

Patients' responses to interpretations: A dialogue between conversation analysis and psychoanalytic theory

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Abstract

The paper reports a conversation analytical study of patients' responses to interpretations in psychoanalysis. The data come from 27 tape-recorded and transcribed psychoanalytic sessions involving three analyst–patient dyads. The study seeks to facilitate dialogue between conversation analytical (CA) findings and psychoanalytic theory by using CA to describe the practices in and through which the psychoanalytic theory concerning interpretation is realized in actual interactions. Four empirical observations are reported in the paper: (1) The analysts actively pursue a more than minimal response from the patient to their interpretations. (2) A typical extended response to an interpretation involves an elaboration, which is an utterance in which the patient takes up some aspect of the interpretation and continues discussion on that. (3) Even though elaborations convey agreement with the interpretation, they often also involve different degrees of discontinuity with what the interpretation initially aimed at. (4) This discontinuity is sometimes facilitated by the analyst's own actions. These observations invite some specifications in the picture of interpretations provided by psychoanalytic theory.

Keywords: conversation analysis; interpretation; psychoanalysis; resistance; response.

1. Interpretation in psychoanalytic theory

According to Rycroft (1995: 85), psychoanalytical interpretations are 'statements made by the analyst to the patient in which he attributes to a dream, a symp-

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tom, or a chain of free associations some meaning over and above (under and below) that given to it by the patient'. So, in interpretations, the analyst says something to the patient about the things that the patient has been telling the analyst about, and suggests that some of these things mean something different or something more than what the patient has said.

Rycroft's definition focuses on overt actions of the analyst and the patient without taking a stance on the participants' intentions or the consequences of their actions. These intentions and consequences are understood in different ways in different strands of psychoanalytical theory. There are at least two competing theoretical perspectives. One focuses on the intra-psychic reality in the patient, and the other focuses on the interaction between the analyst and the patient.

In the traditional theoretical perspective focussing on the intra-psychic reality, interpretation is understood as a vehicle for helping the patient see and understand aspects of his or her mind that (s)he has previously been unconscious of (e.g., Greenson 1967: 39–45; Sandler et al. 1992: 154–163; Dreher 1997). This traditional perspective has been encapsulated by Greenson (1967: 39): 'to interpret means to make an unconscious phenomenon conscious'. The goal of interpretation is to help the patient's self-observation (Spacal 1990: 425). Resulting from a (successful) interpretation, the patient may find from his consciousness what was proposed in the interpretation (Ikonen 2002).

As seen from the perspective that focuses on interaction, interpretation does not lead so much to the patient *discovering* something, but to the patient and the analyst together *creating* new ways of understanding and experiencing. Here, the psychoanalytic process is understood as a thoroughly interpersonal one (see, e.g., Mitchell and Aron 1999). It involves 'a world of experience jointly brought forth by the analysand and the analyst together' (Streeck 2001: 74) through their interactions. Interpretation is part of this

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co-construction. Thus, for Spence (1982), interpretation is ‘a creative act’ (p. 164), or an act of construction rather than reconstruction (p. 35). In an interpretation, the analyst suggests to the patient new ways of understanding and relating to his past and present experience.

In spite of their differences, both views equally emphasize *the importance of the patient’s response* to interpretations. In the traditional view, the patient’s response to an interpretation is an indicator of the correctness of the interpretation. Greenson (1967: 41), for example, points out that the analyst ‘has to wait for the patient’s clinical responses to determine whether one is on the right track’. Affective responses or fresh associations may convey that the interpretation has touched upon something real in the patient’s mind (Greenson 1967: 40–41; Etchegoyen 1999: 213–214). In the interactionist view, the patient’s response is an instance in and through which (s)he contributes to the joint creation of new reality. Thus, Spence (1982: 271) points out that an interpretation is ‘uttered in the expectation that it will lead to additional, clarifying clinical material’. A timely interpretation ‘may set in motion a train of associations that leads to new discoveries’ (p. 164).

The importance of the patient’s response to the interpretation was recently nicely formulated by Patrick Casement, a well-known British psychoanalyst, in ways that resonate with both theoretical perspectives outlined above. Casement suggests that the analyst’s aim should be that the patient does more than merely accepts or rejects an interpretation. Instead, the patient should be helped to ‘play with the interpretation’, to ‘make something of the interpretation’ (Casement 2002: 8).

In what follows, I explore tape recordings of psychoanalytic sessions to explore how these professional theories concerning interpretation inform the actual clinical practice of psychoanalysis.

2. Data and methods

The data used in this paper come from a corpus of 60 audio-recorded psychoanalytic sessions, collected in 1999–2000 for the research project ‘Psychoanalysis as social interaction’ in Finland. The corpus involves two experienced analysts (members of the International Psychoanalytic Association) and three patients, with 20 consecutive sessions from each patient. The psychoanalytic treatment is characterized by very high degree of confidentiality, which made it impossible to obtain video-recorded data. Using audio recording only is also justifiable because the visual aspects are minimized by the setting: the patient is lying on a couch and the analyst is sitting behind him. The data analysis reported here focussed on 27 randomly selected sessions from the corpus. In this sample, one analyst–patient dyad is represented by ten

sessions, another by nine, and the third one by eight sessions. As one session lasts 45 minutes, the data examined for this paper involve more than 20 hours of interaction. A total of 75 sequences involving interpretations were found.

2.1. Psychoanalytic interpretations as interactional objects

In a recent paper on psychoanalytic interactions, Vehviläinen (2003) described ‘interpretative trajectory’, which is a segment of talk involving an interpretation and step-by-step preparation of it. In the preparation, some aspects of the patient’s prior talk are rendered *enigmatic* or *puzzling* through the analyst’s interventions, such as extensions of the patient’s turns, formulations, and confrontations. A possible way of understanding this puzzle is then presented in the analyst’s interpretations.

In terms of ‘content’ of talk, there are two main types of interpretations: those in which the analyst suggests that there are connections between different areas of the patient’s experience (such as childhood, current everyday life, and the patient–analyst relation) and those in which he suggests that there are conflicts and other dynamic relations between different affects of the patient—for example, the repression of anger, causing depression. Some aspects of the verbal design of the former type of interpretations were recently described by Peräkylä (2004). Interpretations in our data are statement formatted utterances that usually consist of several turn construction units (Sacks et al. 1974). Even though they are preceded by a segment in which the puzzle is created, they can be considered as ‘first position acts’—the preceding segment can be seen as preparatory. While most extracts in this paper show only the final parts of the interpretations, in Extract (4) a full interpretation (lines 16–58) and some of the talk that precedes it are shown. This paper focuses on the patients’ responses to interpretations. A more detailed examination of the internal organization of the interpretations and the organization of the analysts’ third position actions after the patients’ responses is a topic for future studies.

2.2. Different types of response

The patients’ responses to interpretations can be divided into three broad classes; different classes of responses regularly occur in the same sequence. (1) Sometimes the patients produce *acknowledgement tokens* such as ‘Mm’ or ‘Yeah’: responses that are similar to those that the patients most often give after hearing the diagnosis in general practice (Heath 1992; Peräkylä 2002). However, cases in which such a token constitutes the patient’s sole response to an interpretation are very rare. (2) The patients can also respond to interpretations by *expressing their attitude towards*

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the interpretation in a compact form. This can involve outright rejection (e.g., ‘I don’t think the rules were that strict’), a display of skepticism (e.g., ‘Yeah who knows’), a display of commitment to ‘mental processing’ of the interpretation, without clearly agreeing or disagreeing with it (e.g., ‘Wonder if it could be like that’), or agreement (e.g., ‘it is absolutely true’). (3) In more than half of cases (38 out of 75) the patients, however, end up talking even more extensively about the interpretations. They take up some aspect of the interpretation and continue discussion on that by illustrating or explaining what was proposed by the analyst. I call these responses *elaborations of the interpretation*. Elaborations convey agreement with and understanding of the interpretation. They are often preceded by other types of responses: the patient may first respond to an interpretation with an acknowledgment token and/or with a compact expression of attitude, and move thereafter to an elaboration.

This paper focuses on elaborations. Extract (1) is an example of an elaboration. The analyst proposes in his interpretation that the patient’s experience of a rival colleague, who is currently in trouble in her profession, is linked to the patient’s experience of her siblings who were ill, and one of whom died, when the patient was a child. The final part of the interpretation is shown.

(1) (Tul 1:3 K1) analyst (A), patient (P)

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1 A: ...so there’s also that
...*ttä on sek̄in*

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2 similarity that when (1.0)
samalaisuus että kun (1.0)

232
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3 Aino is in trouble, (0.6) so
Aino on vaikeuksissa, (0.6) nii

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4 she’s like ill.
hänhän on ikään kun sairas.

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5 (1.6)

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6 A: A bit like she was about to die.
Vähän niinkun hän ois kuolemassa.

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7 (1.2)

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8 A: (tch) And possibly will °die°
(mt) *Ja mahdollisesti*

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9 in her profession.
ammattissaan ku°lee°.

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10 (3.0)

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11 A: So then it is difficult,
Et s’llon on väikea,

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(0.8) really to be angry
(0.8) *oikeastaan olla hänelle*

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enough at her, (0.6) as you
riittävän vihanen, (0.6) kun

14

feel sympathy °for her°.
tunnet myötätuntoa °häntä kohtaan°.

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P: .mh (0.4) It is absolutely true.
.mh (0.4) *Se on aivan totta.*

16

(11.0)

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P: .thh it is absolutely true
.thh *se on aivan totta muuten tuo*

18

that I feel sympathy.
juttu että mä tunnen myötätuntoa.

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(1.4)

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?P: .nff

21

(2.6)

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A: So: it is >I think that< it
E:t se on >mä luule et< se

23

is pretty close to the feeling
on aika lähellä sitä tunnetta

24

that (0.6) your ill
minkä (0.6) sinu sairaat

25

sibl°ings° (0.4) °arose
sisaruk°set° (0.4) °aiheutti

26

in you°.
sinussa°.

27

P: Mm

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(10.0)

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P: .thh difficult to be angry.
.thh *vaikea olla vihane.*

30

= difficult to compete.
=*vaikea kilpailla.*

31

= difficult to be env°ious°.°
=*vaikea olla ka°teellinen°.*

32

A: Yeah.
Ni[i]h.

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378 34 (4.6)
- 380 35 P: What is there to be envicious
384 *Mitä kadehtimista*
- 386 36 for when the other °is
389 *siinä on että toinen °maka°*
- 390 37 laying down° (0.8) about to °die°.
394 *(0.8) kuole°maisillaan°.*
- 396 38 (0.4)
- 400 39 A: Quite °right°.
403 *Sanopa °muuta°.*
- 406 40 (10.0)

The patient's elaboration begins in line 29 (lines 15–18 involve agreement with interpretation and not its elaboration). She first illustrates what was proposed by the analyst in the interpretation, with a list of the feelings that she has difficulties with. The first item basically repeats what was suggested by the analyst in an earlier part of the interpretation (difficult to be angry, line 11–13). After that, the patient names two other feelings. The 'object' of these feelings is left unspecified: the patient seems to show that they are applicable both to the sister and to the colleague—thereby maintaining the linkage suggested by the analyst in his interpretation. After an agreement token by the analyst (line 32), the patient continues the elaboration by animating her childhood self, considering her sick sister's situation (lines 35–37). The patient's elaboration embodies acceptance and understanding of the interpretation, and agreement with it.

As pointed out above, the two psychoanalytic theoretical perspectives equally emphasize the importance of the patient's response to an interpretation. The elaborations seem to be felicitous responses as seen from both perspectives. For a traditionalist, they demonstrate that the patient has found from his/her consciousness some of the things that the analyst proposed, and for an interactionist, they represent the patient's contribution to the joint creation of new reality. Or, to use Casement's (2002) words, in elaborations the patient *plays* with the interpretation, and *makes something of* it. In what follows, I show that in their actual interactions with the patients, the analysts also orient to these responses as favorable, as something to be sought after.

2.3. Pursuing the patient's response in psychoanalysis

As shown by Heath (1992) and Peräkylä (2002), in general practice, the doctor and the patient usually cooperate in accomplishing diagnostic sequences in such a way that the patient's participation remains

minimal, involving either silence or a minimal acknowledgment token. This is in strong contrast to the participants' actions in interpretative sequences in psychoanalysis. In psychoanalysis, the *expectation of a more than minimal patient response to interpretation* is built up in the details of the talk between the analyst and the patient. This expectation is materialized in and through a number of practices.

2.3.1. Silence, requests to reveal one's mind, formulations The analyst's silence is a key practice that conveys an expectation of a more than minimal patient response. After having reached a point of possible completion in their interpretations, and also after minimal patient responses to them, the analysts often remain silent. This silence is in contrast to the conduct of general practitioners, who swiftly move to the next phase of the consultation (discussion on future action) when the patients remain silent or respond minimally to the diagnosis (Robinson 2003). The analyst's silence provides an opportunity for the patient to respond to the interpretation. Consider again a fragment of Extract (1) above. In line 26, the interpretation is hearably completed. The patient responds with an acknowledgement token in line 27. The analyst remains silent for 10 seconds in line 28, thereby maintaining an opportunity for the patient to produce more talk in response to the interpretation. Finally, in line 29, the patient begins her elaboration of the interpretation.

The analyst's silence is sometimes couched by other actions in and through which the relevancy of a more than minimal patient response is maintained. One such action involves the analyst's explicit request for the patient to *reveal what is in his mind* (e.g., 'wonder what you're thinking about') after the silence has passed for some time after an interpretation (see Peräkylä 2004). Another practice involves *formulation of the patient's action as problem-indicative* after the patient's minimal response to an interpretation. After the patient's minimal response, the analyst can say, e.g., 'You don't sound excited', thereby inviting from the patient an account for her minimal recipient action (Peräkylä 2004; cf. Heritage and Watson 1979; Drew 2003).

2.3.2. Adding new elements to the interpretation In yet another, very frequent practice of pursuing the patient's response, the analyst *adds new elements to the interpretation*. In many cases, the interpretations are produced in a step-by-step manner. As the analyst reaches a point at which the interpretation could be heard as completed, there is an opportunity for the patient to respond. If the patient does not produce a response, or produces only a minimal one, the analyst may continue the interpretation by adding a new element to it. Thereby, he creates a new opportunity for the patient to respond.

503 Consider again Extract (1). Well before the patient
 504 produces his elaboration, the analyst reaches a point
 505 of potential completion: in lines 11–14, he presents a
 506 conclusion of what he has been suggesting about the
 507 patient's relation to his rival colleague. This is
 508 received first by the patient with an inhaled .mh
 509 sound, which is followed by a short silence and a
 510 compact expression of agreement: *It is absolutely*
 511 *true*. The analyst and the patient remain silent after
 512 this for 11 seconds, whereafter the patient in lines
 513 17–18 repeats her claim of agreement, echoing the
 514 last part of the analyst's interpretation (cf. line 14) *it*
 515 *is absolutely true that I feel sympathy*. By then, the
 516 patient has twice claimed her agreement and has
 517 explicated, using the analyst's words, what her agree-
 518 ment is targeted at. In this situation, the analyst
 519 responds by adding yet another element to his inter-
 520 pretation in lines 22–26, where he makes a link
 521 between the patient's current relation to her colleague
 522 and her relation to her siblings in her childhood. In
 523 this way, he at the same time adds a new layer of
 524 meaning to the interpretation (link between childhood
 525 and current experience), and creates a new oppor-
 526 tunity for the patient to respond. The patient responds
 527 first by an acknowledgment token (line 27) and, after
 528 the ensuing silence (line 28), with an elaboration
 529 (beginning in line 29).

530 Extract (2) presents another case in point. The
 531 patient produces only minimal acknowledgments in
 532 response to the earlier parts of an interpretation. The
 533 interpretation has to do with the psychological mean-
 534 ing of two countries, Greece and Finland, to a (Finn-
 535 ish) patient who has lived in Greece. The analyst
 536 suggests that in the patient's inner world, Greece rep-
 537 represents everything positive. Only the final section of
 538 the interpretation is shown here.

539 (2) (Tul 4:20 A12) analyst (A), patient (P)

542 1 A: So for that reason >it ((Greece))
 545 *Et se sen takia >se ((Greece))*

548 2 has < .hhh has#been the# >it's
 550 *on< .hhh on #ollu se# >se on*

552 3 been < kind of an (0.4) #umbilical
 555 *ollu< semmonen (0.4) #napanuora*

558 4 cord which you found and which sä
 560 *jonka sä löysit ja jota*

562 5 you have t- tightly held°on to°#.
 565 *oot l- lujasti pitäny ki°nni°#.*

568 6 P: Mmm.

570 7 (5.0)

572 8 A: And #that >it is < something else#
 578 *Ja #et >se on< jotakin muuta#*

580 9 .mthh (.) it is more than (0.3)
 583 *.mthh (.) se on en#mmän kuin*

10 a wife or more than Agnes >it
 (0.3) *vaimo tai enemmän kuin* 584
 588

11 is <# .hhh (0.3) #is is# 590
 Agnes >se on<# .hhh (0.3) #on on# 593

12 (.) the whole kind of 595
 (.) *ko#ko niinku semmonen* 598

13 joy (0.3) of °life°. 600
elämän (0.3) n'ku i°loh°#. 603

14 P: Mmm. 605

15 (0.7) 608

16 A: #Which you have placed there >and 610
 #Jonka olet sinne sijoittanu >ja 616

17 how < it could now be here# .hhh 620
 miten < sen vois niinku nyt sitte 621

18 >at least so < whe- 622
 tänne# .hhh >ainaki et < mis- 626

19 how could #one 628
 miten niinkun tää#llä vois 631

20 blossom here# in this .mthh 632
 puhjeta kukkaan tüssä# .mthh 636

21 (0.3)£cli(h)ma°te°£. 638
 (0.3) *£ilma(h)nala°ssa°£.* 641

22 P: #Mmmm#, 642

23 (0.5) 648

24 A: Mmm. 650

25 (3.4) 655

26 P: .mthh And I'm:: still continuously 660
 .mthh *Ja vieläkin mü: edelleenkin* 662

27 (0.8) hhh .hhh£like dreaming that 663
 (0.8) *hhh .hhh £niin#ku#* 667

28 that oh I wish I could get 670
 haavei#lin et voi ku mä pääsisin 672

29 away from here£. 675
 täältä pois#£. 677

30 (0.3) 680

31 A: Yeah:, 682
 Nii:, 686
 ((Elaboration continues)) 687

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In line 5, the analyst reaches a point where her turn at talk is hearably complete in terms of syntax, prosody and pragmatics. The long, multi-unit interpretation can also be heard as complete here. The patient responds with an acknowledgment token in line 6, and a gap of 5 seconds ensues. Thereafter, the analyst adds new elements, using the ‘and’ preface, which constitutes the new element as a continuation of the interpretation thus far. In line 13, a new point of completion is reached; the patient responds again with an acknowledgment token (line 14), a gap ensues (line 15), and the analyst adds yet another new element, which is presented as a continuation of the preceding unit by the use of a pronominal construction at the beginning of the turn (line 16). This new element (lines 16–21) seems to be particularly designed for eliciting the patient’s response: it is question formatted (unlike the earlier parts that were statement formatted) and it shifts the topical focus from past to current experiences. But again, at the end of this new element, the same pattern of acknowledgment token followed by a silence appears (lines 22 and 23). However, instead of producing a new extension to the interpretation, the analyst recycles the patient’s acknowledgment token by producing a similar sound herself (line 24). By doing that, she returns the floor back to the patient and this eventually leads to the patient beginning his extended response to the interpretation in line 26.

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Thus, it appears that the point at which an interpretation is completed is negotiable. If the patient does not respond, or responds only minimally, the analyst can add a new element to an interpretation and thereby create a new opportunity for the patient’s response. The design of the new element is informed by the patient’s response thus far. In Extract (1), the patient’s initial compact response in lines 15–18 embodied strong agreement, thereby creating an environment in which the analyst could add a new layer of meaning to the interpretation (see lines 22–26). This is in contrast to Extract (2), in which the patient’s initial responses involved acknowledgment tokens. Here, the new elements involved pursuit of the initial interpretation rather than a new layer of meanings added to it.

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So far, I have shown how analysts pursue more than minimal responses to their interpretations (cf. Pomerantz 1984). Frequently, and through various practices, they treat silences, acknowledgment tokens, and even compact expressions of stance as insufficient responses. Elaborations appear to be the kind of responses that they seek. The analysts’ actions are in line with the psychoanalytic theory of interpretations. The theory characterizes interpretation as an action that is ‘uttered in the expectation that it will lead to additional, clarifying clinical material’ (Spence 1982: 271), it advises the analyst to ‘wait for the patient’s clinical response’ (Greenson 1967: 41), and it sets as a goal that the patients ‘make something of the

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interpretation’ (Casement 2002: 8). The practices of pursuing the patient’s response embody this orientation.

2.4. Continuity and discontinuity in elaborations

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Overtly, elaborations convey acceptance and understanding of the interpretations. Along with that, however, they often also involve different degrees of discontinuity with the interpretations. The dynamics between the acceptance and discontinuity make them particularly interesting objects.

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Extract (1) above is an example of a ‘continuous’ elaboration. It takes up the topic of the interpretation: both address the patient’s complex relation to a professional rival by linking it to her childhood experience. The elaboration also maintains what we might call the stance of the interpretation. The analyst has offered a tentative description of the patient’s inner experience. In the elaboration, the patient offers her own ‘first hand’ description confirming what was proposed by the analyst, and examines her conflicting emotions along the lines suggested by the analyst. In both the interpretation and the elaboration, the stance is *exploratory* and *reflective*: the dimensions and dynamics of the patient’s experience are explored in both.

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Often, however, the elaborations are in one way or another discontinuous with the interpretation. Sometimes, as in Extract (3), the discontinuity involves a shift of topical focus from the patient’s own mind to external realities (on topical shifts, see Jefferson 1988). Prior to the interpretation, the patient has been talking about athletics, which was his childhood hobby. He has said that his mother never really appreciated this hobby, and expressed his disappointment in the mother’s attitude. In his interpretation, beginning from line 20, the analyst proposes that the patient’s disappointment actually has to do with his relation to his *father*: the patient has not recognized his painful feelings related to the fact that the father left the family; instead, he is disappointed with the mother for not being the father.

(3) (Tul 6:3 C8) analyst (A), patient (P)

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- 1 P: And especially the javelin was my,
Ja varsinkin se keihäs oli se mun,
- 2 (2.2) 795
- 3 P: my kind of athletics.
mun laji. 800
- 4 (7.8) 805
- 5 P: .mthh > But there (>was<) mother
.mthh > Mut et siin (>oli<) 806
- 6 sort of had somehow <
niinko äidillä oli jotenkin < 815

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820	7	negative ↓ attitude to that whole	29	A: surely <u>also</u> when the father (0.3)	922
822		<i>n_{ih}kee ↓ suhtautuminen siihen koko</i>		<i>varmaan <u>myös</u> sillon kun isä (0.3)</i>	925
828	8	business so that she even tried	30	was away because of	928
827		<i>h_{om}maan että se suorastaan</i>		<i>oli t_yön vuoksi</i>	930
838	9	to stop me.	31	work commitments,	932
832		<i>vähän niinku <u>esteli</u>.</i>		<i>poissa,</i>	935
838	10	(7.2)	32	(0.5)	938
838	11	P: > ↓ Somehow I have the < (0.6)	33	A: ↓ Or away because of drinking,	942
841		<i>> ↓ Jotenki mulla on niinku</i>		<i>↓ Tai ryyppäämisen vuoksi poissa,</i>	944
848	12	feeling that (.) had	34	P: Yea:h.	948
846		<i>s_{em}monen < (0.6) t_{un}ne (.) oli</i>		<i>Nii:n.</i>	949
848	13	it then and still (.) still have	35	A: tch But then when the father (0.2)	952
851		<i>sillon ja nyt (.) nyt <u>v</u>ieläkin</i>		<i>mt Mut sitte kun isä <u>k</u>okonaan</i>	954
852	14	it that .hhh (0.2) that	36	.hh left the family for good. hhh	958
856		<i>että .hhh (0.2) että</i>		<i>(0.2).hh läksi <u>p</u>erheestä niin .hhh</i>	959
868	15	on the contrary a child should be	37	it was felt and? .hhh > and because	962
861		<i>lasta pitä_s p_äinvastoin</i>		<i>(ni) se t_{un}tu ja? .hhh > ja koska</i>	964
868	16	encouraged to such activities,	38	this kind < = #er:: # > I think that	968
866		<i>k_{an}nustaa niinku tommoseen,</i>		<i>se t_{äm}mönen <, = #y:: # > Mä luulen et</i>	969
868	17	(8.5)	39	it's actually < diff:iculf for you,	972
872	18	A: (Ye-ye-yeah)?		<i>sun on < v:<u>a</u>ikeä oikeestaan,</i>	974
875		<i>(Jo-ho-ho)?</i>	40	(1.2)	975
876	19	(4.2)	41	A: ↓ to admit that that eh (.) you	982
882	20	A: .hh You know on a deeper level it		<i>↓ myöntää sitä että että y' (.)</i>	983
884		<i>.hh Syvemmällä tasollahan se</i>	42	didn't didn't have a father.	988
888	21	means that (0.6) tch that		<i>is#ä: # <u>i</u>sä puuttu <u>s</u>inul<u>t</u>a.</i>	988
889		<i>merkitsee sitä että (0.6) mt että</i>	43	(1.2)	992
892	22	mother wasn't (2.0) ↑ the ↓ father.	44	A: So that it was as it were	998
894		<i>äiti ei (2.0) ↑ ollu ↓ isä.</i>		<i>Sillä tavalla et se oli vähän niinku</i>	997
898	23	(2.2)	45	mother's fault,	998
902	24	?A: mt		<i>äidin vika,</i>	1002
908	25	(3.7)	46	(1.3)	1008
908	26	A: So the absence of father was felt	47	A: mt ↓ that the father wasn't there.	1008
911		<i>Et se isän poissaolo kyllä t_{un}t_u</i>		<i>mt ↓ että isä puuttu.</i>	1011
918	27	.hhh (1.0) a:nd: erm::,	48	(0.7)	1018
916		<i>.hhh (1.0) j:a: tuota::,</i>	49	A: .hh And it shows in this way	1018
928	28	(1.8)		<i>.hh Ja se ilmenee t_{äl}lä tavalla</i>	1020

1021					1124
1022	50	that .hhh (0.2) #er: # you miss	72	P: .mthh Yeah:; (.) It is true	1126
1025		että .hhh (0.2) #ä: # sie kaipaat		.mthh Nii:; (.) Tottahan se on	1128
1028	51	the characteristics (0.8) that	73	(.) true of course, = It is father	1130
1030		niitä ominaisuuksia (0.8) joita		(.) on tietysti, = Isänhän siellä	1133
1034	52	<the father would have had>.	74	who > should have been <	1135
1035		<isässä olisi ollut>.		kentän laidalla	1138
1038	53	(2.2)	75	by the athletic field.	1139
1040	54	A: And (.) you are (dissatisfied)		>ois pitäny < olla.	1143
1044		Ja (.) oot (tyytymätön)	76	(0.8)	1145
1046	55	now with the mother for the fact	77	P: Cheering. = > shouldn't he <.	1150
1049		úitiin nyt siitä		Hihkumassa. = > Eikö niin <.	1152
1050	56	(0.7) tch that the > mother didn't	78	A: Yeah.	1156
1054		(0.7) mt että > äidillä ei		_Niin. _	1157
1056	57	↓ have < those characteristics.	79	(10.0)	1160
1059		↓ ollu < niitä ominai_suuksia_.			
1060	58	(1.6)	80	A: .hh And in the steering committee	1163
1065	59	A: That mother wasn't father.		.hh Ja urheiluseuran#::#	1166
1068		Että äiti ei ollu isä.	81	of the athletic club (1.0)	1169
1070	60	(3.5)		johtokunnassa (1.0)	1171
1075	61	A: #It's the father's (1.0) duty	82	supporting the youngsters' work.	1173
1077		#Isän:: # (1.0) tehtävänäh'n (.)		tukemassa nuorten työtä.	1176
1080	62	(.) normally (1.0) # () to			1177
1082		tavallisesti on: (1.0) # (juu:r)			1178
1086	63	e#ncourage (0.5) the son to o-			1179
1087		i:: #nnostaa (0.5) poikaa u-			1180
1090	64	outdoor activities and sports.			1181
1092		ulkoiluun ja urheiluun.			1182
1096	65	(6.0)			1183
1098	66	A: tch To hunting expeditions and,			1184
1101		mt Metsälle ja,			1185
1103	67	(1.5)			1186
1106	68	A: to athletic ↓ fields and so on.			1187
1110		urheilu ↓ kentille ja niin edelleen.			1188
1113	69	(18.5)			1189
1116	70	P: .mthhhhff hhhmthh (1.0) tch hhhh			1190
1119		.mthhhhff hhhmthh (1.0) mt hhhh			1191
1120	71	(6.2)			1192

For a long time, the patient receives the interpretation silently. Possibly in relation to this lack of response, the analyst adds new elements to the interpretation. In line 59, he reaches a point where he repeats the formulation with which he started the interpretation ('mother wasn't the father'; see line 20), thereby quite clearly indicating that his action could be heard as completed. The patient, however, still remains silent, and after 3.5 seconds (line 60) the analyst expands his interpretation with yet another kind of element: he now points out that usually it is the father's duty to encourage the son in sports. By referring to the father's conventional duties, the analyst apparently brings up further evidence to support his interpretation that 'real' target of the patient's disappointment is his father rather than his mother.

The patient first remains silent for more than 20 seconds after the interpretation. He starts his response in line 72 with an agreement token that is prosodically emphasized, then claims his agreement through a single clause (*It is (.) is true of course,*) and thereafter proceeds into an elaboration in which he illustrates the interpretation by pointing out what his father should have done in relation to his hobby.

By taking up what was suggested by the analyst, and by adopting the proposed perspective to his own past experience, the patient shows that he understands and accepts what was proposed by the analyst. The

1205

patient's utterance is designed in a way that demonstrates that he has gained new insight. Prior to the analyst's interpretation, the patient's talk had focussed on his dissatisfaction with the mother, and now he focuses on the father's negligence. He also emphasizes the words *yes* (*Nii:i*), *is* (*on*) and *father* (*Isänhän*) in lines 72–73 in a way that seem to convey something like 'now I realize this'.

1213

However, there is also a distinct topical shift, vis-à-vis the interpretation, in the patient's elaboration. Most parts of the interpretation dealt with the patient's relation to his father and mother, especially the ways in which his feelings of disappointment are displaced from father to mother. Thus, the focus of the interpretation was in the dynamics of the patient's inner world. In his elaboration, however, the patient addressed external moral realities: the parental duties that his father failed to meet. Through the tag question at the end of his elaboration (line 77) the patient even indicates that what he is proposing is something that the recipient, i.e., the analyst, has access to; therefore, it does not involve the inner world that only the patient knows directly.

1228

Thus, there was a topical shift from 'self' to 'other' in the patient's elaboration in relation to the analyst's interpretation. This topical discontinuity was not, however, manifested in any overt interactional hitch. In its immediate sequential context, the patient's elaboration was aligned with the analyst's talk. The patient did not respond to the earlier parts of the interpretation that dealt with the dynamics of his mind (up to line 59). He only produced his elaboration at the point when the analyst, through adding a new element to the interpretation in lines 61–68, had *himself* made the topical shift from the inner dynamics of the patient's mind to the external realities of the parental duties. Thus, it was the new element that the analyst added to the interpretation that in fact allowed for an elaboration in which the patient shifted the topic from 'self' to 'other'.

1245

In Extract (3), there were aspects in the elaboration that were clearly continuous with the interpretation. As proposed in the interpretation, the patient shifted his attention from the mother to the father, indicating that he now realized that his father had failed to fulfil the parental role expectations. Meanwhile, the elaboration missed some core contents of the interpretation: it did not address the patient's feelings of disappointment nor the ways in which these feelings have (according to the interpretation) been displaced from the father to the mother.

1256

A more radical discontinuity between the interpretation and the elaboration can be seen in Extract (4). Here the analyst's interpretation involves a suggestion that the patient carries in her 'an awful amount' of anger (line 1) that she cannot get in touch with. Furthermore, in lines 23–34, the analyst suggests that keeping the anger away from her mind consumes the patient's psychic energy ('congeals the sap in her'),

1263

thereby making her feel tired. Towards the end of the interpretation, in lines 41–65, the analyst imitates the patient, suggesting what she could say if she were to express her anger towards her mother. This scene is framed as an example of the kind of 'rage' that there is in the patient. (The patient is angry at her mother because she feels that the mother criticizes her for letting her kids and pets damage their flat.)

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(4) (Tul 4:9 A 15) analyst (A), patient (P)

1272

1 A: ...an ↑awful ↓lot of anger #which:
... ↑kamalan pāl̥j ↓on̥ kiukkuu #jo-
ka:

1275

1278

1279

2 which: # .hhh (.) for whi- ch
joka: # .hhh (.) jol- #e: # ei

1280

1284

3 there doesn't seem (.) to be a
tunnu (.) niinku olevan #sem-
mosta#

1285

1289

1290

4 (.) £as °it wh(h)ere°£ .hhh #room
(.) £jo °t(h)enki°£ .hhh paik#kaa

1291

1295

5 an:d and#. (.) mthhh
ja: ja#, (.) .mthhh

1296

1300

6 (4.0)

1301

7 A: An:d #one starts to feel that
Ja: #ja semmonen tunne tulee et

1305

1309

8 (0.3) .mthhhh (that n- °o-°)
(0.3) .mthhhh (et n- °y-°)

1310

1314

9 you would need more# such (1.0)
tarvittais enemmän semmosta# (1.0)

1315

1319

10 .mhhhh such that you were some-
how
.mhhhh semmosta et olis jotenkin

1320

1324

1325

11 (0.2) that you became # <acquai-
nted>
(2.0) et tulis # <kiukkuns>

1326

1330

1331

12 with your <anger> and# ...
kans <tutu:ks> ja# ...

1332

1336

((10 lines omitted))

1337

23 A: ... I sometimes feel #that# your
... müst välillä tun#tuu et# sun

1338

1342

24 ti#redness# as I tried to argue
vä#symys# niinku mä oon yrittäny

1343

1347

25 earlier too that# .hhh that
väättää aika#semminkin et# .hhh et

1348

1352

1353						1455
1356	26	as if #your# (0.3) <i>sap</i> was	47	so you <i>may</i> not #so# now <i>let</i> (0.3)		1456
1357		<i>niinku #sun# (0.3) elämännesteet</i>		<i>et sä et saa #niinku et# anna nyt (0.3)</i>		1459
1360	27	somehow #congealed#.	48	now try to #put up with it# .hh		1460
1362		<i>ois jotenki #jähmettyneet#.</i>		<i>yritä nyt #sietää# .hh</i>		1464
1363	28	(0.2)	49	that .hh that that your child .hh		1466
1360	29	?P: (°m°)		<i>sitä .hh et et sun lapses .hh</i>		1469
1373	30	A: an:d and £I think (that<) would	50	is (0.3) your child and your		1470
1375		<i>ja: ja £mä (h)luulen (et<)</i>		<i>niinkun on (0.3) sun lapses ja sun</i>		1474
1370	31	think could argue that#£ .hhh	51	£grand(h)children£ are now		1476
1380		<i>luulisin voisin #väittää et#£ .hhh</i>		<i>£lapsen(h)lapses£ on nyt</i>		1479
1383	32	>that they have like< congealed	52	#somehow like# .hhh (0.3)		1480
1385		<i>>et ne on niinku < jähmettyneet</i>		<i>#jotenki niinku# .hhh (0.3)</i>		1484
1386	33	like to .hhh keep	53	enrag#ed# (0.3) for so #many		1486
1390		<i>niinku .hhh pitämään</i>		<i>rai#voissaan# (0.3) niin #monest</i>		1489
1393	34	that anger #<away> #.	54	thin#gs.		1490
1395		<i>sitä kiukkuu #<poissa> #.</i>		<i>asi#ast_.</i>		1494
1390	35	(0.3)	55	(0.3)		1496
1400	36	A: the .hhh the >like to the<	56	Try now to put #up# °with it°.		1500
1404		<i>sitä .hhh sitä >niinku et siihen<</i>		<i>Yritä nyt #sie# °tää sitä°.</i>		1503
1406	37	.hh #that that that# if you got	57	(1.3)		1506
1409		<i>.hh #et et et# jos sä saisit</i>				
1410	38	#more like in touch with how#	58	A: Don't don't .hhh don't swipe it		1500
1414		<i>#enemmän niinku yhteyttä siihen#</i>		<i>Älä älä .hhh älä pyyhi sitä</i>		1512
1416	39	.hh how #enraged you	59	↓ away don't do away		1513
1419		<i>.hh siihen kuin #raivoissas sä</i>		<i>↓ pois älä hävi°tä</i>		1517
1420	40	for example now might be	60	°with it°.= >Imme°diately°<.		1520
1424		<i>esimerkiks nyt saattaisit olla</i>		<i>sitä°.= >He°ti°<.</i>		1522
1426	41	at the mother .hhh that you you	61	(1.0)		1526
1429		<i>sille äidille .hhh 't sä sä</i>				
1430	42	might perhaps want to say to	62	P: Mmm.		1520
1434		<i>saattaisit ehkä haluta sanoa</i>				
1436	43	mother# .hhh >that listen	63	A: Now let at least for a moment		1533
1439		<i>äidille# .hhh >et kuule</i>		<i>Anna nyt edes het#ken aikaa</i>		1535
1440	44	that< .hh that we will tear apart	64	everything here be .hhh		1530
1444		<i>et< .hh et me hajotetaan vähän</i>		<i>täällä kaiken olla .hhh</i>		1540
1446	45	a bit more here #still (.) .hhh	65	be kind of (0.3) bro°ken°.		1543
1449		<i>lisää tääl #vielä (.) .hhh</i>		<i>olla niinkun (0.3) haj#°alla°.</i>		1545
1450	46	and and# we'll let everything be	66	(2.7)		1540
1454		<i>ja ja# annetaan kaiken olla</i>				
			67	P: Yeah:,		1550
				<i>Nii:i,</i>		1554
			68	(2.4)		1556

1559					1651
1560	69	P: Yeah,		The patient produces an elaboration of the inter-	1652
1563		<i>Nii:i</i> ,		pretation in lines 71–73. Through the turn initial ‘so’,	1653
1565	70	(0.4)		this utterance is marked as a continuation of the ana-	1654
1568				lyst’s prior talk, and in it she maintains ‘mother’ as	1655
1570	71	P: So even if mother would arrive at		the topic of talk. There is certain continuity in the	1656
1572		<i>Et vaikka äiti tulis</i>		stance as well: in the final part of the analyst’s inter-	1657
1575	72	ten ↓ #in the night she# needs to		pretation, and in the patient’s elaboration, the mother	1658
1577		<i>kymmeneltä ↓ #illalla ni sillä#</i>		is cast in a critical light.	1659
1580	73	have a cleaning cloth in her hand.		On closer inspection, however, it appears that the	1660
1582		<i>pitää olla rätti kädessä.</i>		patient’s elaboration, while maintaining criticism of	1661
1585	74	(0.3)		the mother in focus, also passed by a key perspective	1662
1588	75	A: Mmm.		established in the analyst’s preceding interpretation.	1663
1591	76	P: But,		In the beginning parts of the interpretation, what was	1664
1595		<i>Mut,</i>		described was the patient’s mind: how she is angry	1665
1598	77	A: #°Yes° but as I# I think #that		and how the anger gets repressed, causing tiredness.	1666
1600		<i>#°Nii° mut ku mä# mä luulen #et</i>		The end of the interpretation involved an imitation of	1667
1603	78	that# .hhh that there there there		how her anger could be expressed in a hypothetical	1668
1605		<i>et# .hhh et siin siin siin</i>		dialogue between the patient and her mother. The	1669
1608	79	the .hh #the: # so ↓ increasingly I		patient’s elaboration, on the other hand, did not topi-	1670
1610		<i>se .hh #se: # siis must alkaa yhä</i>		cally her own feelings, but focussed solely on the	1671
1613	80	am beginning to feel that there is		mother, describing her behavior. So, there was a topi-	1672
1615		<i>#enemmän tuntuu et siin on jotai</i>		cal shift from ‘self’ to ‘other’ and from ‘emotion’ to	1673
1618	81	something like that .hh the like		‘action’. The discontinuity also involved stance. The	1674
1620		<i>semmosta että# .hh se niinku</i>		early part of the interpretation establishes an <i>explor-</i>	1675
1623	82	the .hhh #like the £s(h)ap		<i>atory stance</i> toward the experiences of the patient.	1676
1625		<i>se .hhh #niinku elämän#</i>		The final part is hearable as a hypothetical illustration	1677
1628	83	so .hhh so the		by the analyst of the feelings that are in the patient’s	1678
1630		<i>£nest(h)eet niin .hhh niin semmone</i>		mind but are currently repressed. The patient’s elab-	1679
1633	84	passion and .hh an:d and and£		oration, on the other hand, adopts a clearly <i>complain-</i>	1680
1635		<i>intohimo ja .hh ja: ja ja£</i>		<i>ing stance</i> , as she describes the mother’s inappropriate	1681
1638	85	#erm::# an intensive feeling of		behavior.	1682
1640		<i>#e:: # intensiivinen elä#mäntunne</i>		So, on closer inspection, the patient’s elaboration	1683
1643	86	being alive so so that# (.)		in Extract (4) is discontinuous with the preceding	1684
1645		<i>niin niin se# (.)</i>		interpretation. However, just like in Extract (3), this	1685
1648	87	is frightening°.		discontinuity does not manifest itself in any overt	1686
1650		<i>pel°ottaa°.</i>		interactional hitch: the conversation between the ana-	1687
				lyst and the patient runs smoothly. This is made	1688
				possible by the multi-unit organization of the very	1689
				interpretation. In terms of the immediate sequential	1690
				context, considering only the very preceding units in	1691
				lines 41–65, the patient’s elaboration is aligned with	1692
				the analyst’s preceding talk. Only in the context of the	1693
				larger action of the analyst (observable from line 1	1694
				onwards) does the discontinuity become observable.	1695
				The patient takes up only the analyst’s illustration	1696
				(hypothetical dialogue) and passes by what this hypo-	1697
				thetical dialogue was meant to illustrate (the anger	1698
				that is consuming her energy). The immediate sequen-	1699
				tial context ‘allows for’ an elaboration that is radically	1700
				discontinuous. ¹	1700
				2.5. Implications of the multi-unit organization of	1701
				the interpretations	1702
				Through Extracts (3) and (4), I have demonstrated	1703
				some of the ways in which the patient’s elaborations	1704
				are often discontinuous with the interpretations that	1705
				they elaborate on. The multi-unit organization (cf.	1706
				Linell et al. 2003) of the interpretations is a central	1707

feature making this discontinuity possible. Interpretations are often multi-unit turns, and the elaborations refer to units selectively, usually (but not always) focusing on the last unit(s) preceding the elaboration. Therefore, by ‘timing’ their elaborations or by applying other ‘tying’ techniques (Sacks 1992: 150–159), the patients can choose what to elaborate on.

Now, it should be borne in mind that a central technique for analysts to pursue patients’ extended responses to interpretations is to add new elements to them when faced with a lack of or minimal patient response. The design of the new elements is informed by the patient’s response thus far. The new elements can be ‘easier’ or more ‘provocative’ for the patient to respond to. Thus, in Extract (2), the final element before the elaboration was question formatted and it shifted the topical focus from past to current experiences, thereby intensifying the relevance of the patient’s response. Likewise, in Extract (4), the final elements vividly animated the feelings that the analyst suggested the patient had repressed; by this animation, the analyst also strongly invited the patient to respond. In Extract (3), the final elements shifted the focus from the dynamics of the patient’s feelings towards his parents to general parental obligations. In this case, it appears that the new elements were ‘easier’ for the patient to take up.

A new element that is more provocative in terms of inviting a response, or ‘easier’ to respond to, may also be one that facilitates a response that is discontinuous with the initial interpretation. Thus, it appears that when pursuing the patient’s extended response to an interpretation, the analyst may at the same time facilitate elaborations that are discontinuous in relation to what the interpretation initially aimed at. A practice with the apparent function of facilitating the patient’s response may, therefore, have another (‘latent’, as it were) function, which is to direct the patient’s talk elsewhere than the initial direction of the interpretation.

3. Discussion with psychoanalytic theory

Now it is time to return to psychoanalytic theory to elaborate on the implications of these findings. Much of what has been reported in this study is in line with the psychoanalytic theory of interpretations. It appears that psychoanalytic theory is aware of the possibility that patients respond to interpretations with what we have called elaborations, and the theory indeed considers these kinds of responses as ‘felicitous’ ones. In elaboration, the patient ‘plays with’ the interpretation and ‘makes something of it’ (Casement 2002: 8). When giving interpretations, the analyst should not be looking for mere acknowledgment, agreement, or disagreement, but a new ‘train of associations’ (Spence 1982: 164) and this is what the elaborations are a vehicle for. Thus, in the light of psychoanalytic

theory, it is also to be expected that analysts actively pursue responses like elaborations.

At the beginning of this paper, it was pointed out that the psychoanalytic theory concerning interpretations is divided into two streams, ‘traditional’ and ‘interactionist’. Rather than trying to judge between the competing professional theories, conversation analysis can enter into dialogue with them. Our findings can offer empirical specification both to the traditional and to the interactionist theories.

As seen from the perspective of the *traditional psychoanalytic theory*, the fact that elaborations are often discontinuous in different ways with the interpretations is no surprise. The interpretations do not always lead to corresponding insights. The interpretation is never more than a hypothesis, which only the patient can confirm or disconfirm (cf. Etchegoyen 1999). If the interpretation does not correspond to the patient’s actual experience, it is understandable that the patient does not take it up. Even an interpretation which in itself would be correct, if delivered at too early a stage in the psychoanalytic process, may be something that the patient cannot take up (Sandler et al. 1992: 149–151).

The traditional psychoanalytic theory also emphasizes that *resistance* is an ever-present force in the patient. Part of the patient’s mind is opposed to the gaining of insight and self-understanding (Greenson 1967: 59–60). Hence, patients can resist interpretations that may in themselves be ‘correct’. Discontinuity between the interpretation and the elaboration can indeed be a vehicle for resistance. In this context, it is important to bear in mind that the elaborations involve a display of acceptance and understanding of the interpretation—even when discontinuous with the interpretation. Rather than openly rejecting an interpretation, or showing their disagreement with it, the patients thus choose those parts of the interpretation that they can agree with and elaborate on them. In effect, they *hide* the fact that their response is discontinuous with central aspects of the interpretation. This may be an indication of the response being instead of resistance. ‘Self observation’ is the patient’s fundamental task in psychoanalysis (Ikonen 2002). By shifting the topical focus from self to other (as in Extract [3]) or by moving from an exploratory to a complaining stance (as in Extract [4]), the patients also move away from the activity of self observation in an ‘off record’ way. Thus, in the context of the traditional psychoanalytic theory of interpretations, our empirical results may have offered a description of a particular interactional realization of resistance. CA cannot make any assertions about the ‘intra-psychic’ events in the patients, but what we have been able to show is a particular way of receiving interpretations that can be used to steer the focus of action away from what is considered as the basic task of the patient.

The dialogue between our empirical results and the *interactionist* psychoanalytic theory takes a different direction. Our findings offer some empirical specification to the central thesis of the interactionists, according to which the psychoanalytic process involves joint creation of new reality. We have shown some key aspects of *how* this creation is accomplished. The analysts actively pursue extended responses to their interpretations, and in doing so are informed by the patients' initial responses. Interpretation is often not one entity, but consists of a series of attempts by the analyst to elicit a response from the patient. Both the interpretation and the response are interactionally generated events.

The fact that patients often choose not to openly reject the interpretation, but rather produce elaborations that are discontinuous with it, is of utmost interest, also as seen from the interactionist perspective. A sense of rapport and good relations may be at stake here. Because an elaboration maintains the sense of agreement and acceptance of the interpretation, it offers for the patient the possibility to maintain good relations with the analyst, while direct rejection and explicit reservations towards the interpretation would threaten this.

The analysts' role is equally important. As pointed out above, when pursuing the patients' extended response to an interpretation, through adding new elements to their interpretations, the analysts may at the same time facilitate elaborations that are discontinuous in relation to what the interpretation initially aimed at. Why should the analysts facilitate evasive elaborations of their own interpretations? In psychoanalytic terms, we might consider the possibility of an unrecognized countertransference or role responsiveness (see, e.g., Sandler 1976) being involved here. The analysts may infer from the patients' comportment their unwillingness to deal with the interpretation as initially spelled out, and by adding more attractive new elements they may let the patients off the hook. Thus, the analysts may also choose to preserve the sense of rapport and good relations in opening up for the patients a route to elaborations that are discontinuous with the initial elaboration. By showing analysts' contribution to the production of discontinuous elaborations, conversation analysis can add yet another empirical specification to the interactionist thesis that the patients' responses to interpretations are, rather than direct expressions of the patients' private minds, interactional achievements of both parties.

Notes

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1. The interpretative sequence (Vehviläinen 2003) is not finished by the patient's response to interpretation: after that, the analysts turn at talk is due. The analysts' third position actions will be explicated elsewhere; only a brief note is due here. In Extract (3), the analyst's next action is clearly built upon the patient's elaboration. First, in line 78, he agrees with the patient's elaboration, and after a gap of 10 seconds, he then produces an utterance that is designed as a grammatical continuation of the patient's elaboration. Thus, the analyst treats the patient's response to his interpretation as adequate. In Extract (4), however, the analyst indicates that the patient's response was not like the one she was seeking. She first in line 77 minimally agrees with what was suggested by the patient through *nii/yes*, then in the same prosodic unit produces the contrast marker *mut/but* and continues by utterance in which she in effect returns to what she had suggested in the initial parts of the interpretation.

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