains adamant in presenting her own opinion that non-fat milk is bad. Thereafter, the topic of non-fat and low-fat milk is introduced again from line 4 on, with speaker A, who is now more balanced in her opinion, conceding and expressing an understanding of those who drink non-fat milk:

(3.3') Maistuu maidolta / Tastes like milk (Finnish)

Sg 377, 03:53

- 01 B: s' ↑mun mie'st rasvaton maito on kyl ihan oikeesti=
in my opinion non-fat milk is really
- 02 =se on tosi paha.
it is truly bad
- 03 (3.5)
- 04 A: mä luulen et sitä niinku
I think that (one)
- 05 [tottus varmaan juomaan=
[would get used to drinking it]
[]
- 06 B: [mä keitän vähän lisää;] ((STANDS UP))
[I'll make some more] ((water for tea))
- 07 A: =jos alkas juomaan mut et ku< on yhteen
if (one) started to drink ((it)) but because (one) has
- 08 totut- totutellu niinku maun puolesta ni.
accus- accustomed (oneself) to one ((type)) as far as the taste so
- 09 B: nii;
yeah
- 10 A: se on jotenki vähä niinku jois vettä sitte että,
it is somehow kind of as if (one) was drinking water so
- 11 B: ↑kyl must;
in my opinion
- 12 A: ↑kyl mä juon mielelläni vettäki
PRT 1SG drink:1SG with.pleasure:POSS.1SG water:PAR:CLI
I do like to drink water too
- > 13 °mut sit jos mä juon maitoo ni
but PRT if 1SG drink:1SG milk:PAR PRT
but if I drink milk then

-> 14 mä haluun et se [#maistuu maidolta#°;]
 1SG want:1SG COMP DEM3 taste:3SG milk:ABL
 I want it [to taste like milk]
 []
 => 15 B: [>tosiaa et< jos nyt]
 indeed PRT/COMP if PRT
 [indeed if]

16 kerran juo maitoo ni voi se ny
 once drink.3SG milk:PAR PRT can.3SG DEM3 PRT
 (one) once drinks milk then it can

17 sit olla saman tien jotakin mikä nyt
 PRT be right.away something what PRT
 be as well something that

18 maistuuki jollekki?
 taste:3SG:CLI something.ALL
 also tastes like something

19 A: mm-m;
 20 (3.0)

In lines 4–5, 7–8 and 10 speaker A is “doing understanding” of the drinkers of non-fat milk and simultaneously gives her reasons for not drinking it herself: *mä luulen et sitä niinku tottus varmaan juomaan jos alkas juomaan mut et ku on yhteen totutellu niinku maun puolesta ni se on jotenki vähä niinku jois vettä sitte että*, ‘I think that (one) would get used to drinking it if (one) started to drink ((it)) but because (one) has accustomed (oneself) to one ((type)) as far as the taste so it is somehow kind of as if (one) was drinking water so.’ After this, she concedes that *kyl mä juon mielelläni vettäki*, ‘I do like to drink water too’ (line 12), and then starts up a contrastive part with the conjunction *mut*, ‘but,’ (line 13). Due to the contrastive conjunction, and also to her knowing all of the preceding context (the whole sequence), it is easy for speaker B to recognize where A’s turn is heading – back to her opinion of liking to drink milk that also tastes like milk (cf. her turn in line 10 where she says that drinking non-fat milk is like drinking water). A’s utterance, which is then overlapped by B’s response begins as follows: *mut sit jos mä juon maitoo ni mä haluun et se - -*, ‘but if I drink milk then I want it to - -.’ At this point, speaker B comes in with her response. This part of A’s turn functions as a summary of the preceding opinion and its argumentation, and hence the content of her turn is therefore rather projectable for B. B begins her overlapping response with the adverb *tosiaa*, ‘indeed,’ treating A’s turn as consisting of shared information.

In all these fragments, the point that the ongoing turn has reached when the response begins is not the projected completion point. Even so, the recipient can recognize where the turn is heading to and in which way. All three examples demonstrate the factors that generally facilitate the start-up of the responding speaker’s turn in a non-transitional overlap with the prior

turn. These factors include (the projectability of) the course of the ongoing utterance (both grammar and prosody), what the speaker is accomplishing with the turn (its action), the speaker's stance toward the issue at hand (it has already come out as well), and finally, the development of the course of the ongoing sequence. All of these – in a word, the gist of the turn – are recognizable and rather clear for the recipients at the moment when they initiate their overlapping responses. (In some examples, the overlapping responses are also preceded by small-scale recycling in the overlapped turn.) All these factors create opportunities for recognition for the recipients, the would-be next speakers. My data show that the positioning of the non-transitional overlapping turns is not random, but is highly patterned.

Similar and related results have originated from the study conducted by Chevalier and Clift's on what they call unfinished turns in French conversation (2008, Chevalier 2008). The authors report that even though the initiating turn is not yet syntactically completed, the recipient can accurately project its course by accessing several resources (for example, the syntax and action recognition) and then produce an appropriate response to the turn. Both participants thus orient to that place as being relevant for transition. In their data, however, the response onsets frequently follow speech perturbation signals such as hesitation markers in the initiating turn, which serve as an invitation for the recipient to come in. This phenomenon does not occur in many of my examples, except for a few cases. Instead, most often the response begins in overlap with a turn that is being produced fluently. Furthermore, the unfinished turns in Chevalier and Clift's data appear for the most part in sequences and actions that are somehow delicate or problematic, a fact that makes another difference to my cases.

The sequential positioning of the non-transitional overlapping responses in my collection is notable in that it is very typical for them to appear, so to speak, in the midst of a sequence or topic. The very first initiating turns in a sequence (or in a topic) are never followed by a non-transitional overlapping response in my data, and these responses, when occurring, are usually not the very last turns in the sequence either.³⁸ (See also section 7.2 below.)

As a final point in this section, the classic turn-taking paper (Sacks et al. 1974) claimed that it is at the "recognition" point when the would-be next speaker can start planning when to come in, and that the incoming takes place when the projected unit has reached its completion. In my examples, however, the "recognition" point equals the place where the next speaker really comes in; s/he does not wait until the projections have been fulfilled. Thus, the question here is not whether and when co-participants recognize the gist, but whether, upon recognizing it, they let the ongoing speaker finish her turn or not before starting to talk. Actually, if we take into account the results of some psycholinguistic studies, recognition in these examples must take place even earlier: as Levelt (1989) suggests, the planning of talk takes

³⁸ For a similar, related finding, see Chevalier 2008.

time, and hence in the cases examined here, recognizing the co-participant's gist will actually need to have occurred earlier than the actual incoming occurs. (See also Levinson 2013: 103–104 and references therein.)

3.3 A first glance at the actions in sequences with overlap

In the previous section, I already briefly mentioned the issue of actions. Now I will offer an initial lead-in to the actions that appear in the non-transitional overlapping responses and in the turns that they overlap.

Let us look at the examples from the preceding sections once more and examine the speakers' actions and activities in them, i.e., what they are doing with their utterances. The target utterances are reproduced here. First, the initiating utterances – note the square bracket denoting the point where the overlap begins:

- (3.1) *se show oli vähän semmone [laimee*, 'the show was kind of [bland'
- (3.2) *see mōjub et tal on tege[lt päris hea olla*, 'it/that has an effect that s/he is actu[ally feeling quite good'
- (3.3) *kyl mä juon mielelläni vettäki mut sit jos mä juon maitoo ni mä haluun et se [maistuu maidolta*, 'I do like to drink water too but if I drink milk then I want it [to taste like milk'

In these initiating turns, the speakers claim something about the world by describing a state of affairs. Often the speakers also offer their evaluation of it (here especially in 3.1). To adopt the terms of the speech act theorists, the speakers make the words match the world (Searle 1976). Linguistically speaking, the overlapped turns are declarative statements. They concern an issue to which both speakers have (some sort of an) access, yet the turns are typically designed so that they highlight a specific perspective on the issue, either general or personal. In the literature, these types of actions have been referred to as assertions and/or assessments (for example, see Goodwin & Goodwin 1992, Pomerantz 1984a, and Stivers 2005). In my collection, the overwhelming majority of turns in these positions are such as the examples above.³⁹ The action types that occur in the overlapped turns are thus relatively uniform. (For more on them, see section 8.1 below.)

Let us now consider the responses that these turns get.

³⁹ There are only three exceptions to this strong tendency in the data (recall that there are a total of 91 cases of the phenomenon that this study examines, see Table 2 on page 30). One of these three is a redone rejection to a redone suggestion, and two of them are responses to requests for information. One of these requests is reformulated after not yet having received a response on the first try, and on the second try, the recipient responds in overlap. In the other case, the content of the overlapping response is something that had already been discussed, and the question therefore appears somehow out of place. In the following chapters, these three cases will not be analyzed further.

- (3.1) *nii sil ois varmaa ollu vähä itsevarmempi olo jos se ois oikeesti pistäny kuitenkin vähä vaatetta päälle*, ‘yeah she could have felt a little more self-confident if she had really put some clothes on after all’
- (3.2) *apsoluutselt möjub. ta on ju temaga - -*, ‘it absolutely has. s/he is you know with him/her - -’
- (3.3) *tosiaa et jos nyt kerran juo maitoo ni voi se ny sit olla saman tien jotakin mikä nyt maistuuki jollekki*, ‘indeed if (one) once drinks milk then it can be as well something that also tastes like something’

All these responses are basically designed to align and to agree with the overlapped turn, in one way or another (cf. section 1.3). Their design reveals that they are second turns: there are several elements that tie the response to the prior turn (on tying, see Sacks 1992a: 150ff.). In example 3.1, the response is an aligning assertion that is preceded by the agreeing and affiliating response particle *nii* (see Sorjonen 2001a). The response in example 3.2 resembles an intensified confirmation (see *möjub* → *absoluutselt möjub*, ‘it has an effect → it absolutely has’). The response in example 3.3 consists of a second statement that aligns with the first one and summarizes the prior talk (achieved by the complementizer/particle *et*, see Laury & Seppänen 2008). Not one of the non-transitional overlapping responses is a plain agreement (such as the Finnish utterance *nii on*, ‘it is’ would be), but they all contain something more than the turn they respond to. What constitutes this “more” will be discussed in the following chapters that present a more detailed analysis of the collection. Furthermore, these chapters will provide more precise analyses of the social actions of both the overlapped and the overlapping turns.

4 OVERLAPPING CLAIMS OF SIMILAR KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE

One type of interactional work that participants accomplish in non-transitional overlapping responsive turns is to overtly express that they already possess the knowledge or are aware of the issue that the previous speaker has presented in his/her turn as if it was to some degree new to the recipient. During these responses the responding speaker claims independent and/or prior access to the knowledge domain by saying *mä tiedän sen*, 'I know that' (Finnish), *seda ma kuulsin*, 'that I heard,' (Estonian) or something of the sort.⁴⁰ Likewise, claims of having similar experience are used in this manner in my data. The similar knowledge or experience is, nonetheless, only being claimed in these turns, as the speaker does not provide anything in order to demonstrate the knowledge; she plainly, yet overtly, claims that s/he knows. Hence, it can only be assumed that s/he knows (see Enfield 2013: 57–60). At the same time, it can be assumed that the respondent is in agreement with the assertion. As s/he does not mention any other type of information concerning the matter, the assumption is that its speaker agrees with the prior speaker on the existence and nature of the matter expressed. However, the responding speaker is simultaneously engaging in some type of epistemic negotiation with the prior speaker so that s/he does not align with the epistemic status attributed to him/her in the prior turn (this phenomenon is also called epistemic incongruence; for example, see Hayano 2013). Let us now review the actual instances.

4.1 Claims of similar knowledge and experience in their sequential contexts

The claims of similar knowledge and experience may occur as the only elements in their turns, but this is not always the case. For example, the focus turn in the first fragment to be examined contains not only a claim of having similar knowledge, but also other elements. The knowledge claim is preceded by agreement particles and is followed by a continuation to the previous speaker's line of talk. Prior to this fragment, Tarja has stated that she cannot see anything on her television. Kati has asked if Tarja has accidentally put the television on manual mode, and if someone named Marko has tried to fix it, but these questions have not helped them to solve the problem. Now Kati begins to tell something related that once happened to her:

⁴⁰ The lexemes in these turns are used in their full original meaning. Some uses of knowledge claims (or claims of not having knowledge) have become particle-like (for example, see Keevallik 2006, Schiffrin 1987, Weatherall 2011), and they are very different from the cases examined here.

(4.1) Väärää nappii / Wrong button (Finnish)

Sg 398, 05:50

- 01 Kati: .hh ↑kato mulla kerran oli- #ey #m t' ↓joku oli
.hh see once I had- uhm (that) someone had
- 02 täällä säh_hlänny? .hh ja# °mä_hä kato_hin että
been messing around here? .hh and I saw that
- 03 ei tuu mitää° ei tuu mitää et nyt se on menny
nothing comes nothing comes ((out from the TV)) that now it has
- 04 @heti rikki@ jo ettäm(u)t mitä mä teen. .hhhhh
immediately broken down already that (but) what shall I do. .hhhhh
- 05 ja tuota #ö:# sitte °y° mä#ä (0.2) kokeilin
and uhm er then I (0.2) tried
- 06 että mä laitoin sen ki_hnni; ja #u kää_hnsin
so that I switched it off, and um turned
- 07 että digitaalinen. .hhhhh ja tota: se oliki
digital. .hhhhh and uhm: it had (indeed)
- 08 l- laitettu ma_hnuaali°selle°.
been s- switched to manual.
- 09 (0.7)
- 10 Kati: et#ö: jotenki vaa, (.) vinks_hsahti päässä on_hneks
that somehow just, (.) (it) luckily occurred to me
- 11 semmonen että jos se on laitettu.
tha[t if it has been switched.
- 12 Tarja: [mjoo.
[myeah.
- 13 (0.4)
- 14 Kati: joku oli painanu väärää nap°phii°.
someone be:PST.3SG push:PFC wrong:PAR button:PAR
someone had pushed the wrong button.
- 15 (1.0) ((TARJA NODS MINIMALLY))
- > 16 Kati: siin ei tarvi ku painat yhtä
DEM3.LOC NEG.3SG need CONJ push:2SG one:PAR
(it) needs only for you to push one
- > 17 [väärää °nappia ni°.]
wrong:PAR button:PAR PRT/CONJ
[wrong button so.]
- => 18 Tarja: [↑nii nii mä tie]dän se[n. =ja sit ei
PRT PRT 1SG know:1SG DEM3:ACC and then NEG.3SG
[yeah yeah I know]w tha[t. and then (you/one) cannot

- 19 Kati: [°mm°,
- => 20 Tarja: osaa painaa takasin sit[°ten ei nii[kun m° (0.2)
can push:INF back then NEG PRT
 switch ((it) back again the[n (not) li[ke (0.2)
- 21 Kati: [mm. [mm.
- 23 Tarja: m'kään ei toimi °enää°.
 nothing is working any longer.

Kati's story at the beginning of this extract is rather lengthy. Tarja responds to it only very minimally: the only verbal response occurs in line 12 (*mjoo*, 'myeah'). After this, Kati begins to summarize the story explicating its moral to Tarja, who had originally started the topic by telling that her television seems to be broken. First Kati clarifies that in her story, the reason for the television not showing anything was that *joku oli painanu väärää nappii*, 'someone had pushed a wrong button' (line 14). Receiving no obvious reaction from Tarja (just some barely visible nodding), Kati continues and states even more explicitly the general lesson that all you need to do is push the wrong button and the television stops working, *siin ei tarvi ku painat yhtä väärää nappia ni*, '(it) needs only for you to push one wrong button so' (lines 16–17). Here she also shifts from using personal forms in the story (*mä laitoin*, 'I switched,' *joku oli painanu*, 'someone had pushed,' etc.) to the more impersonal forms: zero person (*siin ei tarvi*, literally 'there Ø does not need'; see Laitinen 1995) and the generic second-person 'you' (*painat*; see Laitinen 1995, Hart 1996). Both these impersonal forms invite Tarja to acknowledge the phenomenon, to identify with it, and to respond to the turn. This is what Tarja does, and she does it in non-transitional overlap with Kati's turn.

At the moment of the overlap onset, Kati's utterance still lacks the last crucial elements of the object phrase of the clause, *painat **yhtä [väärää nappia***, 'you push **one [wrong button.**' However, at this point in the sequence, and in Kati's elaborated story, it is already clear and projectable what is to come in Kati's turn: *nappia*, 'button,' has been mentioned immediately before, even as the object of the same verb. Furthermore, the partitive case in the word *yhtä* projects that the following elements in the phrase will be in the same case – and this is what occurs as *väärää nappia* also occurs in the partitive. The case marking in *yhtä* also makes it clear that it initiates the object noun phrase of the clause, and hence it activates the idea of the object element as a whole.

Tarja's overlapping response includes three distinct parts. At first there are two instances of the affiliative particle *nii* (see Sorjonen 2001a). Stivers (2004) has demonstrated that in English conversations, multiple sayings are rather typically positioned in overlap with the prior TCU, but rather than merely responding to it, they target the ongoing course of action more

wholistically, indicating that the prior speaker has been persisting for an unnecessarily long time. This seems to have been what has happened in this extract as well, although we could argue that Kati's persistence in this action might have been at least partly due to Tarja's minimal responses, or even her total lack of responses.⁴¹

After the particles *nii nii* is the utterance in which Tarja claims to already possess the knowledge concerning the issue in Kati's turns: *mä tiedän sen*, 'I know that.' The choice of the demonstrative pronoun *se* (in the accusative form *sen*) indicates that the referent is known to both of the participants (in Etelämäki's [2009] words, the ground of reference is symmetric; on these elements, see also Itkonen 1966, Larjavaara 1990, Laury 1997). The fact that Tarja uses both *nii nii* and *mä tiedän sen* in her turn might indicate that at least in this fragment, they are used for distinct purposes. This means that *nii nii* is used for affiliation and agreement, and *mä tiedän sen* is used for literally claiming that the speaker is knowledgeable about the issue.

After this segment, Tarja goes on to produce a continuation to the line of talk and argumentation that was initiated by Kati: *ja sit ei osaa painaa takasin*, 'and then (you/one) cannot switch ((it)) back.' Tarja, too, uses the zero person in her utterance, indicating that she is continuing the general line of argumentation that Kati began. However, Tarja's continuation is based on knowledge that is somewhat independent from what had been said before. Kati may have hinted at the fact that if someone pushes the wrong button and does something such as switching the television onto the manual mode, then it does not occur to that person to switch it back again – but only Tarja verbalizes this latter part of the activity chain that leads to the television not working. This part of the response is similar to the responses that will be discussed in chapter 6, which presents my argument that with this type of turn that includes previously not yet expressed content, the responding speaker demonstrates that s/he understands the prior turn, and that this understanding is at least partly based on independent grounds. In this example, Tarja thus uses a claim of having similar knowledge and immediately following that, demonstrates her understanding of the prior turn by introducing previously not mentioned information concerning the matter. This all suggests that in her turn, she orients primarily to the epistemic statuses of both herself and of her co-participant Kati, but not solely so.

'To know' is not the only verb used in the knowledge claim turns, but other verbs such as 'to hear' also occur. In the next example, the overlapping response simply contains an expression of one's prior knowledge of the matter at hand. The context is two couples who are talking. Prior to this fragment, it has been divulged that Tõnis' Mac computer is now in

⁴¹ Stivers (2004: en. 8) argues that positioning multiple sayings in overlap even enhances the action they are doing, which entails conveying the speaker's stance towards the too persistent prior action.

maintenance. Leeni has asked whether the company has already called Tõnis back, and he says that they have not. Kiira then asks whether there was something wrong with Tõnis' computer, to which he responds negatively, and begins to explain to the others why the computer company might still want to change the computer batteries (apparently this is what is being done to his computer, too):

(4.2) Akud / Batteries (Estonian, audio)

Nr 648, 04:40

- 01 Tõnis: =et nää `üks aku `kolmest miljonist
so you see one battery out of three million
- 02 võibolla: teatud tingimustel `plahvatab
maybe on certain conditions explodes
- 03 eks ole. et=s vahetame igaks juhuks
right. so we('ll) change all of them
- 04 `kõik välja.
just in case.
- 05 (1.5)
- 06 Tõnis: jaa. no samamoodi [präegu on,]
yeah. well the same way [right now]
- 07 Kiira: [et `üks a]ku, (0.8)
[so one batt]ery, (0.8)
- 08 misas[ja. hehe
wha[t. hehe
[
- 09 Tõnis: [ei=no=hh ma: ma=lin niiõelda
[well I was so to speak
- 10 kujundlik präegu.
symbolical now.
- 11 (.)
- > 12 Tõnis: tegelikult oli jah umbes et mingi
actually be:PST.3SG PRT approximately COMP some
actually (it) was yeah something like that there is
- > 13 `teatud risk on. (.) et ta võib
certain risk be.3SG COMP 3SG can:3SG
a certain risk. (.) that it can
- > 14 vä[ga `kuumaks minna või,]
very hot:TRA go:INF or
be[come very hot or]
- => 15 Kiira: [↑`seda ma `kuulsin.] miks ma
DEMI:PAR 1SG hear:1SG:PST why 1SG
[that I heard.] (that's) why I / why do I

- 16 `tean seda:,=
 know:1SG DEM1:PAR
 know that.
- 17 Tõnis: =sest et se ei old ainult nende: akud.
 because DEM1 NEG be:PPC only 3PL:GEN battery:PL
 because it was not only their batteries.
- 18 need olid öö,
 they were uhm,
- 19 (1.8)
- 20 Tõnis: ned olid nagu `paljudel `teistel
 they were also like with many other
- 21 firmadel ka: nagu.
 companies.
- 22 (0.5)
- 23 Tõnis: min[gil d- dellil ja `teab veel kellel.
 with [some Dell and ((who)) knows which others.
- 24 Kiira: [°mm. °
- 25 Kiira: °mm. °=

During this part of the conversation, Tõnis has been the primary speaker/teller. His telling is preceded by Kiira's enquiry about the possible problems that his computer has. Tõnis presents himself as being more knowledgeable in the domain in question in comparison to the other participants (at least Kiira), as he goes on to talk about the computer batteries and why the company might want to change them. Moreover, he presents these issues as if they were new information to the others (see lines 1–4 and 6, especially the explanatory elements *et nää*, 'so you see' in line 1). In line 7, Kiira initiates repair (*et üks aku, misasja*, 'so one battery, what'), to which Tõnis responds by explaining that this part of his prior telling was "symbolic" (lines 9–10). Subsequently, from line 12 onwards Tõnis shifts the line of talk slightly by saying *tegelikult*, 'actually,' and he somewhat also revises his own prior talk (see Clift 2001 on the English *actually*), as he partly acknowledges the possibility of a literal interpretation of the batteries exploding: *oli jah umbes et - -*, 'it was yeah something like - -.' Tõnis then proceeds to the focus assertion in lines 12–14: *mingi teatud risk on. et ta võib väga kuumaks minna või*, 'there is a certain risk. that it can become very hot or.' This part of the turn is designed as definite knowledge, with the finite verb *on*, 'is,' in the indicative form. However, the indefinite pronoun *mingi*, 'some,' adds a tone of vagueness to the utterance (Pajusalu 2000, 2001).

It is this utterance that then is responded to by a non-transitional overlapping response from Kiira. The assertion in Tõnis' turn, *mingi teatud risk on*, 'there is a certain risk,' is further elaborated after a micro pause: *et ta võib vä[ga kuumaks minna või*, 'that it can be[come very hot or.' Kiira's

response begins at a point where the elaboration part is still lacking the complement to its finite verb *võib*, ‘can,’ and thus, its point is still missing. Nonetheless, it is clear that this clause specifies the preceding *mingi teatud risk on*, ‘there is a certain risk’ as it is directly following it. This clause also begins with the complementizer *et*, which indicates that the continuation is linked to the prior (Keevallik 2008b), and in this case, it is a specification of the noun *risk*. What is projectable for the recipients at the point of the overlap onset is perhaps not the particularities but at least the gist of the utterance. They can project that the utterance will still be a specification of the risk that has already been mentioned. Furthermore, the anaphoric pronoun *ta* signals that the previous topic is continuing.⁴²

In her response in lines 15–16, Kiira expresses an independent epistemic access to and prior knowledge of the matter: *seda ma kuulsin*, ‘that I heard.’ The only new information and the only substance in this utterance is that she knows the matter as well; there is no other “content” in the turn. The knowledge source, the evidential ground, is topicalized (*kuulsin*, ‘I heard’), and the object demonstrative *seda*, ‘that,’ is fronted. This means that the speakers’ epistemic stances are shared, and both of them have second-hand knowledge of the issue. However, as the overlapped turn is designed as new information, but the recipient claims to be knowledgeable, epistemic incongruence arises in the situation (see Stivers et al. 2011, Hayano 2013). Nevertheless, as Kiira claims to have the same information as well, she also implies agreement on the matter – if she had different information on this topic, she could not claim that *seda ma kuulsin*, ‘that I heard.’

In the continuation of her turn, Kiira produces an utterance that could be interpreted both as a question about the grounds for her knowledge and as an explanation of her knowing: *miks ma tean seda*, ‘(that’s) why I know that/why do I know that’ (lines 15–16). It is interesting to note that Tõnis seems to interpret her turn as a question, as he designs his next turn as an explanation for why also Kiira might be knowledgeable about this issue: *sest et se ei olnud ainult - -*, ‘because it was not only - -’ (on this and other types of *because*-turns in interaction in English, see Couper-Kuhlen 2011a). Kiira appears to treat Tõnis’ turn as an answer, as she acknowledges it by responding with the particle *mm* in lines 24 and 25.

This example demonstrates that when producing a response with a claim of having access to similar knowledge, using not only the verb ‘to know’ but also the verb ‘to hear,’ Estonian and Finnish speakers seem to orient to the epistemic statuses of the speakers. At the same time, however, they align (see Du Bois 2007: 159ff.) with the prior speaker and his/her turn. Du Bois (2007) even categorizes this utterance as one type of stance-taking that

⁴² It is also possible that Kiira is actually responding to the prior-than-current TCU, that is, to Tõnis’ utterance *tegelikult oli jah umbes et mingi teatud risk on*, ‘actually it was yeah something like that there is a certain risk.’ However, her response begins at a non-TRP, at a non-completion point in the currently ongoing TCU.

conveys expressing one's knowledge and thus supporting the prior. (Cf. Couper-Kuhlen 2012c for an English *I know* utterance used for affiliating with the prior speaker.)

In the environments described above, not only the claims of having similar knowledge occur but also those of having similar experiences, and these two structures seem to behave similarly in interaction. Let us look at an example of this. Prior to this fragment, Kati has announced that they have 25 crayfish for that occasion and not very many people to eat them. Tarja, who is visiting Kati, calculates that it is going to be 7–8 crayfish per person, which she claims is not that many. Kati responds as follows:

(4.3) Kuivat ja pahat / Dry and bad (Finnish)

Sg 398, 11:22

- 01 Kati: [hääh he .hhhh ku mää en ja- yleensä
[hah he .hhhh because I canno- usually
- 02 saa menee ku kaks kol- .hh tai j- sit
cannot have more than two thre- .hh or an- then
- 03 jos joku kuoriii.=pitäiskö #ö (0.2) yrittää
if someone shells ((them)). should (0.2) (one) try
- 04 saada kumituppiit <sor:meen> jos°tai°.
to get rubber tips to (one's) finger(s) from somewhere.
- 05 (0.4)
- 06 Kati: vanhoista hans°koista°.
from old gloves.
- 07 (0.6) ((LOOKING AT HER HANDS))
- 08 Kati: muo- (0.6) °ö:° ihan rikki nyt°kii°.
I hav- (0.6) uhm completely chafed even now.
- 09 (0.8)
- 10 Tarja: °ootsä syöny niitä (vähä aika) [mistä (suo -)]
have you eaten them (in a while) [from where (you hav-)]
[]
- 11 Kati: [↑ei mutta#ö ku]
[no but since]
- > 12 mulla (.) tulee (.) talvella=siks mä en
I (.) get (.) in the winter=that's why I don't
- K GAZE: ----- DOWN AT HER OWN HANDS -----
- > 13 talvella tykkää syödä rapuja kun to:ta: mul=on
winter:ADE like eat crayfish:PL:PAR as PRT 1SG:ADE be.3SG
like to eat crayfish in the winter because uhm I have
- T GAZE: _____

K GAZE: -----...
-> 14 talvella Aina nä[ä sellaset #e]
winter:ADE always DEM1.PL DEM3.ADJ:PL
in the winter always the[se such er]
[]

T GAZE: ----- , , , ----- DOWN AT HER HANDS --
=> 15 Tarja: [°mullaki on°] joo;
1SG:ADE:CLI be.3SG PRT
[I also have] yeah

K GAZE: -----
16 Kati: .hh kuivat ja pahat;=
dry:PL and bad:PL
.hh dry and bad

T GAZE: -----

17 Tarja: =.h ↑mä: ihme>ttelin< mikä mul on tullu
.h I wondered what have I got

18 niinku <tääältä kuivaa> kato.
as (it) dries from here see.

In lines 12–14 and 15, Kati produces an assertion regarding her eating preferences: *siks mä en talvella tykkää syödä rapuja kun tota mul on talvella aina nä[ä sellaset e kuivat ja pahat*, ‘that’s why I don’t like to eat crayfish in the winter because uhm I have in the winter always the[se such er dry and bad.’ At the same time, she is gazing at her hands, rubbing them together, but she raises her gaze up immediately after Tarja begins her response (line 15). During Kati’s turn, Tarja has been looking at her, but Tarja then shifts her gaze to her own hands shortly before she begins to talk. The onset of Tarja’s overlapping response occurs at a point where Kati’s ongoing utterance still lacks the possessed item of the possessive clause, *mul on - -*, ‘I have - -.’⁴³ So grammatically, the turn-unit is not yet complete, nor has its intonation contour signaled completion; however, the adverb *aina*, ‘always,’ is rather heavily stressed, which may play a role in the onset of the overlap occurring soon after it (on English, cf. Schegloff 1998).

In her response, Tarja displays recognition of Kati’s experience and claims that she has (access to) a similar experience: *mullaki on joo*, ‘I also have yeah.’ It is interesting to note that at the point when Tarja begins her response, Kati has not yet verbalized the content of her experience, and the referent itself also has not been clearly verbalized (see, however, *sormeen*, ‘to (one’s) finger’ in line 4). However, the referent is recognizable from the embodied behavior of both of the participants, as they are constantly gazing at their own and each other’s hands and are touching their own hands or rubbing them together. However, the manner in which Kati wishes to describe her hands in the turn and thus the content of her experience has not yet arisen when Tarja begins her turn. It is true that Kati had described the

⁴³ On the structure of possessive clause, see footnote 37 on page 69.

skin of her hands shortly before, in line 8, as *ihan rikki*, ‘completely chafed,’ but at that point the referent was also expressed primarily through embodied means, not lexically. Nevertheless, it is the prior sequence that helps Tarja be able to claim that her experience is similar to Kati’s and to begin her response early during the course of Kati’s turn. Kati subsequently completes her turn only after Tarja has responded (line 16).

This example illustrates that the claims of having similar experience also occur in the overlapping early-onset responses. The speakers of these turns bring in their experience as if to claim that what the overlapped speaker says in his/her turn is in no way unique, and not new information to them. In other words, they are already personally aware of the phenomenon being discussed, and thus the non-knowledgeable status attributed to them in the overlapped turn was not justified. One’s personal experience and prior knowledge of the matter discussed also warrants better understanding of the co-participant’s talk, yet in the turns examined here, these matters are only being claimed (cf. chapter 6). Let us now turn to the linguistic resources used in these turns.

4.2 The linguistic resources used in Finnish and Estonian

Claiming similar knowledge or experience is achieved by various linguistic resources in the target turns that are presented in this chapter. One of them is the use of syntactic structures that are similar to the ones in the previous, overlapped turn; occasionally the responding speakers also “repeat” or recycle the elements from the prior turn (cf., for example, Du Bois 2007 and Linell 2005, 2009 on dialogic grammar). An illustration of this is example 4.3 (Finnish): the target clause in the prior turn begins with *mul on*, ‘I have,’ and the response is *mullaki on*, ‘I also have’.⁴⁴ What is added to the response is another element that is typically used in the Finnish turns in this chapter: the clitic particle *-ki(n)*. This particle translates into English as *too* or *also*, and in these clauses, it is used to indicate that the speaker has the same position as the recipient concerning the matter at hand (see ISK § 1635; on the corresponding element *-gi* in Estonian interaction, see Keevalik 2011a; compare also Du Bois 2007 on the English equivalents).

The verb *tietää/teadma*, ‘to know’ (Finnish/Estonian) refers to being aware of something, being sure or convinced of something. In the examples examined here, the speakers always include the object of “knowing” in their utterances. For instance, the Finnish example was *mä tiedän **sen***, ‘I know **that**,’ and the Estonian one ***seda** ma kuulsin. miks ma tean **seda***, ‘**that** I heard. (that’s) why I know **that**.’ It is important to note that likewise in the

⁴⁴ *Mul* is the shortened variant of *mulla*, and both are variants of the standard *minulla*, glossed 1sg:ADE; the basic meaning is the same in all of them.

Estonian case, after saying that she has ‘heard’ the piece of information, the speaker talks about ‘knowing’ it.

There are also several elements in these responses that tie the response to the previous turn (on tying, see Sacks 1992a: 150ff.). For instance, the demonstrative pronouns *sen* (Finnish, example 4.1) and *seda* (Estonian, example 4.2) are used in the responses to refer to a longer stretch of talk in the prior turn that they respond to. However, what these elements refer to is understandable only in their context of occurrence. The elements also instantiate the responsive position of the turns in which they appear.

4.3 Summary

The extracts examined in this chapter attest to the claim of access to a similar knowledge or experience of the matter introduced in the prior turn as being one of the types of interactional work that is accomplished in non-transitional overlapping responses. With these turns, responding speakers not only claim prior, independent knowledge or experience concerning the topics being discussed – and therefore orient to the epistemics in the sequence – but it can also be assumed that they are in agreement with the overlapped speaker concerning that matter, and thus align with him/her. Moreover, the knowledge claim-utterance may or may not be the only element in the turn.

These sequences therefore contain elements of both agreement and slight resistance. The latter concerns the epistemic incongruence in the sequence involving the overlapped speaker attributing a non-knowledgeable status to the recipient, but in the overlapping turn, s/he claims to be already aware of the matter that is discussed. For these responses, not only the verb ‘to know’ (in its literal meaning) but other verbs such as the verb ‘to hear’ are used in addition to some other linguistic means, such as the Finnish clitic particle *-ki(n)*, ‘too.’

5 OVERLAPPING INDEPENDENT AGREEMENTS

Another type of interactional work that is undertaken in non-transitional overlapping responsive turns both in Finnish and Estonian talk-in-interaction is what I refer to as independent agreements. This chapter analyzes the overlapping responses in which the speaker marks agreement with the prior speaker's assertion but at the same time, claims by using certain conventionalized linguistic elements that s/he is not merely going along with the prior turn, but holds an independent position towards the issue in question. Compared to the cases in the previous chapter, the cases to be examined here do not overtly claim epistemic independence but instead use certain linguistic resources to achieve this end. However, also in these examples, independent epistemic access can only be assumed (on *claiming*, see Enfield 2013: 57–60).

The matters discussed in these situations are predominantly either very general or common to both speakers; they therefore are not primarily the personal matters of one of the participants only (on owning knowledge, see Sharrock 1974). This means that in principle, both speakers have equal yet perhaps separate and independent access to the domain of knowledge (for an overview on epistemic access, for example, see Stivers et al. 2011). In the sequences I will examine in this chapter, the first speaker produces an assertion about something. In the next, responsive turn, the second speaker agrees with this assertion, but at the same time indicates that her agreement is based on independent grounds and on her independent, perhaps equal knowledge, or at least equally reliable knowledge, of the matter under discussion. This response is positioned in overlap at a non-TRP. To begin with, I will present a simple example of the base turns in the sequence. The topic of this example is a vase-like object that Kerttu uses as a container for pancake batter:

(5.1) Tyylikäs / Stylish (Finnish)

Sg 346, 51:00

01	Kerttu:	jos on vieraita? .hh (0.3) ja tekee siin if (one) has guests, .hh (0.3) and (one) is making pancakes
02		<u>samalla</u> lettuja, ni o aika kiva et o at the same time, so it is pretty nice to have
	Sanna	Sanna starts nodding
03		semmon ty[yylikäs (lettu) (-) eikä mi]kää <u>muovinen</u> - - a sty[lish (pancake) (-) and not a]ny plastic one - -
=> 04	Sanna:	[NII::hh? <u>todellaki</u> .] [right, exactly.]

This fragment exemplifies in many ways the phenomenon of independent agreements. The overlapped turn is a general statement that does not refer to the co-participant having any specific knowledge about the topic. The responding speaker agrees and affiliates with the prior statement (here: the particle *nii*, see Sorjonen 2001a) and yet intensifies it (here: *todellaki*, ‘exactly’). This particular response turn does not contain anything more, but after this turn, the overlapping speaker continues and adds something more to her statement. It is rather typical that the independently agreeing response also includes some prosodically marked elements (the prolonging in her *nii* and the stress in *todellaki*), which may indicate the speaker’s heightened emotive involvement with respect to the issue. However, most of the independent agreement turns are even more explicit in their stance than this one, and in most of the examples, the response onset is further away from a possible TRP than in this case.

Before exploring the data fragments in more detail, let us examine more closely the prior literature, as a number of scholars have identified a range of interactional phenomena that relate to the one analyzed in the present study. First, Heritage (2002) investigates the *oh*-prefaced agreeing responses to assessments in English and demonstrates that the speakers of these turns express that their view on the matter is independent of the prior speaker’s view (they have previous and/or independent access to the matter) and that they, not the first speakers, are actually epistemic authorities over the matter. Second, Stivers (2005) examines those agreeing responses to assertions that repeat something from the prior turn while at the same time modifying it. These modified repeats, which basically agree with the prior assertion, are also “concerned to compete with the epistemic authority of the claim” (ibid. p. 137). According to Stivers, these turns do special interactional work in English interaction, more than mere agreement. Thus, by using them, the speaker “assert[s] primary rights from second position” (ibid.). Like the responses investigated here, the modified repeats are “not specifically sequentially implicated” (ibid.).

Agreeing responses to assessments in Finnish talk-in-interaction have been investigated by Hakulinen and Sorjonen (2009, Sorjonen & Hakulinen 2009), who demonstrate that by modifying aspects such as the word order and the presence of the subject and verb in the response, Finnish speakers can change the implications of the agreement turn. One of the possible implications of these is that the responding speaker is actually an epistemic authority over the matter at hand, and for this purpose, the response format [verb + subject] can be used. Sidnell and Enfield (2012), who draw on Hakulinen and Sorjonen’s work on Finnish (see above), on Sidnell’s work on a Caribbean English Creole, and on Enfield’s work on Lao, compare these similar actions and refer to the turns in question as “epistemically authoritative second-position assessments” or “K+ second assessments.” Furthermore, Svennevig (2007, 2008) reports that the Norwegian response token *ikke sant* (literally ‘not true’) can be used for similar interactional

purposes: to claim epistemic authority while agreeing. It is interesting that Svennevig even notes that *ikke sant* is frequently positioned in overlap with the prior turn.

Finally, both Barnes (2012) and Küttner (forthcoming) investigate the interactional work of *that's right* in English talk-in-interaction and describe several situations where this item is used. One of the uses is exactly similar to the situations in the cases to be examined here. Barnes' (ibid.) term for these is "mutual stance," while Küttner (ibid.) refers to these turns expressing an "independent stance." Moreover, the use of *that's right* in English has been associated with the interactional work of "confirming" (for example, Schegloff 2007: 8 and many others). Nonetheless, confirming something would require that the confirming speaker has (or has been given) epistemic authority over the matter at hand. In other words, a speaker can only confirm something that somehow falls under her own epistemic authority (see Stivers 2005, Barnes 2012, Küttner forthcoming).⁴⁵ In these situations, the prior speaker has attributed epistemic authority to the recipient,⁴⁶ who subsequently confirms the prior turn (which is typically an assertion or an assessment). However, what is important for the perspective adopted here is that a speaker can also retroactively treat the prior turn as if it had attributed epistemic authority to her, even if it did not, and produce a turn that initially resembles a confirmation. This is what occurs in the examples in this section. They have the initiating speaker who has either presented herself as an epistemic authority over the domain in question, or has at least not attributed epistemic authority to the recipient. As Küttner (forthcoming) observes, these turns "make agreement/disagreement relevant next, but do **not** involve turn construction formats that index the recipient's (- -) epistemic authority." In this sequential and epistemic situation, therefore, when the responding speaker produces a turn that resembles a confirmation, she combats the epistemic position that is attributed to her in the prior turn and treats the prior turn as if it had attributed (some) epistemic authority to her, not to the prior speaker.

The literature reported above illustrates that varying terminology has been created to express the type of action being explored in this analysis. However, I will not adopt any of the terms mentioned above but, for several

⁴⁵ For a somewhat different conception of *confirming*, see Schegloff 1996b. *Confirmation* has also been discussed in relation to *affirmation*; on this, for example, see Heritage & Raymond 2012, Sorjonen 2001a: 36.

⁴⁶ Who the epistemic authority is in a given situation may also depend on the topic of the talk. For example, when friends are discussing their relatives, the one whose relatives are being discussed is undoubtedly the epistemic authority over the domain (see Raymond & Heritage 2006). A regular means of attributing epistemic authority to the recipient is to produce what is called a B-event statement (Labov & Fanshel 1977). In English, attributing epistemic authority to the recipient can also be expressed through certain linguistic devices, such as adding a tag question to a declarative statement (for example, see Heritage & Raymond 2005: 25).

reasons, I will refer instead to these turns as *independent agreements*. Usually neither the responses nor the previous turns in my data fragments are *assessments*, which is why the term “K+ second assessment” (or something of that sort) is not applicable. Furthermore, most of the responses are not “modified repeats.” What speakers accomplish with these turns in their interaction is to agree with the prior speaker and simultaneously to claim that their view is not dependent on the prior speaker’s perspective, but is based on independent grounds. As the responses are varying, *independent agreement* is a sufficiently general term. In short, independent agreements express strong agreement while maintaining an independent stance.

As for independent agreement sequences, the sequential position of the responsive turn is crucial. Evidence has been presented for English talk-in-interaction that a turn’s position in a sequence is essential for determining its speaker’s epistemic primacy and authority over the domain/matter at hand (Heritage 2002, Heritage & Raymond 2005). The epistemics of a turn is thus strongly tied to its position in a sequence. This means that having the first say, “going first,” is very important in interpreting the speakers’ relative epistemic authority (ibid.). Nevertheless, this does not occur in all language communities. For instance, the speakers in Japanese talk-in-interaction do not rely extensively on the position of the turn, but instead employ different epistemic particles to display the degree of speaker epistemic authority and rights (Hayano 2011, 2013, Heritage 2013). Based on the analyses presented in the current work, it seems that in Finnish and Estonian, the turn’s sequential position is as significant for determining its epistemics as it is in English talk-in-interaction.

In the sequences analyzed here, the prior turn is an assertion turn – and by virtue of it being a first position assertion, the default interpretation is that the speaker has primary epistemic rights over the issue in question (this is also true of the examples in chapter 4). In these cases, the first position turn is usually also designed as having primary – or at least not-secondary – epistemic access and rights to the claim that its speaker is making in relation to the recipient; there may be some linguistic elements conveying this. (Cf. Heritage 1984a on informings and tellability.) In these turns, the speaker most often asserts or assesses something, or presents (a description of) a perspective or a view s/he has on some issue. In so doing, the speaker offers the recipient an opportunity⁴⁷ to join in the action/activity. In other words, s/he invites the recipient to produce his/her own view on the matter (see Pomerantz 1984a), and that is what the recipient does – in these cases, in non-transitional overlap with the prior turn. (For more on these issues, see chapter 8.)

The recipient’s reaction, when it occurs, is in these situations not anything that was exactly invited or projected by the prior turn. The result is that the

⁴⁷ This does not necessarily constitute creating a concrete place or position to take a turn, which would be the emergence of a TRP.

response does not go along with all the implications of the prior turn. The responding speaker expresses subtle resistance to the relative distribution of knowledge and of the rights as they were stated (whether implicitly or explicitly) in the prior turn. This phenomenon has been termed epistemic incongruence by Hayano (2013: 38; see also Hayano 2011, Stivers et al. 2011). This type of incongruence occurs in situations where the participants' epistemic stances are not compatible with one another; they do not agree on the relative distribution of knowledge between them. As a consequence, a slight competition may arise between the speakers, or at least some type of negotiation concerning epistemic matters.

Scholars working on English and other languages have identified the linguistic patterns mentioned above that speakers use in “independently agreeing” turns. This current study offers insight into the ways in which a similar practice is accomplished in Estonian and Finnish, two languages unrelated to English (but related to each other). Hence our understanding will be broadened of the phenomenon of asserting more rights from the second position than was implied in the prior turn. Asserting more rights in the current study does not always entail that the second speaker is asserting primary rights concerning the claim, but instead, simply more rights than was implied in the prior turn. This can mean either primary rights, or alternatively, rights that are at least equal to those of the prior speaker. A further expansion in the current work is that it deals not only with assessments, but with assertion turns more generally. It will be shown that at least with regard to this aspect of assessments and assertions (the response type they may get), they behave similarly.

In the following analyses, I will focus closely on the timing of the responsive turns. I will also examine the linguistic resources that are used in these turns, and the different utterance types of “doing more than mere agreement” that appear in the collection. The linguistic elements will be discussed not only when analyzing the examples in the following analytical section, but also collectively in section 5.2. A general discussion of the timing of such turns, that is, their overlapping positioning, will be carried out in section 8.2 with more in-depth details, background and a discussion of implications.

5.1 Independent agreements in their sequential contexts

This section presents an analysis of independent agreements in terms of the sequential trajectories they form and the types of contexts they occur in. In the first fragment, two friends, Margit and Katrin, are talking about their mutual acquaintances, a couple who is reportedly going to break up due to irreconcilable differences (this is referred to in lines 4–5). The participants claim that breaking up with someone does not really matter, as the next partner will always be better than the previous one:

(5.2) Parem inimene / Better person (Estonian)

AN3, 06:57

- 01 M: °niet ma=i `tea,°
so I don't know.
- 02 (1.2)
- 03 M: °`oska midagi arvata.° noh, kui .hhh (0.2)
(I) cannot judge/think of anything. uhm, if .hhh (0.2)
- 04 kui nendel `nii läheb, siis läheb `nii, siis
if they are ((or: will be)) doing like that, then they are ((or: will be)), then
- 05 et tuleb `järgmine `inimene lissalt no.
there will simply be a/the next person.
- 06 (0.6)
- > 07 M: .hhh (.) seda on nagu `selles etkel raske
.hhh (.) it is like hard to say that at that moment
- > 08 `öelda kui= sul= on keegi `inges
say:INF if/when 2SG:ADE be.3SG someone soul:INE
when you have someone in your heart
- > 09 vaa[ta. = `tegelt me ju] `teame
look:2SG:IMP actually 1PL PRT know:1PL
y'se[e. actually we] know
[]
- 10 K: [mhmm:.,]
- > 11 M: (et)=[>`tegelt< meil tulleb alati `p:arem
(COMP) actually 1PL:ADE come:3SG always good:CMP
(that) [actually we wi]ll always have a better
[]
- => 12 K: [`muidu:gi.]
[of course.]
- 13 M: inime[ne ju.]
person PRT
perso[n you know.]
[]
- 14 K: [`ala]ti tuleb.
always come:3SG
[we al]ways will.
- 15 (0.4)
- 16 M: `täiega tule[b (küll).]
indeed we w[ill.]
[]
- 17 K: [sest sa `as]tud ju alati aste
[because you (wi]ll) always go one step
- 18 `kõr:gemale.
higher.

19 M: mmmh,

Prior to this fragment, Margit and Katrin were intensively discussing their mutual acquaintances, a couple who is having some problems (on this part of the conversation, see example 6.9 on page 155 below). Immediately preceding this fragment, Margit has referred to her own prior experience of relationships that have ended, to which Katrin has responded only minimally. At the beginning of this fragment, in lines 3–5, Margit shifts the topic again to the couple they have been discussing, but receives no uptake from her recipient, Katrin. Subsequently, beginning in line 7, Margit moves to a more general discussion level about people who are about to break up their relationship and states the following: *seda on nagu sellel etkel raske öelda kui sul on keegi inges vaata*, ‘it is like hard to say that at that moment when you have someone in your heart y’see.’ Changing the focus of talk is interpreted here through the use of the particle *vaata*⁴⁸ (Keevallik 2008a). In addition, the TCU-initial adverb *tegelt*, ‘actually,’ may serve here as a marker of “non-disjunctive topic shift triggered by prior talk” (Clift 2001: 286, analyzing English *actually*). This utterance receives a particle response of *mhmm* from Katrin that begins near the end of the TCU, at a possible TRP. By using this particle, Katrin may also mark incipient speakership (cf. Jefferson 1993); after this, she indeed becomes a more active participant in the conversation.

From this point on, Margit continues her talk by making another assertion (lines 9, 11, 13): *tegelt me ju teame (et) tegelt meil tuleb alati parem inimene ju*, ‘actually we know (that) actually we will always have a better person you know.’ Margit’s turn is designed as a declarative utterance with no indications of uncertainty, which implies her authority over the matter. However, certain structures in the turn indicate that she is appealing to common knowledge that is shared by her and her recipient Katrin, and she may therefore be attributing some epistemic authority to her recipient as well. This is because she uses the first-person plural (*me teame*, ‘we know,’ *meil tuleb*, ‘we will have’), which seems to point directly to the participants’ shared knowledge. However, the first-person plural pronoun may also be used to refer to people in general (Pajusalu 1999: 56ff.). Moreover, the emphatic particle *ju* claims a shared knowledge and invites an aligning response as well⁴⁹ (Grünthal-Robert 2000, Keevallik 2003a: 109). Nonetheless, the adverb *tegelt*, ‘actually’ in this position may be used to mark the turn as an informing, thereby revising the speaker’s own prior utterance (at least English *actually* is used like this; Clift 2001). Clift (2001) calls *actually* used in this way a “change-of-mind token.” As such, the use of

⁴⁸ According to Keevallik (2003a: 205–207), *vaata* occurs very rarely in a TCU-final position. Here, however, this is exactly the case.

⁴⁹ *Ju* can also serve as a reminding device that means “you haven’t considered this, but you should know” (Keevallik, p.c.), but the reminding function does not seem to be relevant here.

‘actually’ here might again sustain the speaker’s more knowledgeable position.

At this point, where the first part of Margit’s utterance (*tegelt me ju teame*, ‘actually we know’) is still under way, in the sense that the complement to the finite verb *teame* has not yet occurred (*what* do we know), Katrin begins her overlapping response (line 12). The response, *muidugi*, ‘of course,’ is lexical in form. With this turn, Katrin shows emphatic agreement with the prior (Keevallik, p.c.). However, like the English *of course*, the Estonian *muidugi* seems to be used by speakers not only to agree, but to upgrade/reinforce their epistemic rights to the claim and to explicate their epistemic access to the domain as independent (see Stivers 2011). Thus, the speaker is not merely acknowledging the prior assertion, but is also claiming that she held the same opinion independently, before this situation arose. Stivers’ (2011) analysis of *of course*,⁵⁰ however, concerns answers to polar questions. Stivers claims that when answering polar question with *of course*, the responding speaker indicates that s/he orients to the question as unaskable for some reason (see also Sacks 1987). Similarly, I claim that when responding to an assertion turn with *muidugi*, ‘of course,’ the responding speaker orients to the assertion as somehow being self-evident and obvious. By using ‘of course’ as a response, the responding speaker indexes her independent epistemic access to the matter. This response is, moreover, positioned in non-transitional overlap in this fragment, which intensifies the interactional work the speaker accomplishes with the turn.

The subtle competition over epistemic matters between the parties continues during and after Katrin’s overlapping responsive turn. Simultaneously with Katrin’s overlapping *muidugi*, Margit continues her assertion (lines 11, 13): *tegelt meil tuleb alati parem inimene ju*, ‘actually we will always have a better person you know.’ Katrin responds to this again with a turn that indicates her independence regarding the matter, this time in terminal overlap: *alati tuleb*, ‘we always will’ (line 14). Both elements in the response, the finite verb *tuleb* and the adverb *alati*, ‘always,’ are repeated from the prior turn, but their order is changed and the prosodic emphasis is added to *alati*. These elements work to claim that the speaker has epistemic access to the domain and therefore indicate that the turn is an independent assertion and does not merely echo the prior (on modified repeats in English, see Stivers 2005).

In line 16, the first speaker Margit continues the competition over epistemic terms by producing a turn that is somewhat similar to the immediately prior one: she repeats the finite verb adding an intensifying adverb and a particle: *täiega tuleb küll*, ‘indeed we will.’ With this turn, as

⁵⁰ Stivers’ analysis is primarily based on British and American English conversation, but she refers to similar tokens in Dutch (*natuurlijk*), Japanese (*mochiron*) and Italian (*certo*) as well and reports that they appear to behave in the same way. Here, the Estonian equivalent *muidugi* and the Finnish *totta kai* (see example 5.6) seem to follow the same patterns.

the first speaker, she re-asserts again her epistemic primacy over the claim and over its domain of knowledge. Overlapping this turn, Katrin adds another contribution with some epistemic competition (lines 17–18). By providing an explanation that begins with *sest*, ‘because,’ she indicates again that her understanding of the issue is based on independent epistemic access: *sest sa astud ju alati aste kõrgemale*, ‘because you (will) always go one step higher’ (on English *because*-clauses, see Couper-Kuhlen 2011a). However, these two turns are not positioned in non-transitional overlap, but are in terminal overlap or after a gap. This may be related to their sequential positioning, which is different when compared to the non-transitional overlapping independent agreement turns. It may be that if speakers continue epistemically incongruent talk, it is only the first response that attains the early positioning in the sequence. However, as the current data does not include many instances such as this, the matter cannot be pursued further in this analysis. Further exploration of this phenomenon – extended negotiation over epistemic assumptions and claims – is warranted.

This example illustrates various means to manage the epistemics in an assertion sequence where the speakers agree with one another. One of these resources is timing a turn in non-transitional overlap, and owing to its different level of operation, it is combinable with other, lexico-semantic and grammatical resources. The specific import of the early timing will be discussed in detail in section 8.2.

In the following example, the agreeing overlapping response is a minimal clausal utterance *on niillä*, ‘they do have.’ Both of its elements are repeated from the prior turn: the possessive-clause finite verb *on* and the pronominal element *niillä*, the possessor. The order of the elements is also significant for the action the speaker is accomplishing with her turn. Prior to this extract, the two friends A and B have been discussing pets – speaker A’s dog and speaker B’s cats. In this fragment, speaker A begins to talk about cats more generally. The conversation takes place at B’s home, and one of her cats is also present in the situation.

(5.3) Laumaeläimiä / Gregarious animals (Finnish)

Sg 377, 22:07

- 01 A: ↑kissat on siit kummia ku niisthän sanotaan
cats are strange in the way that they are you know claimed
- 02 >että< ne ei oo niinku laumaeläimiä?
to not be gregarious animals
- 03 (1.0) mut sit niil kuitenkin on;
(1.0) but then they nevertheless have,
- 04 (0.2) et niilhä, (0.4) ↑jostain tuli
(0.2) that they you know, (0.4) it came from somewhere

- 05 semmonen, (.) mielenkiintoinen, (.)
such (.) an interesting (.)
- 06 dokumentti jostain Rooman villikissoista
documentary on wild cats in Rome
- 07 tai muuta?
or something
- 08 B: nii,
yeah
- > 09 A: et niil on aika tarkkaki
COMP DEM3.PL:ADE be.3SG quite strict:CLI
that they nevertheless have a pretty strict
- > 10 sitte kuitenki semmonen
then however DEM3.ADJ
such a
- > 11 sosi[aalinen järjeste]lmä(1) #niillä:#,
social grouping DEM3.PL:ADE
soci[al groupi]ng they (have)
- => 12 B: [on niillä;]
be.3SG DEM3.PL:ADE
[they do have]
- 13 A: et ne on [kuitenkin #niinku#,
COMP DEM3.PL be.3SG however PRT
so that they [nevertheless are like
- 14 B: [nii,
[yeah
- 15 B: ja siis osa kis[soistahan o]n sosiaalisempia
and PRT part cat:PL:ELA:CLI be.3SG sociable:CMP:PL:PAR
and some cat[s you know ar]e more sociable
- 16 A: [laumaeläimiä?]
[gregarious animals]
- 17 B: ku osa et [niis on sellasii tolla- (.)
than others (so that) [there are that ki- (.)
- 18 A: [jaa;
[okay
- B | TURNS RAPIDLY TOWARDS HER CAT AND POINTS TO IT
- 19 B: niinku tollasii, (.) y- yksinäisii ekörmyjä?
that kind of (.) lo- lonesome trolls among them
- 20 hehhh .hh ja s(h)it niis on niit
hehh .hh and th(h)en there are those

21 sellasii laumatyyppejä?
gregarious characters among them

This fragment begins with speaker A beginning to talk about cats more in general, whether or not they are gregarious animals. She introduces the topic with a general statement about how cats are not claimed to be gregarious animals (*niisthän sanotaan*, ‘they are claimed you know’), where the displayed access to knowledge is indirect. Then she continues with a contrast: *mut sit niil kuitenkin on, et niilhä - -*, ‘but then they nevertheless have, that they you know - -’ (lines 1–4). In this part, she uses two instances of the clitic particle *-hä(n)*, which implies the sharedness of knowledge between the speaker and the recipient (Hakulinen 2001a). That is, the speaker acknowledges the other’s (possible) epistemic access as well. At this point, speaker A temporarily abandons the clausal structure that she has begun and begins an insertion that tells about a documentary she had seen on television, which is offered as a source for her knowledge: *jostain tuli semmonen mielenkiintonen dokumentti - -*, ‘it came from somewhere such an interesting documentary - -.’ At the end of this insertion, her recipient B, using the particle *ni* (line 8), indicates her understanding that the setting of the telling has now been established and that the key point is due next, and she invites speaker A to continue (Sorjonen 2001a: 233ff.). Speaker A then returns to what she left incomplete prior to the insertion. Tying back, she then repeats the conjunction *et* and the possessor and the finite verb of the possessive clause, *niil on*, ‘they have,’ and continues the utterance. These aspects, both the coming back to the main line of the story (and to the contrast) after an insertion, and the repetition from the prior unit, may facilitate the recipient’s understanding that the sequence or the telling is soon coming to a closure.

The focus lines in this fragment begin from line 9 onward, when speaker A utters her first position assertion: *niil on aika tarkkaki sitte kuitenkin semmonen sosiaalinen järjestelmä*, ‘they nevertheless have a pretty strict such a social grouping.’ In this part, A does not specifically refer to any common knowledge between the parties – she is actually presenting knowledge from a second-hand source not available to B (the complementizer *et* in the framing clause brings in another voice; see Laury & Seppänen 2008). Her clause is formatted as a direct declarative claim, *niil on - -*, ‘they have - -,’ with no downgrading of any kind. However, she does not actively attribute a K– position to her recipient; instead this implication is inherent in the action of the turn, as it is designed as an informing (see Heritage 1984a on informings and tellability). Before A has fully completed her assertion, B begins an agreeing response in line 12: *on niillä*, ‘they do (have).’ The turn starts up at a point where A is still producing her turn: the unfinished part of the turn (*semmonen sosi[aa]linen järjestelmä*, ‘such a social grouping’) is a part of the possessed item in a possessive clause. The nominative case in *semmonen*, ‘such,’ makes it clear that the phrase it begins

is the possessed item, and also that the items to follow belong to that phrase and are to occur in the same case (and that's what the elements *sosiaalinen järjestelmä* show). At the overlap onset point, it is clear that the turn content concerns the social side of cats' life (*sosi-*) and it is being described as *aika tarkka*, 'pretty strict.' The overlapped phrase *sosiaalinen järjestelmä*, 'social grouping' is the last item in the turn (see Jefferson 1983, Drew 2009), but as this element is rather extensive, the possible and also the actual end of the utterance is still quite far away when the overlap begins.

The agreeing overlapping response, *on niillä*, 'they do (have),' looks like a confirmation, even though the prior turn did not attribute epistemic authority to the recipient and the turn was thus not designed as confirmable. With this response, then, the speaker is competing epistemically and indexing her independent access to the domain, claiming that she (too) has epistemic access and rights to the domain. This is evidenced by the word order VS [verb + "subject"⁵¹] of the response; it shows that the participants agree on the matter in question, but importantly, that there is something that they do not share, that their experience or perspective is different (Hakulinen & Sorjonen 2009, also Sorjonen & Hakulinen 2009).⁵² By using this structure, the responding speaker indicates that her epistemic position is different from what was supposed in the prior turn, and perhaps even stronger than that of the prior speaker. In addition, the knowledge sources of the speakers here are different in that the responding speaker's turn is based on first-hand knowledge and experience as a cat owner (see how she uses her own cat as a resource in this work by pointing to it in line 19), whereas the first speaker bases her assertion at least partly on the documentary she had seen on television, and as such, on second-hand knowledge, albeit from a scientific and/or possibly otherwise trustworthy source.

Simultaneously with speaker B's overlapping *on niillä*, 'they do (have),' speaker A continues her turn to its projected end: *semmonen sosiaalinen järjestelmä*, 'such a social grouping.' She does not break off her turn during the overlap, and in addition, subsequently, she continues with a kind of summary or conclusion to her previous turn (lines 13, 16): *et ne on kuitenkin niinku laumaeläimiä*, 'so that they nevertheless are gregarious animals'⁵³ (on utterances beginning with *et(tä)*, see Koivisto, Laury & Seppänen 2011, Laury & Seppänen 2008, Seppänen & Laury 2007). Speaker A uses this turn to re-assert her own epistemic rights over the domain, and in so doing, continues to display her independent access to the domain, prolonging the subtle

⁵¹ *Niillä* is not the grammatical subject, but is a habitive adverbial (ISK § 986) in this clause. However, it is in the neutral place of subject (ISK § 922–923) and acts as the pragmatic subject, the possessor, in it. (Cf. Helasvuo & Huomo 2010.)

⁵² It is interesting that this word order is also used when disagreeing with a negatively formatted turn, as in the following example: *Ei kai se ole mahdollista. – On se*, 'It is not possible (I suppose). – It is.' (ISK § 1386).

⁵³ On the type of overlap occurring in line 16, see Vatanen forthcoming.

competitiveness of the sequence. The competitiveness and the dynamics of the situation and of the epistemics in it are likewise visible in speaker B's next, more extensive turn, which she starts up in line 15, before A has completed her turn: *ja siis osa kissoistahan on sosiaalisempia ku osa - -*, 'and some cats you know are more sociable than others - -.' In this turn, she states her view on the matter, which is based on her personal, first-hand knowledge and experiences as a cat owner. The turn begins with *ja*, 'and,' which marks it as if it were a continuation of a prior turn (see chapter 6 on *ja*-prefaced turns). This is a direct declarative with the verb *on* in indicative form. The turn also includes the clitic particle *-han* (line 15), which marks or points to common knowledge (Hakulinen 2001a) and thus may invite remembering or recognizing it. This suggests that speaker B is in a position to remind speaker A of this information, and speaker B is thus more knowledgeable. Furthermore, by providing substantially new and more precise information about different cats, speaker B insists on providing evidence and accounting for her epistemic authority that is at least equal if not stronger than that of speaker A.

In the prior example, we saw a linguistic device for independent agreement that is available in Finnish but does not exist in Estonian: the VS word order (for more on this, see section 5.2). The next example illustrates one way of doing independent agreement from my Estonian data. The linguistic element used in the response is the clitic *-gi* that is attached to the verb of a minimal clause, *see on*, 'it is.' The speakers in this fragment are friends and both are university students in Estonia; they are in the last year(s) of their studies. Both have been exchange students in Finland, and it has come out that they both think that (Estonian) students are generally passive. Mari is planning to work as a teacher after graduating, whereas Eve apparently is not. Prior to this fragment, Mari has told about a course that she is about to give at the university. In this course, her students are required to give oral presentations based on an article, and she has been wondering how to activate the students in the audience during and after the presentations. At that point, Eve suggests that Mari could require every student to prepare questions concerning the article and the presentation. She justifies her suggestion by telling her that when she was studying in Finland, every student was required to prepare a comment on the presentations that were given during the course she attended. Yet in Estonia, she claims, usually the opponent is the only one who is active because s/he is required to be, and the other students are just like *mömmid*, 'dumbbells.' Mari has responded to Eve's suggestion rather positively, as a suggestion that she could very well implement. Our fragment begins with Eve offering more reasons for her suggestion:

(5.4) Põhiprobleem / Basic problem (Estonian)

TÄ2, 15:15

- 01 Eve: siis on kõik valmis.
then everybody is ready.
- 02 Mari: jah, jah?
yeah, yeah
- 03 Eve: ja se a[rendab tegelt.]
and it ac[tually improves.]
- 04 Mari: [(tegelt) pär]is hea mõte.
[(actually) quite] a good idea.
- 05 Eve: see aren[dab (-)].]
it impro[ves (-)]
- 06 Mari: [ooh ma peaks] >vel igast< ee
[ooh I should] (on everything) uhm
- 07 kü[sima teie käest] hmhm nõuande(h)id? hehe .hh
as[k from you] hmhm adv(h)ice hehe .hh
[]
- 08 Eve: [hehe hehe]
- 09 Eve: sest s[ee a↑re]ndab täie[ga].
because [it really] improv[es ((the students))
[] []
- 10 Mari: [° (--) °] [jaa. on küll.
[yeah. that's right.
- M GAZE: _____
- > 11 Mari: seevastu eestis on põhiprobleem on
instead NAME:INE be.3SG basic.problem be.3SG
instead in Estonia the basic problem is
- E GAZE: _____
- M | TURNS HER HEAD FROM EVE TO MID-DISTANCE AND HOLDS IT STILL
- M GAZE: _____
- > 12 see-;=fkõ[ik >lihtsalt< is]tuvad ja midagi ei
DEM1 all simply sit:3PL and anything NEG
that ever[yone simply si]ts and does
[]
- E GAZE: _____
- => 13 Eve: [see ongi.]
DEM1 be.3SG:CLI
[indeed / that's right]
- M | RELEASES STILL HEAD POSITION
- M GAZE: _____
- 14 Mari: te[e; ja:] ma
do and 1SG
nothi[ng and] I

not include anything that the *see* could clearly refer to. As for the prosodic formatting of this stretch of talk, the *see* is slightly stressed, but not as much as would be expectable were it to be the last element in the utterance. The intonation falls slightly on *see*, but the end of it is somewhat truncated, creating the impression of continuation being imminent. Nevertheless, what I argue to be even more important here is that Mari's embodied behavior strongly suggests that she is going to continue the clause from *see*, and that for this reason, she uses *see* in a forward-projecting manner: when she utters *see*, she shifts her gaze away from Eve and in addition, she turns her head to an empty mid-distance, holding it still until she has completed the clause *kõik lihtsalt istuvad ja midagi ei tee*, 'everyone simply sits and does nothing,' which in this interpretation of *see* is considered to be a specification of the 'basic problem.'

In any case, Eve's agreement with Mari is placed very early during Mari's talk. As she has not heard the latter part of Mari's utterance, strictly speaking, Eve cannot yet agree with it yet. What she agrees with occurs apparently farther away from the sequence. Prior to this fragment, the participants were already in agreement that (Estonian) students are generally passive during lectures. Just prior to this fragment, Eve has spoken about what was done in Finland where the students were (made to be) more active. Now that Mari begins her assertion with *seevastu eestis*, 'instead in Estonia,' it is rather easily projectable that her assertion is going to be about students in Estonia, and that it will be a contrast to the just prior stretch of talk. So, when the situation in Estonia is contrasted with the one in Finland, Eve can project at least the gist of the unfolding utterance already this early: Estonians will be claimed to be different, i.e., more passive.

During her turn, Mari does not explicitly attribute any epistemic authority to Eve, and from the background knowledge available to us, we know that at least when it comes to teaching and related matters, Mari is the more experienced of the two. By responding at this point to this assertion with *see ongi*, Eve nevertheless indicates that she has at-least-equal access and rights as Mari to make this assertion. *See ongi* consists of a demonstrative pronoun *see*, 'it,' and a finite verb *on*, 'is,' and both of these are repeated from the prior turn and thus tie back to it. One element is added here to the repeated elements *see on*, namely the clitic *-gi*, which is attached to the verb. Keevallik (2011a) has demonstrated that by using this clitic in a responsive turn, the speaker indicates that she knows the issue at least as well as her recipient and that her epistemic access is better than previously assumed, which is exactly what seems to be going on here. Thus, in her response, Eve agrees by confirming Mari's assertion, and concurrently claims to be an authority. She claims that her opinion on the matter is based on knowledge that is independent and better-than-assumed. Her response therefore conveys "that was exactly the point."

Moreover, the continuation of this sequence illustrates the epistemic incongruence and the negotiation over authority between the speakers. After

her assertion, Mari continues her turn by reporting that when attending lectures, she herself behaves exactly the same way (lines 14, 16). Simultaneously with this, Eve produces her second and third *see ongi*-utterances, positioning them in overlap at, or very near, a TRP (lines 15 and 17; cf. the timing of turns in extract 5.2). After that, she continues to talk about her own independent experiences concerning the phenomenon (lines 17–18). She subsequently presents an explicit evaluation in line 19 (*tegelt see on hea*, ‘actually it is good’), which is again provided independently, yet it is not very clear what exactly is being evaluated here. Mari responds to this in agreement in line 20 (*jah? o- on küll jah?*, ‘yeah, it is’), after which the sequence is closed.

In Estonian, the clitic particle *-gi* is thus one of the linguistic resources used in independent agreements. The next example is from the Finnish data. Here, in addition to repeating the prior assertion’s finite verb (*on*, ‘is’), there are intensifying adverbs *todellaki* and *tosiaanki*, ‘indeed, really,’ which are added in the responses. Similarly to the previous example, here the epistemic incongruence is also evident in other turns in addition to the overlapping turn. In this example, speakers A and B are again talking about cats (this part of the conversation takes place approximately 20 minutes after the talk in example 5.3, *Laumaeläimiä / Gregarious animals*). Here, the question is whether to keep cats indoors, or to let them outdoors when living in a city area. The topic arises when B states, relating to their previous topic, that it would be nice to have foxes around in the city, but that then the cats in the area would be in danger. At this point, A states that cats could also be kept indoors, and after that, B says that in her neighborhood, some people let their cats roam freely outdoors, and in her opinion, that’s a lot more fun for the cats. A’s opinion statement follows:

(5.5) *Isot riskit / Big risks* (Finnish)

Sg 377, 45:48

- 01 A: *toi on mun mielest s't taas vähä sell#anen*
that is in my opinion again the kind of
- 02 *juttu ku#; (0.5) niinku oikeesti oikeesti*
thing that/as (0.5) like if (one/you) really really
- 03 *ku miettii;=>ainaki ↑mäki< varmaa jos mä*
think(s) at least me I guess if I
- 04 *ottaisin kis[san ni tykkäisin sitä pit#ää*
took a ca[t I'd like to keep it
- 05 B: [
[nii,
[yeah
- 06 A: *ulkona ja näin#?*
outdoors and such

07 (0.5)
08 B: mm,
09 A: mutta että ei se niinku, (1.5) ((SWALLOWS?))
but that it (is) not like, (1.5)

10 onhan se tavallaan kuitenkin,
it is still as you know in a way

11 B: no-
(well?)

12 A: sille lemmikille hirveen vaarallist#a pitää
for the pet awfully dangerous to keep

13 kaupunkialueella=ihan taaja[ma-alueellaki]
in a city area also in a subu[rb(an area)]
[]
[]

14 B: [.hhhhhhh =]

15 A: [pitää ki[ssaa ulkona# ni [se on kyl-]=
[to keep a c[at outdoors, so [it is]
[] []

16 B: [= .hh = [hhhhhhhhhh = [no em (-) kyl-]
[.hh [hhhhhhhhh [well I (would/do/did) not]

-> 17 A: =↑aika isot riskit sil[lä kissalla on jä]ädä
quite big:PL risk:PL DEM1:ADE cat:ADE be.3SG stay:INF
the risks are pretty high for [the cat to be ru]n
[]

=> 18 B: [no on todellaki.]
PRT be.3SG really:CLI
[they really are]

-> 19 A: auton alle ja [muuta että?]
car:GEN under and else:PAR PRT/COMP
over by a car and [so forth so]
[]

=> 20 B: [no on tosiaan]ki=
PRT be.3SG indeed:CLI
[they indeed ar]e

21 =mut siis en mä niinku, (.) vaik asuis nois
but I wouldn't, (.) even if (I/you/one) lived in those

22 puutaloissa ni, (.) em mä kyl ehkä uskaltais
wooden houses, (.) I maybe wouldn't dare

23 sillee koska, (.) [täs on nii isot tiet,
like that because, (.) [here there are so big roads
[]

24 A: [mm:;

This fragment begins by speaker A explicitly starting to formulate an opinion, too, as she uses the stance marker *mun mielest*, 'in my opinion,' in line 1. The

use of this phrase in a second assessment projects disagreement (Rauniomaa 2007). Even before our arrowed target lines, speaker A's stance becomes evident: in lines 10, 12–13 and 15, she produces a long, meandering assertion: *onhan se tavallaan kuitenkin sille lemmikille hirveen vaarallista pitää kaupunkialueella ihan taajama-alueellaki pitää kissaa ulkona*, 'it still is you know in a way for the pet awfully dangerous to keep in a city area also in a suburb(an area) to keep a cat outdoors.' The beginning of her turn contains elements that suggest a slight downgrading of the assertion (*onhan se tavallaan kuitenkin*, 'it is still as you know in a way,' line 10), but the continuation is rather extreme in its stance: *hirveen vaarallista*, 'awfully dangerous' (line 12). Subsequently, speaker A continues her turn (line 15: *ni se on kyl - -*, 'so it is - -'). Simultaneously with this, however, speaker B interprets the syntactic boundary between the clauses as a TRP and attempts to take a turn in line 16 (her preparation for this turn can be seen already starting in line 14, where she begins audible inhaling). This turn already foreshadows speaker B's slight disalignment with some of the assumptions in speaker A's assertion, as B's turn begins with a kind of counterclaim or a contrast to the prior: *no en mä kyl*, 'well I (would/do/did) not.' However, speaker B cuts off, and speaker A continues her turn, albeit abandoning the prior, explanation-projecting construction *ni se on kyl*, 'so it is,' and formatting her ongoing turn otherwise.

Our focus utterance begins in line 17: *aika isot riskit silllä kissalla on - -*, 'the risks are pretty high for the cat - -.' This utterance starts with a phrase which is to be the possessed item in a possessive clause (*aika isot riskit*, 'pretty big risks'⁵⁴). That the emerging clause is to be a possessive clause is indicated by the case ending that occurs immediately before the overlap onset in the word *silllä* – it projects both the form and function of the items that are due next in the clause (*kissalla on*). After this phrase, before the latter parts of A's possessive clause have occurred, speaker B comes in with her first agreeing turn: *no on todellaki*, 'they really are' (line 18). However, despite this, speaker A continues her turn without any perturbations and further explicates the kind of risks she means: *jäädä auton alle*, 'to be run over by a car' (lines 17 and 19). After these elements, at a point where the turn could be possibly complete, speaker B's second agreeing turn occurs, where the only difference in comparison to the first one is the choice of adverb: *no on tosiaanki*, 'they indeed are.' The overlapped part of A's turn, *ja muuta että*, 'and so forth so,' is a general completion item and does not include detailed information. It ends with a turn-final conjunction/particle *että*, 'so,' which in this case marks the utterance as a justification or an explanation of the prior (Koivisto 2011: 196ff.).

Speaker B's turns in lines 18 and 20 are additional instances of the independent agreements that adjust some epistemic assumptions in the prior

⁵⁴ This is to some extent a semantic repetition of the prior (*vaarallista*, 'dangerous' [→ *vaarat* 'dangers'] → *riskit*, 'risks').

turn. The overlapped speaker A has formatted her turn, at least towards its end, as if she herself was an epistemic authority over the domain. This turn is a direct declarative utterance, even if at the beginning in line 10, there is an instance of the clitic particle *-han*, which invites the recipient's alignment by virtue of referring to shared knowledge (Hakulinen 2001a). Speaker B's responses indicate that she does not acquiesce to the epistemically subordinate position (with less knowledge and perhaps fewer rights as well) attributed to her in A's turn. This is already foreshadowed by the particle *no* in the turn beginning: According to Raevaara (1989), the particle *no* is used in responses in "marked" adjacency pairs such as in disagreements. More specifically, Sorjonen and Vepsäläinen (forthcoming) show that in responding turns, *no* expresses that the response is not merely aligning and that the turn somehow departs from the expectations set up in the initiating turn – which is exactly what is happening in this example. How the speaker continues after the *no* explicates this.

After the particle *no*, there are two items in B's responses. The first is the finite verb *on*, 'is,' which receives prosodic emphasis (see the underlining in the transcript; cf. Stivers 2005 on modified repeats). This verb form has been used in lines 10 and 15 in the prior turn, so B's use of it could constitute a repetition from these instances. Alternatively (and perhaps more probably), the use of *on* is due to B's projection of the verb to come in A's ongoing turn: it is practically the only appropriate verb choice in this possessive construction *aika isot riskit sillä kissalla on - -*, 'the cat "has" big risks' (the unmarked order of the elements would be *sillä kissalla on aika isot riskit*, see footnote 37 on page 69). During A's turn, however, the verb comes only after B has already produced it. After the *on*, the speaker adds an intensifying adverb *todellaki/tosiaanki* to her response. By using these adverbs, the speaker not only expresses her agreement with the assertion, but also upgrades both the assertion and the weaker epistemic position that are attributed to her in the prior turn and therefore indicates that she has greater epistemic authority and more access to the domain than is supposed (cf. the response type of *ei todellakaan* to negative assertions: Hakulinen & Sorjonen 2011: 3, fn). These items thus function similarly to the English *really*, where Goodwin (1981: 115) has argued that adding this element to a second claim emphasizes the claim and also indicates that the second speaker's viewpoint is based on an independent evaluation (see also Stivers 2011: 85 on the English *absolutely* and *certainly*).

After the second independent and intensifying agreement in line 20, speaker B goes on to explicate her own view on the matter: *mut siis en mä niinku, vaik asuis nois puutaloissa - -*, 'but I wouldn't, even if (I/you/one) lived in those wooden houses - -.' This might be what she had in mind already when trying to take a turn in line 16 (*no en mä kyl*, 'well I (would) not'), as its core elements, first person and negation as well as their order,

with the negation verb first, are the same.⁵⁵ Pomerantz (1984a) has noted that after a first assessment, disagreements are often preceded by an upgraded agreement, which is precisely what occurs here. B's disagreeing turn (from line 21 on) illustrates further the negotiation over epistemic terms in the sequence, explicating her independent epistemic access as well as rights to make the claim, as she brings in her own justifications for her opinion. The speakers actually agree on the matter being discussed, but what they adjust in their turns is the epistemic assumptions that are implied in the prior talk. The linguistic resources used here are the repetition of the finite verb *on* and the addition of an intensifying adverb *todellaki* or *tosiaanki*.

In the final example, which is from the Finnish corpus, the whole responding turn is again produced in overlap, but unlike many of the prior examples, the overlapped speaker orients to it explicitly after its completion and acknowledges it before continuing her own turn and before leading the conversation into another direction. The response in this instance is a combination of a lexical element *totta kai*, 'of course,' (see example 5.2 on a similar case of the Estonian *muidugi*, 'of course') and an expanded clause (similar to the examples in chapter 6). Here, Susa tells Miia and Anu that she has read an article on solariums in a pharmacy magazine. Anu has seen the magazine at the pharmacy but has not read it; Miia does not indicate that she has any knowledge about this specific issue. Before this fragment, Susa reported on the content of the article: it said that before going from the north to the south (implying: going on a beach holiday) in the winter, one should go to the solarium 5–10 times and at least twice a week to ensure some protecting effect on one's skin. She continues her telling as follows:

(5.6) Solarium (Finnish)

Sg 151, 17:18

- 01 Susa: ja siinä^hä ↑suasiteltti viä ku yhes
and they even recommended ((it)) there you know since at one
- 02 vaiheessaha viäl oli että @solarium on
point it still was like @the solarium is
- 03 vain pahaksi pahaksi pahaksi alkää käykö
just damaging damaging damaging don't go
- 04 solariumissa?@ .h mut siin sanottii näi
to the solarium@ .h but there they said like this
- > 05 että, (.) se on et jos niinku täältä
COMP DEM3 be.3SG COMP if PRT DEM1LOC:ABL
that (.) it is that if like from here

⁵⁵ It is typical that the negation verb is the first element in turns that are disagreeing/disaligning such as this (ISK § 1387); however, the negation-prefaced structure is all in all rather common in Finnish (Hakulinen 2012).

weaker/subordinate epistemic position that is attributed to her in the prior turn. Susa did indeed design her talk as a telling to unknowing participants (on informings and news deliveries, for example, see Heritage 1984a, Maynard 1997, 2003), but nevertheless, her source of knowledge is still indirect, second-hand, as she is reporting on something she had read – she is not an independent authority on it. Prior to this turn, Miia has not indicated having read the particular article on solariums, but during this turn, she demonstrates that she might possess some knowledge and experience on the matter from other sources. Entering at this point, Miia might be working to pre-empt the climax of Susa’s talk and to block a further expansion of it. Miia does this by indicating that the content of Susa’s turn is already recognizable to her and that she is even shares Susa’s opinions.

The negotiation over epistemic terms is further evidenced by the continuation of Miia’s response: *sehä o iha luonnollista*, ‘it is quite natural you know’ (line 8). This evaluation re-analyzes Susa’s assertion (or the issue of going to the solarium) again as something not particularly special, something that could even be merely inferred from the facts of the world (particularly as an inhabitant of Finland) – so it is nothing that Susa, even though she is the only one who has read the article about solariums, should have any epistemic priority over. Miia even uses the clitic particle *-hä(n)*, which indicates her orientation to shared knowledge, information that they both supposedly have had access to (Hakulinen 2001a). Furthermore, her choice of pronoun, the anaphoric and addressee-centered *se* (Laury 1997), which creates a referent, suggests that the referent – the situation described in the prior turn – is adequately known (Etelämäki 2009; see also Itkonen 1966, Larjavaara 1990, Laury 1997).

During and after Miia’s responsive turn, Susa continues her telling. However, Susa changes the structure of her utterance, and this seems to be due to Miia’s intervening turn (cf. Goodwin 1979). Susa abandons the previously projected line of talk and does not produce the projected, still missing elements of her utterance (before the overlap *jos niinku täältä just esime’ks talven keskeltä*, ‘if like from here right from the middle of winter for example’ with the predicate lacking; during the overlap *ku ihminen on täysin*, ‘when one is totally’ with the predicate complement lacking). After the overlap, she first acknowledges Miia’s intervening turn with the particle *nii* (line 9). She then continues with another utterance, which seems to be designed to replace the overlapped part of the turn. Her utterance *ku tääl ei oo mitää sillon i- ihol pigmenttiä eikä muuta*, ‘because here at that time there’s no pigment on the s- skin nor anything else’ (lines 9, 11), begins with the same causal conjunction *ku* that occurred in the overlapped part and proposes another version of the explanation. This example thus differs from the others in this section in that the overlapped speaker explicitly acknowledges the overlapping turn in her subsequent talk, and therefore seems to also acknowledge the epistemic access and rights of the other

participant. Moreover, the overlapping turn is more extensive in this example, which makes it similar to the cases examined in chapter 6.

This section presents an analysis of non-transitional overlapping independent agreements in their local contexts. This analysis includes an examination of the contexts in which these agreements occur as well as the sequential trajectories they form. It was shown that independent agreements occur after first turns in which the speaker indicates that s/he is an epistemic authority. In these situations, the independent agreement turns are exploited to manage the relative epistemic positions of the two speakers. In other words, the responding speaker, while agreeing with the prior speaker on the matter at hand, resists the epistemic assumptions in the prior turn. In the next section, the linguistic resources and their role in this interactional work will be explored in more detail.

5.2 The linguistic resources used in Finnish and Estonian

Speakers of Finnish and Estonian use both similar and divergent linguistic resources in the turns that I have characterized as independent agreements. Comparing the linguistic resources that are used in these turns also leads to some more general comparisons between these two languages. To begin with, I will briefly summarize the available literature that discusses similar questions concerning other languages (predominantly English) and the linguistic elements that have been associated with agreeing on independent grounds, or in general, with claiming more epistemic rights than were presupposed in the prior turn.

In English, claiming epistemic authority or greater epistemic rights can be accomplished in several ways. For example, when responding to polar questions, speakers in English use various repetitions instead of type-conforming *yes/no*-responses (Heritage & Raymond 2012), or they use types of what is referred to as transformative answers (Stivers & Hayashi 2010 on English and Japanese). Furthermore, when recipients respond to a polar question by using *of course*, they contest the askability of that question (Stivers 2011). The data analyzed in this study include no question-answer sequences but sequences where the overlapped turn is an assertion (or an assessment) in a declarative form. The overlapping responses thus occur after a first turn that makes (dis)agreement a relevant next move but that does not explicitly attribute epistemic authority to the recipient. In addition, during the overlapped turns, the speaker's own knowledge, experience or perspective is often foregrounded.

As was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, in English conversation, a speaker who responds to an assertion and claims primary rights over it may use a modified repetition of the prior statement/assertion (Stivers 2005). In addition, the use of *that's right* has been associated with the phenomenon of claiming more rights from a response position (Barnes

2012, Küttner forthcoming, Stivers 2005, Heritage & Raymond 2005). When assessments are involved, there are also different linguistic means available for upgrading them. For example, in the English assessment sequences, tag questions and the particle *oh* can be used to modify their epistemics (Heritage 2002, Heritage & Raymond 2005). However, the elements that are used in my Finnish and Estonian data are mostly of a different type.

Concerning responses to assertions and assessments in Finnish, Hakulinen and Sorjonen (2009, 2011, Sorjonen & Hakulinen 2009) have detected that determining factors in the epistemic (and other) work accomplished by the response turns are the choice between different response particles, a verb repetition, and/or a subject repetition plus the order of these elements. Word order in Finnish is used for some interactional purposes which in English can be achieved through prosodic means such as stress (*ibid.*). As for Estonian, Keevallik (2011a) has demonstrated that the clitic particle *-gi* can be exploited to indicate better epistemic access or higher authority in responsive turns. Moreover, the Finnish equivalent *-kin* has been mentioned in similar contexts (ISK § 843). These elements appear in my data as well, and I will demonstrate that there are also other linguistic cues that the participants use in these contexts. With my analysis, I will contribute to the discussion the following insight: the non-transitional overlapping positioning of a turn appears to be yet another means of dealing with the interactional need to manage epistemic assumptions. As overlap (or turn positioning in general) operates on a level different from the lexico-grammar, participants may use it with the linguistic design of their turns to both indicate and enhance the interactional work that they accomplish with those turns.

From a syntactic point of view, the overlapping turns that are reviewed in this chapter include both clausal and phrasal utterances, and some of the linguistic devices appear to be similar in both Finnish and Estonian. Let us first consider phrasal (particle-like) utterances. In the collection, we find the equivalents to ‘of course’ in both languages: the Estonian *muidugi* (example 5.2) and the Finnish *totta kai* (example 5.6). Stivers (2011) has reported that as an answer to a question, this element (at least in English) contests the question’s askability. Based on my limited data collection, it appears initially that the ‘of course’ item does similar work after an assertion as well; it challenges the claimability and/or the supposed (epistemic) positions of the participants regarding the statement in question, somewhat along the lines “of course it is like that, you don’t need to tell me this (at least not from a better knowing position), I know this already and think the same.” In both examples discussed in this chapter, this interpretation is further corroborated by the talk following these elements.

The clausal utterances in the collection are in a declarative form, and they are statements or assertions about something. In many instances, there are elements in the responsive clauses that have been repeated from the prior turn. For example, the finite verb is often repeated, and other constituents,

such as the subject, may also be repeated. However, in all cases, the responding speaker not only repeats the elements from the overlapped clause, but also adds something to it. These additions or modifications may be lexical or prosodic in nature. (Cf. Stivers 2005.) Table 4 below represents some of the overlapped and overlapping turns in the collection.

Table 4. *The focus turns in independent agreement sequences.*

ex. no	The overlapped first turn	The overlapping response
5.1 (F)	<i>jos on vieraita? .hh ja tekee siin samalla lettuja, ni o aika kiva et o semmon ty[yl]ikäs (lettu) (-) eikä mijkää muovinen - -,</i> 'if (one) has guests, .hh and (one) is making pancakes at the same time, so it is quite nice to have a sty[li]sh (pancake) (-) and not a]ny plastic one - -'	<i>[Ni!::hh todellaki.]</i> [‘right, exactly’]
5.3 (F)	<i>et niil on aika tarkkaki sitte kuitenkin semmonen sosijaalinen järjeste]lmä niillä,</i> 'that they nevertheless have even quite a strict such soci[al groupi]ng they (have)'	<i>[on niillä;]</i> [‘they do have’]
5.4 (E)	<i>seevastu eestis on põhiprobleem on see kõik lihtsalt is]tuvad ja midagi ei te[e; ja:] ma - -,</i> 'instead in Estonia the basic problem is that ever[yone simply si]ts and does nothi[ng and] - -'	<i>[see ongi.] [see ongi.]</i> [‘indeed / that’s right’] [‘indeed / that’s right’]
5.5 (F)	<i>onhan se tavallaan kuitenkin, sille lemmikille hirveen vaarallista pitää kaupunkialueella=ihan taajama-alueellaki pitää kissaa ulkona ni se on kyl- aika isot riskit sil]lä kissalla on jä]ädä auton alle ja [muuta että?],</i> 'it is still as you know in a way for the pet awfully dangerous to keep in a city area also in a suburb(an area) to keep a cat outdoors, so the risks are pretty high for [the cat to be ru]n over by a car and [so forth so]'	<i>[no on todellaki.] [no on tosiaan]ki=mut siis - -</i> [‘they really are.’] [they indeed ar]e but - -'
5.6 (F)	<i>se on et jos niinku täältä just esime'ks talven keskeltä [ku ihminen on täysin.] - -,</i> 'it is, that if like from here right from the middle of winter for example [when one is totally] - -'	<i>[totta kai sehä on iha luonnollista]</i> [‘of course it is very natural you know’]

In several of these cases (see the table: in 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5), the responding speaker repeats the finite verb of the prior utterance. In examples 5.3 and 5.4, the grammatical or pragmatic subject is repeated as well. The subject in these examples happens to be a pronominal element (the Finnish *niillä*, ‘they’ and the Estonian *see*, ‘it’). Repeating something from a prior turn “can be used to contest aspects of a turn’s design or action” (Barnes 2012: 246; see also Schegloff 1996b, Stivers 2005), which is precisely what is happening here.

In the turns above, the responding speaker not only repeats something from the prior turn, but also adds elements to it. The added elements include the intensifying adverbs such as the Finnish *todellaki*, *tosiaanki*, ‘indeed/exactly, really’ in example 5.5; others attested in the collection but

not presented here are the Estonian *alati*, ‘always,’ *täiega*, ‘completely,’ and *apsoluutselt*, ‘absolutely.’⁵⁷ Similar to the ‘of course’ responses discussed above, these elements also add a sense that the responding speaker is not merely going along with the prior speaker because s/he can add something to the prior turn (see also Goodwin 1981: 115), be it rather ritualized or more substantial and thus more authentic-looking. In addition to repetitions and the adding of elements, we find a few modifications in these responses as well (see Stivers 2005), for instance, prosodic modification (see Szczepek Reed 2006) such as stress being added to certain previously unstressed syllables (examples 5.5 and 5.3). To tie to the previous turn and to create coherence between the turns, the responding speakers not only repeat and modify the elements uttered and make additions to them, but also leave some things unsaid, as there is no need to say everything in the response (on tying, see Sacks 1992a: 150ff; see also Auer 2014).

Both Finnish and Estonian have certain particles that may be used to indicate the responding speaker’s independent position regarding the domain in question. In Estonian, the clitic particle *-gi* is essential in this respect. In our example 5.4, the clitic is attached to the verb so that the response is *see ongi*, ‘it is.’ As analyzed in the previous section, the *-gi* in this position indicates the responding speaker’s claim that s/he knows the issue at least as well as the prior speaker and that his/her epistemic access is better than previously assumed (Keevallik 2011a, see also EKG § 13).⁵⁸ In the Finnish cases, the clitic particle *-ki* is used as well, but it is not attached to a verb, as it is in the Estonian cases. In the examples above, this clitic particle is attached to the intensifiers *tosiaanki* and *todellaki*, ‘indeed/exactly, really.’ What the clitic does in these environments has not yet been studied, but based on these examples, it seems that its occurrence has something to do with the turns being responses, and also with the speakers emphasizing their knowledge of the issue in question. It is apparent that this should be studied further.

Unlike the ‘of course’ expressions and the clitic *-gi/-ki(n)*, some linguistic devices are available only in one of these two languages. One of these is a certain word order that occurs only in Finnish. This is interesting because in many respects, the Finnish and Estonian word orders are very similar. The basic word order in both Estonian and Finnish is said to be SVX, and this order is basically not governed by grammatical rules, which means that the

⁵⁷ In addition to being attached to a clause, these elements can also occur independently, alone (see example 5.1).

⁵⁸ In Finnish, the equivalent element *-ki(n)* could be attached to a verb and used for a similar function as the Estonian *-gi/ki*, but this does not occur in my data. ISK § 843 states that in a second assessment, the speaker may use this particle to indicate that she has her own, independent opinion on the matter, even though it is the same as the prior. The example is: H: *mä oon sitä mieltä että Arvo on tosi lepsu*. K: *Niin se onki*. (glossed PRT DEM3 be.3SG:CLI.) Translated: H: ‘In my opinion, Arvo is very flabby.’ H: ‘He is.’

grammatical role of an element is not determined by its position in a clause. Instead, word order is free to be used for pragmatic purposes. (On Finnish word order, see Hakulinen 2001d [1976], Helasvuo 2001a, and Vilkuna 1989; on Estonian word order, see Lindström 2005 and references therein.) Despite this and other basic similarities, some differences emerge in the word orders of these languages (see Help 1996, Huumo 1993, 1994, 1996, Tael 1988). In the following, I will highlight one difference that has not been much discussed in the existing literature: the word order VS [verb + subject] in responding utterances.

During agreeing responding utterances, the VS inverted word order is possible only in Finnish. My collection contains one example of this, *on niillä*, ‘they do have’⁵⁹ (example 5.3). However, this word order is not possible in Estonian. In examining the agreeing responses in Finnish, where this word order is one of the choices, Hakulinen and Sorjonen (2009: 149, Sorjonen & Hakulinen 2009: 302) note specifically that in Estonian, responses to assessments may be verb initial as well, but the only possible format is verb + particle(s), such as *on jah* (V+PRT) and *on küll jah* (V+PRT+PRT) (their claim is based on discussions with prof. Renate Pajusalu and Dr. Tiit Hennoste). Furthermore, formats such as V and VS, frequently deployed in Finnish, are not possible in Estonian in this environment (see also Kasterpalu 2005: 5.) This suggests that even languages that are genealogically and typologically close to one another, such as Estonian and Finnish, may have developed their own means of achieving certain interactional goals. This means that the pragmatic function that is addressed by Finnish using different word orders is accomplished by different devices in Estonian. One of these may be the clitic particle *-gi* attached to a verb (although the equivalent of this is used in Finnish as well). Nonetheless, it is an empirical question whether exactly similar interactional needs have been grammaticalized in the two languages; this may not be the case (see Sidnell & Enfield 2012).

To summarize this section, several linguistic elements and turn formats in Finnish and Estonian can be used to index independent agreement, that is, to indicate epistemic authority or independence while agreeing with the prior speaker. These include the particle *muidugi/totta kai*, ‘of course,’ the VS word order in Finnish, the Estonian clitic *-gi*, and the verb repeats that are combined with intensifying adverbs such as *tosiaanki*, ‘really.’ Some of the resources are similar in the two languages, whereas other resources occur in only one of them. The independent agreement speakers claim to have independent epistemic access to the matter-at-hand, and these linguistic elements are in the service of that aim. The responding speakers thus treat the first turns as “confirmable” even though these first turns did not invite confirming as a response. The responses are formulated so as to “accept” an attribution of the epistemic authority that was not actually established in the

⁵⁹ See footnote 51 on page 103 on the “subject” role here.

previous turn. (For similar interactional work, see Küttner [forthcoming] on the *that's right* turns in English.) In a sense, therefore, the responding speaker uses his/her turn to re-contextualize the prior turn as if it had been a different type of turn.

5.3 Summary

This chapter has investigated the independent agreements that occur in non-transitional overlapping responses, including their contexts of occurrence, their sequential trajectories and the linguistic resources used in them. Independent agreements are second/responding turns that convey that the speaker agrees on the matter stated in the previous (assertion) turn but nevertheless claims that this agreement is based on independent grounds. The analyses show that independent agreement turns are rather similar to some other interactional phenomena that have been identified in the prior literature, such as the modified repeats in English, the *oh*-prefaced second assessments in English, certain *that's right* utterances in English and the K+ second assessments in general.

The overlapped turns are invariably assertion turns, and they generally concern some topic on which the speakers share some common knowledge. However, these first assertions that are followed by non-transitional overlapping responses are typically designed from a K+ position. The independent agreement speakers use specific linguistic resources and turn formats to accomplish both agreement and an independent stance in their responses. This means that the independent agreement sequences are epistemically incongruent; the speakers do not agree on who is the primary epistemic authority concerning the domain of knowledge in the first place, but instead they negotiate the epistemic matters during their turns while remaining in agreement with the “content” of the assertion.

The responses occur at a point that does not constitute a TRP, but the recipient has already recognized the gist of the overlapped assertion at that point. The positioning of the responsive turn functions on a different level from the lexico-grammatical resources that the speakers exploit, and this is why it can be combined with them. The specific interactional work accomplished by the early overlapping positioning will be discussed in section 8.2.

In these sequences, the overlapping response is typically the recipient's first (major) contribution that suggests her agreement, independent stance and independent grounds to make the assertion. However, this turn is typically followed by more talk by the same speaker, even more explicitly demonstrating his/her independent stance concerning the issue.

6 OVERLAPPING DEMONSTRATIONS OF UNDERSTANDING

This chapter discusses those overlapping responses in which the responding speaker overtly demonstrates her/his understanding of the prior speaker's turn – typically both the point of it and the stance adopted. As in the previous analytic chapters, the overlapped prior turn is an assertion turn, and most often the design of this turn implies that the speaker views herself as a better authority over the issue, or at least s/he is not specifically referring to shared knowledge or experience between the participants. In contrast to the prior analytic chapters, where the examined responses are either blunt claims of similar knowledge or agreements based on claimed independent grounds, the second turn discussed here is an assertion turn as well. In the responding turns examined in this chapter, the independence of the responding speaker's epistemic access is explicitly demonstrated. In other words, there is overtly new, independent content in the turn. The responding speaker thus demonstrates her/his independent epistemic access (for example, see Heritage 2012a) to the domain in question. (On *demonstrating*, see Enfield 2013: 57–60.) Most often what ensues from this is some type of negotiation over the epistemic assumptions and positions between the speakers.

The vast majority of the turns examined in this chapter are clausal. This means that they are rather extensive in their linguistic formatting. This also reflects the relatively large amount of independence in them because with full clauses it is possible to express more complicated and expanded content. Some boundary cases where the response is phrasal also occur. For the most part, these turns are stance-congruent and in agreement with the prior assertion. However, there is a continuum between agreement and disagreement, and this will be addressed toward the end of section 6.1.2. The nature of the responses, whether agreeing or disagreeing, is most often only traceable by means of semantic-pragmatic coherence (or the lack of it) between the turns – yet some of the turns are prefaced by an agreeing/affiliating particle such as the Finnish *nii*. A crucial feature of the responses is that they are positioned in overlap at a non-TRP with regard to the ongoing turn. As Lerner (1996: 239) observes, beginning to speak anywhere else than at or around a TRP can be used to “forward the projected turn or its action project in some manner.” These turns are one illustration of this very phenomenon.

Responding speakers demonstrate their understanding of the overlapped speaker's assertions in many ways. In my examples, they provide a generalization or a specification of the prior claim, present a condition or an addition to it, state approximately the same thing in other words or with slight modifications, provide further, perhaps more accurate information about the issue, an explanation of it, or a continuation of the line of talk. In

all these turns, two factors are in play – both having independent access to the domain and agreeing or affiliating with the prior speaker; the relative degree of independence (competition) and affiliation (collaboration) in the examples varies. This means that the overlapping speaker most often agrees with the prior speaker on the factual content of the turn, but at the same time, contributes independent yet congruent content to the assertion being made. It is noteworthy that during these turns, the responding speaker is not merely going along with the prior. It will be argued that by being able to add something to the assertion independently, the speaker can actually be even more affiliative or pro-social (see Heritage 2002, Stivers et al. 2011: 22, and the discussion in section 9.2 below).

This chapter will develop the phenomenon of demonstrating understanding. As mentioned above, *demonstrating* something involves the speaker overtly and explicitly bringing in something by which s/he does the demonstration (cf. Clark & Gerrig 1990). This practice is in opposition to *claiming*, which means that the speaker simply alleges something, such as understanding, without giving any evidence of it (for example, see the *claims* of similar knowledge in chapter 4). When a speaker *demonstrates*, for instance, his knowledge about something, his behavior shows that he really knows it (it is not possible that s/he does not know it), whereas by *claiming* something, it can only be assumed that this is really the case, as Enfield (2013: 57–60) explains. The distinction between claiming and demonstrating was already made by Sacks (1992b: 137ff, 249ff, 425ff); yet instead of the verb *demonstrating* he uses the verbs *showing*, *proving*, *achieving* and *exhibiting* on various occasions (a similar distinction is made by Schegloff [1984a: 42]: *asserting/claiming* agreement and *showing* agreement). Discussing the ways in which psychiatrists make their clients feel that they really understand the clients' problems, Sacks states: "one best way of saying 'I understand what you've told' is to say 'I've been through it myself.'" And somewhat later he writes the following about therapists: "Now they may say 'lots of people had it,' but that's quite different than saying 'I had it and here's the way it went.' That's the difference between claiming it and showing it." (Sacks 1992b: 260.) Besides the telling of one's own similar experience, Sacks also introduces other devices for doing showing understanding: puns, proverbial expressions, utterance completions (for more on these, see also e.g. Szczepek Reed 2006), and presenting other alternatives to or versions of the bit of talk the speaker is doing understanding of. The latter two devices will figure centrally in this chapter, yet many more ways of showing or demonstrating understanding will be presented in this chapter as well.

The Collins Compact Thesaurus dictionary suggests the following two meanings for the verb *to understand*: to "comprehend" and to "sympathize/empathize with." When talking about understanding in this chapter, the latter of these two meanings is intended. *Understanding* has been dealt with in various ways in the literature on interaction. One of the first to address understanding was Goffman (1978). To Goffman,

understanding is not “merely a matter of cognition,” but instead, “to quickly appreciate another’s circumstances (it seems) is to be able to place ourselves in them empathetically” (ibid. p. 798). From a social psychological point of view, Ruusuvaori (2005), discussing empathy and sympathy, defines empathy as a state of mind in which the empathizing person *understands* the other’s experience (without “experiencing similar sensations together with the other,” ibid. p. 218). The term *empathy* in this research tradition is very similar to what sociologists and interactional linguists refer to as *affiliation*. Investigating story-telling contexts, Stivers (2008) adopts the concept of *affiliation* to describe what happens in situations when the story recipient “claim[s] access to and *understanding* of” the teller’s perspective, and when s/he “displays support of and endorses the teller’s conveyed stance” (ibid. p. 32, 35, italics mine). Investigating the ways in which affiliation is achieved in various responses to complaint stories, Couper-Kuhlen (2012c) argues that “stance-congruent assessments from an independent epistemic position are a second way to *demonstrate understanding* and thereby signal *affiliation* with a teller’s angry or indignant stance” (italics mine). This quote also attests to the close relationship between affiliation and demonstrating understanding.

This brief plunge into the literature reveals that understanding, and especially the demonstration of it, is most often conceptualized as being very similar to affiliation. However, this chapter will present evidence that the phenomenon of demonstrating understanding, which is very often used in agreeing and in affiliative environments, can also be used for opposite interactional purposes, including expressing disagreement with the prior speaker, or indicating a shift towards disagreement. At the same time, this chapter will only explore the boundary between agreement and disagreement without analyzing disagreement in any more detail (cf. the data collection restrictions described in section 1.3). The main body of analysis is devoted to the various ways in which participants demonstrate their understanding of each other’s talk.

The first section in this chapter, section 6.1, constitutes the main body of the analysis of the phenomenon. This section will present the investigation of the interactional environments for the demonstrations of understanding as well as the specific interactional work that the speakers achieve with these turns. Section 6.2 involves a discussion of the linguistic elements that the speakers of Finnish and Estonian use in these turns, and section 6.3 will offer a summary of the whole chapter.

6.1 Demonstrations of understanding in their sequential contexts

This section analyzes the examples of demonstrations of understanding by presenting the contexts of occurrence for them as well as the sequential

trajectories they engender. The analysis is divided into three sections. The first two sections, 6.1.1 and 6.1.2, present the various ways in which the speakers in my data convey their understanding of the previous turn. In these sections, the overlapping turns are clausal and their grammatical structure does not make use of the projective possibilities that are provided by the overlapped turn. In other words, they do not employ the projection of form in the overlapped initiating turn; the overlapping talk does not fill a grammatical slot that is projected by it. However, there may be some elements in the overlapping turn that tie it to the one that is overlapped. Grammatical projection forms a continuum, and section 6.1.3 illustrates this phenomenon, approaching it from the viewpoint of responsiveness and exploring the next turns that employ the projection of form in the overlapped turn. In the following first section, we will discuss demonstrations of understanding that are conditions, reasons, or explanations for the overlapped turn.

6.1.1 Types of demonstrations: conditions, reasons and explanations

Several possible relations may form between the overlapped assertion turns and the overlapping demonstrations of understanding. One of these is a condition: the overlapping speaker may add a condition to the overlapped assertion and thereby indicate that s/he agrees with the assertion at least when the condition s/he presents is taken into account. At the same time, presenting a condition indicates that the overlapping speaker has some independent knowledge of the issue in question. The following example contains a negative assertion (*ei mun tarvii täältä lähtee itteeni* - -, 'I don't need to start ((Ø-ing)) myself from here'), after which the overlapping response begins with an agreeing utterance (*no ei nii*, 'well of course you don't'). This is then followed by an utterance in which the responding speaker provides a condition to the prior claim. The video tape, recorded during the winter, begins here. Susa is engaged in pouring coffee, moving off screen at times. Anu (not talking here) and Miia are sitting around the table.

(6.1) Ei mun tarvii / I don't need to (Finnish)

Sg 151, 00:00

01 Miia: *itse asiassa*< (0.4) *minä voin soittaa*
self thing:INE 1SG can:1SG call:INF
 in fact, (0.4) I can make a call

02 *sinne*, (0.4) *Kotkaa aamusta et jos on iha*
DEM3.LOC:ILL PLACENAME:ILL morning:ELA COMP if be.3SG quite
 to (0.4) Kotka in the morning (to say) that if the weather is

03 *hirvee ilma et hoitaa jonku muun*
awful weather COMP arrange:3SG someone:ACC other:ACC
 really terrible that (they) arrange (to have) someone else

Miia's turn concerns her own plans, and she is therefore presumably the primary authority over that issue. However, Susa's response, *no ei nii*, 'well of course you don't,' in which she repeats the negative auxiliary *ei* and adds the adverb *nii*, claims separate epistemic access to the stance expressed and an independent basis for it (Hakulinen & Sorjonen 2011). Even though Susa and Miia's relationship as friends is equal and symmetrical, Susa is able to express epistemic authority over Miia's activities because the question here is rather generic: whether Miia (or anybody) must go and teach an aerobics class in a town that is quite far from their hometown (possibly implying: having to drive there) if the weather is as terrible as has been forecast. This is an issue that others can also have an opinion on, which is exactly what Susa demonstrates in her response. Both participants have access to the moral norms that govern such doings and non-doings.

After the independent agreement-like utterance *no ei nii* (see chapter 5), Susa adds a condition to Miia's claim: Miia doesn't need to "start ((V-ing)) there," *jos on nimittäin jos on ainaki sellanen myrsky niiku ne lupaili*, 'if (there)'ll be you see if (there)'ll be at least the kind of storm as they were forecasting.' The conditional conjunction *jos* is recycled from Miia's prior turn where she presented a condition to her not going (lines 2–3: *jos on iha hirvee ilma*, 'if the weather is really terrible'). Susa thus abandons her first utterance that begins with *jos on nimittäin* and repeats the *jos*, re-beginning her utterance with *jos on ainaki* - -, 'if (there)'ll be at least - -.' As Susa includes the focus particle *ainaki*, 'at least,' in her response, she is somewhat weakening Miia's prior assertion, implying that there must be not only 'really bad weather' (which was Miia's version, see lines 2–3), but a 'storm' that is 'at least' as harsh as has been forecast (see Susa's turn in lines 8–9) in order to justify Miia's decision not to go to Kotka. Susa supports Miia's ethics, her attitude towards her moral obligations, but Susa limits her support from being complete to being conditional. However, Susa's turn is also an account of why Miia's assertion is valid and why she is on the same side as Miia. Susa's support, based on independent grounds, is even stronger than it would be if it she had merely gone along with Miia's claim.

Taking a turn in line 10 at a point where Susa's turn is about to be completed, Miia does not acknowledge the incoming turn explicitly, but proceeds by explaining why it is not necessary for her to go, again underlining her own agency and authority over the matter: *tottakai ne sen tajuaa jos - -*, 'of course they will understand it if - -.' However, possibly building on Susa's prior turn, Miia's turn could also be interpreted as being syntactically linked to it, and consequently as a type of acknowledgement: *jos on ainaki sellanen myrsky niiku ne lupaili, [ni] tottakai ne sen tajuaa - -*, 'if

mun, 'I' (in that case, it would be in another form: *itteni*). Instead, it is evident that the partitive is an argument of the non-finite verb (in the verb chain begun with *lähtee*, 'to leave'), which has not yet occurred at the overlap onset point. The partitive case thus makes the non-finite verb projectable, and hence, it makes the overlap non-transitional.

(there)'ll be at least the kind of storm as they were forecasting, [so/then] of course they will understand it - -.' Her turn indicates that she basically accepts Susa's overlapping turn even though she does not do so explicitly.

This is an example of how a responding speaker can demonstrate his/her understanding of the prior assertion by placing a condition that is based on independent grounds on the prior speaker's assertion. In this example, the condition was preceded by an utterance that overtly expressed the responding speaker's agreement with the prior speaker (*no ei nii*; cf. the cases in chapter 5). In the next extract, this type of agreeing utterance is not produced, but the overlapping turn begins straight with *ja sit*, 'and then,' providing an additional reason for the issue discussed in the overlapped turn. The three participants in this example are discussing the advantages of going to the solarium, especially before departing from the North in the winter for a beach vacation. It has transpired during the prior talk that Anu is soon going on this type of holiday and that she has already been to the solarium. Susa has told her friends about an article she read in a pharmacy magazine that recommended one go to the solarium, especially in the situation they are talking about, and Miia has expressed her agreement with Susa (for this part of the conversation, see example 5.6 on page 112). After that, Anu reports that although she has recently visited California, and still has the tan lines on her skin, she will go to the solarium anyway once or twice prior to her next trip. Susa assesses this as something that is reasonable, and then moves to present her own opinion on the reasons for going to the solarium. This is where our fragment begins. The focus turn, Miia's overlapping response, occurs in line 11, where she presents yet another argument for their shared opinion:

(6.2) Sombrero (Finnish)

Sg 151, 17:18

- 01 Susa: jos on yhtää taipumust siihen et palaa;
if you have any propensity to get (your skin) burned
- 02 Miia: mm, =
- 03 Susa: =nii sillon tota, (.) miust kannattas
so then uhm, (.) in my opinion it pays to
- 04 käy^a koska, (.) ↑onks sit kiiva et sie
go because, (.) is it nice then that you
- 05 ensimmäisen päivän poltat
burn (your skin) on the first day
- > 06 [ja sit sie ot loppuviik]on nii siul
and then 2SG be:2SG end.week:GEN so 2SG:ADE
[and then you'll be the rest of the wee]k you'll
[]
- 07 Anu: [(°- °°)]

Overlapping demonstrations of understanding

- S |DRAWS WITH HANDS UPON HER HEAD ... |
 -> 08 Susa: on [sem]monen, (.) .h valtava
 be.3SG DEM3.ADJ huge
 have [that ki]nd of (.) .h huge
 []
 09 Miia: [°nii;°]
 [yeah]
- S |...A BIG CIRCLE|
 -> 10 Susa: somb[rero päässä ja istut jossai,]
 sombbrero head:INE and sit:2SG somewhere
 somb[rero on your head and you sit somewhere]
 []
 => 11 Miia: [ja sit ku se on niinku niin]
 and then as DEM3 be.3SG PRT so
 [and then because it is as]
- 12 epäterveellistä ku [vaa] voi olla joku
 unhealthy:PAR as only can.3SG be some
 unhealthy as [pos]sible to
 []
 13 Susa: [nii o.]
 PRT be.3SG
 [it is.]
- 14 Miia: ihon[poltto.]
 burn [your skin.]
 []
- 15 Susa: [ja ↑siin] menee koko lomaki pilalle
 [and there] you wreck the whole holiday
- 16 et, (.) em- °must siin ei oo mitää järkee.°
 so, (.) um in my opinion there's no sense in it.

Prior to the focus turn that is indicated by an arrow, Susa has been stating reasons for going to the solarium, but she was not receiving particularly affiliative reactions from her co-participants. Miia's overlapping turn in line 11 begins in the middle of Susa's turn, where she predicts⁶¹ what would happen on a beach vacation if one has not gone to the solarium: *sie ensimmäisen päivän poltat ja sit sie ot loppuviikon nii siul on semmonen valtava sombrero päässä ja istut jossai*, 'you burn (your skin) on the first day and then you'll be the rest of the week you'll have that kind of huge sombrero on your head and you sit somewhere.'⁶² Miia initiates her turn before Susa has completed the complement *semmonen valtava somb[rero päässä* to the possessive clause begun with *siul on*, 'you have.' Besides the final syllables of the word *sombrero*, Susa's turn lacks the word *päässä*,

⁶¹ The utterance begins with an interrogative structure, *onks sit kiva*, 'is it nice then,' but it is used in a declarative sense, as a type of rhetorical question (see Laanesoo 2012, forthcoming 2014).

⁶² It is not clear whether Miia's *nii*, 'yeah,' in line 9 is directed to Susa or to Anu, who had produced a soft unintelligible turn in line 7.

which is needed to complete this clause, but it is perhaps even more important that no signals of prosodic completion in the turn have yet occurred at this point (no instances of particularly stressed syllables and no end movement in the intonation). The gist of Susa's turn nevertheless seems already clear to the participants. Moreover, partly due to Susa's gesturing, it is rather evident that at the overlap onset point, she is producing the noun *sombrero* (or something with a similar meaning), and it is also evident that the element following *sombrero* will be *päässä* ('X has Y on X's head' is in Finnish *X:ADE on Y päässä*). The last elements in the turn, *ja istut jossai*, have not been projected syntactically, but prosodically they are produced as a direct continuation of the previous utterance, in the same intonation contour.

Miia's overlapping incoming begins with the additive conjunction *ja*, 'and,' and it contains one more reason for going to the solarium before a beach vacation: *ja sitku se on niinku niin epäterveellistä ku vaa voi olla joku ihonpoltto*, 'and also because it is as unhealthy as possible to burn your skin.' *Ja* is an explicit means for indicating the linkage between utterances and for collaborating in the construction of the talk (Kalliokoski 1989), but in turns beginning with *ja*, the agreement between the speakers is nevertheless left rather implicit. Miia's utterance is based on independent grounds because the other participants have not brought up health issues concerning the solarium in this conversation. In this sense, Miia's contribution addresses issues that are quite different from Susa's concerns – even though Susa did not actually state why she thinks it would not be nice to wear a sombrero during the holiday. Nevertheless, Miia's contribution demonstrates that she understands Susa's talk – the assertion, and the grounds for it – and she may even hint that her point is actually at least as relevant to the general claim as the prior speaker's was, and perhaps even more so.

After the overlap onset, the overlapped speaker Susa continues her turn for a while but then self-interrupts after *istut jossai*, 'you sit somewhere' (syntactically, this is already complete, but its final level intonation makes it sound incomplete) and allows Miia to finish her turn first. After that, before continuing the now joint activity of discussing the advantages of going to the solarium, Susa acknowledges Miia's incoming in line 13 with *nii o*, 'it is,' which marks the strong, unmodified agreement with a prior assessment (Sorjonen & Hakulinen 2009). Miia subsequently continues presenting her reasons for their shared opinion about solariums and a conclusion in lines 15–16 (*ja siin menee koko lomaki pilalle*, - - 'and there you ruin the whole holiday - -'). The reasons presented for the rationality of going to the solarium before a holiday are different. For example, Susa's reason concerns the fact that burning one's skin would wreck the holiday, while Miia introduces the perspective of healthiness. Nonetheless, the two construct the same activity and generally concur that it is wise to go to the solarium. There is no competition over epistemic priority in the overlapping turn – it concerns an additional aspect, but with her turn, the incomer Miia claims

individual, equal epistemic access to the matter – something that Susa did not assume in her turn.

The next example is rather similar to the prior in that it contains an assertion turn by the first speaker to which the overlapping speaker presents a congruent, causally linked assertion that continues the same line of argumentation. However, the first speaker treats the overlapping incoming differently from the prior example. In this extract, B is telling A about a performance she has heard of, where the performance artists were lying in bathtubs that contained not only water, but also some gasoline. And later, when the artists went up from the tubs, their assistants threw burning matches into the bathtubs and this ignited huge flames. There was also some type of bomb in the performance, and immediately before the extract, speaker B has described the performance as *helvetin vaarallinen*, ‘damn dangerous’ (even though nothing serious happened). In lines 1–2, A poses a question about a detail in B’s telling. After responding to this (line 3), B shifts her focus to a matter that is part of the speakers’ common knowledge, and at this point, when A can also have epistemic access to the matter being discussed, she joins in B’s activity (line 11):

(6.3) Bensa kelluu / Gasoline floats (Finnish)

Sg 377, 36:55

- 01 A: no oliks ne kaatanu niinku jälkikäteen
well did they pour like afterwards
- 02 sitä bensa[a vai (-).]
the gasoli[ne or (-).]
[]
- 03 B: [ei kyl se: (.) o]li siin koko aja.
[no it really (.) w]as there all the time.
- 04 (.)
- 05 B: mut et ilmeisesti siin oli varmaan
but apparently there was probably
- B: | HOLDS THUMB AND INDEX FINGER...
06 niinku >sillee et< ku bensahan
like so that since gasoline you know
- B: ...APPR. 3 CM APART UNTIL TURN END IN LINE 9
07 kelluu siin pinnal[la et sitä
floats on the surfa[ce so there
[]
- 08 A: [↑nii;
[yeah
- > 09 B: varmaa ei ollu kovin paljon
probably NEG be:PPC very much
probably wasn't so much of it

- > 10 e[t siin on ollu varmaan si[ll#een-#]
 COMP DEM3.LOC:INE be.3SG be:PPC probably DEM3.MAN/PRT
 s[o there has probably been l[ike-]
 [] []
- => 11 A: [nii, [ja ko]ska
 PRT and because
 [yeah [and beca]use
- => 12 sehän kuitenkin haihtuu koko ajan °että°=
 DEM3:CLI anyway evaporate:3SG whole time:GEN COMP
 it you know anyway evaporates all the time so
- 13 B: =nii mut et ku sehän just ↑kaasuuntuu
 yes but since it you know turns into gas
- 14 [silleen et kyl se nyt mun mielest
 [so that in my opinion it really
 []
- 15 A: [↑nii-i;
 [that's right
- 16 B: kuulostaa niinku ihan .hhh ihan niinku
 sounds like really, .hhh really like
- 17 tolkuttoman vaaralliselta - -
 senselessly dangerous - -

The turns we focus on deal with the amount of gasoline in the bathtubs. This sub-topic begins in lines 5–6, when B starts to tell A that *ilmeisesti siin oli varmaan*, ‘apparently there was probably.’ This is followed by B’s parenthetical background account that is related to the estimated amount of gasoline: *ku bensahan kelluu siin pinnalla*, ‘since gasoline you know floats on the surface.’ In this utterance, B uses the clitic particle *-han*, marking it as shared knowledge and/or inviting A to recognize it as shared (Hakulinen 2001a). This part is in the present tense, which marks it as generic information. The parenthesis is subsequently followed by a continuation of the main line about the amount of gasoline in this specific situation, and the verbs are again in the past tense: *et sitä varmaa ei ollu kovin paljon et siin on ollu varmaan - -*, ‘that there probably wasn’t so much of it so there has probably been - -.’ Both at the clausal boundary after the parenthesis and at the boundary between the two clauses in this stretch of talk, A comes in with the particle *nii*, using it to orient to the prior stretch of talk as not yet having been complete, but as being nevertheless pivotal for the overall telling, which indicates her understanding that important parts of the telling are yet to come (Sorjonen 2001a: 232ff.). By using this particle, a reciprocity token, speaker A might also be indicating that she is about to launch a shift to active speakership, which is what she subsequently does (cf. Jefferson 1993 on English recipient tokens).

At a point when B has not yet completed her clause in line 10, A initiates her overlapping incoming. At this point, B’s turn lacks the subject of the

existential clause *siin on ollu varmaan*, ‘there has probably been.’ With her overlapping turn, A continues the reasoning that was initiated in B’s prior, parenthetical unit (also using the present tense as B did in the parenthesis); A is not actually responding to the unit of talk that is still ongoing, but to something that was said slightly earlier. By beginning to speak at this specific point, A is able to convey what her turn relates to, and to also emphasize the relevance of her contribution. Based on common knowledge, A subsequently introduces one more reason why there might not have been a massive amount of gasoline in the bathtubs: *ja koska sehän kuitenkin haihtuu koko ajan että*, ‘and because it you know anyway evaporates all the time so.’ With this turn, A demonstrates that she recognizes and understands the prior speaker’s point and is even able to join in and contribute to the same activity by providing another reason for the point that was made before. The incoming begins with the additive conjunction *ja* ‘and,’ through which it is syntactically tied to the prior talk (Kalliokoski 1989), and by using the clitic -*hän* (*sehän*), the speaker explicitly points to shared knowledge as well (Hakulinen 2001a). Nonetheless, speaker A’s contribution is not merely echoing the prior turn, but consists of something not yet mentioned, as she introduces one more, and perhaps even one more specific account or reasoning for the prior assertion (beginning with *koska*, ‘because’). She thus contests the epistemic assumptions of the prior turn and displays her equal epistemic access to the matter at hand.

In her next turn (line 13), the first speaker, B, acknowledges the incoming with the particle *nii*, but then seamlessly continues with the adversative conjunction *mut*, ‘but,’ providing some contradicting or “better” knowledge on the relevant issues. This is how speaker B indicates that she is not in pure agreement with A, but introduces a contrast to speaker A’s contribution: *nii mut et ku sehän just kaasuuntuu - -*, ‘yes but since it you know turns into gas - -.’ Niemi (2014) has reported that when a Finnish speaker prefaces a turn with *nii mut*, s/he engages in the line of action from the prior turn but nevertheless implies that the prior speaker’s viewpoint is already included in what s/he herself has stated before. This also seems to be what is happening here. In this way, the participants continue negotiating the specifics concerning the matter under discussion as well as concerning the actual points they are making. They first both talk about the small amount of gasoline (‘there probably wasn’t so much of it,’ ‘and because it you know anyway evaporates all the time’) and speaker A is designedly cooperative and agreeing with the overlapped talk in her overlapping turn. Then B shifts the topic from A’s mention of the evaporation to the consequences of the gasoline evaporating or gasifying from the bathtubs. Thus, speaker B does not continue her agreeing mood, but comes in with a contrast and shifts the focus once again to the peril of the performance.

From the two previous examples, where the overlapping turn contributed to the same line of activity with the prior speaker providing further reasons for a point made earlier, we will now move on to other types of

demonstrations of understanding. The first is a turn in which the overlapping speaker provides an explanation or an account for the prior speaker's assertion, demonstrating her independent and maybe even better access to the matter being discussed (see Lehtinen 2007 for a similar case in a medical setting). This same practice has been described as one interactional usage of English *because*-clauses (see Couper-Kuhlen 2011a). This example contains a demonstration of understanding that is not preceded by an agreement token, which means that the agreement between the speakers is not made explicit. Two friends are talking here. Prior to this extract, Katrin has recounted to Margit about something she read in a magazine – that the greatest downfall of an Estonian is that s/he believes too much in witchcraft. During this extract, Katrin moves on to describe her own thoughts regarding the matter, and they appear to be very different from the ones presented in the magazine:

(6.4a) Nõiandus / Witchcraft (Estonian)

AN2, 14:52

- 01 K: .h s ma just `mõtsin et see on nii
 .h then I just thought that it is so
- 02 `naljakas;=`tegelt see ei ole `mingi
 funny, actually it is not any
- > 03 `uudis;=eestlane on `kogu `ae:g, (0.6)
 news. (the) Estonian ((noun)) has all the time (0.6)
- > 04 huvitunud, (.) `teemadest mida ei saa
 been interested (.) in themes that cannot be
- > 05 niiöelda `teaduslikult `tõestada? .h
 so to speak scientifically proved, .h
- > 06 mida ei saa mingi:: (0.3) keegi `öelda et
what:PAR NEG can any anyone say:INF COMP
 that cannot ((be V-ed by)) any (0.3) nobody can say that
- > 07 `nii [`just `on:;]
so exactly be.3SG
 it is [precisely like that]
 []
- => 08 M: [sellepärast=et] see religi`oos ei ole
because DEM1 religion NEG be
 [because] religion has not become
- => 09 `juurdunud seda= on kogu aeg `peale d
root:PPC DEM1:PAR be.3SG all time force-feed..
 rooted it has all the time been force-fed
- => 10 surutud erine[vate nagu `anas]tajate poolt.
..force-feed:PPPC different:PL.GEN PRT occupier:PL.GEN by
 by diffe[rent occupi]ers.

11	K:	[]
		[ˈjaa::.]
12	(0.2)	[indeed.]

During her turn in lines 3–7, Katrin asserts the following: *eestlane on kogu aeg huvitunud teemadest - - mida ei saa mingi, keegi öelda et nii just on*, ‘the Estonian has all the time been interested in (such) themes - - that cannot ((be V-ed by)) any, nobody can say that it is precisely like that.’ At a point where her utterance is not yet fully completed (the final *et*-clause lacks a predicate), but where the gist of it is already recognizable, Margit comes in with an overlapping response in line 8. Margit’s turn provides an explanation or an account for Katrin’s prior claim, beginning with *sellepärast et*, ‘because,’ through which she indexes the independence of her contribution and her own epistemic access to the matter (see Couper-Kuhlen 2011a on English). As a conjunction, *sellepärast et* also ties her turn to the prior. It is interesting that it has been claimed that in English, the *because*-accounts by the interlocutor begin only at a point of possible completion in the prior turn (Couper-Kuhlen 2011a). Yet this does not occur in the Estonian example, as the interlocutor’s account begins at a non-TRP. One reason for this being possible must be that the gist of the prior speaker’s turn is already rather projectable at the point when the recipient initiates her ‘because’-turn.

With her overlapping *sellepärast et*, ‘because’ -turn, Margit joins in the assertive activity and the argument building that was initiated by Katrin, accepting her perspective and stance and therefore suggesting agreement with her. Demonstrating her understanding, Margit offers something new in her contribution and as a result, also indicates her independent epistemic access to the domain. She provides an account for the description of Estonians presented by Katrin. In line 11, Katrin confirms this (*jaa*, ‘indeed’; see Kasterpalu forthcoming), orienting to Margit’s prior talk as acceptable or even shared, and then continues herself (cf. Jefferson 1993). Here the floor shifts temporarily from Katrin to Margit, but then Katrin takes over again. The following extract is a direct continuation from the previous extract, and this extract contains one more overlapping response beginning at a non-TRP in line 21. During this contribution, Margit once again joins in Katrin’s argumentative activity, presenting a congruent assertion and thus demonstrating again that she understands Katrin and is still on the same side as she is. This extract is an example of a demonstration of understanding turn that is of a different type from the ones seen thus far:

(6.4b) Nõiandus / Witchcraft (Estonian)

AN2, 14:52

13	K:	ja::, ? ma arvan et `eestlane on: (0.6)
		and, I think that (the) Estonian is (0.6)

- 14 `piisavalt `taibukas et `taibata; (0.4)
clever enough to realize (0.4)
- 15 et me ei `ole siin `ainsad niiõelda
that we are not the only so to speak
- 16 planeedid; (.) ja `ainsad inimesed
planets here, (.) and the only people
- 17 [kes:] `ela:vad;
[who] live.
[]
- 18 M: [mm,]
- > 19 K: .h vaid et on ka midagi `muud; ja `ongi
 but COMP be.3SG also something else:PAR and be.3SG:CLI
 .h but that there is also something else, and there's really
- > 20 midagi sellist mi[da ei `saa mõ]õta.=
 something DEM.ADJ:PAR COMP NEG can measure
 something th[at you cannot mea]sure.
- => 21 M: []
 [niõeda re-]
 so.called re-
 [so to speak re-]
- => 22 M: =religo:- religi`oon tõmbabki selle:
 religo- religion remove:3SG:CLI DEM1:GEN
 religo- religion really removes that
- 23 K: köhhm ((COUGHS))
- => 24 M: `tunnetuse maha=ju.
 sensitivity:GEN PRT
 sensitivity as you know.
- 25 K: mhmh?
 yeah.
- 26 (0.3)
- 27 K: [ees]tlane on `kogu=aeg - -
 [(the) Es]tonian has all the time - -

In line 13, Katrin begins with a stance-taking marker *ma arvan*, 'I think,' reflecting her epistemic stance (Keevallik 2003a, 2010a) towards her subsequent assertions, which are designed as *et*-prefaced complements to the *ma arvan* main clause. In lines 15–17, she asserts that *me ei ole siin ainsad niiõelda planeedid ja ainsad inimesed kes elavad*, 'we are not the only so to speak planets here, and the only people who live,' and then moves on to a contrast: *vaid et on ka midagi muud ja ongi midagi sellist - -*, 'but that there is also something else, and there really is something - -.' Katrin's move to a contrast facilitates Margit's understanding of the gist of her talk. The subject of the existential clause, *sellist*, 'something,' is not stressed and consequently, the prosodic formatting does not signal utterance completion, even if the

clause could basically be grammatically complete at the point of overlap onset. However, the pronominal element *sellist*, ‘something,’ also functions as a projective device (Keevallik 2011c), indicating that the utterance is incomplete at that point. Katrin begins to produce the relative clause elaborating on *sellist*, and that is where Margit begins her overlapping response.

Margit produces some stuttering at the beginning of her turn, but then her claim, which is congruent with the prior, is produced fluently: *niöeda religioon tõmbabki selle tunnetuse maha ju*, ‘so to speak religion really removes that sensitivity as you know.’ Through her turn, Margit demonstrates that she understands the points in Katrin’s prior talk, as well as that Margit’s understanding is based on independent grounds. Besides the content of her turn being new and not yet mentioned in this conversation, the clitic *-ki* attached to the finite verb (*tõmbabki*) indicates in a subtle way that Margit views herself as being more knowledgeable, or in a more authoritative position, than Katrin concerning this knowledge domain (Keevallik 2011a). Katrin acknowledges Margit’s turn by using the particle *mhmh*, which is rather minimal and perhaps does not indicate full agreement, and subsequently Katrin continues the topic herself.

This section has presented the demonstrations of understanding that were either conditions, reasons or explanations for the overlapped assertion. The example 6.4b above illustrated a type of demonstration that will be presented in more detail in the following section.

6.1.2 Types of demonstrations: generalizations, specifications and further congruent points

This section will explore the demonstrations of understanding that are either generalizations or specifications of the statement in the overlapped assertion turn. There are also those types demonstrations that present other types of new information and further points that are congruent with the overlapped assertion. In the example below, the demonstration of understanding is a second assertion that is to some extent a modification of the first one, being more specific. Here two women discuss the home movies that are on television. After discussing Finnish home movies together, A asks whether B has seen a program on Russian home movies, to which B responds negatively. A begins by describing them as *ihan hirvee*, ‘really awful,’ and *ei hauskoja*, ‘not fun,’ and then begins to describe them in more detail. This is where the fragment begins. The pronominal *noissa*, ‘those,’ in line 9 refers to the movies that were shown in a program on Finnish television. These have been discussed earlier, and are also the object of evaluation in the arrowed target lines here.

(6.5) Sattuu oikeesti / It really hurts (Finnish)

Sg 377, 32:20

- 01 A: niinku jotku, (.) venäläinen äijäporukka
like some, (.) a group of Russian guys
- 02 ihan @votkapäissään ajaa autolla, (1.0)
really drunk from vodka driving a car (1.0)
- 03 jotain hirveet romu#rallia#=et ruumiita
some awful clunker rally that results
- 04 tulee #ja#;@ (0.5) >siis ihan niin[ku<
in dead bodies and, (0.5) I mean like real[ly
- 05 B: [mth
- 06 A: i[han semm'sii niinku järkyttäv-
re[ally such like shockin-
- 07 B: [oo koo.
[okay
- A GAZE: _____
- > 08 A: >semm'sii niinku< .hhh ku mun mielest
DEM3.ADJ:PL:PAR PRT because 1SG:GEN mind:ELA
such like, .hhh since in my opinion
- B GAZE: _____
- A GAZE: __, - . _____
- > 09 noissaki on siis sill#ei aina välillä
DEM2.PL:INE:CLI be.3SG PRT DEM3.MAN always sometimes
those have also every now and then such
- B GAZE: _____
- A GAZE: _____
- > 10 et ei oikein [hyvään, .h varaudu?#]
COMP NEG.3SG really good:ILL prepare.oneself
that (one) really does not [prepare (one)self for good]
[]
- B GAZE: _____
- => 11 B: [kyl välillä on vä]hän
PRT sometimes be.3SG a.bit
[indeed at times it's a li]ttle
- 12 silleen niinku et näyttää siltä et ku
DEM3.MAN PRT COMP seem:3SG DEM3:ABL COMP as
like it seems like that as if
- 13 siel on jotain [niinku et
DEM3.LOC:ADE be.3SG something PRT COMP
there is something [like when
[
- 14 A: [nii:;
[yeah

- 15 B: joku kaatuu pyörällä et se on vähän silleen
 someone falls from (his/her) bike so it's a little like
- 16 sattuu oikee[sti (.) silleen kiva;]
 it really hur[ts, (.) like nice]
- 17 A: []
 [joo ne on kauheint kattoo ku] - -
 [yeah those are the most awful ((things)) to see when] - -

This fragment begins in the middle of speaker A's telling about a Russian home movie that she watched on television. In line 6, speaker A evaluates the Russian home movies as *järkyttäv(ää)*, 'shocking,' but cuts off near the very end of the word. After this, she uses a pronominal adjective *semm'sii*, 'such,' at the beginning of line 8, and so she projects some more talk about the topic (see Pajusalu 2000 on *mingi*, a similar item in Estonian; Kevallik 2011c on pro-forms as projective devices in Estonian; and Laakso & Lehtola 2003 on the pronouns in word searches in Finnish aphasic speakers' speech). However, perhaps because she does not receive an affiliative reaction from B, speaker A subsequently shifts the focus from Russian to Finnish movies by using the pronominal *noissaki*, '(also in) those'⁶³ in line 9. Additionally, by using the stance marker *mun mielest*, 'in my opinion' (line 8), she shifts her talk from telling about Russian movies to explicitly assessing Finnish movies and marks this part of her extended turn as a first assessment (Rauniomaa 2007). The stance marker is also followed by an evaluating assertion regarding the home movies that are aired on Finnish television: *noissaki on siis sillei aina välillä et ei oikein [hyvään varaudu*, 'those have also every now and then such that (one) really does not [prepare (one)self for good.' Being a first assessment/assertion, this must be responded to; the turn invites the recipient to join in the assessing/evaluating activity (Pomerantz 1984a, Stivers 2005). The recipient's joining in is also facilitated and even invited by the use of the zero person in this utterance (*Ø ei varaudu*, 'Ø does not prepare Ø-self'). This means that it opens a place for the joint experience and offers an opportunity for the recipient to identify herself with the speaker (Laitinen 1995).

This is exactly what speaker B does in her responding turn, which occurs in non-transitional overlap in line 11. Speaker B's turn is a second (assessing) assertion that conveys a similar opinion on the home movie program aired on Finnish television. This turn, however, does not merely agree, since it has more substance, that is, some independent content. Instead, the turn expresses the grounds for the assessment and makes the latter more concrete

⁶³ The pronoun *tuo* (in the plural inessive *noissa*) is used to point to a referent in a shared sphere (Etelämäki 2009). Here Finnish home movies have already been discussed earlier, and they are also visibly present in the situation in the form of a DVD, which is probably why this pronoun is selected. Moreover, when producing the pronoun *noissaki*, the speaker quickly glances towards the DVD, which is off camera, but has been concretely pointed to earlier.

and specific: *kyl välillä on vähän silleen niinku et näyttää siltä et ku siel on jotain niinku et joku kaatuu pyörällä et se on vähän silleen sattuu oikeesti, silleen kiva*, ‘indeed at times it’s a little like it seems like that as if there was something like someone falls from her bike so it’s a little like it really hurts, like nice.’ The new material in the turn demonstrates the speaker’s independent access to the matter, and the whole turn demonstrates the fact that the speaker understands the prior talk and also indicates how she understands it. While being congruent with the overlapped turn, the second assertion is to some extent qualified or modified. The responding speaker’s independent epistemic access is reflected in the following elements in her turn; the last item of the adverb-chain of time, *aina välillä*, ‘every now and then’ from the prior turn is repeated but it is modified into a prosodically more stressed version of *välillä*, ‘at times.’ Furthermore, the evaluating element *ei oikein hyvään*, ‘not really good’ in the prior turn turns to an ironic *kiva*, ‘nice’ (that is, not nice), and some new information, grounds for the evaluation, is offered as well: *joku kaatuu, pyörällä - - sattuu oikeesti*, ‘someone falls from her bike - - it really hurts.’

In addition to these other elements in the response, the first word – the particle *kyl*, ‘indeed/really’ – is used to mark an independent opinion in the responses (Hakulinen 2001b). However, as Hakulinen (*ibid.*) has shown, compared to the other positions of this particle, the *kyl* that occurs in the initial position is most clearly in alignment and agreement with the prior. A relevant explanation for this use of *kyl* seems to be reassuring that the participants’ opinions are aligning/agreeing (see *ibid.*). This is undertaken here as a reaction to a possible disagreement, as the participants’ possibly harbor differing opinions. Prior to this fragment, the participants have been assessing Finnish home movies as being funny. Later, speaker A has introduced the contrast to the horrible Russian movies she has watched (this is what is still happening in lines 1–8), and then they begin assessing the Finnish movies again, but now in relation to the Russian ones, implying that they are in some way similar (see the enclitic *-ki*, meaning approximately ‘also,’ in *noissaki* in line 9). Speaker B’s relation to the home movie program on Finnish television is important in this context. During this conversation, the revelation is that the moderator of the program is B’s friend, and consequently, she could perhaps be seen as partly or indirectly responsible for the quality of the program. So, because of this, speaker A’s expressing a critical opinion about them might be a delicate action, approximating a co-present complaint (on overt co-present complaints, see Dersley & Wootton 2000). This could therefore serve as the explanation for speaker B using the particle *kyl* at the beginning of her agreeing response to A’s assertion: she assures that in her opinion, despite her friendship with the moderator of the program, she also finds something suspicious in the Finnish films shown in the program.

The explicitly assessing item in B’s responding turn, *kiva*, ‘nice,’ occurs very late, only in line 16, and it is overlapped by A’s next turn, in which she

moves on to another sub-topic (line 17). In addition to this turn, there are also several other features in this sequence that indicate that the participants treat the overlapping response as legitimate. For example, Speaker A does not interrupt her overlapped turn, but pursues it to its projected completion (during the overlap there is one dysfluency marker: a brief inhalation in line 10), and she also acknowledges the overlapping turn by the particle *nii* in line 14. One more factor that indicates the non-problematic treatment of the overlap is that the overlapped speaker does not repeat the overlapped part of her turn, but proceeds further in the sequence. In short, there are no indications in this example that the participants view the overlapping positioning of the response as illegitimate.

The example below presents a contrast to the behavior displayed in the prior example. Here the overlapped speaker cuts off her overlapped turn after the overlapping response and returns to the overlapped part of her talk later. While the previous example concerned an overlapping demonstration of understanding that specified the content of the first one, this demonstration is done by way of making a generalization concerning the overlapped assertion. There are three participants here: Tiina is Vanaema's ('grandma') granddaughter and Peep is Tiina's spouse. Vanaema lives on an upper floor and has just stated that she climbs the steps several times a day (apparently, there is no elevator in the building), to buy things such as milk (it seems that someone brings it to her). Peep then inquires:

(6.6) Võimlema peab / One has to do exercises (Estonian, audio)

Nr 626, 23:18

- 01 Peep: iga päev on 'piim=vä.
the milk is ((≈comes)) every day is it
- 02 (0.2)
- 03 Vanaema: ei=ole po- õõ nüüd 'kolm kord nädalas
no it isn't, uhm now three times a week
- 04 on piim. (0.7) aga siis ühtelugu. ja
is the milk. (0.7) but again all the while ((I climb the steps)). and
- 05 vast on 'keldrisse vaja minna=ja? (.)
sometimes (one) needs to go to the cellar and, (.)
- 06 'prügi viia=ja? (0.5) nisukst. (.)
to take out the garbage and, (0.5) stuff like that. (.)
- 07 .nhh (0.2) hh (.).hhh ja:=ja ja, (.)
.nhh (0.2) hh (.).hhh and and and (.)
- > 08 aga 'kui ma ei käiks 'võimlemas siis
but if 1SG NEG go:COND do.exercises:INF then
But if I didn't go and work out then

assertion that is negatively formatted⁶⁴ on her general physical condition and its reasons – or actually, she sets up a hypothetical situation with certain anticipated/predicted results: *aga kui ma ei käiks võimlemas siis ma ei oleks ültse niisukene liikuv*, ‘but if I didn’t go and do exercises then I would not be moving like this at all.’ This assertion is clearly in the speaker’s own epistemic domain because it concerns her own physical condition and its background, over which she obviously has epistemic authority. This is also evident in the choice of person in her utterance: *kui ma ei käiks, ma ei oleks*, ‘if I didn’t go, I would not be.’ After this part of her turn, Vanaema begins another utterance, which resembles an additional explanation for the issue: *ma i o- ma i [pääseks ültse - -, ‘I (would) not, I could [not at all - -.’* However, she does not proceed very far with this utterance – the finite verb *pääseks*, among other elements, is still lacking – as her granddaughter Tiina, first inhaling loudly, begins an overlapping response to Vanaema’s assertions. Vanaema cuts off her turn without completing it and allows Tiina to talk first.

During the overlapping turn, Tiina shifts the perspective from Vanaema’s individual situation to a more general level. Grammatically, this is apparent from her selecting the zero person construction: *liigutama peab võimlema peab*, ‘Ø has to exercise Ø has to work out’ (on the zero person in Finnish, see Laitinen 1995⁶⁵). With her turn, Tiina provides a generalizing second assertion that is supportive of Vanaema’s perspective and thus demonstrably presents Tiina’s understanding of the issue. Her turn is prefaced with the negative polar particle *ei*. In contrast to how the same formal element is used after grammatically negative statements in Finnish interaction, where it is an indicator of equivalent epistemic access and unconditional agreement (see Hakulinen & Sorjonen 2011), the Estonian *ei* is not used this way (see also Keevallik 2012: 3).⁶⁶ Instead, Keevallik (2012) has demonstrated that when a turn is prefaced by *ei* in Estonian interaction, there is often a claim of epistemic primacy, and this claim is used to halt the ongoing action –

⁶⁴ On responding to grammatically negative statements in English, see Jefferson 2002 and Hakulinen & Sorjonen 2011 for Finnish.

⁶⁵ In the Estonian grammar, there is only a brief mention of the third-person singular verb forms being used in a “general person” clause (*üldisikuline lause*) (EKG I p. 71). The example is: *Selle teeb valmis kuu ajaga*, ‘That Ø gets ready in a month.’ The grammar also discusses impersonal clauses without subjects (*vaegisikulised/üldisikulised, aluseta laused*) and provides an example with the same verb *peab* as in our utterance: *Oma tööd peab armastama*, ‘Ø has to love Ø’s job’ (EKG II pp. 40, 226). It is stated that “the potential subject person is whoever” (ibid. 227), and furthermore, that these impersonal clauses are especially used to form general claims that do not depend on time or on conditions (ibid.). This is recognizably the same construction that is found in Finnish, yet it is an empirical question whether the Estonian structure is used the same way as the Finnish one (see Laitinen 1995).

⁶⁶ In Estonian, (unconditional) agreement is displayed with the particle *jah* regardless of the prior turn’s grammatical form. (Keevallik, p.c.; for an example of this, see Kasterpalu 2005: 882.)

regardless of whether the prior turn was grammatically positive or negative. In this case, the granddaughter, Tiina, halts Vanaema's turn as if to say "no, you need not talk further, I understand already." With her *ei*-prefaced turn, Tiina establishes herself as an even more knowledgeable participant over the domain in question, namely over the effect that exercising has on one's physical condition.

After the particle *ei*, Tiina extends the domain of the claim from being Vanaema's only, or for instance, elderly people's only, to concern everyone: *liigutama peab võimlema peab*, '(one) has to exercise (one) has to work out.' She then continues her turn with one more utterance that involves the zero person, which is a zero complement that functions as a beneficiary: *see annab Ø juurde*, 'it gives (one/you/Ø) more.' This utterance, nonetheless, does not reach completion (it lacks an object complement), as Vanaema returns to her overlapped and not-yet-completed assertion turn, recycles most of it, and brings it now to its grammatical completion: *ma ei pääseks ültse edasi*, 'I could not move at all.' Her return to her prior utterance could be interpreted as evidence that she might view herself as having been interrupted by Tiina's earlier overlapping turn (cf. Bilmes 1997). At any rate, she is in agreement with Tiina and she expresses this by using the overlapping ingressive particle *jah* (line 13) before returning to her overlapped turn. Ingressive elements, at least in Finnish, Swedish and Danish, are used to imply many things, including a shared perspective (Hakulinen 2010, Hakulinen & Steensig in prep.) and it also fits the picture in the Estonian example. After these turns, the discussion proceeds further, as Tiina does not return to her turn, which was left incomplete in line 14 when Vanaema started to repeat her prior assertion.

In the example above, the overlapped speaker returned to her utterance after the overlapping incoming. In the next example, by contrast, there are several overlapping incomings and most of the overlapped turns are not returned to later. The overlapping turns here provide congruent, specifying alternatives to the overlapped assertion turns. At the beginning of this fragment, Margit initiates a new topic by telling Katrin about a text message that she is currently writing to a special friend of hers who she is going to meet soon:

(6.7) *Ööbime koos* / We'll spend the night together (Estonian)
AN2, 10:42

- 01 (1.8)
02 M: *saadan praegu siukse=`sõnumi et ee, (.) et*
I'm now sending a message that uhm (.) that
03 *et, (.) et noh, ma seda=`ööbimist veel ei*
that, (.) that um, I don't know yet about spending the night
04 *tea aga. et lissalt=saaks `kokku.*
together but. that we'd simply meet.

Overlapping demonstrations of understanding

- 05 (1.3)
 06 M: muidu on nagu `liiga=siuke- nagu: õõ
 otherwise (it) is too such like, um
- 07 `pingestatud et, (.) @ahah?@ (0.2)
 tense that, (.) okay? (0.2)
- 08 `kindlasti saame `kokku:, (.) ja: ?
 we'll definitely meet, (.) and
- 09 `öübime koos.
 spend the night together.
- K |STARTS SELF-GROOMING, TOUCHING HER FACE
 10 K: njaa=jaa=[jaa.]
 nyeahyeah [yeah]
 []
- 11 M: [parem `on kui ta] `lahti jääb.
 [it's better when it] remains open.
- 12 et noh `vaatame kuidas °tundub
 PRT/COMP PRT see:1PL how feel:3SG
 so uhm we'll see how the relationship
- 13 [see suhe on.°]
 DEM1 relationship be.3SG
 [seems to be.]
 []
- => 14 K: [siis ju: saad] ikka `tunde
 then PRT get:2SG anyway feeling:GEN
 [then you can] (act) following the
- 15 järgi [mitte `see] et on kokku=lepitud
 according NEG DEM1 COMP be.3SG agree.on:PPPC
 feeling [not that it']s been agreed on
 []
- 16 M: [ähäh,]
 [uhhuh,]
- 17 K: tegelikult ei `tahagi ei `olegi mingit
 actually NEG want:CLI NEG be:CLI some:PAR
 actually (one) doesn't want (there) is no
- 18 siukest .hhhh [<mee:leolu,>]
 DEM.ADJ:PAR mood:PAR
 such a .hhhh [mood]
 []
- => 19 M: [võibola tekib siuke `tunne] et
 maybe appear:3SG DEM.ADJ feeling COMP
 [(it) may be that a feeling appears] that
- 20 nagu ei: `tahagi [enam.]
 PRT NEG want:CLI anymore
 like (one) doesn't want [anymore.]
 []

- 21 K: [-ta ma] `räägin
 (DEM:PAR) 1SG speak:1SG
 [(tha)t's what] I'm saying
- 22 [et `meeleo]lu ei ole °siukest,°
 COMP mood:PAR NEG be DEM.ADJ:PAR
 [that (there) is no] such mood
 []
- => 23 M: [et sa ei tea ku-]
 COMP 2SG NEG know (ever)
 [so you don't know-]
- 24 M: `kunagi ette nagu;
 ever in.advance PRT
 never (know) in advance.
- 25 (4.0) ((M FIDDLES WITH HER MOBILE PHONE))

This fragment begins with Margit announcing the content of the text message that she is currently writing (lines 2–4). A pause follows (line 5), and when does not get an uptake from her recipient Katrin, Margit proceeds to explain her feelings on the issue. She uses the explicit expression *pingestatud*, ‘tense,’ (line 7) to describe her possible feelings if they (she and her friend) were to decide in advance to spend the night together. The non-fluent character of her talk may also reflect her being nervous about the course of the meeting. During this turn, she presents the reasoning for her decision about the pre-planned course of the upcoming meeting with her friend – that the pre-decided part includes only their meeting, not spending the night together. At this stage, when her stance is expressed explicitly and her talk is even more clearly calling for feedback, Katrin responds with the aligning and basically supportive, but nevertheless slightly ambiguous particle-chain *njaajaajaa*, ‘nyeahyeahyeah.’ At the same time, Katrin disengages bodily. For instance, she starts self-grooming, touching her face, which might indicate that the situation or the topic is somewhat awkward for her. Overlapping with Katrin’s particles, Margit explicates even more clearly the conclusion behind her decision (lines 11–13): *parem on kui ta lahti jääb. et noh vaatame kuidas tundub [see suhe on, ‘it’s better when it remains open. so uhm we’ll see how the relationship [seems to be.]* In overlap with the latter utterance in this stretch of talk, at a point where the indirect interrogative clause still lacks an argument of the predicate verb, *tundub (kuidas tundub [see suhe on)*, Katrin comes in with her turn (line 14). As Margit’s latter clause is similar in content with the prior talk and only somewhat modifies it, Katrin is able to recognize where the turn is heading.

Katrin’s overlapping turn is stance-congruent with Margit’s prior talk. Katrin’s turn offers an alternative to Margit’s prior reasoning, having somewhat new, more specific content, yet moving to a more general level about the issue: *siis ju saad ikka tunde järgi mitte see et on kokku lepitud - -, ‘then you can (act) following the feeling not that it’s been agreed on - -.’* With

this contribution and its independent content, Katrin demonstrates that she understands Margit's prior talk (Margit's situation and her stance towards it), and in fact, she understands it so well that she is able to add something to the line of argumentation. Her turn demonstrates that she has (or is aware of) similar experiences and stances and is able to match them to Margit's current situation.

Overlapping Katrin's rather long turn, Margit continues the reasoning herself (line 19) at a non-completion point in Katrin's turn: the final "content" element in the phrase, *mingit siukest [meeleolu*, 'such a [mood,' has not yet occurred at the overlap onset point because the pronominal elements *mingit siukest* have postponed its occurrence (see Pajusalu 2000: 99). However, the form of the final element is projected to be the same as the form of the prior elements in the phrase: the genitive. These latter parts of Katrin's turn again modify the points she has already expressed as she states in a concrete way the feeling one can harbor in this type of situation: *tegelikult ei tahagi ei olegi mingit siukest meeleolu*, 'actually (one) doesn't want (there) is no such a mood.' Margit's overlapping incoming features yet one more specification of the possible feelings in the situation: *võibola tekib siuke tunne et nagu ei tahagi enam*, '(it) may be that a feeling appears that like (one) doesn't want anymore.' She recycles the verb *ei tahagi*, '(one) doesn't want to,' from Katrin's prior turn and changes the noun *meeleolu*, 'mood,' which Katrin had used, to the noun *tunne*, 'feeling,' which they had both used before.

The personal pronoun choices (and omissions) in these turns also illustrate the speakers' shared view and further indicate the course of the argumentation. When Margit moves from the particularities of the upcoming meeting to her first conclusive assertion, she uses the first-person plural ending in the verb: *vaatame*, 'we'll see' (line 12). By contrast, in her first responsive assertion, Katrin uses the second-person singular (*saad*, 'you can,' line 14), which explicitly refers to Margit's particular situation (although this could be generic, too). However, she subsequently changes to the zero person: *Ø ei tahagi*, 'Ø doesn't want to' (line 17). Besides indicating a shift to a general take on the issue, this formatting invites her recipient to recognize the matter and to also identify herself with it (on the Finnish zero person, see Laitinen 1995). In her subsequent turn, Margit continues the use of the zero person and other impersonal forms: *tekib siuke tunne et Ø ei tahagi enam*, 'a feeling appears [to Ø] that Ø doesn't want anymore.' Besides these issues, the earlier non-use of personal forms is in line with the topic of having no (prior) knowledge about the feelings that one harbors in this particular situation.

Katrin's turn (lines 21–22) that occurs after Margit's overlapping incoming (lines 19–20) is slightly competitive, insisting on Katrin's prior point: *-ta ma räägin*, '(tha)t's what I'm saying,' followed by a repetition from her prior talk: *meeleolu ei ole siukest*, 'there is no such a mood.' Regardless of the speakers' overall agreement on the topic, the fact that her recipient has not explicitly acknowledged her contribution may encourage Katrin to repeat

it. However, this does not yet lead to her receiving a specific acknowledgement from Margit, since in overlap with this, at a non-TRP, Margit continues, and overriding Katrin's prior contribution, presents a conclusion on the whole topic that sounds like the main reason for writing the type of message she did: *et sa ei tea kunagi ette nagu*, 'so you never know in advance.' After this, the speakers no longer pursue this topic. As an agent in the actual events, Margit both initiates it and brings it to a close.

The whole sequence above is an illustration of how the participants agree with each other, jointly argue for an opinion they share, by engaging in a play of affiliation, social solidarity and togetherness (cf. Goodwin 2013). The early onsets of their turns amplify all this, demonstrating that they already know slightly in advance what the other is about to say, and that they affiliate with that, while also demonstrating their independent access to the matter by introducing new material as well (especially in the earlier turns in this fragment). The speakers align and affiliate with each other on various levels and they do this by staying on the same theme, by their turns endorsing the course of action that is initiated in the prior turn, by agreeing on the content of the matter, and by their stances being congruent.

The next example illustrates a technically similar case, but the same practice is used here as a resource for a different action. The overlapping turns in this example are used in a more competitive manner to foreshadow and implicate disagreement. The overlapping, responding speaker in this case provides further information regarding the prior speaker's assertion and he also presents his knowledge as being more accurate. There are no confirming or acknowledging particles in the response, nor any overt marking of the turn as being a continuation of the prior. This fragment is from the beginning of a Bible circle gathering, from a point where the talk is still free and unstructured. Maia and Jaan are a middle-aged couple and Angela and Tõnu (also middle-aged, not a couple) are visiting them. The participants are discussing certain formulaic liturgies in a church service, what the situation was in the past in old Judaism, and what it is now in various Christian churches. Prior to this fragment, Tõnu has laughingly claimed that from the present-day context, it is like a sign of retardation when an adult, as a child of God, always turns to God using the same formula (for example, reciting ready-made prayers). Maia responds by presenting her own opinion:

(6.8) Liturgia / Liturgy (Estonian)

PI1, 10:50

- 01 Maia: nojah? aga: aga samas .h samas võib-olla
 yeah, but but at the same time .h at the same time maybe
- 02 see vormel, (.) `teatud vormel on pär-
 the formula, (.) a certain formula is still qui-

Overlapping demonstrations of understanding

- 03 päris ea `ka.
quite good too.
- 04 (0.4)
05 Maia: ↓^oteenistusel^o et see on nagu, (.)
for the service so that it is like (.)
- 06 niisukese, (.) `korraarmastuse;
of such, (.) (of) order loving
- 07 (0.4)
08 Angela: ^omm.^o
09 (0.4)
- > 10 Maia: †ega vanas Iisraelis ne[il olid †`ka omad,
PRT old:INE NAME:INE 3PL:ADE be:PST:3PL also own:PL
indeed in the old Israel th[ey had also their own
- 11 Jaan: [^ono?^o
[well
- > 12 Maia: omad ee [ee
OWN:PL
their own uhm [uhm
- => 13 Jaan: [>no- olid neil oli< `siis
(PRT) be:PST:3PL 3PL:ADE be:PST.3SG then
[(well?) (they) were they had at that time
- => 14 oli see nii `levinud et[ä-
be:PST.3SG DEM1 PRT spread:PPC COMP
(it) was so widespread tha[t
- 15 Maia: [kindlad
certain:PL
[specific
- 16 asj[ad. oli †`ka niöelda li`urgia.]
matter:PL be:PST.3SG also so.called liturgy
thi[ngs. (there) was also a so-called liturgy.]
- 17 Jaan: [palvetasidki `valmis sõnadega.]
pray:PST:3PL:CLI ready word:PL:COM
[they actually prayed with ready-made words.]
- 18 Jaan: .h inimkond oli sellega rohkem harjund ja
.h humankind was more used to it and
- 19 `oskas vöbolla ka seda oma tunnet sinna
was maybe able to include their own feelings in there
- 20 `sisse panna. .h aga praägu meile tundub
as well. .h but nowadays we feel
- 21 see- .h ni=et- [tundub nagu veidi-]
it- .h so- [(it) feels a bit-]

- 22 Maia: [noo `sina oled] lihtsalt
[well you have] simply
- 23 nii kasvanud.
grown up like that.
- 24 Jaan: [fnoh eks se muidugi on jah?ɛ]
[well that of course is (the case) yeah]
[]
- 25 Tõnu: [ei aga `seal võib olla `se asi] ka et noh
[no but it can be also a question] of well
- 26 ütleme: noh, (0.4) noh `kirjaoskust ei
let's say uhm, (0.4) uhm literacy was not
- 27 olnd ni=palju ja sis - -
that extensive and then - -

In lines 1–3, Maia produces an assessment but receives no response. She adds an increment to it (lines 5–6), but only Angela responds minimally (line 8). After the ensuing pause (line 9), Maia continues to formulate her opinion further, online, by providing an assertion, formatting it prosodically as a restart through a high pitch onset (Couper-Kuhlen 2004, see also Local 1992): *ega vanas Iisraelis neil olid ka omad - -*, ‘indeed in the old Israel they had also their own - -.’ Immediately after Maia has uttered the key content phrase, *vanas Iisraelis*, ‘in the old Israel,’ her husband Jaan produces the particle *no*, ‘well,’ ending in a glottal stop (ʔ). This might be a bid for turn space, a foreshadowing of his non-committal reaction to Maia’s talk; it also marks the part that his subsequent talk will address. Then, after some repetition (*omad omad*) and the hesitation noise *ee* in Maia’s turn (see Lerner 1996: 261–263, Chevalier 2008, and also the following section 6.1.3), at a point where Maia’s turn is not yet complete, Jaan breaks in with a full turn. The Estonian grammatical structure is incomplete at this point in Maia’s turn (the English translation might be misleading in this sense): the word *omad* in this context cannot stand alone, but it requires a head to form a complete phrase. Maia stops producing her utterance immediately when Jaan initiates his response of *no- olid neil oli siis oli see nii levinud et - -*, ‘well they were they had at that time it was so widespread that - -.’

Jaan’s overlapping assertion turn introduces more information on the matter being discussed (the “formulas” being widespread at that time and so on), and he seems to be arguing that his knowledge is also more precise than Maia’s. He displays his independent knowledge of the issue, and from his own perspective, he continues Maia’s activity of opinionating and reasoning on this subject. This is his way to demonstrate how he understands his wife Maia’s points, but at the same time he engages in negotiation with Maia over the epistemic authority on this issue. Jaan recycles the pronominal and

verbal elements from Maia's turn, *neil oli(d)*, 'they had,' but uses them to argue for his own point of view.

When Jaan's overlapping incoming reaches a syntactic boundary, projecting a complement clause beginning with *et*, 'that,' which would elaborate on *nii levinud*, 'so widespread' (*siis oli see nii levinud et - -*, 'at that time it was so widespread **that** - -'), Maia continues her prior assertion by beginning the continuation from the same pitch level where she previously left off, and she then completes it: - - *omad kindlad asjad. oli ka niöelda liturgia*, 'their own certain matters. There was also a so-called liturgy.' (On this practice, see Lerner 1989, and Vatanen forthcoming.) Simultaneously with this, Jaan also completes his utterance (*palvetasidki valmis sõnadega*, 'they even prayed with ready-made words') and as a result, they talk simultaneously, with both being insistent on their speakership and in finishing their own utterances.

However, what they agree on is only the factual matter that in old Israel, people used some type of formulaic liturgies. Maia initially introduces this reference to tradition to support her position that in general, it is good to have certain rituals in church services (see lines 2–6). But while Jaan agrees on the historical fact, he does not support Maia's opinion and he actually disagrees with Maia's argument about present-day services. After having described his understanding of the historical situation in lines 13–14 and 17–20, where he continues to basically agree with Maia, he introduces the present day as a contrast: *aga praägu meile tundub - -*, 'but nowadays we feel - -' (line 20). Jaan's turn format, where he first demonstrates his understanding of Maia's turn and subsequently moves on to a contrast, resembles the generic format in which disagreement is prefaced by agreement (such as turns beginning with *yeah but*; see Niemi 2010, 2014, Steensig & Asmuß 2005; see also Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson 2000, Pomerantz 1984a). However, Jaan's contrast never becomes fully formulated, as Maia comes in in overlap with a counter argument: *noo sina oled lihtsalt nii kasvanud*, 'well you have simply grown up like that' (line 22–23), to which Jaan readily acquiesces (line 24). Simultaneously with Jaan's acquiescing turn, a third participant Tõnu starts up a turn in line 25, offering yet more background about the history of formulaic liturgies. He begins his turn with *ei*, 'no,' to establish his epistemic authority on the matter (Keevallik 2012), leaving both Maia and Jaan aside.

While most of the extracts in this section contain overlapping incomings that have been basically agreeing and affiliating with the prior, this example demonstrates how the same practice of providing a congruent assertion, a demonstration of understanding, can also be used for less affiliative purposes. This phenomenon has also been identified by Couper-Kuhlen (2011a), who describes certain *because*-utterances as "open to strategic exploitation for more speaker-centered goals" (see also Sczcepek Reed 2006: 197ff.). The previous example actually contains features of both the agreeing and the disagreeing cases in the whole dataset; as mentioned in section 1.3,

the examples at the disagreeing end of this continuum were not included in the present analysis.

In sections 6.1.1 and 6.1.2, we have examined examples in which the overlapping incoming does not make use of the projection that is provided in the overlapped turn; the grammatical form of the turn does not fill any slot projected in the overlapped turn. In the next section let us proceed to examine the contributions in which the form fills a grammatical slot projected in the overlapped turn and which typically occur at the point where they grammatically belong. These two types of turns are very different, occupying opposite ends of a continuum of grammatical projection; nonetheless, there are other cases that fall in between these. The differences in grammatical projection also illustrate the differences in managing the floor in these sequences. As for the cases examined in the sections above, the floor typically shifts from the overlapped speaker to the overlapping speaker. This indicates that the early overlap is treated as not being problematic. By contrast, in the cases in the following section, the floor usually remains with the overlapped speaker. This difference is indicative of another continuum, namely the one of responsiveness in terms of social actions, as the turns examined above are clearly separate, distinct turns – responses – of their own, whereas the ones to be examined below work more to (help) build the co-participant's turn, being less response-like.

6.1.3 The continuum of responsiveness: grammar and action ⁶⁷

This section will analyze those overlapping next contributions that fill a grammatical slot that has been (more or less) projected in the prior turn. At the same time, the contributions offered also exploit the semantic-pragmatic projection (of upcoming content) in the prior turn. The continuum of grammatical projection includes cases that range from those that are grammatically not linked to the prior turn to those that can also be referred to as co-completions. The next contributions examined here are strictly speaking not always full turns, as their speaker sometimes merely provides something that the current speaker is looking for and hence s/he is only helping out in constructing the other speaker's turn. In the same sense, these contributions are less response-like, as the next speaker does not provide the action which the prior turn has invited as a next action. Instead, s/he offers his/her contribution as a part of the other speaker's turn, not as his/her own,

⁶⁷ All the examples to be presented in this section are Estonian. There are a few Finnish examples of this phenomenon in the data as well, but for the purposes of representativeness, the Estonian cases were selected. It may also be that this practice is more typical in Estonian conversation, but as the current data collection is rather small, this matter should be investigated further to be able to make a more definitive argument. Most of the cases examined here do not belong to the core collection (see section 1.5), because they are not real responses to the prior turn. These additional cases, used in this section only, were collected for the purpose of illustrating the continuum that was evident in the data.

separate turn. When the next contribution is from the same “perspective” as the prior turn, it less resembles a response, and hence, the two turns are less like an adjacency pair. However, both grammatical projection and response-likeness are best understood as continuums and, apart from the clear cases at both extreme ends of the continuum, there are various cases that occur betwixt and between as well (see Table 5 below). This is the topic to explore in the current section: the boundaries of responsiveness.⁶⁸

Table 5. Continuum of responsiveness

	more response-like		↔	less response-like	
features in the examples	does not fit the place of occurrence		fits the place of occurrence		
	form does not exploit projection in the prior		form exploits projection in the prior/ongoing turn		
	grammatically not integrated	grammatically integrated			
	clause			phrase	
			not similar to the co-participant's version	similar to the co-participant's version	
example	(6.5)	(6.7')	(6.9)–(6.12)	(6.13)	(6.14)
varying features in the examples: existence of word search and floor management, orientation to the prior turn, whether or not the speaker completes the contribution					

In the current collection the overlapped speaker responds in variety of ways to the contribution that is offered. When beginning to talk, the speaker who will ultimately be overlapped launches her turn and action as her own, not specifically inviting anyone to join in. The incoming speaker then attempts to join in constructing the turn and the action. In other words, s/he proposes implicitly that they construct the action jointly. Sometimes this succeeds, but the “original” speaker may also resist the joining-in and keep the turn and the action to herself. In this section, we will examine the various forms of negotiation that may occur. This discussion is also related to the concept of *floor*, which will be utilized in this chapter on occasion. For the purposes of the current study, the speaker who produces a turn that is not a mere “continuer” (see Schegloff 1982) is the one who has the *floor* at that moment. This understanding of *floor* means, at least for the current data, that the floor-holder typically constantly changes. (On the notion of *floor*, see Edelsky 1981.)

The cases to be examined in this section are rather similar to those that have been dealt with in the prior literature under rubrics such as co-

⁶⁸ I do not intend to define where that boundary is.

constructions, collaborative completions or co-completions, collaborative productions and joint turn productions (for example, see Helasvuo 2004, Kim 1999, Lerner 1996, Lerner & Takagi 1999, Local 2005, Sacks 1992a: 647ff., Szczepek Reed 2006). However, none of these studies has suggested the concept of a continuum involving the gradual shift between the most and the least response-like cases.

The prior literature has reported several functions of co-completion-like contributions. For example, Lerner (1996) discovered that the anticipatory completions produced by the recipient of a turn are used for certain functions, such as to display agreement, to pre-empt disagreement, and to collaborate in telling(-like) activity. Szczepek Reed (2006: 188ff.) provides evidence that collaborative productions can be used for many purposes, such as a means of showing understanding. The current section will present functions that are rather similar to the ones presented by Szczepek Reed (*ibid.*), yet these functions will highlight the character of the incomings in the collection: they resemble demonstrations of understanding.

Besides co-completions, many other phenomena are also related to the the focus of the present study. These include turn-sharing (Lerner 2002, 2004a), shared telling (Goodwin 1984, Lerner 1992, Mandelbaum 1987), spouse talk (Goodwin 1987, Sacks 1992b: 437ff., Tainio 2000), collective remembering (Londen 1992, Tainio 1997), team talk (Kangasharju 1996, Lerner 1993, Tainio 2000) and duetting (Falk 1980, Szczepek Reed 2006). However, most of this scholarly work describes practices that involve two speakers who together construct a stretch of talk for a third party, which makes them different in a crucial respect from the cases examined here. This study analyzes the turns and actions that (two) participants produce for each other, as separate conversational parties. The talk of these two participants is not produced for a third party, a situation in which the two would form one conversational party together (cf. the schematization on page 20 above).

One additional relevant issue for this discussion is the question of word search. According to Lerner (1996: 261), word searches are “specifically designed for conditional entry by recipients,” a place where the recipients “aid in the search by suggesting candidate words” (cf. the course of example 6.8). Recipients may provide the continuations as “assertedly correct,” not as try-marked, and this can be used as a device for “special alignment with a speaker” (*ibid.* pp. 262–263). Furthermore, Jefferson (1978) describes help in word search during story telling as one type of cooperative contribution. (See also Goodwin 1987.) Some of the incoming contributions discussed in this section are indeed preceded by indications of word searches in the prior turn, which might be interpreted as an invitation for the recipient to participate (on this phenomenon, see also Szczepek Reed 2006: 190ff.). However, not all of the overlapped turns include word search signals. Nevertheless, what the next speaker appears to be doing with her contribution may seem to be very similar in the two cases. Thus, it will be demonstrated that word search signals are not a necessary prerequisite for

the recipient to fill a particular projected slot in the overlapped speaker's turn. (On hesitation markers and next turn onsets, see also Chevalier 2008 and Chevalier & Clift 2008.) Furthermore, the overlapping incomings that are examined here are not produced with "try-marking" intonation, which corroborates the interpretation that the incoming speakers are not attempting to help the other but, instead suggest that they also have (independent) access to the relevant knowledge of the point being made.

Similar to the issue of word search, gaze behavior could be seen as possibly inviting the overlapping incoming (see Rossano 2012, Stivers & Rossano 2010, cf. Goodwin & Goodwin 1986). However, along similar lines as described above for word search, it will be demonstrated that even if specific gaze behavior does occur, the speaker's gaze to a recipient is not a necessary prerequisite for the recipient to offer a contribution to, or a completion of, the ongoing speaker's utterance in my data.

Some of the overlapping incomings that were examined in sections 6.1.1 and 6.1.2 were also somehow tied to their prior talk, such as by being prefaced by a conjunction. Examples of this were *jos*, 'if' (example 6.1) and *sellepärast et*, 'because' (example 6.4a) as well as combinations of different conjunctions such as *ja koska*, 'and because' (example 6.3). By using these conjunctions, the incoming speaker was able to indicate that his/her contribution belongs to the prior line of talk and argumentation, for instance as an addition, as a condition or as an account. One case from the prior section will be partly re-produced here as an illustration of the shift from the contributions in which the form was not projected by the prior turn to those where the form of the overlapping incoming exploits the grammatically projected slot in the prior/ongoing turn. Let us reconsider the following detail from extract 6.7:

(6.7') *Ööbime koos* / We'll spend the night together (Estonian)

AN2, 10:42

- 11 M: [parem `on kui ta] `lahti jääb.
[it's better when it] remains open.
- 12 et noh `vaatame kuidas °tundub
PRT/COMP PRT see:1PL how feel:3SG
so uhm we'll see how the relationship
- 13 [see suhe on.°]
DEM1 relationship be.3SG
[seems to be.]
[]
- => 14 K: [siis ju: saad] ikka `tunde
then PRT get:2SG anyway feeling:GEN
[then you can] (act) following the

15 järgi [mitte `see] et on kokku=lepitud
 according NEG DEM1 COMP be.3SG agree.on:PPPC
 feeling [not that it']s been agreed on

The incoming in lines 14–15 can be interpreted as constructing a possible grammatical continuation of the prior speaker's utterance in line 11, which would mean that the whole complex sentence would be as follows: *parem on kui ta lahti jääb, siis ju saad ikka tunde järgi*, 'it's better when it remains open, then you can (act) following the feeling.' However, in this case, the form of the incoming does not actually fill any of the slots that are projected by the prior turn, but instead, the incoming is constructed as if it were a continuation of an earlier utterance in the prior turn (here, not the just prior/ongoing utterance, but the one before it). Furthermore, the point at which the incoming occurs is not the grammatical slot where the incoming would belong; this is what occurs in the following examples in this section.

A clausal contribution, even one that begins with the same particle/conjunction/proadverb *siis*, 'then,' as in the previous fragment, can also be rather clearly projected, as we will see in the following extract. The two participants in this extract are discussing a situation in which a couple goes travelling together and are doing fine but upon return to their everyday life, they realize that something is wrong (in their relationship or with their spouse):

(6.9) Vead / Faults (Estonian)

AN3, 06:10

- 01 M: sa, sa võtad selle ühe tiimi `tunde,
 you, you take the feeling of one team
- 02 sest=et kõik muu on `võõras va[ata.]
 because everything else is unfamiliar y[ou see.]
- 03 K: []
 [just] `nimelt.
 [exac]tly.
- > 04 K: >aga kui sa tuled< `tagasi oma `tavapärasesse
 but when 2SG come:2SG back own routine:ILL
 but when you come back to your routine
- > 05 ellu ja t- oma `tavapäraseid `asju teed
 life:ILL and own routine:PL:PAR thing:PL:PAR do:2SG
 life and d- your routine things you do
- > 06 oma tavapäraseid `as- .hh ja=ni=`edasi siis
 own routine:PL:PAR thi- and so forth then
 your routine thi- .hh and so forth then

Overlapping demonstrations of understanding

-> 07 [sa saad `aru kus need] `vead on;
 2SG understand:2SG where DEM1.PL fault:PL be.3SG
 [you understand where the] faults are
 []

=> 08 M: [sis sa ei `näe seda,]
 then 2SG NEG see DEM1:PAR
 [then you can't see the]

09 K: või ku[s `need ää,]
 or where DEM1.PL
 or whe[re the uhm-]
 []

10 M: [siis ei `näe seda] `teise inimese
 [then (one) can't see the] uniqueness of the other

11 üldse `erilisustki. või: - -
 person at all. or - -

In line 4, Katrin initiates a complex (bipartite) clause construction that begins with *kui*, 'when,' which projects another clause that begins with *siis*, 'then,' to follow (see Lerner 1991, 1996 on English). Having produced the first part of this construction – but having done this with some repetitions and stuttering, and these might affect the recipient coming in – Katrin proceeds to the latter part with *siis*, 'then,' at the end of line 6. At this point Margit comes in and offers her version of the second, consequent part, beginning with *sis*, 'then,' as well. Regardless of the overlapping incoming, the prior speaker Katrin continues with her turn and Margit then drops out without completing her clause. In other words, there is evidence of some competition for the floor between the participants. Margit's recognition of the gist of Katrin's talk is facilitated by the fact that after having agreed with the prior turn by *just nimelt*, 'exactly,' Katrin continues her turn with *aga*, 'but,' which clearly indicates that what follows will be a contrast to the prior talk.

After having completed the overlapped clause, Katrin begins an utterance that appears to be an alternative to her prior utterance (line 9). At this point, Margit returns to her version of the consequences (lines 10–11) and Katrin drops out. The speakers, regardless of their relatively congruent viewpoints and stances, compete for who gets to produce the latter part of the bipartite structure. In this way, they may also compete for whose version is either right or the better version; they do not acquiesce to each other's versions. As in the examples in the prior sections in this chapter, likewise in this example, the overlapping incoming is a demonstration of understanding and its onset is at a non-TRP (yet at a clausal boundary) in the prior turn.

In an overlapping incoming, not only the latter parts of bipartite constructions, but also the latter parts of list-like constructions (or any subsequent parts of a clear line of argumentation) can be provided. The list-like, progressive nature of the line/course of talk thus makes the latter elements projectable, together with the speakers' possible shared knowledge or understanding of the matter. The following example illustrates this point.

The topic of talk in this example is the participants' mutual acquaintance – apparently, Margit's possible partner-to-be – and her problem of being too kind in her relationships at her own expense. The two participants are jointly describing the situation of that person, imagining some supposedly hypothetical thoughts of hers within that situation:

(6.10) Liiga hea / Too good (Estonian)

AN3, 07:45

- 01 M: ta=i- ta=i: `suuda nendest vanadest
she('s) not- she's not able to break (out from)
- 02 mustritest `välja murda lihsalt et ta=e-i `suuda,
the old molds simply, she's not able,
- 03 ta=on liiga `hea selleks. (et) [t:a=i-]
she's too good for that. [she (does) not-]
[]
- 04 K: [mhmh,]
- > 05 M: .h ta `mõ[tleb kogu=aeg=et,] .HHH siis see
3SG think:3SG all time COMP then DEM1
.h she thi[nks all the time that,] .HHH then the
[]
- 06 K: [ta=e-i `taha nagu,]
[she doesn't want like]
- > 07 M: `kaaslane mis mõtleb, ja siis .hh
partner what think:3SG and then
partner what (will/does) s/he think, and then .hh
- 08 [`laps=kellega sa juba `arjunud ja siis see]
child who:COM 2SG already get.used.to:PPC and then DEM1
[the child with whom you (are) already used to (be) and then]
[]
- => 09 K: [mis ma sellega `sellele teen ja,
what 1SG DEM1:COM DEM1:ALL do:1SG and
[by (doing) this what (shall) I do to this (person/thing) and]
- 10 M: et, [mis ma `tollele] teen, ja `tollele, ja
COMP what 1SG DEM2:ALL do:1SG and DEM2:ALL and
[what shall I do to] that (person), and that (person), and
[]
- 11 K: [mhmh,]
- 12 M: ta=i `suuda noh, ta=e- ta- nagu
she is not able to uhm, she (not-) she- like
- 13 otsustab `ikkagi - -
makes up her mind anyway - -

In line 5, Margit begins to describe what she assumes are the thoughts of the person they are discussing: *ta mõtleb kogu aeg et - -, 'she thinks all the time that - -.'* After she has produced a first item, an indirect question (see *kaaslane mis mõtleb*, 'the partner what (will/does) s/he think') and is on her way to the next item with *ja siis*, 'and then,' Katrin comes in with her idea of a possible item to fit here (line 9). Katrin's utterance builds on Margit's clausal frame of *ta mõtleb kogu aeg et*, 'she thinks all the time that,' and like Margit's first item, it is an indirect question, a complement clause, and hence it is syntactically tied and fitted to Margit's prior talk. Regardless of Katrin's overlapping contribution, Margit continues producing her own version, and after completing it, she acknowledges Katrin's incoming by repeating it with some modifications (line 10). This is how she appears to insist on her authority on the issue, indicating that she is the one to confirm the presented ideas. This appears to be related to her being more close to the person in question, who is even a possible partner-to-be of hers. In addition, however, Katrin acknowledges Margit's contribution she herself overlapped by using the particle *mhmmh* (line 11). But this is a weaker action than Margit's confirming repetition and using that particle does not indicate epistemic primacy. Moreover, in this extract, Katrin's overlapping incoming offers a demonstration of her understanding of Margit's prior talk, and by providing it, she joins Margit in constructing the opinion or argument together. By introducing new material, Katrin demonstrates that she has an independent access to (the knowledge about) the matter. However, since both speakers continue their talk regardless of the overlap, maintaining relatively equal loudness in their talk as well, there is some competition for the floor here (cf. Lerner 2002: 239–241).

The form of the incoming in the prior example, even though fitted to the prior turn's syntax, was not the only alternative for the grammatical slot that opened in the prior turn (cf. Margit's own continuation of the turn in line 8, which assumes another form). The contribution offered in the following example, while being a subordinate clause as well, again illustrates one step towards the next contributions to be discussed, which fit increasingly better in the slot that is projected in the prior turn – both grammatically and semantic-pragmatically. In addition, the utterance completion offered here begins with the conjunction *et* and thus starts up a clause type that was projected in the prior turn. Compared to the prior fragment, in this example there is less or maybe even no competition for the floor, but the overlapping incoming is again acknowledged by the prior speaker. One more difference that emerges concerning the prior example is that there were no signs of word search in it, whereas in the following example, some sound prolonging and a laughter particle occur, which might indicate an invitation to come in. In this extract, Mari is reporting what a teacher at a course she attends has advised about an assignment (Eve, her fellow student, does not take the same course):

(6.11) Õigeks tähtajaks / Right deadline (Estonian)

TÄ1, 02:50

- 01 Mari: ee siis ta ütles okei onje; (.) ja=siisä
uhm then he said okay you see. (.) and then
- 02 nüüd ee (0.4) täna saatis sellise kirja=et,
now uhm, (0.4) today (he) sent a mail saying that
- > 03 (.) kuna:: fmitmed on kirjut(h)anud et
since many:PL be.3SG write:PFC COMP
(.) as many have written that
- > 04 [et on prob]leeme=
COMP be.3SG problem:PL.PAR
[that (there/they) are/have prob]lems
[]
- => 05 Eve: [et nad ei jõua;]
COMP 3PL NEG manage
[that they can't make it]
- 06 Mari: =jah? ee=nohf õigeks tähtajaks `kirjutamisega;
PRT PRT right:TRA deadline:TRA writing:COM
yeah uhm well in writing before the right deadline
- 07 .h siis=ee (0.4) sis ülttä:: .hh ää na- lükkas
.h so uhm, (0.4) then generally .hh uhm (he) postponed
- 08 nädal=aega selle tähtaja edasi;
the deadline one week further

Mari's turn features a clause boundary at the end of line 3, *kuna mitmed on kirjutatud et*, 'as many have written that,' when Eve initiates her overlapping incoming (line 5) and provides a syntactically fit and bound completion to Mari's utterance, a complement clause *et nad ei jõua*, 'that they can't make it.' Eve's utterance is formatted so as to meet the projection in the prior turn. In addition, Eve repeats the complementizer *et* from before. As in the previous examples, simultaneously with the incoming, the first speaker Mari continues her turn herself, here with a different wording, but a similar content: *et on probleeme* - -, 'that (there) are / (they) have problems.' The data do not provide us with any evidence of Eve having independent epistemic access to this specific event; rather, it seems to be based on her general knowledge that she can at least imagine the situation Mari is describing and therefore add an appropriate completion to Mari's turn. The unfolding of the sequence also hinted at this direction (Mari began by describing the lecturer's mail as delightful and mentioning that the lecturer had already agreed to extend the deadline once as she had requested), and so the possible completion of the turn was inferable. The content of Eve's contribution is thus less independent from Mari's prior talk, and the material it offers is not actually new. However, with her turn Eve still demonstrates

her specific, detailed understanding of the prior talk (cf. Szczepek Reed 2006) and her ability to anticipate its course, while aligning with it.

After completing her own version of the *et*-clause, Mari seamlessly acknowledges Eve's incoming by using the particle *jah*. Nevertheless, Mari continues with her own prior syntactic structure; her continuation does not fit Eve's talk grammatically.⁶⁹ The floor thus remains with the prior speaker, Mari, and there is no competition for it. Like many other examples in this section, this example also resembles helping in a word search, which makes the overlapping contribution less resemble a full responding turn. However, the signs of searching in the prior speaker's talk were in this instance rather minimal – only a sound prolongation in the word *kuna* and one laugh token in the word *kirjutanud*. Lerner (1996: 258) analyzes laugh tokens as possible invitations for the recipient to come in, and here the occurrence of both the laugh token and the sound prolongation appear to be sufficient to invite the recipient to actually come in with her contribution.

However, the elements that signal word search are not absolutely necessary for a recipient to offer a possible completion to a prior speaker's turn-at-talk. This will be illustrated with the next two examples. At the same time we will move on to incoming contributions that are even more dependent on the prior talk, contributions in which the grammatical form exploits even more the projection of form in the prior talk. The overlapping contribution in the first example here is an incomplete clause, and the last two examples include contributions that are phrasal. The degree of competitiveness in the examples varies.

The first of the two fragments illustrates a case that involves some competition for the epistemic authority between the speakers. The topic here is the financial cost of the different disciplines at the university. All the participants are university students in the faculty of arts. Kadi is a first-year student, Mari and Eve have studied longer. Eve has also worked for her department as a project member, and Mari will soon teach a course to first-year students (but not to Kadi). Based on their roles outside this current interaction, neither of them can be expected to be a real epistemic authority on this matter; instead, they construct their relative epistemic positions online during the course of their interaction. Immediately prior to this fragment, Kadi has compared the greater financial costs of the institutions that teach physics and chemistry to the faculty of arts. She claims that the faculty of arts does not require the use of special equipment. Eve and Mari have agreed on this. Now Mari continues with what appears to be a slightly dissenting viewpoint:

⁶⁹ One example of a grammatically fitted continuation to Eve's turn *et nad ei jõua* would be *kirjutada õigeks tähtajaks* where the content of the utterance is the same as in Mari's actual continuation, but the grammatical forms of the words are different. However, it is also true that speakers do not always produce "grammatically correct" sentences when creating their talk online (for example, see Laury & Ono 2014).

(6.12) Õppejõu palk / Lecturer's salary (Estonian)

TÄ2, 03:25

- 01 Mari: et ma mõtlen just `õppetö- noh
I'm just thinking (school) teachin- uhm for
- 02 `teadustööks või[bola: noh on: ikagi
scientific work ma[ybe uhm there is still
[
- 03 Kadi: [(-)
- 04 Mari: nagu: vaja:; aga just `õppetöö o[sas ju
like a need, but specifically concerning the tea[ching as you know
[
- 05 Kadi: [mm;
- > 06 Mari: et tegelt no mis meil on: koguaeg on
actually um what do we have all the time (there) are
- > 07 mingid õpikud on need peame ka `ise
some textbook:PL be.3SG DEM1.PL must:1PL also self
some textbooks are those we have to buy ourselves
- > 08 ostma niiet[: ää:: [aint] õppejõu
buy:INF PRT only lecturer:GEN
as well so[: uhm:: [only] the lecturer's
[[]
- => 09 Kadi: [↑õppejõu ↑pa[lk on.]
lecturer:GEN salary be.3SG
[the lecturer's sal[ary is]
- 10 Mari: palk ↑ongi tegelt see;
salary be.3SG:CLI actually DEM1
salary indeed is actually the/that
- 11 (1.4)
- 12 Eve: .mts jah?
.mts yeah
- 13 (0.9)
- 14 Mari: see: kulutus.
the: cost.

From line 6 on, Mari presents an assertion regarding the possible financial costs for teaching at the faculty of arts: *mingid õpikud on need peame ka ise ostma niiet* - -, 'some textbooks are those we have to buy ourselves as well so - -.' The first-person plural forms (in *meil* and *peame*) refer here to the students of the faculty of arts, to which all the three participants belong. Having claimed that they even have to purchase the books themselves and now using the summarizing/concluding particle *nii et*, 'so' (Keevallik 2000), Mari makes a projection of some conclusion concerning the financial costs as the item due next. At this point in her turn, overlapping slightly with Mari's *nii et*, Kadi comes in with her contribution *õppejõu palk on*, 'the lecturer's

salary is.’ By doing this, Kadi joins in constructing Mari’s assertion and adds another element to it that would also syntactically fit into the place where it is produced, yet Kadi leaves the utterance incomplete. During the overlap, Mari hesitates, but after Kadi’s contribution, Mari incorporates it into her own continuation of the turn: *niiet ää aint õppejõu palk ongi tegelt see kulutus*, ‘so uhm only the lecturer’s salary indeed is actually the cost.’ The result is a jointly produced assertion, and the floor remains with Mari. (See Goodwin 1979 on how even non-talking co-participants actually contribute to “constructing” the talk.)

However, Mari’s after-overlap turn conveys an orientation to some epistemic competition in the sequence. Both the fact that she repeats Kadi’s contribution and modifies it, and even more importantly, how she designs her turn-continuation, especially by using the clitic *-gi* on the finite verb *ongi*, all indicate that she insists on being an authority in this domain (Keevallik 2011a). (See Lerner 2002: 239–241 for more examples of choral co-production used in turn competition.) One factor contributing to the impression of competition may be that Kadi’s overlapping incoming is produced with a relatively high pitch. This may indicate some type of insistence in her claim to the turn space. The high-onset prosody might also indicate a realization that this point has occurred to Kadi precisely at that moment. Kadi’s contribution actually provides rather essential and new information on the issue in question and thus conveys her independent epistemic access to the matter. After Mari has completed her turn, Kadi no longer pursues the competition, but lets Mari have the latest claim of authority.

In the following fragment, on the other hand, even though their versions are dissimilar, both participants acknowledge the element that is produced by the other. Like in the previous instance, in this case there are also no signs of a word search prior to the overlap onset and hence, no explicit vocal signals indicate that the speaker is hesitating or inviting help. Nevertheless, the recipient comes in and offers an utterance completion. The element that is offered is a phrase that fits a syntactic slot in the prior turn and completes it grammatically. Here, Margit and Katrin are being ironic in their discussing of how one’s expectations could be expressed to a potential partner. Margit is the main speaker at this moment, and Katrin joins in her hypothetical “telling” in line 8:

(6.13) Loodussõbralik / Nature friendly (Estonian)

AN2, 07:45

01 M: ütled `kutile et kule=et=ee- või sellele
you say to the guy that listen that uhm, or to the

02 `mehele kellega sa tutvud et, .h @tähendab m-
man with whom you are becoming acquainted that, .h I mean I-

03 mulle ei `meeldi absoluutselt ei-@ ee nagu
I absolutely don't like not- uhm

04 `mehed kes `autoga sõidavad.=
men who drive a car.

05 K: =hehe jus:t,
hehe indeed

M GAZE: -----...X

-> 06 M: mulle ↑`meeldib ee t `loodus`sõbralik on
1SG:ALL appeal:3SG (COMP) nature.friendly be.3SG
I like uhm, what's nature friendly is

K GAZE: _____ X

M GAZE: _____, '-----

-> 07 üh[istransport?]
public.transport
pu[blic transport]
[]

K GAZE: _____

=> 08 K: [`jal::g `r]atas?
bicycle
[bicy]cle

09 M: jah,=
Yeah

10 K: =või ühistansport.
or public transport.

11 M: ja- ? ja selline @loodus`saastamine,@ (0.2)
and and such nature pollution (0.2)

12 K: a [see on `täpselt seesama.]
but [it is exactly the same.]
[]

13 M: [@`mulle ? `ei `istu.@]
[does not fit me.]

14 M: a ja siis mee:s m:üügu oma `porshe maha vä.
and then the man should go and sell his Porsche, right.

In lines 3–4 and 6–7, Margit is ironically inventing words that someone could say to her potential future partner: *mulle ei meeldi absoluutselt ei- ee nagu mehed kes autoga sõidavad. mulle meeldib ee t loodussõbralik on üh[istransport*, ‘I absolutely don’t like not- uhm men who drive a car, I like uhm, what’s nature friendly is pu[blic transport.’ Just as she is just about to produce the subject of her final copular clause (*loodussõbralik on - -*, ‘nature friendly is - -’), Katrin joins in and offers an item that fits both grammatically and semantically: *jalgratas*, ‘bicycle’ (compare the co-optations and co-completions discussed by Lerner 1996 and 2002, and the collaborative

productions discussed by Szczepiek Reed 2006).⁷⁰ In this fragment, even though Margit is the person who has initiated the activity of providing a potential quote by someone, Katrin demonstrates that she likewise has epistemic access to this domain, at least based on her world knowledge and perhaps also on her experience of this type of situation.

Simultaneously with Katrin's incoming, however, Margit produces her own version of the item due next: *ühistransport*, 'public transport.' Their versions of the target element are therefore dissimilar, even though both fit into the utterance semantically and pragmatically. After they have completed their own versions, the participants both orient to the other's version: first Margit uses an acknowledgement token *jah*, 'yeah' (line 9) and subsequently, Katrin repeats Margit's version and incorporates it as a continuation of her own clause, as an alternative to her own version: *või ühistransport*, 'or public transport' (line 10). Katrin's turn is more explicit in orienting to the other's version, which may reflect an orientation to her subordinate position with respect to the "ownership" of this story. By repeating Margit's version, Katrin explicitly acknowledges its validity.

The participants' gaze behavior in this fragment may also affect the turn taking. A few syllables prior to the overlap onset, the participants' eyes meet as Margit shifts her gaze to Katrin (see the "X" in the transcript in line 6). This gaze movement seems to mobilize Katrin's contribution (Stivers and Rossano 2010) and to function as an invitation to come in. However, as we have observed from most of the examples in this chapter, this type of gaze behavior is not necessarily a prerequisite for the recipient to enter in overlap. But it does occur in some cases as it does in this example.

In the final example in this section, the participant's eyes meet precisely at (or a fleeting moment after) the point of overlap onset. Some word search signals also occur here prior to the recipient's incoming. This example illustrates the end of the continuum of grammatical projection and responsiveness where the element offered exploits maximally the projection that is provided in the prior turn. This is also a case that least resembles a full responding turn. It is evident that the recipient's contribution was exactly what the first speaker was looking for, as the first speaker produces an identical lexeme only slightly after the other's contribution. The floor therefore remains with the first speaker, and the participants show no signs of epistemic competition. The main speaker, Mari, who is recounting to the others about a course that she is to teach at the university, is unchallengeably the authority in this situation.

⁷⁰ Katrin produces the item with a rising intonation, which nonetheless does not necessarily mean "try-marking" in Estonian (Keevallik, p.c.); in addition, Margit's own utterance is produced with a rising final intonation (line 7).

(6.14) Suuline ettekanne / Oral presentation (Estonian)

TÄ2, 11:58

- 01 Mari: sest ma tahaks ikkagi teha#:::# selle no
because I'd anyway like to do:::, the uhm
- 02 vaata rehveraat on neil, (1.2) vaja teha;;
y'see a summary they (1.2) need to do
- M GAZE: -----
-> 03 et nad teeks ka: suulise: (.)
COMP 3PL do:COND also oral:GEN
so that they would do also an oral (.)
- E GAZE: _____
- M GAZE: -...X
-> 04 ee[e ettekande.]
presentation:GEN
uh[m presentation.]
[]
- E GAZE: X
=> 05 Eve: [ettekande.]
presentation:GEN
[presentation.]
- 06 Mari: kuigi kolgend viis inimest on päris palju.
although thirty-five people is quite a lot.
- 07 .hh see tähendab et noh peaks nagu suht
.hh it means that uhm (one) should like relatively
- 08 kōhe alustama v[aaata nende ettekan[netega.
immediately start s[ee with the presentati[ons.
- 09 Eve: [jaa. [jaa.
[yeah. [yeah.

This is an example of both the grammatical form (the genitive) and apparently likewise the exact content of the recipient's overlapping contribution fitting the current slot in the ongoing turn. This element and its form, *ettekande*, 'presentation:GEN,' has been projected in Mari's talk via the semantic content and the case of *suulise*, 'oral:GEN'⁷¹, and it is Eve who first begins producing it. It may be that upon hearing the first sound of Eve's contribution Mari realizes what element she wanted to produce next (see the sound prolongation, micro pause and the hesitation *eee* in lines 3–4; it is interesting that the hesitation marker *ee* has the same vowel quality as the beginning of the subsequent, searched-for element), and so she produces that item herself. After this, the main speaker, Mari, continues her talk without acknowledging or confirming Eve's contribution in any other way;

⁷¹ In Estonian noun phrases, the modifier precedes the head and they take the same case.

Mari also continues to hold the floor. This example is rather similar to the action of choral co-production (Lerner 2002), where speakers specifically aim to produce some elements of talk simultaneously, in chorus. In other words, this particular example and, in general, the latter examples in this section, while being demonstrations of understanding, in all other respects are rather far from the core focus of this chapter and of the whole study. In short, they are not full responding turns. However, these examples have been included here in order to examine the boundaries of the phenomenon.

This section has examined a continuum of responsiveness in non-transitional overlap, and the discussion has been related to both grammar and action. Some steps in that continuum have been presented and illustrated in the data (see Table 5 on page 152 above). The investigation ended at one extreme of the continuum, where the form of the recipient's contribution strongly exploits the grammatical – as well as the semantic and pragmatic – projection that was offered in the prior turn. All contributions examined in this section are grammatically attached to the place they appear in, unlike the cases found in the previous sections of this chapter.⁷²

A move to contributions that maximally exploit a grammatical projection in the prior turn at the same time reflects approximately a move to the contributions in which the “content” is also less new in comparison to the prior turn (less “independent” from it). The distribution of the epistemic authority between the participants is more or less in line with the (grammatical and other) nature of the incoming contribution, with the sequential development, and with the floor allocation in the extracts. As we have seen, in the contributions that maximally exploit the projection provided in the prior turn, the prior speaker typically keeps the floor as s/he is the one who continues talking after the overlapping incoming by the other (on a similar point, see Szczepiek Reed 2006 on collaborative productions). Thus, for the most part, the grammatical integration of the contribution and floor management in the data converge. In addition, how the participants orient to the overlapping incoming afterwards (whether they acknowledge it and how, etc.) is a sign of how they consider the floor to be distributed in the sequence. A floor switch, on the other hand, may itself imply that the first speaker views the overlapping speaker's joining-in as legitimate.

Regarding the cases examined here, especially the ones that occur towards the end of the section, any negotiation over the distribution of epistemic access is visible primarily by the overlapping speaker demonstrating his/her knowledge or appreciation of the domain simply by providing the contribution. This stands in contrast to the cases examined in sections 6.1.1 and 6.1.2, where independent epistemic access to the domain is demonstrably visible in the “content” of the overlapping response.

⁷² Applying Couper-Kuhlén & Ono's (2007) increment categorization, the cases examined in this section would be categorized as the “glue-on” type.

A comparison of the cases in this section to the literature on increments and other turn continuations reveals interesting perspectives. For instance, in all these phenomena, something is being added to the prior utterance. Most of the increment literature deals exclusively with same-speaker increments (for example, Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007, Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002, Schegloff 2001 and most articles in the volume edited by Luke et al. 2012), but some scholars have studied other-speaker increments as well (Sidnell 2012, see also Lerner 2004b). The examples in this chapter more closely approximate other-speaker increments, because they involve the recipient of the initial turn adding something to the prior turn(-unit). Sidnell (2012) mentions one especially complicating feature of other-speaker increment that is relevant to the present analysis, namely that the next speaker can address the increment to the initial speaker while simultaneously continuing the prior action. The cases examined in the present study belong to this group. Sidnell (*ibid.*) characterizes the members in the following way: they reverse the directionality of address but maintain the directionality of action.

In the literature on other-speaker increments, both Lerner (2004b) and Sidnell (2012) discuss only those continuations that occur after the prior turn's possible (or mostly even actual) completion; this is how increments have been traditionally conceptualized. My examples, in contrast, occur at a point where the prior/current turn is not yet complete(d), and they are nonetheless to some extent similar to increments. Thus, my cases contribute an important addition and a new angle to the literature on increments as well.

In their analysis of same-speaker increments, Ford et al. (2002) divide their cases into those that are grammatically integrated, which continue the action in the prior/host turn, and those that are grammatically non-integrated, which accomplish actions that are different from the ones that occur in the host turn. This distinction is similar to how the examples in this chapter are divided into sections and is useful in classifying the typical actions in the next contributions. Hence, grammatically non-integrated next turns (sections 6.1.1 and 6.1.2) accomplish actions such as presenting a condition or a generalization to the prior turn and these are separate actions from the prior turns, whereas the grammatically integrated next turns (section 6.1.3) more or less continue the action of the prior turn by adding something to it. In this sense, Ford et al.'s (*ibid.*) distinction concerning same-speaker increments works as well for the cases analyzed here, even though the contributions in the current collection are produced by another speaker.

Now let us proceed to discuss the linguistic resources that are used in the overlapping turns in this chapter. The main focus will be on the cases examined in sections 6.1.1 and 6.1.2, that is, on the "more independent" turns, which resemble more full responses to the prior turn.

6.2 The linguistic resources used in Finnish and Estonian

This section will present an analysis of the linguistic resources used in the collection of turns examined in this chapter. The analyses in this section are solely based on the current collection, and due to the relatively limited amount of data, the current section will offer several preliminary findings, suggesting ideas for further research. I will briefly discuss the linguistic characteristics of the overlapped turns, but will focus primarily on the overlapping demonstrations of understanding. I will present the resources that are used both in Estonian and Finnish and compare them.

The overlapped turns in both languages are declarative statements concerning issues possibly known by all the participants. These turns are typically designed to not specifically refer to the joint knowledge between the speakers. For example, there are no instances of the Finnish clitic particle *-han/hän*, and only few instances occur of the Estonian particle *ju*, which are used to refer to shared knowledge (Grünthal-Robert 2000, Hakulinen 2001a, Keevallik 2003a: 109). Even so, the overlapped turns appear to concern mutually known issues; the topics are either commonplace in nature, or alternatively, it has become clear in the course of the conversation that both participants share some knowledge of the domain in question. Claims concerning personal issues appear in these contexts as well (cf. Sorjonen 2001a, chapter 6), and they can also receive a demonstration-of-understanding response. In this context, the recipient may recognize the type of situation talked about. In the overlapped assertions, speakers express their stance (cf. Du Bois 2007) towards the issue in question. Sorjonen (2001a) has described this type of turn as being affiliation-relevant as the recipient is invited to affiliate with the prior speaker in his or her next turn. For Sorjonen, affiliation refers to the sense of “I know what you are talking about; I see your point” (ibid. p. 132). In a general sense, the subsequent overlapping response meets these expectations and the responding speaker typically agrees and aligns with the prior assertion (cf. section 1.3). These responses contain certain linguistic elements by which the speaker responds to the affiliation-relevance in the prior turn.

In the Finnish collection, there is a particle that the speakers recurrently exploit in this affiliation-relevant context, the particle *nii* (14 cases out of 35). Sorjonen (2001a: 131ff.) shows that in these contexts, this particle is the one that the responding speakers use to affiliate with the prior speaker (another Finnish responsive particle, *joo*, which can be used in these environments as well, does not function similarly, but merely registers the prior utterance). In contrast, the array of response particles in Estonian does not seem to make similar distinctions or divisions of labor as the Finnish particles *nii* and *joo* do. In Estonian, the positive response particles are *jah*, *jaa* and *jaajaa*.⁷³

⁷³ Estonian also has a particle *nii*, but in comparison to the Finnish *nii*, which is predominantly responsive, the Estonian *nii* is used for very different purposes in interaction (Keevallik 2010b).

Kasterpalu (2005) observes in her institutional telephone data that when used after assertions, the Estonian particles *jah* and *jaa* display (clear) agreement with the prior, whereas *jaajaa* is ambiguous (ibid. pp. 882–884). In the Estonian examples in this chapter, none of these particles is used extensively: there are only four instances of *jah* and one instance of *jaa* in the total collection of 33 cases.

It is worth noting that Kasterpalu (2005) describes the function of these Estonian particles as agreeing, not affiliating. However, these two actions are not the same. In contrast to the more stance-neutral *agreement*, *affiliation* has been conceptualized as presupposing some form of affective or stance-related congruence between the speakers (on these concepts, see for example Heritage & Raymond 2005, Lindström & Sorjonen 2013, Stivers 2008). Furthermore, Kasterpalu (forthcoming) demonstrates that *jah* and *jaa* are primarily confirming, and Keevallik (p.c.) notes that the Estonian *jah* is also used to answer polar questions (as a counterpart to *ei*, ‘no’). The differences in the particle use in the Finnish and Estonian responsive turns in the current collection, together with the findings reported in the earlier (non-comparative) literature, suggest that the typical contexts and conditions of use for the Estonian particles *jah* and *jaa* and the Finnish *nii* may not be exactly the same. For example, in the affiliation-relevant contexts, Finnish *nii* is frequently used to display affiliation, whereas the Estonian *jah* and *jaa* are typically not used. Instead, they – at least *jah* – are more frequently exploited for other purposes, ones where the Finnish particle *joo* would be more usual (cf. Sorjonen 2001a).

Response particles, as the term suggests, are reactive and tie back, reflecting how what their speaker says relates to the prior turn. Yet another, in a certain sense similar linguistic element is the additive conjunction *ja*, ‘and,’ which is identical in both languages studied here. This additive conjunction is a turn-beginning feature that is common to both languages in my collection (six cases in the Finnish collection and two cases in the Estonian collection). When a speaker begins a responsive turn with *ja*, s/he offers an independent contribution to the ongoing issue/topic. Kalliokoski (1989) argues that the (Finnish) conjunction *ja* is used to imply that the elements it links are symmetrical and equal, yet distinctive. When *ja* occurs in turn beginnings, it may also signal that the turn that is currently being initiated is intended as a supplement to the prior (ibid.). All of this could be interpreted as suggesting that the overlapping speaker, using *ja* in her turn, alludes to her contribution as being equally relevant to the prior turn and yet distinctive (perhaps even independent) from it. However, Koivisto (2011: 86ff.) reports that in story-telling contexts, (Finnish) *ja* does not indicate symmetry or the parallelism between the elements, but rather that the elements are organized temporally. In my data, both of these alternatives

appear – the symmetrical, list-like elements and the non-symmetrical, temporally organized elements.⁷⁴

However, the majority of the demonstrations of understanding in my data are not prefaced with *ja*. Some of them are prefaced with other conjunctions, whereas others contain no conjunctions at all. For instance, some responses begin with the Finnish *jos*, ‘if,’ presenting a condition; one demonstration of understanding begins with the Finnish *ku*, ‘because,’ and several with the Estonian *sellepärast et*, ‘because,’ or its variants, presenting an explanation or an account; and some begin with the Finnish *mut* or the Estonian *aga*, ‘but,’ providing a contrast. The conjunction at the beginning plays an important role in signaling the interactional function of that turn. However, many turns do not have conjunctions in their beginning. The speakers of these turns may exploit other linguistic means to achieve the linkage between the turns. Moreover, the mere adjacent positioning of the turns can be crucial for the participants in understanding their meaning in interaction.

On a similar note, Couper-Kuhlen (2012a) suggests that when speakers continue their turn with a causal clause (in English), the function of the continuation is not dependent on whether or not the causal conjunction *because* is overtly expressed. Likewise, the examples investigated here indicate that similar functions can be achieved and actions can be accomplished regardless of whether or not the responding turn includes a conjunction (see above). It is interesting that both same-speaker turn continuations, which are investigated by Couper-Kuhlen (*ibid.*), as well as the response turns that are examined here seem to behave in the same way.

Even though most of the responses that are discussed in this analysis are not prefaced with an agreeing response particle such as *nii*, they can still usually be interpreted as being in agreement with the prior turn, at least formally. This means that the second speaker does not change anything in the prior turn, but instead adds something congruent to it. This continuation may, however, lead in a slightly different direction from the prior turn. This is the essence of the phenomenon under discussion: there is basic agreement between the speakers while the second speaker does not merely acquiesce with the prior speaker. Instead, s/he introduces something independent in her/his contribution as well.

Table 6 below presents some typical examples of overlapping demonstration-of-understanding turns (partly reproduced from the extracts shown in this chapter).

⁷⁴ It seems that the Estonian *ja* in my data behaves similarly to the Finnish *ja*. On the Estonian *ja*, see EKG § 567, 649–650, 695–697.

Table 6. *Overlapping demonstrations of understanding.*

Language (ex. no)	Response particle	Conjunctions	Rest of the turn
Finnish	<i>nii</i> 'yeah'	<i>ja</i> 'and'	<i>syö karkkia jota ne hakee välitunneilla</i> '(they) eat candies that they go get during the breaks'
Finnish		<i>ja</i> 'and'	<i>Helsingin Sanomat</i> 'Helsinki Gazette'
Finnish		<i>ja jos</i> 'and if'	<i>tuntee Jaskan ni se on aika semmonen - -</i> 'if you know Jaska, he can be really such a - -'
Finnish (6.2)		<i>ja sitku</i> 'and also because'	<i>se on niinku niin epäterveellistä ku vaa voi olla joku ihonpoltto</i> 'it is as unhealthy as possible to burn your skin'
Finnish (6.5)			<i>kyl välillä on vähän silleen niinku et näyttää siltä et - -</i> 'Indeed, at times it's a little like it seems like that as if - -'
Estonian		<i>ja sellepärast</i> 'and that's why'	<i>minu meelest on see väga raske roll</i> 'it is a very difficult role in my opinion'
Estonian	<i>jah</i> 'yeah'	<i>sis</i> 'then'	<i>ma ütlen et - -</i> 'I'll say that - -'
Estonian			<i>seal on vähe vett ja see ei ole ültse - -</i> 'there is a little water and it is not at all - -'
Estonian (6.7)		<i>siis</i> 'then'	<i>ju saad ikka tunde järgi mitte see et on kokku lepitud - -</i> 'you can (act) following the feeling not that it's been agreed on - -'
Estonian (6.6)	<i>ei</i> 'indeed'		<i>liigutama peab võimlema peab</i> '(one) has to exercise (one) has to work out'

This table above shows that the overlapping turns examined in this chapter may contain a response particle at the beginning, but this is optional. Other optional elements are various conjunctions that link the overlapping turn to one that is overlapped. The rest of the turn is the core, in which the speaker demonstrably shows that s/he understands the point in the previous turn and the stance taken on the issue. This is undertaken by bringing in previously unmentioned materials that are aligning and stance-congruent with the overlapped assertion. Through the content of the turn, the overlapping speaker demonstrates his/her independent epistemic access to the matter. There are also certain linguistic elements that can be used to accomplish this.

One linguistic element that is used for managing epistemic assumptions is the negative polar particle *ei* (see example 6.6). For this function, this particle is attested only in Estonian. In Finnish, the identical element *ei* has retained its character and its usage as a verb (it is conjugated for person and number), whereas in Estonian, the element is fossilized and particle-like. The use of *ei* in spoken Estonian seems to be far more diverse in comparison to

the uses of *ei* in Finnish.⁷⁵ For example, the Estonian *ei* can have many functions, and one is to indicate ‘corrections’ concerning epistemic primacy (Keevallik 2012), as in our example 6.6. By prefacing her turn with *ei*, the responding speaker indicates that she is at least as knowledgeable over the matter at hand as the prior speaker, or even more. Only one Finnish example occurs in the collection (although not shown here) that contains an independently agreeing turn that is prefaced with *ei*. In this instance, the use of *ei* seems to be similar to that found in Estonian. However, to corroborate this, a larger comparative and empirical study would be required.

In summary, demonstration-of-understanding turns are formed as declarative clauses, and they can be prefaced with an agreeing/affiliating particle and/or a conjunction that ties the turn to the overlapped turn. Some of the linguistic elements are specific to Finnish or Estonian only, but generally speaking, the turns are similar in the two languages.

6.3 Summary

This chapter has examined one of the three response types that occur in the non-transitional overlap positions in my data: the demonstrations of understanding. In these turns, the responding speaker demonstrates that s/he understands the phenomenon or the point in the overlapped turn and the stance its speaker has. These turns are congruent in their evaluative stance with each other. The speakers who demonstrate their understanding agree strongly with the overlapped speaker and at the same time display an independent stance towards the issue at hand. On these occasions, the participants typically not only share their knowledge, but also their experiences and perspectives. These turns are typically used to affiliate with the prior speaker (cf. section 1.3), but they can also be used for a less affiliative purpose – in this respect they are similar to the use of English second assessments that are prefaced by *oh* (see Heritage 2002). In nearly all these situations, the floor changes to the overlapping speaker.

Demonstrations of understanding embody a means for displaying support for the prior assertion turn while at the same time challenging certain epistemic implications in the overlapped turn. Similar to the other overlapping responses discussed in chapters 4 and 5, the demonstration-of-understanding turns respond to assertions that are typically designed from a more knowing position (“K+”; see Heritage 2012a), implying that the overlapped speaker is an/the epistemic authority, having more access and/or rights to the knowledge. Moreover, demonstration-of-understanding turns convey agreement with the overlapped assertion while the speakers demonstrate that they have an independent access to the matter at hand. In

⁷⁵ We lack comparative empirical research on the matter, so at this point, this is only an intuitive understanding.

other words, they are not merely going along with the overlapped speaker. Speakers use these turns to engage in negotiation over the epistemic relationship between them. This concerns who has access to the matter at hand and what this access is like, who has rights to claim, and who is the epistemic authority in the current situation. By offering new information in their responses, overlapping speakers adopt an epistemically stronger stance than was attributed to them in the prior turn; they do not merely agree, but accomplish something more in their turn, something substantial and independent.

Demonstration-of-understanding speakers join in (in constructing) the activity of the prior turn by adding elements to it. These activities (see Ochs 1996: 410 on actions versus activities, see also Levinson 2013 on projects) include argumentation/arguing (for or against something), reasoning, opinionating, explaining, and describing. Joining in an activity suggests at least some shared knowledge between the speakers, and typically also shared experiences, understandings, and/or perspectives. The prior/first speaker can either confirm, acknowledge, ignore, or resist this joining-in in various ways. On the other hand, the demonstration-of-understanding turns respond to what was sequentially implicated and projected in the prior turn, but not entirely, as they combat some epistemic assumptions in the prior turn. More succinctly, they are epistemically incongruent responses (see Hayano 2013 and section 7.2 below).

Sacks discusses in his lectures (for example 1992b: 260) the ways in which a therapist or a psychiatrist can show that s/he understands his/her client's problems and experiences. For example, the therapist might recount a similar experience s/he has had, or use a proverbial expression or a pun. Based on the analysis of my data, I have provided evidence in this chapter that speakers use also other ways of demonstrating understanding in addition to the ones discussed by Sacks. The ways that have arisen in the current study include presenting a condition, a reason, or an explanation to the prior assertion and providing a generalization, a specification, or a further congruent point concerning it. Some other differences between my cases and the ones presented by Sacks are also evident. For instance, besides the situation in question (institutional versus everyday), the topics discussed in Sacks' examples (*ibid.*) and the ones discussed here are to some extent different. For example, the participants in Sacks' cases typically discuss personal experiences, whereas in my cases, the speakers make more general assertions concerning the world. Likewise in the latter cases, the participants typically attach a (personal) evaluation to their assertions. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the current data and the analyses presented here suggest that understanding can be demonstrated in similar ways in both types of data, both between a therapist and a client and between friends and family members in everyday situations. The practices of demonstrating

understanding are therefore not restricted to the situations Sacks examines, but can be extended to cover everyday talk as well.⁷⁶

This chapter has presented the concept of a continuum of responsiveness. This continuum incorporates the levels of grammar and action. This means that the more the next contribution exploits the (grammatical) projection provided in the prior turn (the more its form is dependent on the form of the prior), the less the contribution resembles a full responding turn-at-talk. The speakers of the less response-like contributions are also less likely to get the floor, as the overlapped speaker usually continues to hold the floor in these cases. The aim of section 6.1.3 was not to draw a clear boundary line between “responses” and “other contributions” (for instance, co-completions), but instead, to highlight the continuum-like nature of an array of cases: at one end of the continuum, next contributions are more typically full responses, and at the other, they are less like that. Important dimensions along this continuum are the grammatical integration of the overlapped and the overlapping turn and the question of how well the contribution fits the place where it is produced. This discussion and the concomitant analyses thus confirm that there are social consequences to how grammar is used in interaction.

Linguistically, demonstrations of understanding are variable. A common feature is that they are declarative clauses (at least the typical cases are). For instance, in the Finnish examples, the affiliating response particle *nii* is recurrently used, whereas Estonian does not seem to offer a special particle for the same purpose. Several examples are prefaced by the additive conjunction *ja*, ‘and’ (both in Finnish and Estonian), which indicates that the element following it is linked/tied to the prior both in the sense of grammar and in the sense of action. Other conjunctions include the Finnish conditional conjunction *jos*, ‘if,’ and the Estonian causal conjunction *sellepärast et*, ‘because.’ There are also several examples in the collection that do not contain particles or conjunctions at the turn beginning, but where the turn simply consists of a clause that is (more or less) implicitly, mainly semantico-pragmatically, tied to the prior turn.

Practices similar to the ones examined in this chapter may also occur in multi-party interactions. For example, these could involve two participants who jointly construct a telling for a third participant. In these situations, speakers do not address their contributions (solely) to each other. The cases examined here, instead, present a practice in which the overlapping speaker joins in the “argumentation” that was initiated by a co-participant, while responding by addressing his/her turn to that co-participant. The

⁷⁶ It is important to note, however, that (demonstrating) understanding something does not inevitably entail that the participants are on the same side. This chapter suggests that independent information is (or has to be) brought in in order to demonstrate understanding, but in that situation, the question is whether it is possible to actually be on the same side. And *what* is it possible to really understand, after all? These interesting questions are beyond the scope of this study.

participants in my cases construct their talk and/or argumentation together, they direct it to each other, and they orient to each other's turns closely. In other words, demonstrating understanding appears as a way of "doing being close(ly) together."

7 EARLY RESPONSES VERSUS WELL-TIMED, DELAYED AND MISSING RESPONSES

What is special about the sequences that contain a response that is timed in non-transitional overlap, and which factors unite all these cases? The current chapter will provide answers to these questions by exploring some comparative examples that involve a response that is not positioned in early overlap. These fragments are compiled from the same conversations as the cases examined in the chapters above. The basis for the collection discussed here is the timing of the response. This response can be well-timed (that is, positioned neither after a gap nor in overlap), only terminally overlapping, or it occurs after a delay, or it can be missing completely. For this purpose, a subset of the data that is used for the whole study was investigated. From the Finnish corpus, I analyzed sg 377 and sg 441 in full and parts of sg 346, and from the Estonian corpus, I examined AN in full and parts of TÄ and PI (for more information on the data, see Table 1 on page 29). The criteria used to select the comparative cases are the following: The target turn is a response to its previous turn, and it is not positioned in early overlap. This investigation provided me with responses that represented several action and sequence types, both assertion sequences as well as other types, such as noticing sequences, question–answer sequences and various directive sequences. Since the main focus in this study is on assertion sequences, I decided to examine them more thoroughly and to not focus on the other action types.

As has been demonstrated, the overwhelming majority of the non-transitional overlapping responses occur in assertion sequences. Therefore, to grasp the specific nature of the assertion sequences where the response is manifested in early overlap, I focused on sequences that are in other respects similar to those that are overlapped, but where the response is positioned differently. The activities and actions in these fragments include telling, assessing and asserting, which is similar to the sequences with early overlaps. I examined these to address the question of whether they differ from the early overlap cases, and if so, how. To investigate this, I analyzed a collection of assertion sequences that was compiled according to the specific criteria to maintain the greatest similarity possible with the early overlap cases. The topic under discussion is stance- and evaluation-relevant, and the initiating speaker attaches a type of stance to his/her talk (visible in an evaluative adjective or otherwise). Hence, the speaker is also inviting the recipient to take a stance on the issue in question, offering his/her own experience as something to be shared. The aspects that were not taken into account include the sequential position of the response (early or late), the type/action (assertion, question...) and the valence (agreeing or disagreeing) of the response. In other words, I searched for situations where an early

overlapping response – such as the ones mentioned in the chapters above – could have occurred but did not, and when it did not occur, I investigated what happened instead and why. This exploration yielded a collection of approximately 50 examples, and they will be illustrated in section 7.1.

The focal points in this chapter are not the possible differences between the other types of response timing – terminally overlapping, well-timed, delayed (and missing) – but an analysis of them as a whole to understand the uniqueness of early-onset overlaps. This discussion involves some comparisons between the early overlap cases and the other onset types. Examining the counter-examples enables us to detect the crucial factors that unite the examples in the three previous analytical chapters, where the response is positioned in non-transitional overlap. After analyzing the comparative examples in section 7.1, let us proceed to a discussion of the early overlap cases again in an attempt to uncover their specifics, in the light of these comparative cases (section 7.2).

7.1 Well-timed, delayed and missing responses in assertion sequences

Assertions have been claimed to have low response relevance and to exert only weak pressure on the recipient to respond (Stivers & Rossano 2010). However, recipients frequently do produce responses to assertion turns. Chapters 4–6 presented examples of early overlapping responses to assertion turns. In the current section, we will explore other types of assertion sequences. The empirical analyses here focus on several assertion sequences that differ from the overlap cases only as far as the timing and the type of the response are concerned; in other respects, the sequences are similar. First let us analyze an example where the response overlaps the prior turn only slightly, or “terminally” (see Jefferson 1983). The four participants in this fragment (7.1) are talking about wedding gifts. Sanna has enquired of Kerttu, who has recently married, what gifts they received. Kerttu’s answer is lengthy; she mentions the dishes they were given, reporting that they did not receive many plates, if any at all. In lines 6–7, Kerttu presents an initial assertion (or an assessment) to which Eeva responds in terminal overlap in line 8. Niina, mentioned in line 2, has not been discussed before.

(7.1) Lautasia / Plates (Finnish)

Sg 346, 48:46

- 01 Kerttu: mutta, (0.5)
but (0.5)
- 02 ku [↑Niina just sa]no että, (0.5)
as [Niina just sa]id that (0.5)
[]

- 03 Sanna: [(keittiö?)]
 [(kitchen?)]
- 04 Kerttu: niil oli ihan sama juttu?
 they had exactly the same thing
- 05 (.)
- > 06 Kerttu: et l- ↑ei ↑lautasii; (.) se on niin ↑tylsää
 COMP NEG plate:PL:PAR DEM3 be.3SG so boring:PAR
 that pl- no plates, it is so boring
- > 07 os<taa [lauta[sia]>?
 buy plate:PL:PAR
 to buy [plat[es.
 [[
- => 08 Eeva: [mm; [nii on.
 PRT PRT be.3SG
 [mm, [it is.
- 09 Kerttu: [ne o nii paljo tylsem[pii.
 [they are so much more bor[ing.
 [[
- 10 Sanna: [nii; [nii;
 [yeah [yeah
- 11 Kerttu: .hhhh (.) ei kukaa; mut ni*i* et ei se mitään.
 .hhhh (.) nobody, but yeah it's okay.
- 12 me ostetaan niitä, (.) hiljakseen itellemme
 we'll buy them, (.) little by little for ourselves
- 13 eikä se on ihan kiva, (.) et on jotain mitä
 and it's quite nice, (.) to have something
- 14 voi silleen keräil[lä.
 one can colle[ct.
 [
- 15 Sanna: [mm.

After recounting the actual events, Kerttu shifts to a more general level concerning the topic in line 6. Her assessment, *se on niin tylsää ostaa lautasia*, 'it is so boring to buy plates,' receives a plain agreement from Eeva in line 8. First there is a minimal, ambiguous listener's particle, *mm*, that occurs in early overlap (for a brief mentioning of *mm* in Finnish, see Hakulinen 1989a; for *mm* in English, see Gardner 1997, 2002), and then a clausal agreeing response *nii on*, 'it is,' in terminal overlap. When compared to the other types of verb repeat responses to assessments in Finnish, *nii(n) on* has been analyzed as indicating unmodified, strong agreement (Sorjonen & Hakulinen 2009). The responding speaker does not hint at having any epistemic superiority when using this type of response; s/he simply agrees with the assessment. The *nii on* is positioned in terminal overlap in this

fragment (in my collection of early-onset responses, there are no instances of *nii on*). By contrast, in the agreeing early-overlap responses examined in the previous chapters, the responses always convey an aspect of independence (for example, see example 5.3 on page 100ff.). Eeva's response in the fragment above indicates that she shares the knowledge that is required for making the assessment herself, but she does not imply a higher degree of independence regarding the assessment, but she simply goes along with it.

The next example represents a well-timed response that, although based on common knowledge of the issue, does not completely agree with the prior speaker. In line 1, a new topic is initiated:

(7.2) Ookoon näkönen / Looking okay (Finnish)

Sg 377, 04:41

- A | POINTS TOWARDS C WHO IS OFF CAMERA
 01 A: se oli koominen se Britney (.) floppiuutinen?
 it was comic the (.) news about Britney's flop
- 02 (0.3)
 03 B: mikä Britney floppiuut(h)inehh=
 what news about Britney's flop
- 04 C: =↑mä näin siit tos telkkarissa. (.)
 I saw it on TV (.)
- 05 jonku [pätkän ja siinä<
 some [clip of it and there
 [
- 06 A: [mmm o↑liks se ny >kauheen näkönen<
 [mmm was she really so awful-looking
- A | POINTS TOWARDS C WHO IS OFF CAMERA
 -> 07 ku ↑mun mielest sil on ihan hyvännäkönen
 because to me, she has pretty a good looking
- > 08 kr_oppa tossa k_uvassa.
 body in that photo.
- => 09 C: no< (.) siis se ↑oli ihan ookoon näkönen
 well (.) I mean she was looking pretty okay
- 10 mut se esiinty silleen tosi <kankeesti>.
 but she performed in a really awkward way.
- 11 A: nii-i,
 indeed
- 12 C: siis silleen niinku et; (0.5) et ei ollu
 in a way that (0.5) (there/it) wasn't

13 ihan rutiinii.
 really a routine

14 B: ↑yhes tota - -
 in one - -

Contrary to a typical sequence involving the response in early overlap, the target turn in this fragment is relatively close to the beginning of a topic. In the first line, A initiates a new topic: *Britney floppiutinen*, ‘the news about Britney’s flop,’ pointing towards C who is off camera and apparently reading a magazine. B indicates she does not know about the issue (line 3), whereas C claims to have seen something about it on television (lines 4–5). Overlapping with C’s attempt to continue her telling (line 5), A presents her opinion on the issue. Apparently the piece of news on “Britney’s flop” has been related to her looks (*oliks se ny kauheen näkönen*, ‘was she really so terrible-looking,’ line 6), and A’s opinion contrasts with this: *ku mun mielest sil on ihan hyvännäkönen kroppa tossa kuvassa*, ‘because to me, she has a pretty good looking body in that photo’ (lines 7–8). This turn is formatted so that it would allow the recipient to be able to project its structure; it begins with an interrogative utterance first (*oliks se ny kauheen näkönen*, ‘was she really so awful-looking’) and then establishes a contrast to it (*ku mun mielest sil on ihan hyvännäkönen kroppa tossa kuvassa*, ‘because to me, she has a pretty good looking body in that photo’). Regardless of possibly recognizing what is to come at the end of A’s turn and what action A is implementing with it, C initiates her response only after A had finished hers in line 9. Immediately after A’s assertion, with no overlap and no gap, C offers a response that is based on common knowledge with the prior speaker, A. First she echoes A’s opinion, conceding the evaluation in it (*no siis se oli ihan ookoon näkönen*, ‘well I mean she was looking pretty okay’), but then she moves to a contrasting matter: *mut se esinty silleen tosi kankeesti*, ‘**but** she performed in a really awkward way.’ This well-timed response aligns with the action in the prior turn, but the remark concerning the performance is disagreeing.

A rather typical feature in assertion sequences that contain a response that is non-overlapping is the lack of joint experience or knowledge of the topic at hand. This circumstance can also be explicitly expressed, as in the following fragment. Here, the affiliation-seeking telling is followed by a gap, and the following uptake is not a response to the previous assertion, but a question concerning the phenomenon it was about. Speaker B recounts an incident here that she has framed as annoying – her cats woke up when she went to the bathroom at 5:00 or 6:00 that morning and, unlike her, they no longer wanted to go back to sleep. Speaker B elaborates as follows:

(7.3) Hereillä / Awake (Finnish)

Sg 377, 21:05

- 01 ja sit ne rupes vaatimaan ruo[↑]kaa tai
and then they started demanding food or
- 02 huomio[↑]ta tai niinku jotain?=silleen
attention or like something? like
- 03 et niil oli hirveesti niinku et sit
they had awfully lot of like then
- 04 ne< .hh ↑t:emmelsi siin koko ajan ja
they< .hh played around all the time and
- 05 sit niil oli paljon asiaa?
then they had lots of things (to say)?
- 06 A: [mm.
[
- 07 B: [.nhh >ja tota< ↑sit mä olin just silleen
[.nhh and then I was just like
- 08 niinku et,=tää on niinku j:ust tätä et
this is exactly the thing that; (0.5)
- 09 niinku; (0.5) et oikeesti et sit jos niille
like (0.5) that really if (you) give them
- 10 antaa jonkun merkin siitä et on hereillä
a sign that (you) are awake
- 11 ni sit ne ei vaan @hil:jene@.
then they just don't quiet down.
- => 12 (0.5)
- => 13 A: ↑mitä ne ha[↑]luaa sitte.
what do they want then.
- 14 (0.5)
- 15 A: jos ne herättää #aamulla#;
if they wake (you) up in the morning;
- 16 B: ↑>no siis< ne haluu[↑] (.) lähinnä varmaan
well they mostly probably (.) want
- 17 niinku et niitten kaa hengail#laan#.
that (someone) hangs out with them.

Having recounted the event itself, B moves on to her feelings and thoughts on it: *tää on niinku just tätä et - -*, 'this is exactly the thing that - -' (line 7). She then presents her conclusion about the event, and this is constructed as a bipartite conditional construction (for example, see Lerner 1996 on *if-then*

utterances in English), the beginning being *sit jos*, ‘if’ (line 9), and the latter part beginning with *ni sit*, ‘then’ (line 11). Were the recipient aware of the type of situation being described, she could easily have demonstrated her understanding of it, or simply have agreed on the matter. Both the organization of the telling itself (from actual events to a general stance) and its linguistic formatting (the bipartite structure) predominantly resemble the ones that attract overlapping responses (for example, see example 6.9 on page 155ff., as well as example 7.4 below). However, what happens next is that a half second pause ensues and then A asks a question which reveals her K- position: *mitä ne haluaa sitte*, ‘what do they want then’ (line 13).⁷⁷ This indicates that she does not have access to the phenomenon, nor an understanding of it, but that she lacks common knowledge, which is the minimum prerequisite for producing an agreeing or acknowledging response.

In the next fragment, the recipient begins a response that resembles a demonstration of understanding, and she positions it in early overlap, but she self-interrupts and allows the initial speaker to complete the talk. After this, she no longer attempts to produce full responses, but instead utters only particles. The first of these is delayed, occurring after a brief pause. The topic in this fragment begins after a longish silence in the talk, as speaker A begins to tell speaker B how when hungry, she had gone to a grocery store the day before and bought ready pizza crusts, mozzarella, tomatoes, and basil. Her telling continues as follows:

(7.4) Nälkänen kaupassa / Hungry in a store (Finnish)

Sg 377, 26:20

- 01 A: ja sit mä tein semmosen, (0.5)
and then I made a, (0.5)
- 02 [(heti kotiin päästyäni)
[(immediately after having arrived at home)
[
- 03 B: [ʌa-aah.ʌ
[a-aah
- 04 A: semmosen ihanan mozzarella tomaattipizzan;
a wonderful mozzarella tomato pizza
- 05 B: .mth voi vitsi;
.mth oh wow;
- 06 (1.0)
- 07 B: nii.
yeah

⁷⁷ This is not to say that questions in general could not be produced in overlap; some overlapping questions occur in my data. However, in many respects they differ from this question turn.

- 08 (3.0)
- 09 A: hhhh >ei se nyt sinänsä ihan< järjetön
hhhh it wasn't in itself so unreasonable
- 10 ruoka ollu #mut#; (0.5) >se oj just<
food but; (0.5) it's just
- 11 niin koomista sit ku menee; (0.5)
so funny when (one) goes; (0.5)
- 12 ↑toisaalta on tylsää jos menee
on the other hand it is boring if (one) goes
- 13 ruokakauppaan eikä oo yh#tään nä#lkä? (0.5)
to the grocery store without being hungry at all? (0.5)
- 14 nii s't ei tee mi[eli ost]aa mi[tää] e-
so then NEG feel.tempted buy anything:PAR
then (one) doesn't feel te[mpted to bu]y any[thing] (e)-
- => 15 B: [nii s't ei-] [nii,]
so then NEG PRT
[then (not)-] [yeah]
- 16 A: ostaa kaikkee mielikuvituksetonta?
(one) buys everything that's unadventurous?
- => 17 (0.5)
- => 18 B: nii; ((NODS))
yeah
- 19 A: mut sit ku on näl#känen# (.) kaupassah?
but when (one) is hungry (.) in a store?
- 20 ni (.) ↑näkee silleen niinku, (0.6)
then (.) (one) sees like, (0.6)
- 21 haistaa ja maistaa sen ruuan jo ku
(one) smells and tastes the food already when
- 22 kattoo sitä tiskillä.
(one) looks at it on the counter.
- => 23 B: fnii;f
yeah
- 24 (2.0)
- 25 B: ↑fhitsi se on mun mielest niin
gee I think it is so
- 26 huvittavaa ku Aino on just nyt - -
funny that Aino has just now - -

At the beginning of her telling, A uses the first-person singular forms to refer to her individual experiences of buying the items and making the pizza (see line 1). However, B has produced only particles as responses. From line 11 on, A shifts to the zero-person forms (see Laitinen 1995), which indicates a move to a more general level in her talk, a shift from the actual telling of the events to evaluating them (see also the adjectives *koomista*, 'funny,' line 11, and *tylsää*, 'boring,' line 12) and presenting assertions. She begins by saying *se oj just niin koomista sit ku menee*, 'it's just so funny when (one) goes,' but then changes the direction of her talk to a contrasting situation: *toisaalta on tylsää jos - -*, 'on the other hand it is boring if - -.' This part of her talk is projectively bipartite, as the *jos*, 'if,' projects a 'then' clause to follow, and this is what she utters in line 14 (*nii s't - -*, 'then - -'). It is interesting that in non-transitional overlap with this, B attempts to offer her own version of this part of A's utterance by beginning with similar lexical elements (*nii s't ei-*, 'then (not)-,' line 15). What B begins to say closely resembles a demonstration of understanding. She cuts off, however, and no longer pursues this line. Instead, speaker A completes the construction herself.

The bipartite structure discussed above is part of a larger frame initiated by *toisaalta*, 'on the other hand,' in line 12. After the first part of this structure, there is a half-second gap in the flow of talk, and subsequently speaker B only utters *nii*, 'yeah' (line 18). With this, she implies that A's telling is still incomplete (Sorjonen 2001a). Next, speaker A completes her assertive telling herself: *mut sit ku on nälkänen kaupassa ni - -*, 'but when (one) is hungry in a store then - -.' Furthermore, B responds to this assertive utterance only with the particle *nii*, 'yeah,' (line 23), uttered with a smile. After a gap, B subsequently changes the topic (line 25). After having cut off the beginning of a longer response in line 15, speaker B does not explicitly display her understanding of the phenomenon that was described by A. Apparently B nevertheless has some common knowledge or experience of it and possibly also a shared stance, or at least she understands A's viewpoint. Evidence for this is found in line 15 as B initiated a turn that resembles the beginning of a demonstration of understanding. It is interesting that having abandoned her more affiliative response, B for some reason no longer attempts it. When she finally begins to talk at greater length, she changes the topic.

This example resembles the sequences with overlapping talk in many respects. At first, the speaker recounts a personal experience or an incident, which is then followed by a move from her own individual experience to her more general observations. Furthermore, this shift in perspective is also evident in the choice of the person forms (from the first person to the zero person). This type of turn usually invites an affiliating response from the recipient, and that is also attempted here, but it does not succeed. It appears that the participants share knowledge as well as a stance towards the issue at hand, and after the failed or cut-off attempt to demonstrate an understanding of the initiating speaker's assertions, the recipient produces

either weak responses or no responses whatsoever and subsequently she changes the topic. In addition, the prior teller no longer indicates that her telling and the assertions it contained lacked a proper response.

The fragments in my data involve several different types of responses, both with respect to timing and to the relationship between the participants' stances. The response in the following extract is well-timed when the participants have different experiences of the matter at hand, and it is overlapping when they have similar experiences. Prior to this fragment, Katrin and Margit have been talking about their unusual, even supernatural experiences. They share the opinion that most people do not have these types of experiences and most do not even believe in them. Margit states that when she was a child, she "blocked" those supernatural voices and visions so that she would not go crazy. This extract begins with Katrin's response to Margit's turn, where she reports that it was also not easy to talk about these experiences:

(7.5) Sõprusringkond / Circle of friends (Estonian)

AN2, 20:25

- 01 (1.2)
 02 K: a ma ei `tea kuidag- m- ma- (.) kuna
 I don't know someho- I- I- (.) since
- 03 `mina, vata ma=ei `saand sellest küll
 I, see I couldn't talk about
- 04 `r:ääkida aga ma vist `mõtlesin või
 it but I probably thought or
- > 05 võ- .h vaata. .h ma ei `ole olnud
 or- .h y'see. .h I have never been
- > 06 kunagi selline `laps kellel on `äs:ti
 the kind of a child who has a really
- > 07 suur `sõp:rusringkond.=
 big circle of friends.
- => 08 M: =mmh, minul `on ikka olnd.
 uhhuh, I have really/always had.
- 09 K: sul on nagu `see.
 you have that.
- 10 m- ma [pigem (-)sesin,]
 I- I [rather (-)]
 []
- 11 M: [aga `väiksena ei old] `üldse
 [but when (I) was small (I) didn't have] at all

- 12 ju. (.) mul oli `nimodi et: kuni
you know. (.) I had like until
- 13 `küm:nenda klassini oli- oli aint üks
the tenth grade [17 years old] (I) had- had only one
- 14 `sõber; (0.3) ja `õde; ja vata nimodi:
friend, (0.3) and a sister, and y'see like
- 15 `ästi vähe. (0.2) käisin `maal vaata
very few. (0.2) I went to the countryside y'see
- > 16 selle `onupojaga mängim(as).=mul ei
DEMI:GEN cousin:COM play:INF 1SG:ADE NEG
to play with my cousin. I didn't
- > 17 `olnd rohkem [sõpru;]
be:PPC more friend:PL.PAR
have any more [friends.]
- => 18 K: [ma `olin k]a. (.)
1SG be:PST:1SG too
[I was to]o. (.)
- 19 m[a -lin ka aga,]
I [was too but,]
- 20 M: [a sis tuli nimo]di kümnendas `t:uff:, (0.4)
[but then (it) cam]e in the tenth (grade) boom, (0.4)
- 21 K: mul o[li nim-]
I ha[d lik-]
- 22 M: [just `üli]kooli=ajal ka oli `ästi
[during uni]versity time (I) also had very
- 23 palju sõ`pru - -
many friends - -

In lines 5–7 Katrin relates her childhood experiences: *ma ei ole olnud kunagi selline laps kellel on ästi suur sõprusringkond*, ‘I have never been the kind of a child who has a really big circle of friends.’ After this, with no gap and no overlap, Margit responds first by acknowledging Katrin’s turn with *mmh*, ‘uhhuh,’ and then by providing her own equivalent experience: *minul on ikka olnd*, ‘I have indeed/always had.’ So the two do not share that particular experience. Crucially, later in the fragment, when it is a question of a shared experience, Katrin’s response is positioned in early overlap. Beginning in line 11, Margit seems to contradict her earlier assertion when she elaborates on her circle of friends. She observes that when she was small, she didn’t have many friends at all, and until the tenth grade, she only had one friend, a sister and a cousin (lines 11–16). She then concludes: *mul ei olnd rohkem [sõpru*, ‘I didn’t have more [friends.’ At a point where this utterance is

neither prosodically nor syntactically complete (the latter part of the noun phrase that expresses the possessed item is still lacking: *rohkem [sõpru*, ‘more [friends’]), Katrin begins her response. However, based on the prior talk, the missing element in Margit’s utterance is rather projectable and recognizable. During her overlapping response, Katrin claims that she had the same experience as Margit, but also indicates that her experience was independent of Margit’s, something that was unique to Katrin herself.⁷⁸ This fragment illustrates some typical features of the different turn-onset timings. Whereas the early-onset response typically appears rather late during the course of the sequence (see line 18), other onset types tend to occur toward the beginning of the sequence (see line 8). This reflects the increase in opportunities for recognition as there has been more talk on the topic and thus the recipient of the turn has more material, more common ground, to rely on when anticipating and projecting the course of her co-participant’s talk.

Our final example shows that even though a turn may initially appear to be exactly like the ones in non-transitional overlapping positions, it may turn out to be crucially different upon closer inspection. This fragment also includes well-timed and delayed responses. A new topic is introduced as follows:

(7.6) Igatsen sind / I miss you (Estonian)

AN3, 05:00

- 01 M: saatsin `Miinale sõnumi et: et `igatsen
I sent a message to Miina that that I miss
- 02 teda s ta kirjutas i- `igatsen sind `ka;
her then she wrote m- I miss you too.
- 03 see (.) `tundus mulle nagu, m (0.8)
that (.) seemed to me like, (0.8)
- 04 °siuke `veits nagu, ° (0.6) @`leige.@
a bit like, (0.6) lukewarm.
- => 05 (0.4) ((M GAZE TO K WITH A FACIAL EXPRESSION))
- => 06 K: ehhehe[hehe]
- 07 M: [hehe]heh
- => 08 K: .hh a`hah ahah, et kui £`sina kirjutad et
.hh oh okay, (so) when you write that

⁷⁸ In this fragment, when Katrin responds in line 18, Margit still seems to be too far from the end of her telling to allow Katrin to talk next (which is what usually happens in the overlap sequences). Margit insists on continuing her telling even if Katrin has also begun an utterance telling about her own experiences several times (lines 18, 19, 21).

- => 09 [`igatsen si-ɛ]
 [I miss yo-]
 []
10 M: [ɛsest=et ta=ei `ole] niimoodi
 [because she hasn't] written

11 ↑`kirjutand [`enne]m.ɛ
 like that [befor]e.
 []
12 K: [.nhhhh]
13 (.)
14 M: vaata se=on, e sa lähtud `sellest mis
 y'see it is, um you depart from how

15 ta `t:avaliselt on;
 she usually is.

16 (.)
=> 17 K: et [kui] sina kirjutad `igatsen sind=
 (so that) [when] you write I miss you
 []
18 M: [(see)]

=> 19 K: =siis `tegelikult sa ootad et=ta kirjutab
 then you actually expect her to write

=> 20 ɛet s(h)a, mheh et `tema armastab sind
 that you, mheh that she loves you

=> 21 `ka vä.ɛ .hh
 too right? .hh

22 M: mmh, ((GAZE MID-DISTANCE, NOT TO K))
 mmh.

23 (0.3)
24 K: ɛsee on ↑`küll väga `uvitav seo(s)?ɛ
 it is really a very interesting connection/association.

25 (0.2)
=> 26 M: ei lihsalt et ta=ei ole varem niimoodi
 no/well simply/I mean she hasn't replied like that

27 `vastand.
 before.

28 (0.2)
29 M: et see on, `ikkagi vastab see `tõele - -
 it is, it is nevertheless true - -

Having just placed her mobile phone on the table, Margit reports what she wrote to her girlfriend and how that friend responded (lines 1–2). She then proceeds to describe her own feelings about the response (lines 3–4). After a brief pause, during which the participants gaze at each other and Margit has

a special facial expression, Katrin bursts out laughing. Margit joins in almost immediately. Beginning in line 8, Katrin verbalizes her understanding of Margit's telling. The first element in Katrin's turn is the particle *ahah*, which is used as a change-of-state token in Estonian (Keevallik 1999). She then continues her utterance with the complementizer and evidential particle *et* that regularly prefaces the parts of speech that are attributed to the previous speaker (Keevallik 2008b, also Keevallik 2000). However, on this first attempt, Katrin does not complete her turn, but cuts off after Margit's overlapping incoming, and Margit takes over (line 10). In line 17, Katrin starts talking again and uses the very same words, *et kui sina kirjutad - -,* '(so that) when you write - -.' Both these versions are well-timed onsets.

At first glance, Katrin's utterance in lines 17–21 closely resembles the demonstrations of understanding that were discussed in chapter 6, where the responding speaker demonstrably shows that s/he understands the point in the prior assertion and is thus in agreement with the prior speaker. This turn, however, is different not only in terms of its timing, but also in terms of its linguistic formatting. Immediately the evidential *et* in the turn-initial position distinguishes this turn from the examples in chapter 6, as it attributes the subsequent turn content to the prior speaker. Keevallik (2008b) describes these cases as candidate understandings of something that had been implied before by another speaker. Furthermore, the last linguistic element in the turn, the particle *vä*, 'or,' does similar work because it indicates that the speaker attributes the epistemic rights concerning her claim to the recipient of her turn. In brief, it transforms the utterance into a question (L. Lindström 2001). Due to both its initial and final element, the utterance is therefore a type of a candidate understanding of the prior assertive/evaluative talk.

Hence, it is evident that Katrin lacks (or at least pretends to lack) similar experience concerning what Margit is talking about. This is also how Margit interprets Katrin's turn. First, Margit acknowledges it by uttering the non-committing *mmh* (line 22), indicating only token reciprocity and displaying no stance whatsoever. As Margit does not agree with Katrin's candidate-understanding assertion immediately, a problematization is foreshadowed. Next, Katrin presents a further evaluating assessment concerning Margit's prior talk in line 24. After that, Margit corrects or disagrees with Katrin's understanding of her talk; she begins with the negative polar particle *ei* (on the Estonian *ei* in interaction, see Keevallik 2012) and then offers the "right" understanding, *lihsalt et ta ei ole varem niimoodi vastand*, 'simply/I mean she hasn't replied like that before.' Margit actually already stated this in lines 10–11, but she received no response to it then. Her turn is an account of how she had felt after her girlfriend's response to her message (see lines 3–4) and it ends the teasing mood that was initiated by Katrin in line 6, indicating that she is not joining it, but returning instead to her own serious mood. The participants thus follow individual, divergent lines in this fragment – and hence, they are actually not in agreement with one another. This example

thus reveals how a demonstration-of-understanding look-a-like that is well-timed after the turn it responds to is ultimately doing something else than demonstrating an independently held understanding of the prior talk, as is typically the case in early-onset responses.

The examples above have illustrated that when a response is well-timed, delayed, or missing in similar sequences as the ones where non-transitional overlapping responses occur, there may be either some type of disalignment on an issue that is known in common, or no common knowledge or experience and hence the preconditions for agreement do not exist. The most important issue, nevertheless, is that the early-onset overlaps typically include an element of explicit independence, which did not occur in the fragments here. This difference clearly arose when we examined example 7.1, where a plain agreement response was positioned in terminal overlap. Hence, the crucial issue is not only agreement/alignment versus disagreement/disalignment. As was demonstrated in chapters 4, 5, and 6 and as will be elaborated in the following section, when a response is positioned in early overlap at a non-TRP, this response always does more than merely agrees. Thus, the responding speaker approaches the issue from his/her own perspective and more or less highlights his/her own authority concerning the issue; s/he is not merely acquiescing with the first speaker. The following section will cover the overarching features in the sequences with early-overlap responses.⁷⁹

7.2 Common factors in early-onset responses: independence and position in the larger sequence

The counterexamples examined above highlight the special characteristics of the overlap cases we have analyzed in chapters 4, 5, and 6, being in many respects different from them. In sum, in the early overlap cases the actions concern asserting, stance-taking, and affiliating. The participants often possess common knowledge on the issue discussed and they agree on it (cf. section 1.3). Moreover, the initiating speaker presents his/her assertion typically from a more knowing position and implicates that the recipient knows less. However, the responding speaker introduces something independent in his/her turn, and as a result, both participants consider themselves to be epistemic authorities on the issue at hand, as having at least equal epistemic access to the knowledge. Hence, even though the participants are in agreement, some resistance arises in the responses. This section discusses the commonalities across these cases and explores the literature on

⁷⁹ The data fragments that are examined in this section appear to suggest that there may be a continuum: the more independent or the stronger the agreement, the earlier it is positioned (in overlap). However, to prove or disprove this hypothesis would require more data.

the related phenomena. At the same time, one objective is to strive for a precise general description of the target cases.

Let us first consider in more detail the first position turns that are followed by an early overlapping response. In general, many first pair-parts in conversation, besides constructing the speaker as having a particular epistemic (and/or other) stance, also attribute a certain epistemic status to the recipient. For example, this can be achieved by delivering something as news (for example, see Maynard 2003) or alternatively by requesting information on something (for example, see de Ruiter 2012). When a speaker produces an assessment, s/he claims to be knowledgeable on the issue s/he talks about (Pomerantz 1984a: 57); (other) assertions are also similar in this respect. As argued earlier, the turns preceding an overlapping response in the current data are usually designed to construe the speaker as having a stronger epistemic position, as being “K+” compared to the “K–” recipient (Heritage 2012a). The speaker is therefore either constructed as knowing more, having primary epistemic access and/or rights to make the assertion, or at least as not knowing less than the recipient. In other words, the speaker of a first assertion (when it is unmodified, in that it does not include specific stance markers such as the Finnish *mun mielestä*, ‘in my opinion’) does not attribute epistemic authority to the recipient. The speaker in these turns most often asserts or assesses something, presents (a description of) a perspective, or an opinion that s/he has on some issue. In so doing, s/he offers the recipient an opportunity to join in the action/activity, and that is what the recipient does in non-transitional overlap with the prior/ongoing turn. Still, the recipient action, when it occurs, is something that was not exactly invited or projected in the prior turn. A fully aligning and affiliating response is situated in a different temporal position and meets all the expectations in the first turn, but this is not the case in our examples (on affiliation and alignment, for example, see Stivers et al. 2011).

In the data examined here, the early-onset responses are in agreement with the previous turns in the sense that the speakers are (purporting to be) fundamentally of the same opinion. The participants also have shared knowledge in common of the matter being discussed, and in most cases, they also share an attitude, such as an evaluative and/or affective stance⁸⁰ towards it. The overlapping response also aligns with the prior turn regarding the social actions of the two turns, as the response furthers the initiated sequence. Moreover, responding speakers ascribe an action to the first/prior turn and orient to it properly as such, providing a relevant next turn.⁸¹ However, these responding speakers do not fully accept all the terms

⁸⁰ As may already have become clear, my understanding of *stance* differs from the one proposed by Du Bois (2007), who considers stance to be an omnipresent feature of talk.

⁸¹ Some scholars, such as Raymond (2003), relate *alignment* to the grammatical form of turns. However, Raymond studies questions and answers (type-conformity), and his position does not seem

and presuppositions of the initiating turn; instead, they convey some resistance to them. This resistance is directed to certain epistemic implications in the prior turn. As noted earlier, the first speaker in these sequences does not attribute epistemic authority to the recipient; yet the recipient indicates in his/her turn that the participants actually have similar or equal epistemic statuses. Hence, the response is epistemically incongruent with the prior turn, and the participants end up negotiating epistemic details in their turns, most often implicitly.⁸²

Despite these similarities, the examples are different in certain respects. As suggested by their distribution in the three separate analytical chapters, there are three distinct types of overlapping responses in the current data: claims of similar knowledge or experience, independent agreements, and demonstrations of understanding. The extent to which each of them embodies independence differs, and the main differences can be captured by the notions of *claiming* and *demonstrating*. These concepts are used rather widely in studies of social interaction and have already been briefly discussed in previous chapters. Originating from the work of Sacks (1992b: 137ff, 249ff, 425ff; see also Heritage 2007), *claiming* refers to offering simple claims of something without providing any evidence of the matter, whereas *demonstrating* something concerns bringing in something explicit by means of which evidence is provided (see also Clark & Gerrig 1990). Thus, if a speaker *claims* something, it can be only assumed that so is the case, whereas *demonstrating* something really proves the issue (Enfield 2013: 57–60).

The three response types all entail both agreement and independence but they differ in that a speaker who utters a *claim of similar knowledge* is, as suggested by the description of the phenomenon, merely (but overtly) claiming to have access to similar knowledge or experience as brought forward in the prior turn. Second, a producer of an *independent agreement* is claiming to have an independent access to the knowledge domain via certain conventionalized linguistic means. Finally, by *demonstrating* her *understanding* of the prior turn, the responding speaker also demonstrates his/her independent access to the domain in question by introducing new and congruent content related to the issue being discussed.

It is important to note that there are also other agreeing response types that indicate some sort of independent access to the issue in question. As Pomerantz (1984a) argues, simply by providing a second assessment, the second speaker claims an independent access to the referent. For instance, in Finnish, the response *nii on*, 'it is,' to an assessment indicates that the responding speaker is also able to assess the referent herself (see Sorjonen & Hakulinen 2009). Should she not have access to the assessed referent, she might respond *ai jaa*, 'oh' (Kastari 2006), or something similar. However,

to be relevant for the assertion turns that occur in the current data. (On the various interpretations of *alignment* in the literature, for example, see Stivers 2008 and Stivers et al. 2011.)

⁸² The implications of this observation will be discussed in section 9.2.

responses such as *nii on* do not occur in the early overlap positions in the current data (cf. example 7.1 above), and moreover, they are different from non-transitional overlapping responses in a crucial respect. Contrary to the speakers of *nii on* and other similar types of responses, the speakers of the overlapping responses examined here combat some details in the epistemic implications in the overlapped turn – they suggest that they themselves are also to be regarded as authorities on the subject matter. This does not happen in the other response types reviewed above.

Yet another intriguing observation concerning early-onset responses is that they very typically do not occur at points near a topic change (at least not immediately following the initiation of a new topic). Early-onset responses are used when the same topic has already lasted for some time, and the sequences are elaborate. As a consequence, at these points, the participants share a vast amount of immediate discourse context. This includes what has been talked about, who has said what about the matter, and how the parties' stances have related to each other and so on. In other words, there is substantial common ground (for example, see Clark 1996, Enfield 2006) at these moments in interaction. This explains, in part, the recognizability of the utterance and the sequence, which facilitates the early onset of the response.

The sequential positioning of the early-onset responses (that they occur in the “middle” of a topic or a larger sequence) warrants some plunges into the literature. What Sacks states in his lectures when he comments on the work that adjacency pairs accomplish in conversation (1992b: 521–541) seems to match the observations in the current study. Sacks argues that adjacency pairs are primarily used at certain points in conversation: they are more frequent at the beginnings and endings of conversations and at points near topic change. The adjacency pair examples that Sacks cited are of interest from our perspective because they are greetings, requests, offers, etc. – that is, they are different from the action types in our target sequences. A similar observation was made by Button and Casey (1984, 1985) in their analysis of questions and answers that are frequently used in topic beginnings. Moreover, Raevaara (1993), analyzing the use of question–answer adjacency pairs in ordinary Finnish talk, reports that they occur frequently in exactly these positions. These observations, as well as those reported in the current work, are thus convergent in that they do not contradict one another: we may conclude that questions and other similar structures occur more frequently near topic changes, whereas assertions occur in the “middle” of a topic. This observation – the assertions that are followed by overlap are rarely the very first turns in the larger sequence (or topic) – may have implications for a general understanding of *social action* as well. In other words, social actions may have typical sequential positions, “sequential homes,” which differ from those of other social actions.

Concerning topics of talk and the structure of conversation, Drew and Holt (1998) have noted that idiomatic and figurative expressions (such as the

English “take with a pinch of salt”) occur frequently near topic closures. These types of utterances do not bring in further information concerning the issue being discussed. Heritage (2012b) observes that the overall organization of sequences seems to be related to the participants’ relative epistemic stances so that the beginnings of sequences often consist of turns that testify to an imbalance of knowledge between the participants, and the sequences are brought to closure at points where a more balanced relation has been achieved. The assertion turns examined in this study seem to fit in this bigger picture as well; in terms of their structure, content and epistemic implications, they seem to be situated between questions and other turns, which typically occur at the beginning of topics and sequences, and the idiomatic expressions used when summarizing a topic, which obviously occur at the ends.

In some of the cases examined in this study, the assertion turns occurring in the “middle” of a topic may also be due to the recipients not having provided a response earlier, at a point where it would have been appropriate. The speakers who are ultimately overlapped may thus be repeating themselves to some extent, and when they continue talking, the recipient – positioning his/her response in early overlap – may indicate that there is no need elaborate further on the issue (cf. example 5.3 and especially 4.1). Some of the early-onset responses could therefore be interpreted as attempts to avoid “overtalking,” as if the overlapping speaker were indicating: “don’t tell me something I already know.” In these cases, however, the possible “overtalking” would be at least partly occasioned by the overlapping recipient’s earlier failure to respond at an appropriate point.⁸³ Coming “late” in the sequence, the responding speaker “has to” start up in overlap in order to indicate strong agreement, understanding and commitment to the issue in question. This might also be related to the turns being highly elaborate linguistically. However, only a small subset of the early-onset responses are positioned “late” in the sequence; others occur at the first possible point, but still these are typically not at the very beginning of the sequence or topic, and the sequences appear to be similar in both cases. The “too late” positioning is not, therefore, a *sine qua non* for the early onsets.

This chapter has illustrated the difference between non-transitional overlapping responses and responses that arise in other temporal positions. The three early-onset response types all respond to assertion turns, and they share the common feature that their producer explicitly indicates that s/he also has independent access to the knowledge and can also be regarded as an authority concerning the issue, even though s/he is basically in agreement with the overlapped speaker. Early-onset responses are also typically positioned in the “middle” of a topic or a larger sequence. Non-overlapping

⁸³ Cf. Stivers’ work (2004: 271) on multiple sayings where she claims that they are often positioned in overlap, and she further argues that the overlapping positioning accomplishes additional work to display an understanding of the ongoing talk as part of an unwarranted/persistent course of action.

responses, by contrast, are either responses to turn types other than assertions, or if they occur in assertion sequences, they are in many respects different from the ones where the response onset is in early, non-transitional overlap. In other words, the co-participants either lack common knowledge about the matter discussed and/or their stances are not aligning, or in case they share common knowledge and are in agreement, the responding speaker does not indicate any special authority on the subject matter, but “merely” agrees with the previous speaker.

8 ON TURN-ONSET TIMING AND ACTIONS

This chapter explores both the overlapped and the overlapping turns from a more general perspective. An attempt is made to characterize the overlapped turns in terms of practices and actions and to situate them among other such entities. The overlapping turns are examined with a special focus on the motivation for their early onset from a general, practice-related perspective. Let us begin with an analysis of the former, overlapped turns.

8.1 The overlapped turn: assertion turns as practices and social actions

Throughout the empirical analyses presented earlier in this work, the overlapped turns have been called assertion turns. Whether this *assertion* is a practice used to implement certain social action(s) or whether it is an action itself requires further consideration. In this section, we will go into more detail about these turns and, exploring the features they share and how they relate to other turn types, aim at a general description of them. Let us first reconsider some of the examples that have already been analyzed in the preceding chapters and focus especially on the initiating, overlapped turn. Only the target turns are provided here; for the larger context, the reader is advised to consult the chapter offering the complete analysis of the fragments.

(8.1) Väärää nappii / Wrong button (Finnish) (Part of example 4.1) Sg 398, 05:50

- > 16 Kati: siin ei tarvi ku painat yhtä
DEM3.LOC NEG need CONJ push:2SG one:PAR
 (it) needs only for you to push one
- > 17 [väärää °nappia ni°.]
wrong:PAR button:PAR PRT/CONJ
 [wrong button so.]
 []
- 18 Tarja: [↑nii nii mä tie]dän se[n. =ja sit ei
PRT PRT 1SG know:1SG DEM3:ACC and then NEG
 [yeah yeah I know]w tha[t. and then (you/one) cannot
 []
 [°mm°,]
- 19 Kati:
- 20 Tarja: osaa painaa takasin - -
can push back
 switch ((it)) back again - -

(8.2) Laumaeläimiä / Gregarious animals (Finnish) (Part of example 5.3)
Sg 377, 22:07

- > 09 A: et niil on aika tarkkaki
COMP DEM3.PL:ADE be.3SG quite strict:CLI
 that they nevertheless have a pretty strict
- > 10 sitte kuitenkin semmonen
then however DEM3.ADJ
 such a
- > 11 sosi[aalinen järjeste]lmä(1) #niillä:#,
social grouping DEM3.PL:ADE
 soci[al groupi]ng they (have)
- 12 B: [on niillä;]
be.3SG DEM3.PL:ADE
 [they do have]

(8.3) Põhiprobleem / Basic problem (Estonian) (Part of example 5.4)
TÄ2, 15:15

- > 11 Mari: seevastu eestis on põhiprobleem on
instead NAME:INE be.3SG basic.problem be.3SG
 instead in Estonia the basic problem is
- > 12 see-;=fkõ[ik >lihtsalt< is]tuvad ja midagi ei
DEM1 all simply sit:3PL and anything NEG
 that ever[yone simply si]ts and does
- 13 Eve: [see ongi.]
DEM1 be.3SG:CLI
 [indeed / that's right]
- > 14 Mari: te[e; ja:] ma - -
do and 1SG
 nothi[ng and] I - -
- 15 Eve: [see ongi.]
DEM1 be.3SG:CLI
 [indeed / that's right]

(8.4) Nõiandus / Witchcraft (Estonian) (Part of example 6.4a)
AN2, 14:52

- > 03 eestlane on 'kogu 'ae:g, (0.6)
 (the) Estonian ((noun)) has all the time (0.6)
- > 04 huvitunud, (.) `teemadest mida ei saa
 been interested (.) in themes that cannot be
- > 05 niiöelda `teaduslikult `tõestada? .h
 so to speak scientifically proved, .h

On turn-onset timing and actions

- > 06 mida ei saa mingi:: (0.3) keegi `öelda et
what:PAR NEG can any anyone say:INF COMP
 that cannot ((be V-ed by)) any (0.3) nobody can say that
- > 07 `nii [´just ´on;;]
so exactly be.3SG
 it is [precisely like that]
 []
- 08 M: [sellepärast=et] see religi`oos ei ole
because DEM1 religion NEG be
 [because] religion has not become
- 09 `juurdunud - -
root:PPC
 rooted - -

(8.5) Vead / Faults (Estonian) (Part of example 6.9)

AN3, 06:10

- > 04 K: >aga kui sa tuled< `tagasi oma `tavapärasesse
but when 2SG come:2SG back own routine:ILL
 but when you come back to your routine
- > 05 ellu ja t- oma `tavapäraseid `asju teed
life:ILL and own routine:PL:PAR thing:PL:PAR do:2SG
 life and d- your routine things you do
- > 06 oma tavapäraseid `as- .hh ja=ni=`edasi siis
own routine:PL:PAR thi- and so forth then
 your routine thi- .hh and so forth then
- > 07 [sa saad `aru kus need] `vead on;
2SG understand:2SG where DEM1.PL fault:PL be.3SG
 [you understand where the] faults are
 []
- 08 M: [sis sa ei `näe seda,]
then 2SG NEG see DEM1:PAR
 [then you can't see the]

We can observe from these fragments that the turns that precede the overlapping responses are rather similar. What are these overlapped turns doing? What are their characteristics? What affinities do they establish to different *actions*?

First, we notice that linguistically, these turns are constructed as declarative statements (see ISK § 887). What seems to be common to all the turns in question is that the participants are primarily oriented to talking about something, which involves doing something in the present. Thus, these speakers make the words match the world, as was described within speech

act theory (Searle 1976).⁸⁴ The other option (*ibid.*) is to make the world match the words, which is the case with utterance types that involve speakers talking in order to do or bring about something (concrete) in the future. Within CA, these types of actions are usually called directive-commissive actions (or deontic actions, see Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2012), and they include actions such as offers, invitations, proposals, and requests. With these types of turns, the speakers attempt to bring about doings and activities of the future, which will be carried out either by the speaker, by the recipient or by both of them. (For examples, see Couper-Kuhlen 2011b, 2012b.) It is clear that the actions in the assertion turns under consideration here contrast in many ways with directive-commissive actions.

The majority of overlapped assertion turns are plain statements with no specific markers of certainty or doubt, like those in the fragments above. Quoting Pomerantz (1984b: 609), “[w]hen speakers make such declarative assertions, they are proposing to represent actual states of affairs and are accountable for being right.” The most basic and simple utterance with no epistemic or evidential markers is the default, unmarked type of assertion. This means that by not marking the statement as uncertain, and by not specifically stressing its certainty, the speaker is plainly asserting that the state of affairs remains as it is. In the turns where the speaker is referring to second-hand knowledge, the evidential particle *et* may occur (for instance, example 8.2; on the Estonian *et*, see Keevallik 2008b; on the Finnish *et(tä)*, see Laury & Seppänen 2008). Nevertheless, these turns also contain information that is presented as being “plain,” as it is not specifically marked as certain or doubtful.

Quite frequently, the assertion turns in the current collection contain evaluative elements, such as evaluative adjectives and stance-implicating nouns. In the fragments above, we find *aika tarkka*, ‘pretty strict’ (example 8.2) and *põhiprobleem*, ‘basic problem’ (example 8.3). This makes assertion turns similar to *assessments* that typically contain clearly valenced (positive or negative) evaluative elements (Goodwin & Goodwin 1992, Pomerantz 1984a). Another feature of assertion turns that makes them similar to assessments is that their speakers present the content of their turn as something they know. As Pomerantz (1984a: 57) observes, “with an assessment, a speaker claims knowledge of that which he or she is assessing.” Thus, the speakers both indicate that they know the issue they are talking about and that they have a stance towards it. This interdependence of epistemic and emotional orientation (both in the first turn itself and in its response) and the evaluative elements in the assertion turns make them similar to assessments. Indeed, the turns often consider a matter that can/has to/is expected to be assessed, and/or there is a stance that can/has to/is expected to be adopted and agreed on. There is a specific issue under

⁸⁴ From a CA perspective, these turns can of course also be thought of as constructing and shaping reality.

discussion, and the participants express their thoughts and opinions regarding it. In lay terminology, the utterances would often be considered as “opinions” or “understandings.” The matters discussed in these data extracts are most often rather general issues, not primarily personal – but through the evaluative elements, the speakers display their personal take on these issues. General issues can also be used in the service of the personal (see Drew 1991).

Linguistically, some of the turns include the copular verb *olla*, ‘to be,’ usually in its third-person singular form *on* (for both Finnish and Estonian, see examples 8.2 and 8.3), and they are predicate complement clauses: the utterances make a claim or provide a description of something (for example, see ISK § 891, § 1212). Verbs other than *olla*, ‘to be’ used in the turns are also typically stative and describe states of affairs, such as the Finnish *tarvita*, ‘need,’ (example 8.1) as well as the Estonian *huvituma*, ‘be interested,’ (example 8.4) and *aru saama*, ‘understand,’ (example 8.5). The evaluative and affective components of the clauses suggest that the turns are somewhat affectivity-attracting in nature (on affectivity and emotions, see Peräkylä & Sorjonen 2012). On the whole, these turns tend to be generic stative descriptions of states of affairs. The turns represent the speaker’s view or understanding of a specific matter in the world, often including an implicit or explicit attitude or stance (for example, see Englebretson 2007) towards the matter.

However, regardless of the somewhat evaluative nature of the assertion turns and the intertwined epistemic and emotional aspects in them, the target turns cannot be considered prototypical assessments because there is much more to their content apart from the assessing or evaluating. It is common for the evaluative nature of the assertion turns to be more overarching and not necessarily traceable to elements such as single adjectives. Furthermore, two typical loci for initial assessments are, according to Pomerantz (ibid.), participating in social activities and reporting on something that one has experienced, and our target turns are not specifically related to these types of activities.

When looking at how the overlapped and the overlapping turns relate to one another in the fragments above, we observe that the turns to some extent look alike: the second part of the pair is a “return” of the first one. This makes assertion turns similar to greetings (and farewells; see Auer 1990), because both the initiating and the responding turn can be seen to perform the “same” action: in assertions, both speakers assert something, and in greeting sequences they greet (in this sense, assertions are similar with assessments as well). In these action types, the responding/second turn is therefore a “return” of the first one – a return of an assertion, a return of a greeting – which is not the case with the family of directive actions, for instance. As first turns, assertions, assessments and greetings hence invite a response that is a type of return of itself (cf., for example, Pomerantz 1984a). Yet for assertions and assessments, this is admittedly only one of the options. Assertions seem

to make relevant next a set of alternative responses, one of which is a return of the first one. Initiating and responding actions in the group of directive-commissive actions, by contrast, have clearly separate and distinct functions/jobs to perform and the two turns are complementary to each other, whereas the parts of the adjacency pair in assertion sequences are more similar. The responses are still, of course, produced as seconds to their initiating turns, which is visible in their form.

Stivers and Rossano (2010; also Rossano, p.c.) argue that greetings are similar to the group of directive-commissive actions in the sense that the extent to which they mobilize response is maximal. In this respect, greetings would be similar to directive actions and different from assessments and assertions. Nonetheless, if we consider what has been observed about the occurrence of overlapping talk as well as certain other features of adjacency pairs, the picture looks different. Several scholars have pointed out that greetings are frequently positioned simultaneously and that the response often occurs in overlap (Duranti 1997a, Lerner 2002, Pillet-Shore 2008).⁸⁵ Thus, in many respects, greetings are more similar to assertions than to directive-commissive actions.⁸⁶

When greetings occur in overlap, they have been characterized as “unproblematic” (Schegloff 2000), and Lerner (2002) and Pillet-Shore (2008, 2012) refer to them as cooperative actions. Just like when delivering assertions and assessments, also when greeting each other, participants are fundamentally sharing their attitudes and emotions with each other (Pillet-Shore 2012). Yet the difference is that with assertions, both speakers orient to a third object or party and it is possible to consider the utterance “right” or “wrong,” whereas in greetings, the speakers orient to one another and the “truthfulness” of the utterance is not relevant. Greetings are usually highly ritualized as well (for example Pillet-Shore 2008).

In short, assertion turns are, technically speaking, description-like declarative statements in which the speaker claims something rather generic about the world, typically also including some type of stance or attitudinal expression (evaluation) in the utterance. The matter being asserted is usually rather stable in that it lacks the dynamicity that is typical for sequenced events, such as “stories.” In an assertion, the speaker makes a claim about something. Thus the assertion turns all contain “information,” but the nature of this information is such that the turns are rather different from the typical turns in which the social action has been referred to as *informing*. This is because in informings, the speaker is usually said to provide information about “events-in-the-world” (Maynard 1997: 94, see also Maynard 2003). In the assertion turns, the piece of “information” instead typically concerns a

⁸⁵ Of course there may be cultural variability in this respect; cf. Duranti 1997b.

⁸⁶ In my data, greetings rarely occur. For the most part, the participants have already come together before the recording has started. For this reason, greetings do not appear in the current collection of overlapping responses, either.

relatively stable or static state of affairs, not a dynamic event. However, similar to news deliveries, these turns do involve (the knowledge of) a state of affairs (that is, an epistemic orientation) and, deeply intertwined with it (see Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2014) the speaker's attitude or stance towards it (that is, an emotional orientation). Besides being related to informings, at least some of the assertion turns and sequences are similar to *tellings*: telling something usually suggests that the recipient is not a knowing party (the matter is tellable) and that the speaker is therefore somehow "informing" the recipient (on storytelling more generally see, for example, Jefferson 1978, Sacks 1992).

In addition to informings and tellings, two more declarative, "informative" social actions have been discussed in the literature: *noticings* and *announcements*. However, they are likewise rather different from the assertion turns under examination here. With a *noticing*, a speaker produces an "official registering" of a (new) feature in the environment or in the co-participant, such as a new hairstyle (Schegloff 2007: 82, 86–87; on noticings emerging from a text being studied, see Lehtinen 2009). An *announcement*, on the other hand, informs the recipient about something that is supposedly relevant and consequential for her (Stivers & Rossano 2010: 17). Noticings and announcements thus position themselves among the group of tellings (Schegloff 2007: 74). Yet these actions appear to be different from our target turns in terms of affectivity-attractiveness. The turns examined here are typically somewhat affect-laden or affectivity-attracting, as noted above, whereas noticings and announcements are not reported as being associated with affectivity.⁸⁷

Concerning conditional response relevance, Stivers and Rossano (2010, see also Stivers 2005) group "assertions" together with assessments, noticings and announcements, contrasting them with directive actions such as requests: the authors argue that the response relevance of the former turn types is low. This is because they invite a response only weakly, instantiating a relatively low response pressure, and they do not place strong expectations on the response. It is claimed that the recipient is rarely sanctioned if s/he fails to produce a response (Stivers & Rossano 2010). (Cf., however, Goodwin & Goodwin 1987, 1992 and Pomerantz 1984a on agreeing assessments produced in overlap.) However, in my data, the overwhelming majority of sequences that contain a response positioned in early overlap involved assertion turns. Thus, based on the current study, of all social actions, assertions appear to be the ones that attract/mobilize early overlapping responses (the most).⁸⁸ This makes them different from the way in which assessments, noticings and announcements have been characterized in the literature.

⁸⁷ This is not to claim, however, that affective noticings do not exist.

⁸⁸ The implications of this observation and the phenomenon of early-onset timing will be discussed in the following section.

When discussing (and defining) a social action, not only is the form of the utterance relevant, but also the type of response it invites. Schegloff (2007: 74) discusses (short) tellings in connection with noticings and announcements, and he argues that they all make relevant next some type of affiliation (in a broad sense) – as a next turn, they invite one to express whether or not the previously conveyed view is shared. In other words, they invite an expression of either affiliation or non-affiliation. Noticings invite a display of sharing of the noticing, and tellings (and perhaps announcements as well) make relevant next, for instance, an assessment of what has been told or a response to its tellability (Schegloff 2007: 74). In this sense, assertion turns resemble the turn types mentioned above, because the responses are affiliative with the first assertions, and for instance the speakers' views are congruent and shared. Thus, when comparing assertion turns to noticings and announcements, we observe that on one hand the turn types resemble one another, but on the other hand, they do not.

Let us now return to the relationship between assertions (and assessments) and informings. In some ways, assertions appear to be rather different from informings. Informings are said to be responded to in terms of their informative nature, with recipients commenting on whether the information provided is news or not (e.g. Maynard 1997). When examining the types of responses the assertion turns attract in the current collection, their primary business appears to be something else. Like assessments, the assertion turns do not seem to be produced so as to inform the co-participant, but instead they seek agreement from him/her (see Heritage & Raymond 2005). However, as mentioned above, assertions are produced in a declarative form, which makes them similar to informings as regards their linguistic form (on the background of this, see Enfield 2011, 2013 and below). The assertion speaker thus appears to be constructing his/her turn from a K+ position, which means knowing more than the recipient. As Heritage (2012a: 7) states, “knowing speakers make assertions.”⁸⁹ In her overlapping response, the responding speaker – in addition to agreeing with the content of the assertion – resists this interpretation and suggests that they actually share the information (and the stance towards it) and indicates that there is no need to inform her about the issue.

The relevant background and possible grounds for this disparity and the interactional challenge related to asserting utterances have been suggested in the field of evolutionary anthropology and cognitive science. For example, Tomasello (2008) discusses basic communicative motives and their background and posits three distinct communicative motives (“social intentions”) that underlie all human actions: *requesting*, *informing* and *sharing* (of which the first one is not much discussed here). Tomasello

⁸⁹ This contrasts with certain types of assessments that have a flat epistemic gradient, i.e., the participants have more or less equal knowledge of the matter assessed (Pomerantz 1984a, Heritage 2012a).

further argues that the motives differ from one another when concerning the “kind of effect the communicator is attempting to have on the recipient” (ibid. p. 87). When a speaker informs a recipient of something, the speaker’s aim is that the recipient “know[s] something because *I think it will help or interest you*” (ibid.; italics original). By contrast, having sharing as the communicative motive, there is an attempt that you “feel something so that *we can share attitudes/feelings together*” (ibid.; italics original).

Now, as noted previously in this analysis, assertive actions, deploying declarative structures, imply the speaker’s knowledgeability and the recipient’s non-knowledgeability. This is why, for instance, assessments can be problematic in epistemic terms (Enfield 2011; also Heritage & Raymond 2005). Tomasello (2008) suggests that this derives from the use of the same or similar grammatical format, namely declarative, for the two distinct types of communicative goals in informings and sharings. He argues that the declarative format was originally, in a phylogenetic sense, used in the utterances with informative purposes and that it is especially suitable for that purpose. Yet, currently, the same format is also used in the utterances that aim at sharing emotions or attitudes with the recipient.⁹⁰ The suggested (but not explicitly formulated) reason for this seems to be that when an initiating speaker uses a declarative format in her turn, the recipient cannot be (immediately) certain about the function/motive of the utterance, whether it is used to inform her about its content or simply to share it (and the emotional orientation in it) with her. This ambiguity and imbalance leads, then, to the various, possibly problematic issues that concern assertive actions, such as the ones discussed here.

The linguistic formatting of assertions thus renders them ambiguous when it comes to the speaker’s communicative motives (Tomasello 2008); upon hearing an assertion, the recipient needs to decide whether the prior speaker appears to be *informing* her about the issue in question, or is *sharing* the particular bit of talk with her – sharing both the information and the stance towards the issue. Then the recipient needs to solve how to express her/his own knowledge and stance towards the issue, in relation to the first speaker. If the recipient wishes to express that the knowledge and the stance towards it are actually shared between the parties (as is the case in our examples), s/he needs to do specific interactional work to indicate this and to achieve this state of sharedness. *Sharing* is thus not accomplished in the first turn alone, but the response does crucial work in this respect. When looking at the assertion sequences retrospectively as a whole, their *raison*

⁹⁰ Tomasello (2008) is not explicit about his position on how emotions were “originally” expressed, if not using declarative utterances. The early humans, nevertheless, presumably had emotions. The question of whether there were some other means to express them at that time remains open in his study, yet at least two possibilities seem to open up. The first is that non-linguistic vocalizations are mentioned in connection with nonhuman primates, and the second is that facial expressions are mentioned in connection with human infants (ibid.).

d'être indeed seems to be the sharing between the participants. Sharing presupposes an equal, symmetrical basis from which the parties depart. This means that the epistemic statuses of the participants are, or have turned out to be, rather similar, (approximately) on the same level, so that they share common ground (Clark 1996, Enfield 2006) concerning the issue in question.

Despite its appeal, Tomasello's (2008) analysis is nonetheless rather abstract and its grounds are different from the ones adopted here. The main difference between his thinking (and also the categories he posits) and a CA position is that he considers that the utterances and their actions are constructed by the speaker alone. In other words, as Tomasello observes, actions (and the "social intentions" in them) differ on the basis of the "kind of effect the communicator is attempting to have on the recipient" (ibid. p. 87). From the CA perspective, however, both (or all) participants affect the ways in which turns and actions are actually constructed and understood (for examples, see Goodwin 1979): the "meanings" of turns and actions are negotiated in interaction, in real time. Despite this theoretical disparity, it is interesting that Tomasello points to the same issue that scholars such as Heritage and Raymond (2005) mention in their empirical analyses, where they argue that with assessments (and the like), speakers seek agreement, they are not informing their co-participants – and that participants need to display their relative statuses and stances through specific resources. Furthermore, the analyses in the current study seem to corroborate the more theoretical claims made in the literature, yet they shed more light on these phenomena as well. The empirical analyses of naturally occurring interactions demonstrate that the two motives – informing and sharing – indeed often merge, and that participants must strike a balance between knowledge and emotion in these sequences. This means that the participants need to judge case by case and moment by moment the actions and implications of one another's utterances in order to be able to respond accordingly.

The intertwined nature of knowledge and emotion has recently been discussed in a CA-informed paper by Stevanovic and Peräkylä (2014) as well. Like Tomasello (2008), the authors posit three general orders that are relevant for organizing all human interaction. These are the epistemic, deontic and emotional orders. When discussing the interface of the epistemic and emotional orders in action formation and recognition, the authors argue that for certain utterances, participants need to judge whether they are "primarily about sharing knowledge (orienting to the epistemic order) or about sharing emotion (orienting to the emotional order)" (ibid. p. 197) (the verb *sharing* is used here differently from the way Tomasello uses it). According to the authors, this is especially relevant for actions/activities such as assessments and storytelling: in these fragments of talk-in-interaction, participants can be oriented to either knowledge or emotion. The assertions discussed in the current analysis are a prime example of this; they activate orientations to both knowledge and emotion, as well as to the relation

between the participants' respective orientations. The orientation to knowledge in the examples examined here is manifest in the more or less explicit ways that the responding speakers express their own knowledge of the issue at hand, and the orientation to emotion (or affectivity) manifests itself here as an orientation to evaluation/stance as well as to the interpersonal relationship between the speakers.⁹¹

When examining the responses in our target sequences again, we notice that they are concerned less with the newsworthiness of the overlapped utterance. That is, the recipients do not accept the assertion turn as news; they do not align with the epistemic assumptions in the assertion turn. Instead, the responses deal more extensively with the evaluative aspects of the assertion as well as with the relationship between the participants' stances (e.g., agreement and affiliation). However, although the newsworthiness of the assertion is denied in the overlapping response, this does not mean that "informing" could not have been the overlapped speaker's intention. What is made relevant next is not necessarily the same as what actually occurs. *Informing* (in the sense that the co-participant does not know the matter asserted) may thus well have been the intended action, but the responding speaker simply resists this, resists the uninformed status attributed to her.

All responses in the fragments presented above are, however, in agreement and affiliate with the prior turn.⁹² Toward this end, the responding speaker indicates that s/he shares both knowledge of the issue and the stance towards it that was adopted in the prior turn. The response is thus an appreciation of both the matter at hand and the speaker's stance towards it. In general, agreeing responses to assertion turns are (at least here) displays of the same view, attitude, perspective, and stance – displays of sharing these matters. The assertion turn, in its entirety, is therefore shareable, and it seems to make relevant next a display of that sharing.

Recipients of assertions therefore seem to be more oriented to *sharing* these fragments of talk and their attitudes regarding the matters, and less oriented to having been *informed* about them – even though "informing" may be what the assertion speaker indicated. It is the participants' task to judge what the turns are implementing in interaction, and it is also possible for the recipients to recast the interpretation of the prior turn by manipulating the response they produce (see also Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2014). This is indeed what they do in these assertion sequences, indicating

⁹¹ The relation between emotion/affectivity and evaluation is not always clear. Couper-Kuhlen (2011c) proposes that affectivity and evaluation can be kept apart, but often they go together. She argues that affectivity is a heightened emotive involvement, which is evident, for example, in the prosody. Affectivity can also be conceived of as a feature of evaluation itself, not necessarily as a feature of certain actions or sequences.

⁹² Assertions can also be disagreed with, but these types of responses were excluded from the current collection (see section 1.3).

orientations to multiple matters at once. However, using the action type label “informing” for these assertion turns would require revisions in some characteristics that are usually considered to be related to “informings”, for instance, concerning the type of the “information” being brought forward in the turns.

In the assertions investigated in the present analysis, participants indeed manage the task of responding to an utterance that evokes both the epistemic and the emotional order. Using the response types attested in the current study, the recipients indicate their own orientation not only towards the matter discussed, but also towards the relationship between the two turns-at-talk and between the participants. In his/her response, the recipient fundamentally agrees with the prior speaker (their utterances are aligning), yet nevertheless s/he has an independent grounding for his/her responding turn. S/he is not merely going along with the prior speaker, but is displaying an independent orientation to the matter as well, as has been shown in the analytical chapters above. Hence, the responses orient both to the epistemic order (indicating “I know this, too, independently from you saying it to me”) and to the emotional order (“My stance towards this is the same as yours”). At the same time, however, responding speakers communicate an orientation to the speakers’ interpersonal relationship (“We think the same, we are the same”).

As regards their various features, different social actions appear as networks. In other words, some of them have more in common, and they form a tighter network. Some actions, on the other hand, have very little in common, and their networks hardly cross at all. Due to their peculiar features and interactional behavior, the assertion turns examined here seem to be instantiations of a separate turn type in its own right (or, instantiations of members of a family of closely related turn types). This turn type is more or less similar to other, widely investigated social actions, but nevertheless has an individual character. Assertion turns are close to informings and in many ways also related to assessments.⁹³ There are some similarities with greetings as well, especially concerning shareability, stance-relevance, and the occurrence of overlap and (possible) response forms. In contrast, directive-commissive actions, such as offers, proposals, invitations and requests, seem to form a group of actions that is scarcely related to assertions at all – yet this is not to deny that their use in interaction can be related.

In the above discussion, assertions have been tentatively viewed as a type of social action. However, there is also another way of looking at assertions, and that is considering them as a *practice* (see Enfield 2013: 94ff., Schegloff 1997). From this standpoint, an assertion would not be interpreted as a social action itself, but as a practice or a format that is similar to the interrogative.

⁹³ See also the examples of assessments and informings in Hayano 2013: these categories overlap partly in her work. Some of her examples are rather different from the typical cases of each action, but instead similar to the cases presented here, i.e., assertions.

This would be based on the formal features of the turns, most notably their being generic declarative statements. As a practice, assertions could be used as a means to implement actions, that is, to do various kinds of more fine-grained social and interactional work such as complaints, accounts, compliments, etc. Hence, they would be vehicles for other actions, as Schegloff (2007) formulates it. Assertion turns do indeed occur in various sequences, and participants use them for various purposes.⁹⁴

Now, in this view, what would then be the *action* (see Enfield 2013: esp. 86ff., Schegloff 1996b, 1997) of the assertion turns; what would be the action for which *assertion* is used as a practice? The activities the overlapped speakers seem to be engaged in include emphatically bringing forward their own knowledge, understanding and/or opinion about a certain matter that is somehow relevant for the recipient as well, often with some justifications. At the same time they seem to suppose that the recipient also has some understanding about the matter. It seems to me that the type of activity that the assertion sequences are about is what lay people often refer to as *exchanging views*. And exchanging views is essentially about claiming something about the world. But whether that is an *action* is an empirical question. Due to lack of explicit research on that topic, I do not commit to considering *assertion* as solely either a *practice* or an *action* in the current study. Because I have not started off with the aim to investigate these turn types per se but as this discussion has emerged as a by-product when examining overlapping talk, I am not in a position to determine this issue. Instead, I will continue to refer to these entities as “assertion turns”, without suggesting that the term denotes either a *practice* or an *action* only. At the present stage, there is simply not enough research on this topic. It remains to be conducted.

In addition, it has to be noted that both the term *assertion* as well as the term *action* are used in a wide variety of ways in the literature; we still need empirical and theoretical work to establish a more solid ground for these concepts on the whole (see esp. Enfield 2013: 83ff.). For instance, the ways in which the term *assertion* has been used in the literature do not always coincide with mine. Within speech act theory, utterances belonging to the group of assertions can always be judged as being true or false; the speaker commits to the truth of the proposition; and they are used for an informative function (Austin 1962⁹⁵, Searle 1969, 1976). Yet my cases typically emphasize a personal take on an issue, not an objective fact that can be judged as true or false. Another crucial difference is that according to speech act theory, assertions can be identified in a context-free fashion. Their being assertions does not depend on the surrounding discourse, such as on the existence of a response (Searle 1986). In CA, instead, the response is also taken into

⁹⁴ This is also true, for example, for assessments, and yet they are considered to be actions, too (Pomerantz 1978, 1984a, Schegloff 2007).

⁹⁵ Austin refers to these as “expositives,” and the term “representative” is also used.

account when discussing the import of a turn. Thus, the theoretical assumptions are different in the domain of speech act theory. One similarity is, however, that the assertion speakers in my examples seem to commit to what they are saying and present it as their stand; they commit to their statements and consider them to be right.

In the field of CA, Stivers (2005: 133) includes both *descriptions* and *assessments* in her group of *assertions*. She does not offer a definition of *description*, but as many of her examples are similar to mine, it seems that her understanding of *assertion* is rather close to the one proposed here.⁹⁶ In the assertion turns examined here, the speaker claims something about the world from his/her own perspective, describes his/her understanding of or opinion about a state of affairs, and rather often at the same time attaches a personal evaluation to his/her claim. In conclusion, there are thus features that make assertion turns distinct social entities, related to many different turn types, but not identical to any that have already been established and discussed in the literature.

Let us now move on to examine the overlapping responses to assertions that occur in the current data, and attempt to discover their underlying motivation.

8.2 The overlapping turn and its motivation: agency and enchrony

Building on prior literature and on the empirical analyses of the data presented here, the aim of this section is to introduce some of the motivations that may lie behind early turn-onsets. A key question concerns why these responses are produced in overlap at a non-TRP. Before addressing more theoretical considerations, let us once more examine some data. For the sake of convenience, I will reproduce the fragments that were discussed in the previous section:

(8.1') Väärää nappii / Wrong button (Finnish) (Part of example 4.1)
Sg 398, 05:50

16 Kati: siin ei tarvi ku painat yhtä
DEM3.LOC NEG need CONJ push:2SG one:PAR
(it) needs only for you to push one

⁹⁶ The term *assertion* is also used both by Sidnell (2011) and Stevanovic and Peräkylä (2012) in their CA studies. The latter divide the utterances they investigate into *assertions* and *proposals*. Yet in their (or at least in Sidnell's) understanding, *assertion* is a performative speech act that is used to change reality. In contrast to proposals, both studies link the production of assertions to a more authoritative position in interaction, which is in line with the point of view that is adopted in the present study.

On turn-onset timing and actions

- 17 [väärää °nappia ni°.]
wrong:PAR button:PAR PRT/CONJ
 [wrong button so.]
- > 18 Tarja: [↑nii nii mä tie]dän se[n. =ja sit ei
PRT PRT 1SG know:1SG DEM3:ACC and then NEG
 [yeah yeah I know]w tha[t. and then (you/one) cannot
 19 Kati: [°mm°,
- > 20 Tarja: osaa painaa takasin - -
can push back
 switch ((it)) back again - -

(8.2') Laumaeläimiä / Gregarious animals (Finnish) (Part of example 5.3)
 Sg 377, 22:07

- 09 A: et niil on aika tarkkaki
COMP DEM3.PL:ADE be.3SG quite strict:CLI
 that they nevertheless have a pretty strict
- 10 sitte kuitenkin semmonen
then however DEM3.ADJ
 such a
- 11 sosi[aalinen järjeste]lmä(1) #niillä:#,
social grouping DEM3.PL:ADE
 soci[al groupi]ng they (have)
- > 12 B: [on niillä;]
be.3SG DEM3.PL:ADE
 [they do have]

(8.3') Põhiprobleem / Basic problem (Estonian) (Part of example 5.4)
 TÄ2, 15:15

- 11 Mari: seevastu eestis on põhiprobleem on
instead NAME:INE be.3SG basic.problem be.3SG
 instead in Estonia the basic problem is
- 12 see-;=lkõ[ik >lihtsalt< is]tuvad ja midagi ei
DEM1 all simply sit:3PL and anything NEG
 that ever[yone simply si]ts and does
- > 13 Eve: [see ongi.]
DEM1 be.3SG:CLI
 [indeed / that's right]
- 14 Mari: te[e; ja:] ma - -
do and 1SG
 nothi[ng and] I - -
 []

-> 15 Eve: [see ongi.]
 DEM1 be.3SG:CLI
 [indeed / that's right]

(8.4') Nõiandus / Witchcraft (Estonian) (Part of example 6.4a)
 AN2, 14:52

03 eestlane on 'kogu 'ae:g, (0.6)
 (the) Estonian ((noun)) has all the time (0.6)

04 huvitunud, (.) `teemadest mida ei saa
 been interested (.) in themes that cannot be

05 niiõelda `teaduslikult `tõestada? .h
 so to speak scientifically proved, .h

06 mida ei saa mingi:: (0.3) keegi `õelda et
 what:PAR NEG can any anyone say:INF COMP
 that cannot ((be V-ed by)) any (0.3) nobody can say that

07 `nii ['just 'on;;]
 so exactly be.3SG
 it is [precisely like that]
 []

-> 08 M: [sellepärast=et] see religi`oos ei ole
 because DEM1 religion NEG be
 [because] religion has not become

-> 09 `juurdunud - -
 root:PPC
 rooted - -

(8.5') Vead / Faults (Estonian) (Part of example 6.9)
 AN3, 06:10

04 K: >aga kui sa tuled< `tagasi oma `tavapärasesse
 but when 2SG come:2SG back own routine:ILL
 but when you come back to your routine

05 ellu ja t- oma `tavapäraseid `asju teed
 life:ILL and own routine:PL:PAR thing:PL:PAR do:2SG
 life and d- your routine things you do

06 oma tavapäraseid `as- .hh ja=ni=`edasi siis
 own routine:PL:PAR thi- and so forth then
 your routine thi- .hh and so forth then

07 [sa saad `aru kus need] `vead on;
 2SG understand:2SG where DEM1.PL fault:PL be.3SG
 [you understand where the] faults are
 []

-> 08 M: [sis sa ei `näe seda,]
 then 2SG NEG see DEM1:PAR
 [then you can't see the]

The first assertions in these fragments are followed by an agreeing, overlapping response. In one form or another, these responses make basically the same point as was originally made in the first turn, yet it becomes somehow modified. In example 8.1 the recipient first acknowledges the overlapped assertion with the particles *nii nii* (see Sorjonen 2001a); the subsequent claim in the response (*mä tiedän sen* ‘I know that’) reflects the speaker’s access and commitment to the assertion in the previous turn, and it is further corroborated by the speaker’s demonstration of that knowledge as she continues to describe the line of action that began in the first turn (*ja sit ei osaa - -*, ‘and then (you/one) cannot - -’). The response in both 8.2 and 8.3 exhibits an agreeing statement that is linguistically designed so as to display that the responding speaker is orienting to the prior assertion from her own perspective. The Finnish extract 8.2 contains the VS word order, *on niillä*, ‘they do (have)’ (see Hakulinen & Sorjonen 2009 and the analysis on page 100ff. above), and in the Estonian extract 8.3, the speaker attaches the clitic *-gi* to the verb *on*, see *ongi*, ‘indeed/that’s right’ (see Keevallik 2011a and the analysis on page 105ff. above). Furthermore, examples 8.4 and 8.5 display two different ways in which the speakers demonstrate their understanding of the prior assertion. For example, in 8.4, Margit presents an account for the line of argumentation that was initiated by the first speaker, Katrin (*sellepärast et see religioos - -*, ‘because the religion - -’), and in 8.5 Margit continues the description of the hypothetical events that were introduced by Katrin, completing Katrin’s grammatical structure as well (*sis sa ei näe - -*, ‘then you can’t see - -’) (cf. Lerner 1996). All these responses have an element of independence incorporated in them, which indicates that the responding speaker is not merely agreeing or going along with the prior speaker’s statement, but instead is introducing something new as well. These empirical observations find theoretical substantiation in a range of scholarly work, which will be discussed next as the background for the main argument in this section.

An ultimate and fundamental feature of all interaction, including talk and other conduct in general, is that it unavoidably proceeds in real time. The speakers are bound to act within a temporal framework that entails that talk is produced one turn at a time. This dimension of time, interactional time, is called *enchrony* (Enfield 2011, 2013). According to Sacks et al. (1974), the turn-taking system is organized so that turns get produced mainly one after another, not simultaneously. This suggests that talk-in-interaction is organized so as to minimize the likelihood of more than one person speaking at a time, having one-at-a-time as its basis. Furthermore, a turn always has a temporal position, a position within a sequence.

Concerning assessments as social actions, it has been argued that the speaker who is the first to utter an assessment in a sequence is also implied to have primary rights to that assessment and to possess at least as much information on the issue as the recipient (Heritage 2002, Heritage & Raymond 2005). This is related to, among other things, the grammatical

form of the first utterance: as it is declarative statement, it entails asymmetry of knowledge, an epistemic gradient (Heritage 2012a) where the speaker knows more than the recipient. Hence, first-position assessments are argued to carry the presupposition of primary epistemic rights.⁹⁷ In addition, it has been suggested that this is due to the original or typical use of declaratives for informative purposes (see Tomasello 2008, Enfield 2011). The current work suggests that assertions share this feature with assessments (see also Stivers 2005): in addition to their typical grammatical form, the declarative, they also share similar interactional behavior.

It is possible to make further distinctions concerning the role of the speaker as the producer of an assertion – as its agent. Goffman (1981) proposes that the speaker role (the “production format”) entails several dimensions and proposes the trichotomy of animator, author and principal: it is not always the same person who utters the words, who has designed their form and who is behind the message and committed to it. Enfield (2011, 2013) further develops the idea known as “distributed agency” and also discusses the apparent reasons underlying the interactional challenges it entails in assessment sequences. He (ibid.) argues that as the animator of an utterance is the most accessible of the three dimensions for a recipient (the recipient has less information about its author and principal), and as the participants in everyday interaction normally assume that all three dimensions coincide within the same person, a speaker is assumed to be not only the animator, but also the author and the principal of his/her utterance. The speaker’s status of principal implies that the recipient of the utterance does not have the same status – the recipient is obviously not the animator, but not the author or the principal either, or at least not to the same degree as the speaker. The agency of the recipient is therefore very limited, which is problematic in situations where the recipient in her next turn wishes to express the same amount of agency and commitment to the assertion as made in the first turn. (On agency, see also Stevanovic & Kahri 2011.)

In the cases examined here, the speakers of two adjacent assertions aim at joint commitment (or the status of “compound principal,” Enfield 2011: 311) regarding the statement. The responding speaker who produces an agreeing turn with an assertion similar to what was in the first turn – as in our cases – nevertheless appears as second (in order) not only as regards the position of his/her turn, but also as regards his/her authority over the statement in the utterance(s).⁹⁸ This concerns those implications arising from the

⁹⁷ The grounds for epistemic primacy can be either in the world (for example, meaning the participants’ social roles, experience and recent access to the matter) and/or in the interaction (for instance, referring to the positioning of an utterance and other types of authority construction) (Stivers et al. 2011: 16 and references therein).

⁹⁸ Yet one important note has to be made, and that concerns the “content” of the assertions. Content plays a role as well when determining who is the primary authority on the matter at hand, who has primary rights to assert. If we are talking about my own personal matters, I am naturally the

grammatical form of the first utterance as well as with the enchronic structure of interaction, the responding speaker's temporal position as the second in order. The result is a serious asymmetry between the participants with respect to both time (or interactional time, enchrony) and to the participants' rights concerning the assertion, that is, their agency. Hence, the intermediary conclusion thus far is that the first (and only) speaker (or principal, agent) of an assertive utterance is implied to have primary rights concerning the statement s/he is making, and that the second speaker (in order) is implied to have secondary rights concerning that assertion. Let us now return to the examples above, where a response to an assertion was positioned in early overlap. We noticed that in all these responses, despite the agreement with the prior turn, the responding speaker crucially includes a more or less explicit expression of independence concerning their rights to make the statement and their access to that domain of knowledge. Thus, they claim to have had the knowledge already before hearing the assertion (examples in chapter 4), or they use certain linguistic elements to claim that they have an independent position regarding the domain of the assertion (chapter 5), or they explicitly demonstrate that they are aware of the issue by introducing new, congruent material concerning the assertion (chapter 6).

Bearing in mind the literature discussed above, a straightforward explanation can be proposed. When a responding speaker positions his/her turn in early overlap, the positioning is temporally closer to a point of simultaneous onset. The second turn is then produced as close to the first as is possible – taking into account that it nevertheless is a response to it. That is, the second turn is produced as soon as the thrust of the first turn has been understood. This practice implies that the speakers' rights to the assertion are more symmetrical, closer to being equal, as well. So when the asymmetry between the timing of the turns is reduced, the asymmetry between the speakers' agencies is reduced as well. This could be interpreted as signaling the responding speaker's aim to achieve both symmetry in commitment and independence as well symmetry in authority and agency. The symmetry in commitment concerns committing to the validity of the assertion by the two speakers; the independence of the speaker concerns not only an independent perspective on the statement and its "truthfulness," but also the grounds for asserting it. A further issue that could be added to this idea is the one of "owning" the action, being its agent. With regard to agency, the overlapping responding speaker is at the same time indicating that s/he is an/the agent of the action that the overlapped turn is accomplishing (so that the two speakers share the action jointly), even though the overlapped speaker did not indicate this. (Cf. Goodwin 2013 on humans inhabiting each other's

primary authority on the matter, and if we are talking about yours, you are therefore the authority. As Raymond and Heritage (2006) demonstrate, speakers finely orient to this by designing their utterances so that they reflect the particularities of their authority in terms of whether or not they are the primary authorities concerning a certain personal issue.

actions, and the extensive literature on phenomena such as turn continuations, increments, joint telling, and co-constructions as well, which have been reviewed, for example, in section 6.1.3 above.)

The responding speaker is therefore, as it were, competing over priority concerning the assertion. The producers of the overlapping responses indicate that they also “own” the basis from which the statement is being made, that is, their knowledge of it. Hence, concerning the assertion being made, second speakers are claiming or demonstrating that they are authorities and agents symmetrically with the first speakers. I argue that this background offers an explanation for why it is precisely assertive turns that are overlapped, and why it is exactly the type of response as presented above that is produced in early overlap with them. Indeed, the early positioning of a responding turn is a practice for the interactional work of declaring symmetry of commitment and agency in the agreeing turns. Moreover, the temporal positioning of the turn indicates and upgrades the turn’s relation to the previous one: it highlights the intended shared agency between the speakers. Thus both the position and the composition of the response entail and reflect the competition over primacy and overcoming the structure-based asymmetry between the turns and their speakers. The response types that arise in these positions are a manifestation of this, as all of them include an independent perspective on the matter at hand, as described above.

However, due to both enchrony in general and to the definition of a *response*, a responding turn is still always a second turn, a subsequent turn after a first one. The motivation to position a response in (early) overlap thus may be related to the balance between the two turns. In other words, by timing a response in early overlap, the responding speaker attempts to balance the asymmetries in speakership and agency with respect to the assertion. The responding speaker can indicate these matters in various ways. For example, s/he can manipulate the social action in his/her turn, its linguistic design and/or the timing of the turn, which all have been mentioned in the current work. The two symmetries in these interactional situations – symmetry in rights/agency and symmetry in time/enchrony – are therefore simultaneous and convergent, at least in the current context.

8.3 Summary

Both the overlapped and the overlapping turns have been discussed from a more general perspective in this chapter. It has been suggested that the overlapped turns, being rather uniform both with regard to their form and to their interactional behavior, are instances of a specific turn type in their own right. One option would be to consider an *assertion* as a social action type. Alternatively, an *assertion* could be thought of as a practice for implementing more fine-grained interactional work. According to the current data, assertion turns are initiating turns that describe or make a statement

concerning a rather general, stable state of affairs in the world. In their assertions, speakers typically attach an evaluation to the issue as well as indicate that they have a personal stance or a stand concerning it. In these assertion sequences, the speakers are oriented to talking about something, i.e., doing something in the present.

Assertion turns are typically produced in a declarative form, and compared to the recipient, the speakers appear to be more knowledgeable concerning the issue at hand. Nevertheless, the responses that these assertions receive do not orient to them as news. Rather, the responding speakers affiliate with the assertion speakers, and display that they are already aware of the issue and are committed to the statement as well. Moreover, the responding speakers do this from an independent position: they may even add something new and congruent to the assertion being made. As a consequence, the recipients thus indicate that they share not only knowledge concerning the issue, but that they also share the grounds for making the assertion (the grounds may be independent) and for taking a stance towards it. Even though they agree, they do not merely go along with the overlapped turn.

When comparing assertion turns to various types of social action, they have most in common with assessments and informings. Perhaps surprisingly, also greetings share certain features with them. In comparison, directive actions are very different. None of the social action categories previously established capture exactly the nature of the assertion turns examined in this study; the assertion turns are distinct from the social actions identified in the prior literature. Assertion sequences display an orientation to *sharing* the statements and the stances in them (cf. the basic human communicative motives presented by Tomasello 2008). Assertion turns may be a prime example of the interdependence of the epistemic and emotional orientation in interaction. More research on this turn type is warranted.

In the latter section of this chapter, a special motivation was suggested for the early turn-onset of the responses to assertion turns. In early overlapping responses, the speaker either claims or demonstrates that s/he already has the same or similar knowledge (and stance) as the assertion speaker. Furthermore, in each agreeing response, there is an element of independence. The responding speakers thus in a way mobilize or manipulate the sequential position of their turns by designing them as agentive, as if they were almost “first” turns. In interpreting these turns, their independent design overrides the positional and sequential interpretation. (Cf. Sacks 1992b: 25.)

One crucial feature that accounts for these cases is the fact that interaction proceeds in real time, and that the participants are bound to act within the frame of enchrony (see Enfield 2013). Another background assumption is that first assessments – and as is suggested here, assertions as well – imply that the speaker has primary rights concerning the statement

being made. This is at least partly due to the declarative form of the turn. One additional explanatory factor is that a first speaker of such a turn is also implied to be the only one who is committed to the assertion s/he is making. These factors thus create a serious asymmetry between the participants in the assertion sequence, both with respect to time (enchrony) and the timing of their turns, as well as with respect to their presumed rights and commitment to the assertion – in a word, their agency. By positioning their agreeing, independent responses to the first assertions in early overlap, second speakers reduce both types of asymmetry between the speakers: speakership and agency. The early positioning of (an agreeing) response is thus a practice to even out these asymmetries and to attain a more balanced relationship between the participants.

9 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has explored overlapping talk in Finnish and Estonian talk-in-interaction. The focus has been on sequences containing a response that is positioned in overlap at a non-transition relevance place. The actions that the participants accomplish in both the overlapped and the overlapping turns have been investigated, and possible motivations behind this interactional practice have been suggested. This chapter will summarize the research results and propose some implications of these findings for our understanding of social interaction, concerning not only affiliation, epistemics and early response-onset, but also turn-taking organization and units of talk.

9.1 Summary of results

The empirical analyses in this research report have demonstrated that there are three main types of overlapping early-onset responses in the current Finnish and Estonian data: claims of similar knowledge and experience (chapter 4), independent agreements (chapter 5) and demonstrations of understanding (chapter 6). Gaze behavior was not found to be relevant for early response-onset in the data. In addition, the participants did not treat the overlapping turns as being interruptive. The early-onset responses examined here occur in sequences where the activities involve asserting something about some state of affairs, often with a personal stance towards the issue. The overlapping response typically occurs either in the middle or towards the end of a larger sequence, a circumstance that facilitates its early start-up (chapter 3). In other words, even though the ongoing turn(-unit) has not yet reached its completion, the responding speaker can recognize its gist and project its end and is therefore able to start up his/her contribution early. In a few cases, the recipient of the initial turn did not (properly) respond earlier in the sequence, and so it may be justified to say that some extra interactional work (i.e., the overlapping positioning) is needed in displaying a stance toward the prior assertion that is agreeing yet independent. The same practice is, however, also found in cases where some response has already occurred earlier in the larger sequence. In all cases, the participants share at least some common knowledge of the topic.

The findings based on the early-onset data were corroborated by briefly considering the timing of other responses (well-timed and delayed) in the whole dataset (chapter 7). This overview revealed that various types of social actions and sequences are attested in the data, but it is assertion sequences that attract the early overlapping responses. Assertion sequences that were in other respects similar to the overlapped ones but where the response was not

timed in overlap at a non-TRP, were subsequently explored more thoroughly. It was concluded that none of these responses was similar in effect to the early overlapping ones.

Analyzing one of the early-onset response types, demonstrations of understanding, led to a brief investigation focusing on the boundaries of responsiveness (section 6.1.3). Observations based on the data suggest that there is a continuum between typical, full-fledged responses and the cases that have been known as co-completions in the literature. The continuum of responsiveness concerns the grammatical form of the subsequent contribution and the social action it implements.

The analyses led to some general considerations. The observation concerning the uniformity of the overlapped turns – their being some type of assertion – was crucial and led to further reflection on *assertion* as a social action and as a practice (section 8.1). The evidence suggested that as social actions, assertions most closely resemble assessments and informings. The relation between assertions and informings is complex, which may be due to certain issues concerning their proposed origins. In the overlapping responses to the assertions examined here, all three types involved the speaker indicating that s/he has some independent knowledge of the matter at hand despite being in agreement with the co-participant. The response types differ in whether the aspect of independence is demonstrated or claimed in the turn and how. Despite the differences in the overlapping responses, the current work has detected common motivations that underlie the early response-position (section 8.2). Positioning a response in overlap is analyzed as a participant's means to strive for symmetry with respect to the timing of the turns (symmetry in interactional time, enchrony) and with respect to the speakers' commitment to the assertion (symmetry in agency); these symmetries appear to go hand in hand. Based on the data, early response-onset is analyzed as being due to the aspect of independence in that turn; the response being in agreement with the overlapped turn does not account for the early turn-onset.

As is implied by the structure of this study, the empirical analyses of the data did not reveal any major differences in the conversations that were conducted in the two languages, Finnish and Estonian. This means that both the overlapped and the overlapping turns implement similar social actions across the data fragments in the two languages. Nonetheless, some slight dissimilarities arose in the frequency of these turns (see Table 2 on page 30), but on the whole, the results are similar. However, certain linguistic resources that were used to implement these responding actions and the fine-grained interactional work that they accomplish may be different in the two languages (cf. sections 4.2, 5.2 and 6.2). Some of the resources are common to both Finnish and Estonian, but others exist in one language only. Nevertheless, generally speaking, even the dissimilar linguistic resources in these languages are exploited to implement similar interactional goals. The overarching similarities found in the overlap behavior among both the

Finnish and the Estonian interactants in the current data reveal that the stereotypical lay beliefs regarding the differences between the speakers of these two languages are ill-founded, at least from the perspective investigated here. Instead, the current study highlights certain characteristics of interaction that are identical in conversations in these two languages. In the whole data collection, the participants show an orientation to epistemicity and agency in social actions, and that becomes visible in how they time their responsive turns in these sequences.

Even though the data in this study consist of extracts from Finnish and Estonian conversations, this analysis did not indicate any grounds for supposing that its results are limited to these languages only and do not apply to the interactions in other languages. This is in fact an empirical question. Nevertheless, the results at hand – and especially, should later research support the hypothesis that responding in overlap also functions in similar ways in other languages – attest to the fact that certain issues in understanding social interaction more generally may need re-formulating. First, these concern affiliation and epistemics and how they are related to the timing of a response, and second, how we need to understand the nature of the units of talk and the organization of turn taking in general. Let us begin the discussion with the former.

9.2 Early response-onset and its implications for affiliation and epistemics

The results of this study as summarized above have implications for interpreting the motivations and explanations of the relationship between social action and turn-onset timing. As is widely attested and accepted in conversation analytic literature, the agreeing second assessments are claimed to come early during the course of the prior turn, and this is argued to be related to their preferred nature (Pomerantz 1984a; for a recent critique, see Kendrick & Torreira forthcoming). In other words, the early start-up of a second (assessment) turn has been related to the turn being in agreement with the prior. Goodwin and Goodwin (1992) have even stated that the one-at-a-time principle of turn taking is relaxed for assessments. Having begun from the timing of turns, at first noticing that there are both agreeing and disagreeing responses that are positioned in early overlap and then focusing especially on the numerically predominant agreeing turns, this analysis suggests a slightly different and more nuanced conception of the phenomenon: the grounds for early response-onset are argued to lie elsewhere. Another extension to the literature mentioned above is that the current study examines turns that are assertions, related to, but not identical with, assessments.

The overlapping early-onset turns investigated here are basically in agreement with the prior turn. However, the crucial factor for their early

timing seems not to be their agreeing nature. All of them also share an additional feature that appears to be more important in explaining the early turn-onset, and that is the element of (explicit) independence in them. As has been elaborated on in section 8.2 above, the essential aspect appears to be the independent knowledge in the response. That an agreeing second speaker (especially one who produces a strong, upgraded agreement) has independent access to the assessed referent was previously noted in the classic paper by Pomerantz (1984a: 96, en. 3). However, in Pomerantz's article, the early, minimization-of-gap timing of the response is related to agreement and its preferredness, not to the aspect of independence. Furthermore, contrary to the cases in the current collection, any "independence" that occurs in the cases examined by Pomerantz (*ibid.*) is rather implicit.

Hence, the current work suggests that the early positioning of the agreeing (assertion) turns is perhaps not due to the agreement itself, but to epistemic dimensions in the turns, to *how* the speakers agree with one another. The agreement in these turns is therefore tightly connected to their epistemic quality. Moreover, the early turn-onset seems to be triggered by the speaker's independent access, not by agreement, as previously thought (see Goodwin & Goodwin 1992, Pomerantz 1984a and other assessment literature). As Pomerantz (*ibid.*) observes, simply by offering the second assessment, the speaker claims to have access to the referent. Explaining the cases examined in the current work thus requires some refinement, which I will provide both concerning the nature of the aspect of independence in the response and the sequential positioning of the target turns.

The demonstrations of understanding, but to some extent also the independent agreements and the claims of similar knowledge, especially involve rather explicit new content when compared to the turns they respond to. The responses are along the same line of argumentation as far as the statements being made are concerned (that is, they are aligning), but they typically add something substantial to the prior assertion. This stands in contrast to Pomerantz's (1984a) cases, where the strongly agreeing second speakers predominantly only change the evaluative term of the assessment to a stronger one, or add an intensifier to it. This practice as described by Pomerantz is rather similar to the cases that I classify as independent agreements; some examples in her paper resemble my cases of claims of similar knowledge. These two categories, albeit extant, are nevertheless in the minority of the agreeing overlapping responses that occur in my data. The majority of the target turns considered here are what I call demonstrations of understanding. These could be thought of as the most typical type of overlapping response turn due not only to the large number of these that occur, but also and more importantly, due to the explicitness of the independent elements that they contain.

Comparing the three early-overlap response types and the other, differently positioned responses (examined in chapter 7) leads us to the

conclusion that the dimension of independence and the strength of agreement in interaction might well be scalar and form a continuum. The most typical response type in the overlapping agreements is the one in which the speaker exhibits the greatest amount of independence most explicitly. This latter response type would be at the most extreme end of this continuum, being in strongest agreement.⁹⁹ The other response types expressing some degree of independence are close to this end of the continuum as well. The early overlap collection does not include examples at the other end, but the brief discussion of non-overlapping responses (chapter 7) provides some cases of responses that lack explicit independence. Thus, the more (explicitly displayed) independence there is in an agreeing response, the more likely it is to be positioned in early overlap – or at least, the more that type of examples occur in these data. When there is less independence in the response, it seems to be viewed as “only agreeing” and simply aligning with the prior turn.

The classic article by Pomerantz (1984a) and other early publications on preference organization (for example, Heritage 1984b) have recently been critiqued from a quantitative perspective, too. Studying a collection of approximately 200 sequences of various directive actions, Kendrick and Torreira (forthcoming) demonstrate that the mode duration of transition space before both preferred and dispreferred responses is the same, approximately 250 milliseconds. Both their findings that concern directive actions and the ones presented here concerning assertive actions suggest that we need to reconsider our understanding of the factors that affect the timing of a response.

In addition to the element of explicit independence in the overlapping responses, another factor that relates precisely to these turns being overlapping is both their sequential positioning and the structure of the sequence at the given moment in general. In some of the cases, the recipient of the first assertion turn has, for one reason or another, passed up opportunities to produce a response. When s/he eventually does respond, s/he seems to be obliged to display his/her agreement and its independent grounds in a rather explicit and elaborated way. One practice for accomplishing this interactional goal is positioning a response in overlap. Timing the turn in overlap enhances and bolsters its action as well as the implications expressed through other means such as lexical choices (a rather similar point is made in Stivers 2004 on multiple sayings).

In the sequences investigated here, the overlapped first speaker does not attribute epistemic authority to his/her recipient, but the recipient indicates in his/her turn that the participants actually have equal or similar epistemic statuses. Hence, the response is epistemically incongruent with the prior turn – it is “resistant” to it, concerning its epistemics. This notion of epistemic

⁹⁹ Independence in a response, if the content is far from and non-aligning with the initial turn, may also result in greater or lesser disagreement (cf. example 6.8).

incongruence has been developed primarily by Hayano (2013). Regarding assessments – which as social actions are rather similar to assertions (see section 8.1) – Hayano claims (*ibid.* p. 38) that when participants respond to an assessment, they not only indicate whether they agree with it, but they also take an epistemic stance that is either compatible or incompatible with the prior speaker’s epistemic stance (see also Hayano 2011 and Stivers et al. 2011). When epistemic stances are incompatible, there is incongruence (which is to be kept separate from disagreement, that is, a difference in evaluative stances; Hayano 2013: 38). This is now exactly the case in the overlap examples in my data.

In these situations, speakers do not fully agree on who has the greater epistemic access or authority over the assertions they are making. Indeed, both speakers indicate, one after the other that they have greater or at least equal epistemic access or authority over the domain in question compared to the co-participant. The overlapping response thus combats the weaker/lower (K–) epistemic position attributed to it by the speaker of the prior turn. This phenomenon has been previously described also as “claiming epistemic authority from second position” (Stivers 2005), or as “asserting more authoritative rights over the information at issue than [has been] conceded” (Heritage & Raymond 2012). The response action has similarly been described as an “epistemically authoritative second-position assessment” or “K+ second assessment” (Sidnell & Enfield 2012). One of the lessons to be learned from the current work is that this interactional phenomenon is neither limited to nor characteristic of assessments only, but that it also applies to assertions as well – and more generally, to assertive actions. Hence, the comparative point that Sidnell and Enfield (2012) make – that actions or other interactional goals can be affected by the practices that languages afford for their speakers – can be broadened to cover not only second assessments, but also other types of turns that accomplish similar interactional work, as shown in the analytical chapters 4–6 above.

The interactional work of agreeing with a prior assertion while indicating epistemic independence can be accomplished through various practices and turn types in Finnish and Estonian, as evidenced by the current data. In these overlapping turns, the responding speaker makes a rather strong claim to epistemic authority, or at least to epistemic equality. S/he asserts agreement on independent grounds and therefore marks a measure of competition in epistemic terms over the assertions being made. In these examples, the overlapping speaker claims or demonstrates his/her independent epistemic access to the assessable or to the matter that the assertion is about. S/he may also claim or demonstrate at least equal rights to make the assertion. On the surface, the recipient endorses the prior

speaker's stance and is "of the same opinion," but at the same time does some fine-grained epistemic work as well.¹⁰⁰

Despite this somewhat resistant aspect in the response, its speaker is nevertheless rather affiliative with the prior speaker. The two most prevalent interpretations of *affiliation* concern preference organization and affective stance (Lindström & Sorjonen 2013). From the latter perspective, the turns examined here are affiliative in that they predominantly express a similar affective stance towards the matter talked about (affectivity is, however, not at issue in all of the cases). In reference to preference organization, the picture is less clear. The early published articles that focus on preference – as discussed above – connect it rather tightly to the timing of a turn. Thus, a preferred (and affiliative) response, such as an agreement to an assessment, is positioned early and perhaps even in overlap, whereas a dispreferred (and disaffiliative) response, such as disagreement, is delayed (Heritage 1984b, Pomerantz 1984a). The turns examined here are in agreement with the prior turn, and hence it is not surprising that they are positioned early, with no delay.

However, as discussed earlier in this analysis, there is some resistance in the turns; they resist certain epistemic presuppositions that are implied in the prior turn. At least at first sight, this does not sound like a preferred action because the turns foreground the speaker's own agency and upgrade their epistemic position in relation to the prior. However, it is interesting that the turns are timed as if they were preferred, as there is no delay but instead there is overlap. The turns examined here thus corroborate that preference organization cannot be solely based on the timing of a turn, as has been previously mentioned in the early papers and later emphasized by several scholars (for example, Brown & Levinson 1987, Kendrick & Torreira forthcoming, Pomerantz & Heritage 2013, Schegloff 2007). It is likewise interesting that when discussing the positioning of preferred responses, Schegloff (2007: 67) does not mention overlap, but talks only about well-timed variants. Although perhaps not intended in the original text, we could interpret this as implying that positioning a response in overlap might be doing yet something else, not merely the regular preference work – and indeed this is what has emerged from the present study.

It is noteworthy that producing an agreeing yet epistemically incongruent response can be seen as ultimately more pro-social and as an expression of stronger affiliation when compared to other, "weaker" types of agreeing responses. Even if at first glance the resistance in the turns might seem to be less aligning in comparison to epistemically congruent responses and hence

¹⁰⁰ Regarding answers to questions, a very similar practice has been described by Stivers & Hayashi (2010). The authors label as "transformative" those answers that "push against the constraints that questions impose on them" (ibid. p. 1). Analyzing the answers to polar questions, Heritage & Raymond (2012) also document various practices that the responding speakers can use to manage the epistemic stances attributed to them in the question.

less cooperative, a closer examination reveals a different picture. As Stivers et al. (2011: 22) observe, “what may lack in cooperation can be seen as a sacrifice in the service of what is ultimately a more pro-social stance.” Like the speakers of *oh*-prefaced responses to assessments in English (Heritage 2002), the speakers of agreeing early-onset responses do not “merely go along” with the prior speaker, either; instead, they introduce something more – either by claiming it, or demonstrating it. The agreeing, overlapping responses examined here are epistemically rather independent from the turns they respond to in that the speakers most often bring in some new content with them. This means that the speakers exhibit more agency in their assertions, which amounts to (an expression of) greater solidarity between the participants. The grounds and evidence for this claim can be found in the following ideas, adopted from Enfield (2011, 2013). When an individual presents a piece of information or an attitude and is independently herself committed both to the assertion itself and its truth, there is more agency involved. It seems to be that an assertion produced with a greater agency is heard as being more authentic, plausible and real. Furthermore, when there is more knowledge, there are more grounds for presenting an assertion. And presenting an agreeing, independent assertion along the lines proposed by the prior speaker exhibits a great amount of sharedness, collaboration, and solidarity between the speakers; the participants display that they share not only the stance towards the matter talked about, but also the grounds for it.

Despite the agreement, and due to the element of independence, the overlapping turns examined here are somewhat resistant with respect to the prior turn because they are epistemically incongruent with it. Epistemically incongruent agreements to assessments have been also examined by Hayano (2013), and she reports that her target turns were not delayed, but produced as relevant, preferred next actions. According to her, epistemic incongruence is not oriented to as being dispreferred. This is the picture that emerges from the current study as well: the epistemically incongruent but agreeing second assertions are positioned early during the course of the prior, still ongoing turn; the participants do not seem to treat them as dispreferred in any way.

The current work has also demonstrated that epistemic dimensions indeed matter for speakers in interaction. Why this should be the case has been summarized by Hayano (2013: 247–248), referring to Raymond and Heritage (2006) among others, by observing that:

interactants - - claim to know better than others, care in detail about how their experience is more remarkable than and distinct from others’, or make fine distinction of the levels of their (un)knowledgeability. - - [W]hat we know, and what we are known to know, is immediately tied to who we are in our social relations, [and i]t is for these social constructs that we strive to claim our epistemic territories in everyday interaction.

Taking this issue to an even more general level, I will conclude this section by citing Goffman (1987 [1959]: 92): “There seems to be a general feeling that the most real and solid things in life are ones whose description individuals independently agree upon.” The extracts examined in this study appear as prime examples of this: presenting congruent, aligning descriptions of states of affairs based on independent grounds.

9.3 Early response-onset and its implications for turn-taking organization and units of talk

This study has demonstrated that the use of a non-TRP as a response-onset position in talk-in-interaction is patterned. The turns and sequences investigated share many features, so that the overlapping turn-onsets cannot be interpreted as being random. These results also suggest further implications for our understanding of how the organization of turn taking functions and how participants orient to units of talk. One of the main points can be formulated as follows: In interaction, participants engage in semiotic play¹⁰¹ where they utilize transition relevance (and transition relevance places) for social and interactional purposes. This stands in slight contrast, or at least adds a new perspective to how turn taking has traditionally been conceptualized in the CA literature. In their seminal article, Sacks et al. (1974) present turn-taking organization as a rather mechanical system that governs interactants’ behavior (or, according to which interactants behave). That article is very explicit in stating that the rule-set organizes turn transfer exclusively around transition relevance places. However, as has hopefully been highlighted in the current study, the turn-taking system involves not only a technical side (as it is most often portrayed and understood), but there is also a social side in that participants use talk and its actions – and, importantly, indirectly also turns-at-talk – in constructing their social lives and worlds.¹⁰² One of the most crucial implications of the present analysis is that it is social action and other such factors that affect turn taking (organization) and not vice versa – although the latter certainly sets a framework within which speakers (have to) operate. Furthermore, the timing of a turn can be mobilized and utilized for interactional and social purposes. Contributing to this line of inquiry (for example, Goodwin 2002, Goodwin & Goodwin 1990, 1992, Heritage 1984b, Stivers et al. 2009), this study has demonstrated that further systematicity occurs within that domain.

When taking turns in conversation, speakers have the option to position their turn in overlap with the prior turn. This analysis has examined the

¹⁰¹ The word *play* does not suggest that the behavior is non-serious; instead, it refers symbolically to a “game” the speakers are engaged in.

¹⁰² In the original paper by Sacks et al. and much of the subsequent discussion (see chapter 2), this is neither denied nor excluded, nor is it really stressed, either.

organization of one type of overlapping talk. Related to turn-taking organization and how it is presented by Sacks et al. (1974), yet another question to consider is whether it is really the case, as the classical turn-taking model suggests, that the turn-taking rules aim to minimize gaps and overlaps. This rather technical description of spontaneous human interaction, albeit very basic and overarching, seems to not recognize the fact that the timing of turns can be utilized for social purposes, and that the timing of a turn is furthermore contingent on the course of the prior sequence. One conclusion that can be drawn on the basis of this study is that although acting within a turn-taking framework, speakers do not invariably and solely aim for no gap and no overlap according to a mechanical set of rules (cf. also Heldner & Edlund 2010). It is true that the general aim of minimizing gaps and overlaps is not invalidated on the basis of this study. However, it must be emphasized that the social actions that speakers implement and the sequential positioning of the turns-at-talk both play a role in how the speakers time their turns with regard to the prior/ongoing turn. Thus, a speaker may begin a turn in early overlap to achieve a certain purpose or to index or reinforce a certain message. For instance, as I demonstrate in this work, that purpose is to establish independence and strong understanding (and agreement). According to the results of this study, turn-onset timing appears to be related to where the turn is positioned in the sequence so that the early-onset responses typically occur rather late in the course of an extended sequence. Some of the early overlaps appear to be due to an earlier failure to produce a relevant response at the first possible point, that is, at the place where it was first expected. These early overlaps may then be occasioned by that failure, and they are therefore not an intrinsic part of the system itself. Yet, most of the cases are not like this.

To summarize the discussion thus far, the social action type affects turn taking, turn taking emerges from social action, and turn-onset positioning is a participants' device for interactional meaning-making. Both the technical and the social levels must be kept in mind when discussing turn taking and turn transition in interaction. Hence, our understanding of turn-taking organization also undergoes some revision through the results of this work.

By examining more closely turn transition and the question of units of talk, this study has demonstrated in particular that a transition relevance place is not the sole legitimate point for positioning one's turn-at-talk, nor is it the sole locus of legitimate and patterned turn transition and next turn onset. In fact, participants do not always care about the completion of turns or TCUs, as is usually claimed. Accordingly, actualized grammatical completion is not always the participants' concern. As demonstrated in the chapters above, recipient-participants use the not-yet-completeness of the prior unit for certain interactional practices. Instead of the (possible) completion of the prior turn-unit (TCU), recipient-participants orient to the projectability and recognizability of these units and use the very places where

they have not yet been completed to position their next turn-at-talk – at least when their turn belongs to one of the three response types attested here.

In most of our cases, the first (overlapped) speaker him/herself seems to orient to their turn as not yet complete, as s/he continues to produce it even after the response has been initiated. The result may be a rather long stretch of simultaneous talk. Furthermore, it may be the case that the participants' interpretations of "completeness" or transition-readiness do not coincide and the persistence in overlap may suggest this. According to Schegloff (1996a: 112), TCUs "are productions whose status as complete turns testifies to their *adequacy as units for the participants*" (italics original), and this in turn is related to turns/TCUs accomplishing actions so that the "practical actors" approach units with the generic question of "why that now?" (ibid.). It may be, therefore, that the status of the turn(-unit)s examined here as adequate units and actions may differ according to each participant's perspective.

Based on these results, a question worth pondering is the nature of grammatical or syntactic completion. From the recipient's point of view, the ongoing turn may already be intelligible at the point when the response sets in – hence, perhaps, "complete enough" in that the recipient has already recognized its gist and is able to project the turn end. Adopting the concept of positionally sensitive grammars (Schegloff 1996a), the question is whether or not the turn thus is "complete" at that point. The "completeness" of grammatical units in talk-in-interaction appears to be a problematic concept (cf., for example, Ono & Thompson 1997 for Japanese and Tao 2003 for English). Exploring this theme, Auer (2014) examines second turns that make use of the syntactic structures available in the immediately preceding context, the "structural latencies" established by first turns, and which, due to their own "incomplete" structure, could not be (very well) understood outside their actual context of occurrence. The overlapped turns that are examined here are initiating turns, and for the most part, they do not explicitly utilize any grammatical format (or "structural latency") from before. A few cases arise in which the form of the turn is to some extent repeated from a prior occurrence and in which some of the elements may appear redundant, and from the recipient's perspective, this may amount to a type of unit that is already recognizable or "complete-enough." More importantly, however, the recognizability of (the gist/thrust of) an utterance is due, above all, to semantic-pragmatic and sequential factors, as has been emphasized in the chapters above.

These observations lead us to consider the role and function of grammar in interaction in general. In short, what do speakers in interaction use grammar for? As, for instance, Auer (2005) argues, grammar is especially good at projection. The participants in the data fragments examined here seem to deploy projection (/recognition) points – provided in part by grammar, or at least, by the participants' understanding of grammar – for the interactional goals they wish to accomplish. Yet the recognition point does not correspond to the possible completion point. Hearing a

grammatically complete turn(-unit) is not essential for the recipients, the overlapping speakers, at this point. The respondents rely on precisely this quality of the prior/ongoing turns – their not-yet-completeness – in order for their responses to be understood as doing what they do. In other words, the respondents need the notion of ‘incomplete’ in order to signal ‘I know as much about this as you do’ and ‘I strongly agree with you on this.’ For these reasons, my research results are an indirect confirmation of the relevance of notions such as ‘possibly complete’ and ‘incomplete.’ The unfinishedness of prior/ongoing turns, the not-yet-completeness (but the recognizability and projectability) of them, is used as a resource for implementing certain types of responsive social actions, as has been described in this study.

The implications of this study also concern the understanding of some central notions in the organization of turn taking including the turn, turn-constructive unit (TCU) and transition relevance place (TRP). Based on the current analysis, it seems apparent that these concepts should not be conceptualized as strict categories, but as rather flexible and exploitable resources that participants can manipulate for interactional purposes. As Schegloff (1996a: 96) remarks, transition space is organized socially and interactionally and shaped by turn beginnings and turn endings. The current study is an explicit demonstration of this. The grammar and the (possible) completion of its various structures is still unquestionably constitutive of turns, TCUs and TRPs, but not solely so: In understanding and defining them in each occurrence, it is crucial to take into account the social action, the interactional practices, and the sequential position of the target instances as well. In addition, what grammar actually is and what it is like could be further considered. In line with the body of research demonstrating the multitude of practices involved in the construction and recognition of turns-at-talk (see section 2.1), the current study underlines that in addition to the already widely acknowledged resources of syntax and prosody, the social action and the sequential position of a turn are also essential in understanding the details of how turn taking is organized in locally managed social interaction. These resources appear to be especially relevant and needed in explaining the “exceptional” turn onset points that this study has examined.

Underlining the flexibility and negotiability of these concepts, the current work continues and adds to the research presented, for example, by Ford (2004), who emphasizes contingency in discussing the units of talk and the need to take into account the behavior of both (or all) interactants in understanding them. In a similar fashion, in an earlier contribution by Ford et al. (1996), what is emphasized are the numerous practices in projecting turn trajectories and the manipulability and negotiability of turn end points. The work by Ford et al., nonetheless, begins with the question of unit construction and hence with the speaker’s perspective, whereas the current analysis has concentrated more on unit interpretation by starting from the recipient’s perspective. Furthermore, instead of units themselves, my study

has targeted turn transitions and the ways in which co-participants view the emerging units of talk and how they respond to them. It was in investigating this that insights into units of talk have also emerged.

Moreover, concerning the moment when the recipient recognizes the gist of the ongoing talk, the classical turn-taking paper (Sacks et al. 1974, see also Jefferson 1983) claims that this “recognition point” is the moment when the would-be next speaker can begin planning where to come in. The incoming itself would then occur at a point when the projected unit has in practice reached its completion. In my examples, by contrast, what is referred to as the recognition point is the place where the next speaker actually comes in. This entails, taking into consideration the time that is required for neuro-linguistic processing as suggested in psycholinguistics (see Levelt 1989; also Levinson 2013: 103–104), that the actual planning of talk must begin even earlier.

9.4 Conclusion

This study set out by mentioning the rather widespread lay understanding of Finnish and Estonian conversation cultures being different regarding turn taking. Discussing the issues that can affect conversational behavior and hence also the timing of turns-at-talk, such as overlapping talk, Schegloff et al. (1996: 27–32) introduce the notion of culture and conversational styles. According to their analysis, the timing of a turn can be a matter of style, and culture can explain some aspects of it. However, the idea of Finnish and Estonian being dissimilar to each other in terms of conversational style was not corroborated by the empirical analyses of the current data and with the current research questions.

Nonetheless, the fact that the focus of this study did not reveal differences in Finnish and Estonian conversational style does not necessarily mean that there are no differences. It may be that the research questions and the focus chosen here were not the most amenable to reveal the possible differences. One of the lay understandings is that Estonians interrupt more than Finns do, but an obvious conclusion to be drawn from the current analysis is that the phenomenon explored here – initiating a response in early overlap – is not *interrupting* but something else. The empirical results corroborate this understanding as well. What is it, then, that participants consider interrupting to be (cf. section 2.3 above)? Are there differences in Finnish and Estonian conversational cultures? Do Finns and Estonians differ with respect to their timing of dialogue particles (an aspect excluded from the present study)? And what about the length and use of pauses in interaction? These are aspects of interaction that this study did not address, yet there have been claims of differences that arise within these domains as well (Pajupuu 1995a).

Despite the interactional practices being similar in both data sets investigated here, some linguistic elements that were used in the turns were not. As Couper-Kuhlen and Selting (2001: 8) suggest, comparing languages is the essence of interactional linguistics (to which this study also belongs): “the way interaction itself is conducted may be influenced by (typologically) different language practices.” Furthermore, the authors add that a “cross-linguistic examination of interaction - - has clear anthropological implications” (ibid. p. 9). A similar line of research has been outlined by Sidnell and Enfield (2012). Along those lines, the current work offers an insight into the different linguistic realizations for accomplishing similar interactional work. Unlike Sidnell and Enfield’s work, the focus of the current study has not been on what is referred to as the collateral effects that these different linguistic realizations of the “same” action might bring about, that is, on what other implications (side effects) the chosen lexico-grammatical resources might introduce to the action itself. Nevertheless, the current work presents a range of both linguistic elements and interactional practices for achieving certain goals in social interaction. Although not the central focus in the current study, this line of inquiry obviously offers an interesting avenue for further research.

Some other directions for future research that this study encourages include explorations of the response types per se because the ones found in the overlap environments may occur in non-overlap positions as well. How do they behave in other possible environments? Are there differences in the action types when the responses are timed differently? Moreover, the first turns, assertions turns, require further research starting from the turn type itself, regardless of the timing of the turns in the sequence. What do assertion turns look like as social actions, where do they occur and what are they used for?

At the beginning of this study I referred both to the lay understandings of the nature of overlapping talk and to how it has been comprehended in some non-CA scholarly work as well. The negative attitudes prevalent in these environments are not alien to CA work either: some prior literature claims that especially “non-transitional” overlapping talk is “interruptive” (cf. section 2.3 above). One of the outcomes of this work is to emphasize the unproblematic nature and appropriateness or practicality of (most of the) overlapping talk in general. The nature of overlapping talk seems to be more closely related to the smoothness and collaboration in conversation than to competition, interruption or the like. By positioning their talk in (early) overlap with the prior turn, participants are doing something, implementing specific social actions, and accomplishing interactional work. This study has demonstrated that there is a pattern in how participants use overlapping talk: timing their response in early overlap, the respondents convey independent agency as regards the assertion being brought forward in the sequence. Independent epistemic access is thus crucial for the actions implemented by these responding speakers. Hence, the early turn-onset is

actually intrinsically worthy on the occasions examined here. The unproblematic, pro-social and cooperative nature of these turns is also exhibited in the fact that, albeit produced in overlap, they are not treated as being interruptive or disruptive to the flow of conversation by either participant. Overlapping talk exists for a reason, and participants cannot be taken to task for pursuing the interactional goals they find relevant and appropriate and for the ways in which they accomplish that work.

EPILOGUE

Is your turn really yours?¹⁰³ Do we have rights to our talk? There are several ways to approach the issue of entitlement, not only with regard to talk, but also other, seemingly unrelated social systems. Entering into another's turn space and signaling shared ownership – as in the cases examined in this study – can be viewed as analogous with a collectivist-communist model of society. Similarly, the idea of maintaining strictly singly owned turns and actions shares certain features with a bourgeois or capitalist social system. (On political theory and possession, see Macpherson 1962.)

According to the classical conversation analytic position, turn taking and social interaction are based on the idea that once having started up a turn-at-talk at an appropriate position, each individual has the exclusive rights to complete that turn-at-talk. The turn belongs to its speaker, and other participants do not have similar rights to that turn or that turn space. (Sacks et al. 1974.) Furthermore, the speaker of a second turn is indeed second, not only in time, but also in (relative) order. Sacks et al. describe this system as being based on the participants' perspective, reflecting actual individuals' orientations – and hence, the order in the system is socially constructed, not “natural.” Possession can be regarded in a similar manner: each individual has rights to oneself, to one's belongings and ideas. This type of system is not constructed as one that presupposes individuals sharing anything. The turn-taking system thus protects an individual's turn from interventions by other speakers by securing, by default, the single ownership of talk.

Positioning a turn in overlap may indicate that the overlapping speaker is suggesting that the participants might jointly share the turn space, and perhaps also the turn itself. Consequently, the entitlement to that turn and to the assertion being made in it would also be shared. Thus, early entry indicates a shift towards a solidarity-based system with more equal power relations. (For some ideas concerning “shared” interactional space and rights to talk, for example, see Edelsky 1981 and Reisman 1974.)

The turns examined in this analysis, early-onset responses, are positioned in overlap with a prior/ongoing turn that features an assertion. The overlapping responses are congruent with the assertion being made in the overlapped turn, but at the same time, the speaker indicates that his/her contribution is based on independent grounds. Operating within a system of singly-owned turns-at-talk and exclusive rights to them, overlapping early-onset turns penetrate deep into the realm of the overlapped speaker and his/her rights. In this system, if an overlapping intervention occurs, the speaker is accountable for this type of behavior. Moreover, according to this

¹⁰³ I wish to thank Jan Anward for originally presenting the ideas explored here, and Tomi Visakko for discussing this with me.

system, non-transitional early-onset overlap is not to be expected. Hence, it is noticeable when it occurs and it always carries meaning. The current study demonstrates that this is indeed the case in that the participants orient to the early-onset response position as a patterned practice for a specific interactional behavior, namely, for indicating strong agreement with an independent stance. Thus, the overlapping speakers indicate an equal commitment to the issue at hand.

The overlapping turns concern demonstrating and gaining possession and power. These two are in play in the turns-at-talk that are investigated in this study, as they are in many other interactional situations. The overlapping speakers express an aim towards the symmetry of speakership and agency concerning the assertion being made. Suggesting shared ownership of the assertion being made may, however, eventually amount to an expression of strong solidarity. Simultaneous talk can thus be used for affecting and changing social relations and for implementing pro-social goals in interaction. To repeat Goffman's (1987 [1959]: 92) argument from section 9.2 above, "the most real and solid things in life are ones whose description individuals independently agree upon." These interventions and the turn-taking system on the whole thus resemble (other) political orders and comprise an instantiation of larger social orders.

Regardless of what we as speakers and participants in social situations may imagine, we are actually never able to possess our talk and turns-at-talk fully and alone, even if we seem to produce them all by ourselves. Earlier literature suggests that the language in which we interact is, strictly speaking, not our own; it comes to us through the experience of others and we inherit it from our ancestors. Moreover, all voices are multilayered, and words (and worlds) can always be viewed as being dialogical. (Bakhtin 1981, 1986, Linell 2009.) Agency concerning the assertions we make is distributed as well (Enfield 2013) so that we are rarely full-fledged and sole agents with regard to our talk. Obviously, the turn-taking system itself also becomes available to us through our history with co-participants. Hence, even if human interaction is suggested to operate based on default single ownership, what we say, how we say it and when, are all in some ways related to the shared ownership of language, talk and interaction.

REFERENCES

- Aaltonen, O. & Wiik, K. (1979). Suomen jatkuvuuden intonaatiosta. In P. Hurme (Ed.), *Puheentutkimuksen alalta 1. Fonetikan päivät – Jyväskylä 1978* (pp. 7–31). Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.
- Aho, E. (2010). *Spontaanin puheen prosodin jaksoittelu*. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto.
- Aho, E. & Yli-Luukko, E. (2005). Intonaatiojaksoista. *Virittäjä*, 109, 201–220.
- Ahrens, U. (1997). The interplay between interruptions and preference organization in conversation. New perspectives on a classic topic of gender research. In H. Kotthoff & R. Wodak (Eds.), *Communicating Gender in Context* (pp. 79–106). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Arminen, I. (1998). Therapeutic interaction: a study of mutual help in the meetings of Alcoholics Anonymous. The Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies, vol 45. Helsinki.
- Asu, E. L. (2006). Rising intonation in Estonian: an analysis of map task dialogues and spontaneous conversations. In R. Aulanko, L. Wahlberg, M. Vainio (Eds.), *Fonetikan päivät 2006/The Phonetics Symposium 2006* (pp. 1–8). Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Asu, E. L. & Nolan, F. (2001). The interaction of intonation and quantity in Estonian: an analysis of IP-final pitch accents. In T. Seilenthal (Ed.), *Congressus Nonus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum. 7.-13.2000. Pars IV. Dissertationes Sectionum Linguistica I* (pp. 90–96). Tartu.
- Asu, E. L. & Nolan, F. (2006). Estonian and English rhythm: a two-dimensional quantification based on syllables and feet. *Speech Prosody, 2006*, 249–252. Dresden: TUDpress.
- Auer, P. (1990). Rhythm in telephone closings. *Human Studies*, 13, 361–392.
- Auer, P. (1996). On the prosody and syntax of turn-continuations. In E. Couper-Kuhlen & M. Selting (Eds.), *Prosody in conversation: Interactional studies* (pp. 57–100). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Auer, P. (2005). Projection in interaction and projection in grammar. *Text*, 25, 7–36.
- Auer, P. (2014). Syntactic structures and their symbiotic guests. Notes on analepsis from the perspective of on-line syntax. *Pragmatics*, 24(3), 533–560.
- Auer, P., Couper-Kuhlen, E. & Müller, F. (1999). *Language in time: The rhythm and tempo of spoken interaction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to do things with words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination: four essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1986). *Speech genres and other late essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Barnes, S. (2012). On *that's right* and its combination with other tokens. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 44(3), 243–260.
- Beattie, G. W. (1981). Interruption in conversational interaction, and its relation to the sex and status of the interactants. *Linguistics*, 19, 15–35.
- Bennett, A. T. (1981). Interruptions and the interpretation of conversation. *Discourse Processes*, 4, 171–188.
- Bilmes, J. (1997). Being interrupted. *Language in Society*, 32, 213–242.
- Bockgård, G. (2007). Syntax och prosodi vid turbytesplatser. Till beskrivningen av svenskans turtagning. In E. Engdahl & A-M. Londen (Eds.), *Interaktion och kontext. Nio studier av svenska samtal* (pp. 139–183). Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Boersma, P. & Weenink, D. Praat: doing phonetics by computer [Computer program]. <http://www.praat.org/>
- Brown, P. & Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness: some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bucholtz, M. & Hall, K. (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies*, 7, 585–614.

- Button, G. & Casey, N. (1984). Generating topic. In M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Button, G. & Casey, N. (1985). Topic nomination and topic pursuit. *Human Studies*, 8(1), 3–55.
- Chafe, W. (1979). The flow of thought and the flow of language. In T. Givón (Ed.), *Syntax and Semantics Vol.12: Discourse and Syntax* (pp. 159–181). New York: Academic Press.
- Chafe, W. (1994). *Discourse, consciousness, and time: the flow and displacement of conscious experience in speaking and writing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Chevalier, F. H. G. (2008). Unfinished turns in French conversation: How context matters. *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, 41(1), 1–30.
- Chevalier, F. H. G. & Clift, R. (2008). Unfinished turns in French conversation: Projectability, syntax and action. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 40(10), 1731–1752.
- Clark, H. H. (1996). *Using language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clark, H. H. & Gerrig, R. J. (1990). Quotations as demonstrations. *Language*, 66(4), 764–805.
- Clift, R. (2001). Meaning in interaction: the case of *actually*. *Language*, 77(2), 245–291.
- Coates, J. (1996). *Women talk: conversation between women friends*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E. (1992). Contextualizing discourse: the prosody of interactive repair. In P. Auer & A. di Luzio (Eds.), *The contextualization of language* (pp. 337–364). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E. (1993). *English speech rhythm: Form and function in everyday verbal interaction*. Pragmatics & beyond new series 25. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E. (2004). Prosody and sequence organization: The case of new beginnings. In E. Couper-Kuhlen & C. E. Ford (Eds.), *Sound patterns in interaction: Cross-linguistic studies from conversation* (pp. 335–376). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E. (2010). Recognizing actions in interaction. Paper presented at LAGB Workshop “Interactional foundations for language,” University of Leeds, on September 1st, 2010.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E. (2011a). When turns start with *because*: An exercise in interactional syntax. In A. Meurman-Solin & U. Lenker (Eds.), *Connectives in synchrony and diachrony in European languages*. Helsinki: VARIENG.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E. (2011b). Responding to requests, proposals and suggestions. Paper presented at the Workshop on Social Action Formats: Conversational patterns in embodied face-to-face interaction, University of Oulu, Finland, May 17–19th.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E. (2011c). Affectivity in cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspective. In T. Stehl (Ed.), *Sprachen in mobilisierten Kulturen: Aspekte der Migrationslinguistik* (pp. 231–257). Potsdam: Verlag Potsdam University Press.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E. (2012a). Turn continuation and clause combinations. *Discourse Processes*, 49(3-4), 273–299.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E. (2012b). Grammatical formats for directive actions in English and Finnish. Paper presented at the Kick-off seminar of the Finnish Centre of Excellence in Research on Intersubjectivity in Interaction, June 7–9th, University of Helsinki, Finland.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E. (2012c). Exploring affiliation in the reception of conversational complaint stories. In A. Peräkylä & M-L. Sorjonen (Eds.), *Emotion in interaction* (pp. 113–146). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E. & Ono, T. (2007). 'Incrementing' in conversation: A comparison of practices in English, German and Japanese. *Pragmatics*, 17, 513–552.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E. & Selting, M. (2001). Introducing interactional linguistics. In M. Selting & E. Couper-Kuhlen (Eds.), *Studies in interactional linguistics* (pp. 1–23). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E. & Thompson, S. A. (2000). Concessive patterns in conversation. In E. Couper-Kuhlen & B. Kortmann (Eds.), *Cause, condition, concession, contrast: Cognitive and discourse perspectives* (pp. 381–410). Topics in English Linguistics 33. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Cruttenden, A. (1986). *Intonation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Curl, T. S. (2006). Offers of assistance: constraints on syntactic design. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 38, 1257–1280.

- Cutler, A. & Pearson, M. (1986). On the analysis of prosodic turn-taking cues. In C. Johns-Lewis (Ed.), *Intonation in discourse* (pp. 130–155). San Diego: College Hill Press.
- Daun, Å., Verkasalo, M. & Tuomivaara, P. (2001). Stereotypes among Finns in Sweden. The character of Finns versus Swedes. *Ethnologia Europaea*, 31, 55–62.
- Dersley, I. & Wootton, A. (2000). Complaint sequences within antagonistic argument. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 33, 375–406.
- Drew, P. (1991). Asymmetries of knowledge in conversational interactions. In I. Marková and K. Foppa (Eds.), *Asymmetries in dialogue* (pp. 21–48). Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Drew, P. (2009). ‘Quit talking while I’m interrupting’: a comparison between positions of overlap onset in conversation. In M. Haakana, M. Laakso & J. Lindström (Eds.), *Talk in interaction - comparative dimensions* (pp. 70–93). Helsinki: SKS.
- Drew, P. & Couper-Kuhlen, E. (Eds.) (frth). *Requesting in social interaction*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Drew, P. & Holt, E. (1998). Figures of speech: Figurative expressions and the management of topic transition in conversation. *Language in Society*, 27, 495–522.
- Du Bois, J. W. (2007). The stance triangle. In R. Englebretson (Ed.), *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction* (pp. 139–182). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Du Bois, J. W., Schuetze-Coburn, S., Cumming, S. & Paolino, D. (1993). Outline of discourse transcription. In J. A. Edwards & M. D. Lampert (Eds.), *Talking data: Transcription and coding in discourse research* (pp. 45–89). Hillsdale: Erlbaum.
- Duranti, A. (1997a). Polyphonic discourse: Overlapping in Samoan ceremonial greetings. *Text*, 17, 349–381.
- Duranti, A. (1997b). Universal and culture-specific properties of greetings. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 7, 63–97.
- Edelsky, C. (1981). Who's got the floor? *Language in Society*, 10, 383–421.
- Edmonds, D., McManamon, L. & Weatherall, A. (2014). “Let me finish.” Functions of explicit claims to interruption in talk-in-interaction”. 4th International Conference on Conversation Analysis (University of California, Los Angeles, 2014).
- Eek, A. & Help, T. (1986). *Rütminihked eesti keele kujunemisloos*. Tallinn: Eesti NSV Teaduste Akadeemia.
- EKG1 and EKG2 = M. Erelt, R. Kasik, H. Metslang, H. Rajandi, K. Ross, H. Saari, K. Tael & S. Vare (Eds.), (1995 and 1993). *Eesti keele grammatika I-II*. Tallinn: Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia, Keele ja Kirjanduse Instituut.
- Enfield, N. (2006). Social consequences of common ground. In N. J. Enfield, & S. C. Levinson (Eds.), *Roots of human sociality: Culture, cognition and interaction* (pp. 399–430). Oxford: Berg.
- Enfield, N. (2009). *The anatomy of meaning: Speech, gesture, and composite utterances*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Enfield, N. (2011). Sources of asymmetry in human interaction: Enchrony, status, knowledge and agency. In T. Stivers, L. Mondada, & J. Steensig (Eds.), *The morality of knowledge in conversation* (pp. 285–312). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Enfield, N. (2013). *Relationship thinking: Agency, enchrony, and human sociality*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Englebretson, R. (2007). Stancetaking in discourse. An introduction. In R. Englebretson (Ed.), *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction* (pp. 1–25). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Etelämäki, M. (2009). The Finnish demonstrative pronouns in light of interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41(1), 25–46.
- Falk, J. (1980). The conversational duet. *Berkeley Linguistic Society*, 6, 507–514.
- Ferguson, N. (1977). Simultaneous speech, interruptions and dominance. *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 16, 295–302.
- Field, M. (2007). Increments in Navajo conversation. *Pragmatics*, 17(4), 637–646.
- Ford, C. (2004). Contingency and units in interaction. *Discourse Studies*, 6(1), 27–52.
- Ford, C., Fox, B. A. & Thompson, S. A. (1996). Practices in the construction of turns: the ‘TCU’ revisited. *Pragmatics*, 6(3), 427–454.
- Ford, C., Fox, B. A. & Thompson, S. A. (2002). Constituency and the grammar of turn increments. In C. E. Ford, B. A. Fox and S. A. Thompson (Eds.), *The language of turn and sequence* (pp. 14–38). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Ford, C., Fox, B. A. & Thompson, S. A. (2013). Units and/or action trajectories? The language of grammatical categories and the language of social action. In B. Szczepek Reed & G. Raymond (Eds.), *Units of talk – units of action* (pp. 13–56). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Ford, C. & Thompson, S. A. (1996). Interactional units in conversation: syntactic, intonational, and pragmatic resources for the management of turns. In E. Ochs, E. A. Schegloff & S. A. Thompson (Eds.), *Interaction and grammar* (pp. 134–184). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ford, C., Thompson, S. A. & Drake, V. (2012). Bodily-visual practices and turn continuation. *Discourse Processes*, 49(3–4), 192–212.
- Fox, B. A. (2001). An exploration of prosody and turn projection in English conversation. In M. Selting & E. Couper-Kuhlen (Eds.), *Studies in interactional linguistics* (pp. 287–316). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Fox, B. A., Hayashi, M. & Jaspersen, R. (1996). Resources and repair: A cross-linguistic study of syntax and repair. In E. Ochs, E. A. Schegloff & S. A. Thompson (Eds.), *Interaction and grammar* (pp. 185–237). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- French, P. & Local, J. (1983). Turn-competitive incomings. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 7, 17–38.
- French, P. & Local, J. (1986). Prosodic features and the management of interruptions. In C. Johns-Lewis (Ed.), *Intonation in discourse* (pp. 157–180). San Diego: College Hill Press.
- Frick, M. (2013). *Emergent bilingual constructions: Finnish-Estonian codeswitching in interaction*. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto.
- Gardner, R. (1997). The conversation object *mm*: A weak and variable acknowledging token. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 30(2), 131–156.
- Gardner, R. (2002). *When listeners talk: Response tokens and recipient stance with special reference to mm*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Gardner, R. & Mushin, I. (2007). 'Post-start-up overlap and disattentiveness in talk in a Garrwa community'. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics* (special thematic issue *Language as Action: Australian Studies in Conversation Analysis*, edited by J. Rendle-Short & M. Nevile.), 30(3), 35.1–35.14.
- Goffman, E. (1978). Response cries. *Language*, 54(4), 787–815.
- Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of talk*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell
- Goffman, E. (1987 [1959]). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Goodwin, C. (1979). The interactive construction of a sentence in natural conversation. In G. Psathas (Ed.), *Everyday language: studies in ethnomethodology* (pp. 97–121). New York: Irvington.
- Goodwin, C. (1981). *Conversational organization: Interaction between speakers and hearers*. New York: Academic Press.
- Goodwin, C. (1984). Notes on story structure and the organization of participation. In M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action* (pp. 225–246). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goodwin, C. (1986). Between and within: Alternative sequential treatments of continuers and assessments. *Human Studies*, 9, 205–217.
- Goodwin, C. (1987). Forgetfulness as an interactive resource. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 50, 115–131.
- Goodwin, C. (1995). Sentence construction within interaction. In U. M. Quasthoff (Ed.), *Aspects of Oral Communication* (pp. 198–219). Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Goodwin, C. (2002). Time in action. *Current Anthropology*, 43, 19–35.
- Goodwin, C. (2013). The co-operative, transformative organization of human action and knowledge. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 46, 8–23.
- Goodwin, C. & Goodwin, M. H. (1987). Concurrent operations on talk: notes on the interactive organization of assessments. *IPRA Papers in Pragmatics*, 1, 1–54.
- Goodwin, C. & Goodwin, M. H. (1990). Context, activity and participation. In P. Auer & A. di Luzio (Eds.), *The contextualization of language* (pp. 77–99). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Goodwin, C. & Goodwin, M. H. (1992). Assessments and the construction of context. In A. Duranti & C. Goodwin (Eds.), *Rethinking context: language as an interactive phenomenon* (pp. 147–189). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goodwin, M. H. & Goodwin, C. (1986). Gesture and coparticipation in the activity of searching a word. *Semiotica*, 62(1/2), 51–75.

- Grünthal-Robert, T. (2000). Grammaticalisation des particules énonciatives en estonien. In M. M. J. Fernandez-Vest (Ed.), *Grammaticalisation aréale et sémantique cognitive: les langues fenniques et sames* (pp. 81–93). Tallinn: Eesti keele sihtasutus.
- Gumperz, J. J. (1982). *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gumperz, J. J. & Hymes, D. (Eds.) (1972). *Directions in sociolinguistics: the ethnography of communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Haakana, M. (1999). Laughing matters: a conversation analytical study of laughter in doctor-patient interaction. Unpublished PhD dissertation. Department of Finnish language, University of Helsinki.
- Haakana, M. (2002). Laughter in medical interaction: from quantification to analysis, and back. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 6, 207–235.
- Hakulinen, A. (1989a). Palauteilmauksista. In A. Hakulinen (Ed.), *Suomalaisen keskustelun keinoja I* (pp. 98–114). Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Hakulinen, A. (Ed.) (1989b). *Suomalaisen keskustelun keinoja I*. Kieli 4. Department of Finnish language, University of Helsinki.
- Hakulinen, A. (Ed.) (1996). *Suomalaisen keskustelun keinoja II*. Kieli 10. Department of Finnish language, University of Helsinki.
- Hakulinen, A. (1997). Vuorottelujäsennys [Turn-taking organization]. In L. Tainio (Ed.), *Keskusteluanalyysin perusteet* (pp. 32–55). Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Hakulinen, A. (2001a [1976]). Liitepartikkelin *-han/-hän* syntaksia ja pragmatiikkaa. In L. Laitinen, P. Nuolijärvi, M-L. Sorjonen & M. Vilku (Eds.), *Lukemisto: kirjoituksia kolmelta vuosikymmeneltä* (pp. 44–90). Helsinki: SKS.
- Hakulinen, A. (2001b). On some uses of the discourse particle ‘*kyl(lä)*’ in Finnish conversation. In M. Selting and E. Couper-Kuhlen (Eds.), *Studies in interactional linguistics* (pp. 171–198). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Hakulinen, A. (2001c). Minimal and non-minimal answers to yes-no questions. *Pragmatics*, 11(1), 1–15.
- Hakulinen, A. (2001d [1976]). Suomen sanajärjestyksen kieliopillisista ja temaattisista tehtävistä. In L. Laitinen, P. Nuolijärvi, M-L. Sorjonen & M. Vilku (Eds.), *Lukemisto: kirjoituksia kolmelta vuosikymmeneltä* (pp. 91–156). Helsinki: SKS.
- Hakulinen, A. (2010). Ingressive speech in Finnish interaction. A presentation at the International Conference on Conversation Analysis, ICCA10, Mannheim, July 4-8th, 2010.
- Hakulinen, A. (2012). Näkökulmia suomen kieltolauseen sanajärjestyksen määräytymiseen. In R. Argus, A. Hussar & T. Rütmaa (Eds.), *Pühendusteos emeritprofessor Mati Hindi 75. sünnipäevaks* (pp. 20–44). Tallinn Ülikooli eesti keele ja kultuuri instituudi toimetised 14. Tallinn: Tallinn University Press.
- Hakulinen, A. & Karlsson, F. (1979). *Nykysuomen lauseoppia*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Hakulinen, A. & Selting, M. (Eds.) (2005). *Syntax and lexis in conversation: studies on the use of linguistic resources in talk-in-interaction*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Hakulinen, A. & Sorjonen, M-L. (2009). Designing utterances for action: Verb repeat responses to assessments. In M. Haakana, M. Laakso & J. Lindström (Eds.), *Talk in interaction: Comparative dimensions* (pp. 124–151). Helsinki: SKS.
- Hakulinen, A. & Sorjonen, M-L. (2011). Ways of agreeing with negative stance taking. In T. Stivers, L. Mondada & J. Steensig (Eds.), *The morality of knowledge in conversation* (pp. 235–256). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hakulinen, A. & Steensig, J. (in preparation). Ingressive speech in interaction.
- Halmari, H. (1993). Intercultural business telephone conversations: A case of Finns vs. Anglo-Americans. *Applied Linguistics*, 14(4), 408–430.
- Hart, S. (1996). Geneerisen sinän tarkastelua helsinkiläisnuorten keskustelussa. Master’s thesis. University of Helsinki, Department of Finnish language and literature.
- Hayano, K. (2011). Claiming epistemic primacy: *yo*-marked assessments in Japanese. In T. Stivers, L. Mondada & J. Steensig (Eds.), *The morality of knowledge in conversation* (pp. 58–81). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hayano, K. (2013). *Territories of knowledge in Japanese conversation*. UB Nijmegen: Host.
- Heinsoo, H. (1999). Talkative as a Finn or an Estonian? In A. Künnap (Ed.), *Indo-European-Uralic-Siberian linguistic and cultural contacts* (pp. 77–84). Tartu: Tartu Ülikool.
- Helasvuo, M-L. (2001a). *Syntax in the making: The emergence of syntactic units in Finnish conversation*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

- Helasvuo, M-L. (2001b). Emerging syntax for interaction: Noun phrases and clauses as a syntactic resource for interaction. In M. Selting & E. Couper-Kuhlen (Eds.), *Studies in interactional linguistics* (pp. 25–50). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Helasvuo, M-L. (2003). What can intonation tell us about constituency? In T. Ono, T. Nakayama & H. Tao (Eds.), *Recent studies in empirical approaches to grammar* (pp. 20–34). Santa Barbara: University of California.
- Helasvuo, M-L. (2004). Shared syntax: the grammar of co-constructions. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 36, 1315–1336.
- Helasvuo, M-L. & Huumo, T. (2010). Mikä subjekti on? *Virittäjä* 114, 165–195.
- Heldner, M. & Edlund, J. (2010). Pauses, gaps and overlaps in conversations. *Journal of Phonetics*, 38, 555–568.
- Help, T. (1996). "Free" word order: Finnish vs. Estonian and Hungarian. *Linguistica Uralica*, 1, 21–30.
- Hennoste, T. (2000–2001). Sissejuhatus suulisesse eesti keelde [Introduction to spoken Estonian]. *Akadeemia* (2000) 5, 1117–1150; 6, 1343–1374; 7, 1553–1582; 8, 1772–1806; 9, 2011–2038; 10, 2221–2254; 11, 2463–2486; 12, 2687–2710; *Akadeemia* (2001) 1, 179–206.
- Hennoste, T. (2013). Pivot constructions in spoken Estonian. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 54, 73–91.
- Hennoste, T., Lindström, L., Rääbis, A., Strandson, K. & Vellerind, R. (2001). *vä ja teised. Ühe vestluse pisanalüüs*. In R. Kasik (Ed.), *Keele kannul. Pühendusteos Mati Ereli 60. sünnipäevaks* (pp. 90–112). Tartu: University of Tartu.
- Hennoste, T., Gerassimenko, O., Kasterpalu, R., Koit, M., Mihkels, K., Laanesoo, K., Oja, A. & Rääbis, A. (2011). Naabruspaarid ja kategoriseerimine netikommentaaris kui sidusa dialoogi loomise vahendid. In H. Metslang, M. Langemets & M-M. Sepper (Eds.), *Eesti Rakenduslingvistika Ühingu aastaraamat 7* (pp. 43–58). Tallinn: Eesti Rakenduslingvistika Ühing.
- Hepburn, A. & Bolden, G. (2013). The conversation analytic approach to transcription. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 57–76). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Heritage, J. (1984a). A change-of-state token and aspects of its sequential placement. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action. Studies in conversation analysis* (pp. 299–345). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heritage, J. (1984b). *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Heritage, J. (1995). Conversation analysis: Methodological aspects. In U. M. Quasthoff (Ed.), *Aspects of oral communication* (pp. 391–418). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Heritage, J. (2002). Oh-prefaced responses to assessments: a method of modifying agreement/disagreement. In C. Ford, B. Fox & S. Thompson (Eds.), *The language of turn and sequence* (pp. 196–224). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Heritage, J. (2007). Intersubjectivity and progressivity in person (and place) reference. In T. Stivers & N. J. Enfield (Eds.), *Person Reference in Interaction: Linguistic, Cultural and Social Perspectives* (pp. 255–280). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heritage, J. (2012a). Epistemics in action: Action formation and territories of knowledge. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 45, 1–29.
- Heritage, J. (2012b). The epistemic engine: Sequence organization and territories of knowledge. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 45(1), 30–52.
- Heritage, J. (2013). Epistemics in conversation. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 370–394). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Heritage, J. & Raymond, G. (2005). The terms of agreement: Indexing epistemic authority and subordination in talk-in-interaction. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 68(1), 15–38.
- Heritage, J. & Raymond, G. (2012). Navigating epistemic landscapes: Acquiescence, agency and resistance in responses to polar questions. In J. P. de Ruiter (Ed.), *Questions: Formal, functional and interactional perspectives* (pp. 179–192). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hirvonen, P. (1970). *Finnish and English communicative intonation*. Turku: University of Turku.
- Houtkoop, H. & Mazeland, H. (1985). Turns and discourse units in everyday conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 9, 595–619.
- Huiskes, M. (2010). *The role of the clause for turn-taking in Dutch conversations*. Utrecht: LOT.

- Hutchby, I. (1992). Confrontation talk: Aspects of 'interruption' in argument sequences on talk radio. *Text*, 12(3), 343–372.
- Hutchby, I. & Wooffitt, R. (1998). *Conversation analysis. Principles, practices and applications*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Huumo, T. (1993). Suomen ja viron kontrastiivista sanajärjestysvertailua. In V. Yli-Vakkuri (Ed.), *Tutkimuksia syntaksin ja pragmasyntaksin alalta* (pp. 97–158). Turku: University of Turku.
- Huumo, T. (1994). Näkökulmia suomen ja viron sanajärjestyseroihin. In H. Sulkala & H. Laanekask (Eds.), *Lähivertailuja 8, Suomalais-virolainen kontrastiivinen seminaari Hailuodossa 7.-9.5.1994* (pp. 21–39). Oulu: University of Oulu.
- Huumo, T. (1996). Remarks on the functions of word order in Finnish and in Estonian. In H. Leskinen, S. Maticsák & T. Seilenthal (Eds.), *Congressus Octavus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum. Jyväskylä 10.-15.8.1995. Pars IV: Sessiones sectionum Syntaxis et Semantica & Contactus linguistici et status hodiernus linguarum & Cetera linguistica* (pp. 47–51). Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.
- Hymes, D. (1974). *Foundations in sociolinguistics: An ethnographic approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Härmävaara, H-I., Vatanen, A. & Frick, M. (2013). Keskusteluntutkimus ja kieltenvälinen vertailu yhteistyössä. In L. Kolehmainen, M. Miestamo & T. Nordlund (Eds.), *Kielten vertailun metodiikka* (pp. 135–170). Helsinki: SKS.
- Iivonen, A. (1998). Intonation in Finnish. In D. Hirst & A. di Cristo (Eds.), *Intonation systems. A survey of twenty languages* (pp. 311–327). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ISK = Hakulinen, A., Vilkkuna, M., Korhonen, R., Koivisto, V., Heinonen, T. R. & Alho, I. (Eds.) (2004). *Iso suomen kielioppi*. Helsinki: SKS.
- Isotalus, P. (Ed.) (1994). *Puheesta ja vuorovaikutuksesta*. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.
- Itkonen, T. (1966). Tutkimus suomen asyndetonista. *Virittäjä*, 70, 402–423.
- Iwasaki, S. (2009). Initiating interactive turn spaces in Japanese conversation: local projection and collaborative action. *Discourse Processes*, 46(2), 226–246.
- Iwasaki, S. (2013). Emerging units and emergent forms of participation within a unit in Japanese interaction. Local organization at a finer level of granularity. In B. Szczepek Reed & G. Raymond (Eds.), *Units of talk – units of action* (pp. 243–276). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- James, D. & Clarke, S. (1993). Women, men, and interruptions: A critical review. In D. Tannen (Ed.), *Gender and conversational interaction* (pp. 231–280). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jefferson, G. (1974). Error correction as an interactional resource. *Language in Society*, 3(2), 181–199.
- Jefferson, G. (1978). Sequential aspects of storytelling in conversation. In J. Schenkein (Ed.), *Studies in the organization of conversational interaction* (pp. 219–248). New York: Academic Press.
- Jefferson, G. (1983). Two explorations of the organization of overlapping talk in conversation: Notes on some orderlinesses of overlap onset. Tilburg: Tilburg University.
- Jefferson, G. (1986). Notes on 'latency' in overlap onset. *Human Studies*, 9, 153–183.
- Jefferson, G. (1993). Caveat speaker: Preliminary notes on recipient topic-shift implicature. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 26(1), 1–30.
- Jefferson, G. (2002). Is 'no' an acknowledgment token? Comparing American and British uses of (+)/(-) tokens. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 34, 1345–1383.
- Jefferson, G. (2004a). A sketch of some orderly aspects of overlap in natural conversation. In G. Lerner (Ed.) *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation* (pp. 43–59). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Jefferson, G. (2004b). Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In G. Lerner (Ed.) *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation* (pp. 13–31). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Junefelt, K. & Tulviste, T. (1997). Regulation and praise in American, Estonian, and Swedish mother-child interaction. *Mind, Culture, and Activity: An International Journal*, 4, 24–33.
- Kalliokoski, J. (1989). *Ja: rinnastus ja rinnastuskonjunktion käyttö*. Helsinki: SKS.

- Kangasharju, H. (1996). Aligning as a team in multi-party conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 26(3), 291–319.
- Karlsson, F. (1983). *Suomen kielen äänne- ja muotorakenne*. Porvoo: WSOY.
- Kaukomaa, T., Peräkylä, A. & Ruusuvuori, J. (2013). Turn-opening smiles: facial expression constructing emotional transition in conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 55, 21–42.
- Kaukomaa, T., Peräkylä, A. & Ruusuvuori, J. (2014). Foreshadowing a problem: turn-opening frowns in conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 71, 132–147.
- Kaukomaa, T., Peräkylä, A. & Ruusuvuori, J. (frth). Facial expressions in collaborative modification of emotional stance.
- Kastari, A. (2006). *Dialogipartikkelien aha(a) ja ai jaa tehtävistä keskustelussa*. Master's thesis. University of Helsinki, Department of Finnish language and literature.
- Kasterpalu, R. (2005). Partiklid *jah*, *jaa* ning *jajaa* naaberpaari järelliikmena müügiläbirääkimistes. *Keel ja kirjandus*, 11, 873–890; 12, 996–1000.
- Kasterpalu, R. (2013). Two different intonation contours of Estonian *jaajaa*. In E-L. Asu & P. Lippus (Eds.), *Nordic prosody. Proceedings of the XIth Conference, Tartu 2012: Nordic Prosody XI; Estonia, Tartu; 15.-17.Aug 2012*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Kasterpalu, R. (frth). Functions of response particles *jah*, *jaa*, and *jaajaa* in Estonian institutional dialogue. PhD dissertation. Department of Estonian and General Linguistics, University of Tartu.
- Kasterpalu, R. & Gerassimenko, O. (2006). Vestlusanalüüs. In I. Tragel & H. Õim (Eds.), *Teoreetiline keeleteadus Eestis II* (pp. 112–126). Tartu: University of Tartu.
- Kasterpalu, R. & Keevallik, L. (2010). Marking the epistemic gap in news receipts. In A. Deppermann (Ed.), *Abstracts: International Conference on Conversation Analysis, ICCA10, Mannheim* (p. 105). Mannheim: Institut für Deutsche Sprache.
- Keevallik, L. (1999). Informatsioonikäsitluse partikkel *ahah* telefonivestlustes. *Emakeele Seltsi Aastaraamat*, 43, 34–56.
- Keevallik, L. (2000). Keelendid *et* ja *nii et* vestluses. [Linguistic units *et* 'that' and *nii et* 'so' in conversation.] *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 43(5), 344–358.
- Keevallik, L. (2002). Grammatika suhtluses. [Grammar in interaction.] In R. Pajusalu, I. Tragel, T. Hennoste & H. Õim (Eds.), *Teoreetiline keeleteadus Eestis* (pp. 89–104). Tartu: University of Tartu.
- Keevallik, L. (2003a). *From interaction to grammar: Estonian finite verb forms in conversation*. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.
- Keevallik, L. (2003b). Terminally rising pitch contours of response tokens in Estonian. *Crossroads of Language, Interaction and Culture*, 5, 49–65.
- Keevallik, L. (2003c). Colloquial Estonian. In M. Erelt (Ed.), *Estonian Language* (pp. 342–378). Tallinn: Estonian Academy Publishers.
- Keevallik, L. (2006). From discourse pattern to epistemic marker: Estonian (*ei*) *tea* 'don't know'. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics*, 29(2), 173–200.
- Keevallik, L. (2008a). Internal development and borrowing of pragmatic particles: the Estonian *vaata/vat* 'look', *näed* 'you see' and *vot*. *Finnisch-Ugrische Mitteilungen*, 30/31, 23–54.
- Keevallik, L. (2008b). Conjunction and sequenced actions: the Estonian complementizer and evidential particle *et*. In R. Laury (Ed.) *Crosslinguistic studies of clause combining: The multifunctionality of conjunctions* (pp. 125–152). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Keevallik, L. (2010a). Clauses emerging as epistemic adverbs in Estonian conversation. *Linguistica Uralica*, 46(2), 81–100.
- Keevallik, L. (2009b). Üldküsimuse lihtvastuste funktsioonid. [The functions of simple answers to yes/no questions.] *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 1, 33–53.
- Keevallik, L. (2010b). Marking boundaries between activities: The particle *nii* in Estonian. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 43(2), 157–182.
- Keevallik, L. (2010c). Minimal answers to yes/no questions in the service of sequence organization. *Discourse Studies*, 12(3), 1–27.
- Keevallik, L. (2011a). Grammar for adjusting assumptions in interaction: the Estonian enclitic *-gi/-ki* in interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(12), 2879–2896.
- Keevallik, L. (2011b). The terms of not knowing. In T. Stivers, L. Mondada & J. Steensig (Eds.), *The morality of knowledge in conversation* (pp. 184–206). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Keevallik, L. (2011c). Pro-forms as projective devices in interaction. *Discourse Processes*, 48(6), 404–431.
- Keevallik, L. (2012). Compromising progressivity: 'no'-prefacing in Estonian. *Pragmatics*, 22(1), 119–146.
- Kendon, A. (2004). *Gesture: Visible action as utterance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kendrick, K. H. & Torreira, F. (frth). The timing and construction of preference: A quantitative study. *Discourse Processes*.
- Kim, K-H. (1999). Phrasal unit boundaries and organization of turns and sequences in Korean conversation. *Human Studies*, 22, 425–446.
- Kivik, P-K. (1998). What silence says: Communicative style and identity. *Trames*, 2(52/47), 66–90.
- Klippi, A. (1996). *Conversation as an Achievement in Aphasics*. Studia Fennica Linguistica. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Koivisto, A. (2011). *Sanomattakin selvää? Ja, mutta ja että puheenvuoron lopussa*. Helsinki: Helsinki University.
- Koivisto, A. (2012). Discourse patterns for turn-final conjunctions. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 44(10), 1254–1272.
- Koivisto, A. & Laury, R. & Seppänen, E-L. (2011). Syntactic and actional characteristics of Finnish *että*-clauses. In R. Laury & R. Suzuki (Eds.), *Subordination in conversation: A cross-linguistic perspective* (pp. 69–102). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Kurhila, S. (2006). *Second language interaction*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Kurtić, E., Brown, G. J. & Wells, B. (2013). Resources for turn competition in overlapping talk. *Speech Communication*, 55, 721–743.
- Küttner, U-A. (frth). The epistemics of *that's right* in American English conversation.
- Laakso, M. (1997). *Self-initiated repair by fluent aphasic speakers in conversation*. Studia Fennica Linguistica 8. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
- Laakso, M. & Lehtola, M. (2003). Sanojen hakeminen afaattisen henkilön ja läheisen keskustelussa. *Puhe ja Kieli*, 23(1), 1–24.
- Laanesoo, K. (2012). Pööratud polaarsusega retoorilised küsimused argivestluses. *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 7, 499–517.
- Laanesoo, K. (frth 2014). Direktiivsed *mis-* ja *mida-*küsilauseid suulises suhtluses. *Emakeele Seltsi Aastaraamat*.
- Labov, W. & Fanshel, D. (1977). *Therapeutic discourse: Psychotherapy as conversation*. New York: Academic.
- Laitinen, H. (2006). Runolaulu. In P. Kerala-Innala et al. (Eds.), *Suomen musiikin historia 8. Kansanmusiikki*. Helsinki: Werner Söderström.
- Laitinen, L. (1995). Nollapersoonaa [Zero person]. *Virittäjä*, 99(3), 337–358.
- Larjavaara, M. (1990). *Suomen deiksis*. Helsinki: SKS.
- Laugaste, E. (1986). *Eesti rahvaluule*. Tallinn: Valgus.
- Laury, R. (1997). *Demonstratives in Interaction: The emergence of a definite article in Finnish*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Laury, R. (2012). Syntactically non-integrated Finnish *jos* 'if' conditional clauses as directives. *Discourse Processes*, 49, 213–242.
- Laury, R. & Ono, T. (2014). The Limits of Grammar: Clause Combining in Finnish and Japanese Conversation. *Pragmatics*, 24(3), 561–592.
- Laury, R., Ono, T. & Suzuki, R. (2013). Questioning the clause as a crosslinguistic unit in grammar and interaction. Paper given at the pre-conference workshop on Linguistic and interactional units in everyday speech: Crosslinguistic perspective. ICLC 12, University of Alberta, Edmonton. June 21-22nd.
- Laury, R. & Seppänen, E-L. (2008). Clause combining, interaction, evidentiality, participation structure, and the conjunction-particle continuum: the Finnish *että*. In R. Laury (Ed.), *Crosslinguistic Studies of Clause Combining* (pp. 153–178). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Lehtinen, E. (2007). Merging doctor and client knowledge: On doctors' ways of dealing with clients' potentially discrepant information in genetic counseling. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39, 389–427.
- Lehtinen, E. (2009). Practical Hermeneutics: Noticing in Bible Study Interaction. *Human Studies*, 32(4), 461–485.

- Lehtonen, J. & Sajavaara, K. (1985). The silent Finn. In D. Tannen & M. Saville-Troike (Eds.), *Perspectives on silence* (pp. 193–201). Norwood: Ablex.
- Lehtonen, S. (2014). Keskusteluanalyttinen tutkimus lapsen keskeyttävän vuoron aloittamista vuorovaikutusrakenteista päiväkodissa. Master's thesis. Institute of Behavioural Sciences, University of Helsinki.
- Lerner, G. (1989). Notes on overlap management in conversation: The case of delayed completion. *Western Journal of Speech Communication*, 53, 167–177.
- Lerner, G. (1991). On the syntax of sentences-in-progress. *Language in Society*, 20, 441–458.
- Lerner, G. (1992). Assisted story-telling: deploying shared knowledge as a practical matter. *Qualitative Sociology*, 15, 247–271.
- Lerner, G. (1993). Collectivities in action: Establishing the relevance of conjoined participation in conversation. *Text*, 13(2), 213–245.
- Lerner, G. (1996). On the “semi-permeable” character of grammatical units in conversation: Conditional entry into the turn space of another speaker. In E. Ochs, E. A. Schegloff & S. A. Thompson (Eds.), *Interaction and grammar* (pp. 238–276). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lerner, G. (2002). Turn-sharing. The choral co-production of talk-in-interaction. In C. E. Ford, B. A. Fox & S. A. Thompson (Eds.), *The language of turn and sequence* (pp. 225–256). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lerner, G. (2003). Selecting next speaker: The context-sensitive operation of a context-free organization. *Language in Society*, 32(2), 177–201.
- Lerner, G. (2004a). Collaborative turn sequences. In G. Lerner (Ed.), *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation* (pp. 225–256). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Lerner, G. (2004b). On the place of linguistic resources in the organization of talk-in-interaction: Grammar as action in prompting a speaker to elaborate. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 37, 151–184.
- Lerner, G. (2004c). Introduction. In G. Lerner (Ed.), *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Lerner, G. & Takagi, T. (1999). On the place of linguistic resources in the organization of talk-in-interaction: A co-investigation of English and Japanese grammatical practices. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 31, 49–75.
- Levelt, W. J. M. (1989). *Speaking: from intention to articulation*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Levinson, S. (2013). Action formation and ascription. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 103–130). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Li, X. (2013). The construction of units and the body. – In B. Szczepek Reed & G. Raymond (Eds.), *Units of talk – units of action*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Lindström, A. & Mondada, L. (2009). Assessments in social interaction: Introduction to the special issue. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 42(4), 299–308.
- Lindström, A. & Sorjonen, M-L. (2013). Affiliation in conversation. In T. Stivers & J. Sidnell (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 350–369). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Lindström, J. (2008). *Tur och ordning. Introduktion till svensk samtalsgrammatik*. Stockholm: Norstedts akademiska förlag.
- Lindström, L. (2001). Grammaticalization of *või/vä* questions in Estonian. In I. Tragem (Ed.), *Papers in Estonian Cognitive Linguistics* (pp. 90–118). Publications of the Department of General Linguistics 2. Tartu: Tartu University.
- Lindström, L. (2005). *Finiitverbi asend lauses. Sõnajärg ja seda mõjutavad tegurid suulises eesti keeles*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli kirjastus.
- Linell, P. (2005). En dialogisk grammatik? In J. Anward & B. Nordberg (Eds.), *Samtal och grammatik. Studier i svenskt samtalspråk* (pp. 231–328). Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Linell, P. (2009.) *Rethinking language, mind and world dialogically. Interactional and contextual theories of human sense-making*. Advances in cultural psychology: constructing human development. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.
- Lippus, P. & Asu, E. L. & Teras, P. & Tuisk, T. (2013). Quantity-related variation of duration, pitch and vowel quality in spontaneous Estonian. *Journal of Phonetics*, 41(1), 17–28.
- Local, J. K. (1992). Continuing and restarting. In P. Auer & A. di Luzio (Eds.), *The contextualization of language* (pp. 272–296). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Local, J. K. (2005). On the interactional and phonetic design of collaborative completions. In W. J. Hardcastle & J. M. Beck (Eds.), *A figure of speech: A restschrift for John Laver* (pp. 263–282). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Local, J. K. & Kelly, J. (1986). Projection and 'silences': Notes on phonetic and conversational structure. *Human Studies*, 9, 185–204.
- Local, J. K., Kelly, J. & Wells, W.H. (1986). Towards a phonology of conversation: turn-taking in Tyneside English. *Journal of Linguistics*, 22, 411–437.
- Local, J. K., Wells, W. & Sebba, M. (1985). Phonology for conversation: phonetic aspects of turn delimitation in London Jamaican. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 9, 309–330.
- Londen A-M. (1992). "Janni kom ju dit kom int han." Om att minnas tillsammans – några preliminära iakttagelser. In S. Hellberg (Ed.), *Svenskans Beskrivning* 19 (pp. 195–205). Lund: Lund University Press.
- Londen, A-M. (1997). Kahden- ja monenkeskinen keskustelu. In L. Tainio (Ed.), *Keskusteluanalyysin perusteet* (pp. 56–74). Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Luke, K-K. (2012). Dislocation or afterthought?—A conversation analytic account of incremental sentences in Chinese. *Discourse Processes*, 49(3–4), 338–365.
- Luke, K-K. & Thompson, S. A. & Ono, T. (2012). Turns and increments: A comparative perspective. *Discourse Processes*, 49(3–4), 155–162.
- Macpherson, C. B. (1962). *The political theory of possessive individualism. Hobbes to Locke*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mandelbaum, J. (1987). Couples sharing stories. *Communication Quarterly*, 35(2), 144–170.
- Maynard, D. W. (1997). The news delivery sequence: Bad news and good news in conversational interaction. *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, 30(2), 93–130.
- Maynard, D. W. (2003). *Bad news, good news: conversational order in everyday talk and clinical settings*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Maynard, D. W. (2013). Everyone and no one to turn to: Intellectual roots and contexts for conversation analysis. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 11–31). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Metslang, H. (2009). Estonian grammar between Finnic and SAE: some comparisons. *Language Typology and Universals*, 62, 49–71.
- Mihkels, K. (2012) *Keel, keha ja kaardikepp: õpetaja algatatud parandussekvents side multimodaalne analüüs*. Tartu: University of Tartu
- Mizera, L., Tulviste, T., Konstabel, K. & Lausa, E. (2013). Silent and Slow Estonians, Emotional and Fast Russians: A Comparative Study of Communication Stereotypes in Two Neighboring Countries. *Communication Quarterly*, 61(3), 268–283.
- Moerman, M. (1988). *Talking culture: ethnography and conversation analysis*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Mondada, L. (2006). Participants' online analysis and multimodal practices: projecting the end of the turn and the closing of the sequence. *Discourse Studies*, 8(1), 117–129.
- Mondada, L. (2007). Multimodal resources for turn-taking: Pointing and the emergence of possible next speakers. *Discourse Studies*, 9(2), 195–226.
- Mondada, L. (2013). The conversation analytic approach to data collection. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 32–56). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Murray, S. O. (1985). Toward a model of members' methods for recognizing interruptions. *Language in Society*, 14, 31–40.
- Niemi, J. (2010). Myönnyttelymuotti: Erimielisyyttä enteilevä samanmielisyyden konstruktio. *Virittäjä*, 114(2), 196–222.
- Niemi, J. (2014). Two 'yeah but' formats in Finnish: The prior action engaging *nii mut* and the disengaging *joo mut* utterances. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 60, 54–74.
- Ochs, E. (1992). Indexing gender. In A. Duranti & C. Goodwin (Eds.), *Rethinking context: language as an interactive phenomenon* (pp. 335–358). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ochs, E. (1996). Linguistic recourses for socializing humanity. In J. Gumperz & S. Levinson (Eds.), *Rethinking linguistic relativity* (pp. 407–437). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- O'Dell, M., Lennes, M., Werner, S. & Nieminen, T. (2007). Looking for rhythms in conversational speech. *Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences* (pp. 1201–1204). ICPhS XVI, Saarbrücken, Germany.
- Ogden, R. (2001). Turn transition, creak and glottal stop in Finnish talk-in-interaction. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, 31, 139–152.

- Ogden, R. (2004). Non-modal voice quality and turn-taking in Finnish. In E. Couper-Kuhlen & C. E. Ford (Eds.), *Sound patterns in interaction. Cross-linguistic studies from conversation* (pp. 29–62). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Ogden, R. & Routarinne, S. (2005). The communicative functions of final rises in Finnish intonation. *Phonetica*, 62, 160–175.
- Olbertz-Siitonen, M. (2009). *Unterbrechen in zielgerichteten Gesprächen. Eine gesprächsanalytische Untersuchung*. Tampere: Tampere University Press.
- Ono, T. & Thompson, S. A. (1995). What can conversation tell us about syntax? In P. W. Davis (Ed.), *Descriptive and theoretical modes in the alternative linguistics* (pp. 213–271). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Ono, T. & Thompson, S. A. (1997). Deconstructing ‘Zero Anaphora’. *Proceedings of the Twenty-third Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 481–491. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Oreström, B. (1982). When is it my turn to speak? In N. E. Enkvist (Ed.), *Impromptu speech: A symposium* (pp. 267–276). Turku: Åbo Akademi.
- Oreström, B. (1983). *Turn-taking in English conversation*. Lund: CWK Gleerup.
- Pajo, K. (2013a). The occurrence of ‘what’, ‘where’, ‘what house’, and other repair initiations in the home environment of hearing-impaired individuals. *International Journal of Language and Communication Disorders*, 48(1), 66–77.
- Pajo, K. (2013b). *Joint multimodal management of hearing impairment in conversations at home – implications for communication therapy*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Pajupuu, H. (1990). Sugulaskeelte intonatsioonist: eesti ja soome keele võrdlus. In *Arvutuslingvistika sektori aastaraamat 1988* (pp. 145–159). Tallinn: Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia, Keele ja Kirjanduse Instituut.
- Pajupuu, H. (1995a). *Cultural context, dialogue, time*. Tallinn: Estonian Academy of Sciences, Institute of the Estonian Language.
- Pajupuu, H. (1995b). Eestlaste ja soomlaste kommunikatsioonikäitumise tagamaadest. *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 11, 767–776.
- Pajupuu, H. (1997). Eestlased ja soomlased – probleemid suhtlejad. *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 8, 547–550.
- Pajusalu, R. (1999). *Deiktikud eesti keeles*. Tartu: Tartu ülikooli kirjastus.
- Pajusalu, R. (2000). Indefinite determiners *mingi* and *üks* in Estonian. In M. Erelt (Ed.), *Estonian: Typological studies IV* (pp. 87–117). Tartu: Tartu University Press.
- Pajusalu, R. (2001). Definite and indefinite determiners in Estonian. In N. T. Enikö (Ed.), *Pragmatics in 2000. Selected Papers from the 7th International Pragmatics Conference, vol. 2* (pp. 458–469). Antwerp: International Pragmatics Association.
- Pajusalu, R. (2005). Anaphoric pronouns in spoken Estonian: crossing the paradigms. In R. Laury (Ed.), *Minimal reference: The use of pronouns in Finnish and Estonian discourse* (pp. 107–134). Helsinki: SKS.
- Pajusalu, R. (2009). Pronouns and reference in Estonian. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung*, 62(1/2), 122–139.
- Peräkylä, A. (1998). Authority and accountability. The delivery of diagnosis in primary health care. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 61(4), 301–320.
- Peräkylä, A. & Sorjonen, M-L. (Eds.) (2012). *Emotion in interaction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Pillet-Shore, D. (2008). *Coming together: Creating and maintaining social relationships the openings of face-to-face interactions*. Los Angeles: UCLA.
- Pillet-Shore, D. (2012). Greeting: Displaying stance through prosodic recipient design. *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, 45(4), 375–398.
- Pomerantz, A. (1978). Compliment responses: Notes on the co-operation of multiple constraints. In J. Schenkein (Ed.), *Studies in the organization of conversational interaction* (pp. 79–112). New York: Academic Press.
- Pomerantz, A. (1984a). Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action. Studies in conversation analysis* (pp. 57–101). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pomerantz, A. (1984b). Giving a source or basis: The practice in conversation of telling ‘What I know’. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 8, 607–625.
- Pomerantz, A. & Heritage, J. (2013). Preference. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 210–228). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

- Raevaara, L. (1989). *No* – vuoronalkuinen partikkeli. In A. Hakulinen (Ed.), *Suomalaisen keskustelun keinoja I* (pp. 147–161). Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Raevaara, L. (1993). *Kysyminen toimintana. Kysymys–vastaus–vieruspareista arkikeskustelussa*. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto.
- Raevaara, L. (1996). Kysymyksen paikka ja tulkinta [The position and interpretation of a question]. In A. Hakulinen (Ed.), *Suomalaisen keskustelun keinoja II* (pp. 23–47). Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Raevaara, L. (1997). Vierusparit – esimerkkinä kysymys ja vastaus. In L. Tainio (Ed.), *Keskusteluanalyysin perusteet* pp. 75–92. Vastapaino, Tampere.
- Rauniomaa, M. (2007). Stance markers in spoken Finnish. *Minun mielestä* and *minusta* in assessments. In R. Englebretson (Ed.), *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction* (pp. 221–252). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Raymond, G. (2003). Grammar and social organization: yes/no interrogatives and the structure of responding. *American Sociological Review*, 68(6), 939–967.
- Raymond, G. & Heritage, J. (2006). The epistemics of social relations: Owning grandchildren. *Language in Society*, 35(5), 677–705.
- Reisman, K. (1974). Contrapuntal conversations in an Antigua village. In R. Bauman & J. Sherzer (Eds.), *Explorations in the ethnography of speaking* (pp. 110–124). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rossano, F. (2012). *Gaze behavior in face-to-face interaction*. Nijmegen: Radboud University Nijmegen.
- Routarinne, S. (2003). *Tytöt äänessä. Parenteesit ja nouseva sävelkulku kertojan vuorovaikutuskeinoina*. Helsinki: SKS.
- de Ruiter, J. P. (Ed.) (2012). *Questions: Formal, functional and interactional perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- de Ruiter, J. P., Mitterer, H. & Enfield, N. J. (2006). Projecting the end of a speaker's turn: A cognitive cornerstone of conversation. *Language*, 82(3), 515–535.
- Rusanen, S. (1993). Suomalainen kansainvälisessä viestintätilanteessa. In J. Lehtonen (Ed.), *Kulttuurien kohtaaminen. Näkökulmia kulttuurienväliseen kanssakäymiseen* (pp. 31–75). Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.
- Ruusuvuori, J. (2005). “Empathy” and “sympathy” in action: attending to patients’ troubles in Finnish homeopathic and general practice consultations. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 68(3), 204–222.
- Sacks, H. (1974). An analysis of the course of a joke's telling in conversation. In R. Bauman & J.F. Sherzer (Eds.), *Explorations in the ethnography of speaking* (pp. 337–353). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sacks, H. (1978). Some technical considerations of a dirty joke. In J. Schenkein (Ed.), *Studies in the organization of conversational interaction* (pp. 249–269). New York: Academic Press.
- Sacks, H. (1987). ‘You want to find out if anybody really does care’. In G. Button & J. R. E. Lee (Eds.), *Talk and social organisation* (pp. 217–225). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Sacks, H. (1992a&b). *Lectures on conversation I & II*. Ed. by Gail Jefferson. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.
- Sacks, H. & Schegloff, E. A. (1979). Two preferences in the organization of reference to persons in conversation and their interaction. In G. Psathas (Ed.), *Everyday language: Studies in ethnomethodology* (pp. 15–21). New York: Irvington Publishers.
- Sacks, H. & Schegloff, E. & Jefferson, G. (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language*, 50, 696–735.
- Sajavaara, K. & Lehtonen, J. (1997). The silent Finn revisited. In A. Jaworski (Ed.), *Silence. Interdisciplinary perspectives* (pp. 263–284). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1979). The relevance of repair to syntax-for-conversation. In T. Givon (Ed.), *Syntax and semantics, Volume 12: Discourse and syntax* (pp. 261–286). New York: Academic Press.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1982). Discourse as an interactional achievement: Some uses of ‘uh huh’ and other things that come between sentences. In D. Tannen (ed.), *Analyzing discourse: Text and talk* (pp. 71–93). Georgetown: Georgetown University Press.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1984a). On some questions and ambiguities in conversation. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action* (pp. 266–298). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Schegloff, E. A. (1984b). On some gestures' relation to talk. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action* (pp. 266–298). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1987a). Recycled turn beginnings: A precise repair mechanism in conversation's turn-taking organization. In G. Button & J. R. E. Lee (Eds.), *Talk and social organisation* (pp. 70–85). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1987b). Between micro and macro: Contexts and other connections. In J. C. Alexander (Ed.), *The micro-macro-link* (pp. 207–233). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1988). Discourse as an interactional achievement II: An exercise in conversation analysis. In D. Tannen (Ed.), *Linguistics in context: Connecting observation and understanding* (pp. 135–158). Norwood: Ablex.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1993). Reflections on quantification in the study of conversation. – *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 26(1), 99–128.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1995). Discourse as an interactional achievement III: The omnirelevance of action. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 28(2), 185–211.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1996a). Turn organization: one intersection of grammar and interaction. In E. Ochs, E. A. Schegloff & S. A. Thompson (Eds.), *Interaction and grammar* (52–133). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1996b). Confirming allusions: Toward an empirical account of action. *American Journal of Sociology*, 102(1), 161–216.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1997). Practices and actions: Boundary cases of other-initiated repair. *Discourse Processes*, 23(3), 499–545.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1998). Reflections on studying prosody in talk-in-interaction. *Language and Speech*, 41, 235–263.
- Schegloff, E. A. (2000). Overlapping talk and the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language in Society*, 29, 1–63.
- Schegloff, E. A. (2001). Conversation analysis: A project in process - "Increments". Forum lecture delivered at the *LSA Linguistic Institute*, University of California, Santa Barbara.
- Schegloff, E. A. (2002). Accounts of conduct in interaction: interruption, overlap, and turn-taking. In J. H. Turner (Ed.), *Handbook of sociological theory* (pp. 287–321). New York: Kluwer Academic / Plenum Publishers.
- Schegloff, E. A. (2006). Interaction: The infrastructure for social institutions, the natural ecological niche for language, and the arena in which culture is enacted. In N. J. Enfield & S. C. Levinson (Eds.), *Roots of human sociality: Culture, cognition and interaction* (pp. 70–96). Oxford: Berg.
- Schegloff, E. A. (2007). *Sequence organization in interaction. A primer in conversation analysis*, vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, E. A. & Jefferson, G. & Sacks, H. (1977). The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. *Language*, 53(2), 361–382.
- Schegloff, E. A. & Ochs, E. & Thompson, S. A. (1996). Introduction. In E. Ochs, E. A. Schegloff & S. A. Thompson (Eds.), *Interaction and grammar* (pp. 1–51). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, E. A. & Sacks, H. (1973). Opening up closings. *Semiotica*, 8(4), 289–327.
- Schieffelin, B. B. & Ochs, E. (Eds.) (1986). *Language socialization across cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schiffrin, D. (1987). *Discourse markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Searle, J. (1969). *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Searle, J. (1976). A classification of illocutionary acts. *Language in Society*, 5(1), 1–23.
- Searle, J. (1986). Notes on conversation. In D. G. Ellis & W. A. Donahue (Eds.), *Contemporary issues in language and discourse* (pp. 7–19). Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Selting, M. (1996). On the interplay of syntax and prosody in the constitution of turn-constructional units and turns in conversation. *Pragmatics*, 6, 357–388.
- Selting, M. (2000). The construction of units in conversational talk. *Language in Society*, 29, 477–517.

- Selting, M. (2001). Fragments of units as deviant cases of unit production in conversational talk. In M. Selting & E. Couper-Kuhlen (Eds.), *Studies in interactional linguistics* (pp. 229–258). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Selting, M. (2005). Syntax and prosody as methods for the construction and identification of turn-constructional units in conversation. In A. Hakulinen & M. Selting (Eds.), *Syntax and lexis in conversation. Studies on the use of linguistic resources in talk-in-interaction* (pp. 17–44). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Seppänen, E-L. (1997). Vuorovaikutus paperilla. In L. Tainio (Ed.), *Keskusteluanalyysin perusteet* (pp. 18–31). Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Seppänen, E-L. (1998). *Läsnäolon pronominit: tämä, tuo, se ja hän viittaamassa keskustelun osallistujaan*. Helsinki: SKS.
- Seppänen, E-L. & Laury, R. (2007). Complement clauses as turn continuations: The Finnish *et(tä)*-clause. *Pragmatics*, 17, 553–572.
- Sharrock, W. (1974). On owning knowledge. In R. Turner (Ed.), *Ethnomethodology: selected readings*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Education.
- Sidnell, J. (2001). Conversational turn-taking in a Caribbean English Creole. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 33, 1263–1290.
- Sidnell, J. (2010). *Conversation analysis. An introduction*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Sidnell, J. (2011). The epistemics of make-believe. In T. Stivers, L. Mondada & J. Steensig (Eds.), *The morality of knowledge in conversation* (pp. 131–158). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sidnell, J. (2012). Turn-continuation by self and by other. *Discourse Processes*, 49(3–4), 314–337.
- Sidnell, J. (2013). Basic conversation analytic methods. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 77–99). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Sidnell, J. & Enfield N. J. (2012). Language diversity and social action: A third locus of linguistic relativity. *Current Anthropology*, 53(3), 302–333.
- Sidnell, J. & Stivers, T. (2013). *The handbook of conversation analysis*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Sneck, S. (1987). *Assessment of chronography in Finnish-English telephone conversation: an attempt at a computer analysis*. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.
- Sorjonen, M-L. (1997). Recipient activities: particles *nii(n)* and *joo* as responses in Finnish conversations. PhD dissertation. Department of Finnish language, University of Helsinki.
- Sorjonen, M-L. (2001a). *Responding in conversation. A study of response particles in Finnish*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Sorjonen, M-L. (2001b). Simple answers to polar questions. The case of Finnish. In M. Selting & E. Couper-Kuhlen (Eds.), *Studies in interactional linguistics* (pp. 405–431). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Sorjonen, M-L. & Hakulinen, A. (2009). Alternative responses to assessments. In J. Sidnell (Ed.), *Conversation analysis. Comparative perspectives* (pp. 281–303). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sorjonen, M-L. & Vepsäläinen, H. (frth). The Finnish particle *no*.
- Steensig, J. (2001a). Notes on turn-construction methods in Danish and Turkish conversation. In M. Selting & E. Couper-Kuhlen (Eds.), *Studies in interactional linguistics* (pp. 259–286). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Steensig, J. (2001b). *Sprog i virkeligheden. Bidrag til en interaktionel lingvistik*. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag.
- Steensig, J. & Asmuß, B. (2005). Notes on disaligning ‘yes but’ initiated utterances in German and Danish conversations: Two construction types for dispreferred responses. In A. Hakulinen & M. Selting (Eds.), *Syntax and lexis in conversation: Studies on the use of linguistic resources in talk-in-interaction* (pp. 349–373). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Stevanovic, M. (2013). *Deontic rights in interaction: A conversation analytic study on authority and cooperation*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Stevanovic, M. & Kahri, M. (2011). Puheen musiikilliset piirteet ja sosiaalinen toiminta. Kohti prosodian sosiologiaa. [Social action and the musical aspects of speech. Towards a sociology of prosody.] *Sosiologia*, 4, 1–24.

- Stevanovic, M. & Peräkylä, A. (2012). Deontic authority in interaction: The right to announce, propose and decide. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 45(3), 297–321.
- Stevanovic, M. & Peräkylä, A. (2014). Three orders in the organization of human action: On the interface between knowledge, power and emotion in interaction and social relations. *Language in Society*, 43(2), 185–207.
- Stivers, T. (2004). ‘No no no’ and other types of multiple sayings in social interaction. *Human Communication Research*, 30(2), 260–293.
- Stivers, T. (2005). Modified repeats: One method for asserting primary rights from second position. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 38(2), 131–158.
- Stivers, T. (2008). Stance, alignment and affiliation during storytelling: When nodding is a token of affiliation. *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, 41(1), 31–57.
- Stivers, T. (2011). Morality and question design: “of course” as contesting a presupposition of askability. In T. Stivers, L. Mondada & J. Steensig (Eds.), *The morality of knowledge in conversation* (pp. 82–106). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stivers, T., Enfield, N. J., Brown, P., Englert, C., Hayashi, M., Heinemann, T., Hoymann, G., Rossano, F., De Ruiter, J. P., Yoon, K-E. & Levinson, S. C. (2009). Universals and cultural variation in turn-taking in conversation. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 106(26), 10587–10592.
- Stivers, T. & Hayashi, M. (2010). Transformative answers: one way to resist a question's constraints. *Language in Society*, 39(1), 1–25.
- Stivers, T. & Mondada, L. & Steensig, J. (2011). Knowledge, morality and affiliation in social interaction. In T. Stivers, L. Mondada & J. Steensig (Eds.), *The morality of knowledge in conversation* (pp. 3–24). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stivers, T. & Rossano, F. (2010). Mobilizing response. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 43(1), 3–31.
- Streeck, J. (1995). On projection. In E. Goody (Ed.), *Social intelligence and interaction. Expression and implication of the social bias in human intelligence* (pp. 87–110). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Streeck, J. & Hartge, U. (1992). Previews: Gestures at the transition place. In P. Auer & A. di Luzio (Eds.), *The contextualization of language* (pp. 135–157). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Sugawara, K. (2012). Interactive significance of simultaneous discourse or overlap in everyday conversations among !Gui former foragers. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 44(5), 577–618.
- Svennevig, J. (2007). ”Ikke sant” as a response token in Norwegian conversation. In R-A. Nilsen, N. A. A. Amfo & K. Borthen (Eds.), *Interpreting utterances. Pragmatics and its interfaces. Essays in honour of Thorstein Fretheim* (pp. 175–189). Oslo: Novus.
- Svennevig, J. (2008). Ikke sant som respons i samtale. In J. B. Johannessen & K. Hagen (Eds.), *Språk i Oslo. Ny forskning omkring talespråk* (pp. 127–138). Oslo: Novus.
- Szczepek Reed, B. (2004). Turn-final intonation in English. In E. Couper-Kuhlen & C. E. Ford (Eds.), *Sound patterns in interaction. Cross-linguistic studies from conversation* (pp. 97–117). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Szczepek Reed, B. (2006). *Prosodic orientation in English conversation*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tael, K. (1988). *Sõnajärjemallid eesti keeles (võrrelduna soome keelega)*. Tallinn: Eesti NSV Teaduste Akadeemia Keele ja Kirjanduse Instituut.
- Tainio, L. (1989). Keskeyttäminen. In A. Hakulinen (Ed.), *Suomalaisen keskustelun keinoja I* (pp. 177–194). Helsinki: Department of Finnish language, University of Helsinki.
- Tainio, L. (1993). *Kannanoton tulkinta keskustelussa*. (Unpublished licentiate’s thesis.) Department of Finnish language, University of Helsinki.
- Tainio, L. (1996). Kannanotoista keskustelussa. In A. Hakulinen (Ed.), *Suomalaisen keskustelun keinoja II* (pp. 81–108). Helsinki: Department of Finnish language, University of Helsinki.
- Tainio, L. (Ed.) (1997). *Keskusteluanalyysin perusteet* [The basics of conversation analysis]. Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Tainio, L. (2000). Pariskuntapuhe ja kokemusten rajat. *Virittäjä*, 104(1), 23–45.
- Tanaka, H. (1999). *Turn-taking in Japanese conversation: A study in grammar and interaction*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

- Tanaka, H. (2000). Turn-projection in Japanese talk-in-interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 33(1), 1–38.
- Tanaka, H. (2004). Prosody for marking transition-relevance places in Japanese conversation. The case of turns unmarked by utterance-final objects. In E. Couper-Kuhlen & C. E. Ford (Eds.), *Sound patterns in interaction. Cross-linguistic studies from conversation* (pp. 63–96). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Tannen, D. (1994). *Gender and discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tannen, D. (2005). *Conversational style: analyzing talk among friends*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Tao, H. (1996). *Units in Mandarin conversation: prosody, discourse, and grammar*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Tao, H. (2003). A usage-based approach to argument structure. ‘Remember’ and ‘Forget’ in spoken English. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 8(1), 75–95.
- Thompson, S. A. (2002). ‘Object complements’ and conversation: Towards a realistic account. *Studies in Language*, 26(1), 125–164.
- Thompson, S. A. & Fox, B. A. & Couper-Kuhlen, E. (frth). *Grammar and everyday talk: Building responsive actions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thompson, S. A. & Hopper, P. J. (2001). Transitivity, clause structure, and argument structure: evidence from conversation. In J. L. Bybee & P. J. Hopper (Eds.), *Frequency and the emergence of linguistic structure* (pp. 27–60). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Tiittula, L. (1985a). Vuoron vaihtuminen keskustelussa. Puheenvuoron alkamista ja päättymistä ilmaiseva verbaalinen ja ei-verbaalinen viestintä ja sen vaikutus vuorojen vaihtumiseen. Helsinki: Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Tiittula, L. (1985b). Puheenvuorojen vaihtuminen keskustelussa. *Virttäjä*, 89, 319–336.
- Tiittula, L. (1993). *Kulttuurit kohtaavat. Suomalais-saksalaiset kulttuurierot talouselämän näkökulmasta*. Helsinki: Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Tiittula, L. (1994). Suomalaisen puhekulttuurin stereotyyppit ja todellisuus. In L. Laurinen & M.-R. Luukka (Eds.), *Puhekulttuurit ja kielten oppiminen* (pp. 95–107). Jyväskylä: Suomen soveltavan kielitieteen yhdistys.
- Tomasello, M. (2008). *Origins of human communication*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Tulviste, T. (2000). Socialization at meals: A comparison of American and Estonian mother-adolescent interaction. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 31, 537–556.
- Tulviste, T., Mizera, L. & De Geer, B. (2011). “There is nothing bad in being talkative”. Meanings of talkativeness in Estonian and Swedish adolescents. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(6), 1603–1609.
- Tulviste, T., Mizera, L., De Geer, B. & Tryggvason, M.-T. (2003). A silent Finn, a silent Finno-Ugric, or a silent Nordic? A comparative study of Estonian, Finnish, and Swedish mother-adolescent interactions. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 24, 249–265.
- Vatanen, A. (2008). Päälekkäispuhunta suomalaisessa ja virolaisessa arkikeskustelussa: mitä, missä ja milloin [Overlapping talk in Finnish and Estonian everyday conversation: what, where and when]. Master’s thesis. University of Helsinki, Department of Finnish language and literature.
- Vatanen, A. (2010). Yhteistyöhakuinen päälekkäispuhunta suomalaisessa ja virolaisessa arkikeskustelussa. *Lähivõrdlusi. Lähivertailuja* 19 (pp. 76–94). Tallinn: Eesti rakenduslingvistika ühing.
- Vatanen, A. (frth). On “delayed completions”. Actions, unfinishedness and the resources for achieving linkage. Helsinki: SKS.
- Vehviläinen, S. (1999). Structures of counselling interaction: a conversation analytic study of counselling encounters in career guidance training. University of Helsinki, Department of Education.
- Vilkuna, M. (1989). *Free word order in Finnish: its syntax and discourse functions*. Helsinki: SKS.
- Vogelberg, K. (2002). Keelelise viisakuse mudelite mõnedest vaieldavatest aspektidest eesti, vene ja inglise keele võrdlevate uuringute valguses. In R. Pajusalu, I. Tragel, T. Hennoste & H. Öim (Eds.), *Teoreetiline keeleteadus Eestis* (pp. 297–312). Tartu: Tartu University.
- Vorreiter, S. (2003). Turn continuations: Towards a cross-linguistic classification. *InLiSt, Interaction and Linguistic Structures* 39. <http://www.rz.uni-potsdam.de/u/inlist>.

- Weatherall, A. (2011). I don't know as a pre-positioned hedge. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 44(4), 317–337.
- Weatherall, A. (in press). Gender in interaction. In K. Tracy, T. L. Sandel & C. Ilie (Eds.), *International encyclopaedia of language and social interaction*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Wells, B. & Corrin, J. (2004). Prosodic resources, turn-taking and overlap in children's talk-in-interaction. In E. Couper-Kuhlen & C. Ford (Eds.), *Sound patterns in interaction. Cross-linguistic studies from conversation* (pp. 119–143). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Wells, B. & Macfarlane, S. (1998). Prosody as an interactional resource: Turn-projection and overlap. *Language and Speech*, 41, 265–298.
- Wells, B. & Peppé, S. (1996). Ending up in Ulster: prosody and turn-taking in English dialects. In E. Couper-Kuhlen & M. Selting (Eds.), *Prosody in conversation. Interactional studies* (pp. 101–130). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- West, C. & Zimmerman, D. H. (1983). Small insults: a study of interruptions in cross-sex conversations between unacquainted persons. In B. Thorne, C. Kramarae & N. Henley (Eds.), *Language, gender and society* (pp. 102–117). Rowley: Newbury House.
- Yli-Luukko, E. (1996). *Heinolan murrettä*. Helsinki: Edita.
- Yngve, V. (1970). On getting a word in edgewise. *Papers from the Sixth Regional Meeting* (pp. 567–577). Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Zimmerman, D. H. & West, C. (1975). Sex roles, interruptions and silences in conversation. In B. Thorne & N. Henley (Eds.), *Language and sex: Difference and dominance* (pp. 105–129). Rowley: Newbury House.

APPENDIX 1. TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS

.	falling intonation
;	slightly falling intonation
,	level intonation
?	rising intonation
↑	rise in pitch
↓	fall in pitch
spea <u>k</u>	emphasis (in Finnish extracts)
<u>s</u> peak	emphasis (in Estonian extracts)
>spea <u>k</u> <	faster pace than in the surrounding talk
<spea <u>k</u> >	slower pace than in the surrounding talk
°spea <u>k</u> °	quiet talk
SPEAK	loud talk
sp-	word cut off
sp'k	vowels omitted from pronunciation
spea:k	sound lengthening
#spea <u>k</u> #	creaky voice
£spea <u>k</u> £	smiley voice
@spea <u>k</u> @	other change in voice quality
.h	audible inhalation
h	audible exhalation
.spea <u>k</u>	word spoken during inhalation
he he	laughter
sp(h)ea <u>k</u>	laughter within talk
[beginning of overlap
]	end of overlap
=	no gap between two adjacent items
(.)	micropause (less than 0.2 seconds)
(0.6)	pause in seconds
(spea <u>k</u>)	item in doubt
(-)	item not heard
(())	comment by transcriber (sometimes concerning gaze or embodied behavior)
--	talk continues, data not shown
->	target line (usually: overlapped turn)
=>	target line (overlapping turn)
ʔ	glottal stop (IPA symbol)
*	point when still image is taken

Gaze and embodiment (gaze symbols adapted from Goodwin 1981)

SPEAKER EMBODIMENT: (DESCRIPTION)
SPEAKER GAZE: (SEE THE SYMBOLS)
01 Speaker: turn
RECIPIENT GAZE: (SEE THE SYMBOLS)
RECIPIENT EMBODIMENT: (DESCRIPTION)

gaze to recipient	_____
gaze elsewhere	--- (TARGET SPECIFIED) -----
eyes meet	X
gaze shift away from recipient	'''
gaze shift towards recipient	...
onset (and end) point of embodied behavior	

Symbols in the translation line

(item) item that is not expressed in the original language but that
belongs grammatically to the English equivalent
((item)) item not expressed in the original language, added for the sake of
clarity
V verb, not specified

APPENDIX 2. GLOSSING SYMBOLS

Case endings

ACC	accusative
ABL	ablative ('from')
ADE	adessive ('at, on')
ALL	allative ('to')
COM	comitative ('with')
ELA	elative ('out of')
GEN	genitive (possession)
ILL	illative ('into')
INE	inessive ('in')
PAR	partitive (partitiveness)
TRA	translative ('to', 'becoming')

Verbal morphemes

1SG	1 st person singular ('I')
2SG	2 nd person singular ('you')
3SG	3 rd person singular ('she', 'he')
1PL	1 st person plural ('we')
2PL	2 nd person plural ('you')
3PL	3 rd person plural ('they')
COND	conditional
FREQ	frequentative
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
PAS	passive
PPC	past participle
PPPC	passive past participle
PST	past tense

Other abbreviations

ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
CLI	clitic
CONJ	conjunction
COMP	complementizer
CMP	comparative
DEM	demonstrative
DEM1	demonstrative ('this')
DEM2	demonstrative ('that')
DEM3	demonstrative ('it', 'that over there')
LOC	location

MAN	manner
NEG	negation (particle in Estonian, verb in Finnish)
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRT	particle
SG	singular
Ø	zero person