Patterns of Conversational Interaction in Varieties of English

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Abbreviations

ACE	Asian Corpus of English
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BNC	British National Corpus
CA	Conversation Analysis
COBUILD	Collins Birmingham University International Language Database
CTRP	Complex Transition Relevance Place (Ford et al. 1966)
DT	Discourse Transcription system
ELF	English as a *lingua franca*
FPP	first pair part (of an adjacency pair)
FPP_{base}	base first pair part
FPP_{ins}	inserted first pair part
GAT2	Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem 2
GLOBE	Global Leadership & Organizational Behavior Effectiveness
>h + f<	high and forte (pitch)
I	interruption
ICE	International Corpus of English
ICE-JA	International Corpus of English (Jamaican component)
ICE-T&T	International Corpus of English (Trinidadian & Tobagonian component)
L	lexical 'warning' signal
L1	first language
La	latching
NTRI	next-turn-repair-initiator
O	overlap
P	phonetic strategy
Q&A-adjacency pair	question-and-answer-adjacency pair
S	syntactic strategy
SBCSAE	Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English
SCT	sequence-closing third
SOV	subject-object-verb
SPP	second pair part (of an adjacency pair)
SPP_{base}	base second pair part

SPP_{ins}	inserted second pair part
SVO	subject-verb-object
TCU	turn-constructional unit
TRP	transition relevance place
V	variable (in the WVS)
VOICE	Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English
WVS	World Values Survey

1. Introduction

The English language has undergone an enormous expansion and is spoken by almost a third of the world's population today (Crystal 2008: 5). It has become an important tool in international encounters and plays a central role as an official or co-official language in many countries. One consequence of this unprecedented spread is the emergence of different Englishes all around the world, i.e. new varieties of the language, which are influenced by various factors, including language contact and change, socio-political conditions, mechanisms of language acquisition, and speakers' attitudes. Nowadays, English has developed into a heterogenous conglomerate of different national and international varieties – and this process is still rapidly progressing. More and more people are learning English as a foreign language, with numbers rising particularly in Asian countries (cf. Bolton & Graddol 2012: 3 on China). English is used as a *lingua franca*, i.e. a working language, in a multitude of professional and private contexts – from international organisations (such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which have adopted English as their sole working language in Article 34 of their 2009 Charter) to online encounters, e.g. via YouTube, Facebook, or Instagram.

So far, research into World Englishes has predominantly focused on structural properties on the different levels of language organisation, which have been investigated from synchronic and – albeit only recently – also diachronic perspectives. This includes analyses of differences and similarities on the level of pragmatics: New studies situated at the interface of World Englishes and variational pragmatics, for instance, investigate the impact of macro-social factors, such as region, ethnicity, or gender, on pragmatic variation between different Englishes (Barron & Schneider 2009: 427f; Schröder & Schneider 2018). One aspect has been neglected, however: World Englishes has regarded conversational interaction mainly as a data resource, i.e. as a place where linguistic features – be they contact-induced or language universals – become apparent. The conduct of conversation itself, i.e. the effect which the linguistic makeup of individual varieties and the different cultural backgrounds of their speakers have on talk-in-interaction, has been largely ignored (cf. also Schneider 2018: 97).

This research gap is surprising, in particular because language and culture are inextricably linked with their use in social interaction (Watson 1992: 2, cf. also Eglin 2015), and this relationship is essentially a dynamic one. That is, conversation both shapes and is shaped by the cultural and linguistic context it is situated in. On the one hand, varieties of English are situated in culturally diverse contexts and bring along very different linguistic

prerequisites. On the other hand, languages and varieties are not entities *in vacuo*; they are used by speakers in specific contexts and constellations – with face-to-face interactions constituting the vast majority of settings. As Couper-Kuhlen & Selting put it: "The universals of language practice in talk-in-interaction can […] be traced back to the interactional foundation of human society. In this very real sense then, *interaction shapes language*" (2018: 555, emphasis in original).

In this study, I analyse patterns of conversational interaction in Caribbean and Southeast Asian Englishes. I investigate the extent to which variety-specific features and properties influence turn-taking in everyday face-to-face interactions and compare my findings to traditional research on turn-taking, which has almost exclusively focused on British and American conversations, i.e. on traditional Inner Circle varieties, or on languages other than English (and exception being Sidnell 2001, 2008). Furthermore, as different varieties of English are also inseparably linked to different cultural backgrounds, I also explore if turn-taking structures might be culturally sensitive.

These questions as such are not new: In a 1999 study of turn-taking in Japanese interactions, Hiroko Tanaka already stresses that an "interpenetration of turn-taking with linguistic, cultural, and pragmatic features can be expected" (1999: 2).[1] In an even earlier paper, D'souza speaks of a "grammar of culture", which she defines as "the acceptable possibilities of behaviour within a particular culture", emphasising that "[t]he grammar of culture affects and influences the use of language in very striking ways and is in turn affected by language" (1988: 160). For conversational interaction, this means that different realisations of turn-taking or speaker change might be due to cultural preferences rather than being deviations from a universal norm. Yet, the latter has often been claimed in descriptions of conversational interaction in non-Western languages and cultures: Caribbean Creole English conversations, for instance, have even been described as chaotic and 'anarchic' (cf. Reisman 1974).

The primary focus of this study is on the sets of strategies speakers in two culturally different groups have at their disposal in order to claim or hold a turn at talk. Following Tanaka, I define turn-taking as "a set of structured solutions to the fundamental interactional problem of constructing and allocating turns at speaking together with the range of conversational resources to implement them" (1999: 1). Against the backdrop of this definition, I investigate if Caribbean and Southeast Asian varieties of English differ in their

[1] Unfortunately, Tanaka explicitly excludes potential cultural influence from her analysis (1999: 3), thus focusing on the impact of grammatical differences only.

turn-taking routines. To that end, I conduct a mixed-methods analysis, using the methodological framework developed by Conversation Analysis (CA) to transcribe and closely analyse five hours of unscripted face-to-face interactions taken from the *Asian Corpus of English* (ACE) and the *International Corpus of English* (ICE-Jamaica and ICE-Trinidad & Tobago). Combining these qualitative observations with a quantitative analysis allows me to comment on the systematicity of my findings and to compare the different corpora. Four major research questions are addressed in this project:

(1) Is turn-taking in Southeast Asian and Caribbean English face-to-face conversations an orderly process and does it follow the turn-taking framework described for other languages and cultures?
(2) What are the different forms, contexts, and frequencies of turn allocation in Southeast Asian and Caribbean English conversations?
(3) Which strategies do speakers have at their disposal when it comes to claim or hold a turn in interaction? Do speaker groups differ?
(4) Which factors can explain ethnographic reports that characterise Caribbean interactions as 'interruptive', 'anarchic', or 'competitive' (e.g. Reisman 1974)?

In order to answer these questions, **chapter 2** provides the theoretical background for the present study. The framework of Conversation Analysis (CA), whose methodological tenets and terminology form the basis for the analysis, is introduced. Furthermore, I address the need to expand the traditional understanding of CA as the 'study of talk-in-interaction' to a study of "talk-in-interaction-in-culture" (Carbaugh 2005: 2) when investigating varieties of English. Finally, I define the notion of 'culture' as understood in this analysis and state the reasons for choosing the particular varieties under investigation in the present study.

Chapter 3 introduces the data and methodology used. First, I discuss the corpora from which the individual interactions for this analysis were extracted. As these corpora were originally devised for studying the linguistic organisation of World Englishes but not necessarily interactional patterns, I comment on their suitability and limitations with respect to conversation analytic research. I outline the steps which were undertaken to establish a collection of unscripted 'natural' conversations. Furthermore, I comment on the conventions used to create CA transcripts, which are more nuanced than standard orthographic transcripts, taking into account, for instance, prosodic features (such as volume or pitch), gaps and pauses as small as a tenth of a second, and precisely measured overlaps (Hepburn & Bolden 2017: 9f). After that, the process of preparing the data for analysis is explained. The advantages of combining traditional qualitative CA with

quantitative methods are highlighted, and the central methodological concepts used for this study are introduced. I explain how interactants in Southeast Asian and Caribbean everyday conversations organise turn allocation and speaker change and give an overview of the strategies which can be employed to manipulate this process. As a next step, I describe how a formal coding system was devised, which allows me to systematise my findings and to compare the frequencies of different scenarios of speaker change and turn-taking strategies across the data groups.

Chapter 4 presents the results of the qualitative analysis. First, I discuss the different speaker change scenarios found in each data group and report on the orderliness and systematicity of turn-taking in the interactions; then four larger groups of turn-taking strategies (latches and overlaps, phonetic strategies, lexical strategies, and syntactic strategies) are described and compared. I investigate how these strategies are realised in the individual speaker groups and identify techniques which seem to be variety-specific or culturally sensitive.

Chapter 5 looks at the findings from chapter 4 from a different perspective: The results are quantified, and the Caribbean and Southeast Asian interactions are compared with respect to types of speaker change, turn-taking scenarios, turn-taking strategies, and tolerance of silences.

Chapter 6 builds on both the qualitative and quantitative analyses and answers the question why conversational interactions have been described as orderly and supportive in some contexts but are perceived as interruptive in others. To that end, the findings from chapters 4 and 5 are brought together and discussed. I demonstrate that Southeast Asian and Caribbean everyday conversations are marked by close collaboration between speakers and show which patterns of turn-claiming or -holding have often been associated with 'fights for the floor'. The chapter ends with a discussion of whether the apparent dichotomy between cooperation and competition holds for the conversations analysed.

Chapter 7 provides a conclusion by summing up the main findings of the present study, answering the research questions, and giving an outlook on potential further research situated at the interface of CA and World Englishes.

2. Investigating talk-in-interaction-in-culture

The present study is located at the interface of two larger analytic paradigms, that of CA and that of World Englishes. This combination is a promising albeit relatively new one, as I show in the next chapters. In order to illustrate the theoretical and methodological framework this analysis is based on, I first introduce the field of CA, i.e. the study of talk-in-interaction, in greater detail. I comment on its origins and its essentially interdisciplinary nature as well as highlight two of its major tenets, the idea of conversation as an orderly phenomenon and the assumption of understanding as being interactively negotiated. In a second step, I discuss the benefits (and the need) of combining the conversation analytic approach with a World Englishes framework. I give an overview of existing studies dealing with the interface of language, culture, and interaction and address the lack of research on how turn-taking is organised in Outer and Expanding Circle Englishes. At the end of the chapter, I define and problematise the notion of 'culture' as it is understood in the present study and explain the motivation to compare Caribbean and Southeast Asian interactions in order to investigate patterns of turn-taking.

2.1. Conversation Analysis

2.1.1. Studying talk-in-interaction

The term Conversation Analysis (CA) describes an approach originally derived from sociology. It was developed by three scholars, Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson, whose work, and particularly their seminal paper "A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation" (1974), constitutes the foundation for this newly developing way of study. As a scientific field, CA is concerned with talk-in-interaction, i.e. the way language is used in conversation. Talk is regarded as a "vehicle for [social] action" (Clift et al. 2009: 40) produced through the participants' collaboration. This also means that language is primarily regarded as being rooted in and being shaped by interaction, its "basic and primordial environment" (Schegloff 1996: 54; cf. also Sidnell 2016).

However, the roots of CA can be traced back to earlier studies, particularly the work by Erving Goffman and Harold Garfinkel. As early as in the 1950s and 60s, the anthropologist and sociologist Goffman started to investigate what he called 'situations', i.e. everyday interactions, and he attempted to prove these to be orderly phenomena. According to him,

conversational interactions can be compared to a card game in which participants have to watch closely in order to not miss their turn. This aspect of face-to-face interaction is so highly structured and so deeply rooted in human society that it can be considered the "basis for all other social institutions" (Sidnell 2010: 6), be they public or private. Goffman also investigated how speakers become alienated from a conversation and he concluded that interactions exhibit a special order which participants have to keep in order to "maintain the fiction of ease" (Sidnell 2010: 7). To establish a smooth conversational flow, interactants must closely observe the ongoing talk and constantly adapt their actions to newly evolving situations (Sidnell 2010: 7). This implies that conversational rules must not be regarded as a fixed script but have a "markedly improvised nature" (Lee 1987: 32).

Parallel to Goffman's work, the sociologist Harold Garfinkel started to criticise the idea of social order being derived from the internalisation of social norms (going back to Talcott Parsons). Garfinkel believed in a process of 'practical reasoning', i.e. he advocated the idea that although there are social rules, it is always the individual who has the final authority to decide which of these to apply. Each decision people make is governed by another social rule, which eventually leads to an infinite chain of decision-making processes. In theory, the same applies to understanding in conversation and any other kind of everyday interaction. In order to determine what their interlocutors mean in a certain conversation, interactants therefore have to rely on the conversational context and on what is considered appropriate in this specific situation – the so-called 'background expectancies' (Sidnell 2010: 7-9).

Both Goffman's focus on interaction and Garfinkel's idea of meaning emerging as an interplay of several factors, as being negotiated, had a profound influence on the emergence of what is now known as CA. Nevertheless, CA soon developed as an independent approach, taking in various other impetuses from other fields of study. These include anthropological research, which uses close observation of everyday events to gather data and then makes recourse to the context to explain seemingly irrational behaviour – an approach, which greatly resembles that used in CA. Similarly, the investigation of language in cultural rituals and the "communicative conduct of a community" (Hymes 1974: 9) – the so-called 'ethnography of speaking' – by John Gumperz and Dell Hymes had an impact on this newly developing approach (Hymes 1974: 3,9; Sidnell 2006: 169; Sidnell 2010: 9-10). Sacks et al., for instance, refer to Albert's (1964) investigation of speaker change in Burundi as one of the first analyses of turn-taking (1974: 698, annot. 6). Moreover, psychoanalysis, particularly Freud's research on 'small things', like slips of the tongue, further shaped

Sacks' understanding of the importance of detailed analysis (Sidnell 2010: 10-11). CA therefore emerged as an interplay of different approaches from various scientific areas. As conversational interaction is typically performed using spoken language,[2] linguistic structures have also increasingly come into focus, with the field of Interactional Linguistics developing as a conversation analytic approach to the study of language, a side-branch of CA (cf. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 4ff for an overview). Even today, CA remains a strongly interdisciplinary field of research (Sidnell 2006: 169).

Two major tenets of CA have already been touched on briefly, the idea of "order at all points" (Sacks 1984: 22) and the idea of understanding as emerging through the collaboration of speakers in talk-in-interaction. As these aspects are central for any study of conversation and for the CA approach as such, they are henceforth explained in greater detail: When Sacks started to investigate conversations, he was one of the first scholars "seeking to overcome the deeply entrenched tendency to view the details of interaction as random or disorderly, or dismiss them as mere 'manners of speaking'" (Clayman and Maynard 1995: 17). Instead, Sacks treated every detail of an interaction as a potentially orderly phenomenon. In 1963, when he was working on a suicide prevention programme and used telephone recordings to investigate the sequential ordering of utterances, Sacks discovered that a large number of utterances formed two-part units, so-called 'adjacency pairs', i.e. combinations of first pair parts (FPPs) and second pair parts (SPPs), which are in a special relationship with each other (cf. Sidnell 2010: 11f): They are uttered in close proximity (i.e. they are 'adjacent'), they are produced by different speakers, they are sequentially ordered as first and second pair parts, and they are in a relationship of "conditional relevance" (Schegloff 1968: 1083), i.e. a special type of FPP triggers a special type of SPP and the non-occurrence of the SPP is noticeable and marked (Sidnell 2010: 10ff, 63f). A question, for instance, constitutes an FPP which makes an answer SPP expectable – if no answer is produced, speakers will often react accordingly, e.g. by repeating the question or providing other types of repair.

A second central concept of CA is the assumption that understanding is jointly created in the course of an ongoing conversation. Each turn can be considered a reaction to the preceding one and therefore has to be seen in a sequential context:

> [T]he very organization of talk provides a means by which intersubjective understanding can not only be continually demonstrated but also checked and, where found wanting, repaired (Sidnell 2010: 12).

[2] Of course, interaction can also be carried out using sign language or written symbols. The vast majority of everyday interactions, however, still involve spoken language.

Thus, understanding is regarded as something which is interactively created in an ongoing process, as something that is always dependent on prior utterances but also influences subsequent talk – it cannot be seen as a fixed, stative product. Conversation means negotiating meaning, and this is why it is not surprising that there have to be repair strategies to deal with instances where the second speaker's response does not show the desired understanding of a previous speaker's utterance (Lee 1987: 33; Sidnell 2010: 13-14; Couper-Kuhlen 2018: 24).

To sum up, CA is interested in how talk-in-interaction is organised and how conversationalists negotiate meaning in speech exchanges. This includes investigating how speakers manage aspects of turn-taking, i.e. notions which are intricately linked to linguistic factors, such as syntactic or prosodic completion, all of which have been shown to influence speaker change. Consequently, as Couper-Kuhlen & Selting put it, "it can only be concluded that linguistic structures are of paramount importance for the conduct of interaction" (2018: 7f). It therefore seems logical to conclude that varieties of English – which come with different linguistic makeups and are situated in different cultural contexts – might also use specific strategies and resources to organise conversational interaction. In the next chapter, I give an overview of how this question has been addressed in existing research in both the CA and World Englishes paradigms.

2.1.2. Conversation Analysis and World Englishes

Cultural differences in patterns or styles of interaction have repeatedly been described in anthropological literature. Finnish conversations, for instance, have often been associated with long periods of silences (e.g. Lehtonen & Sajavaara 1985), and the same has been claimed for the talk of Australian Aborigines (e.g. Eades 2007). Public debates of the Xavante, a Brazilian tribe, on the other hand, have been described as being marked by overlap, with many speakers talking at the same time (Graham 1995; for more examples see Meyer 2018: 108ff). However, even though these reports suggest that the turn-taking system might be culturally sensitive, CA has often refrained from addressing the topic. One of the reasons for that might be the fuzziness of the concept of culture itself (see chapter 2.2 for a more in-depth discussion). Apart from that, Sacks et al.'s framework, though having been developed on the basis of British and American English conversations, was originally devised as being universally applicable (Sidnell 2006: 171). That is, the organisation of turn-taking – the scaffolding of natural conversation – was regarded as context-free (Sacks

et al. 1974: 699),[3] as "candidate universals" (Schegloff 2006: 83). And, in fact, a number of studies have found evidence for this assumption. When comparing conversational structures in Thai-Lue and American English interactions, for example, Moerman (1977) manages to show that both speaker groups seem to follow the same organisational principles, for instance when providing repair. In addition to that, a number of studies has investigated turn-taking in languages other than English, for instance in German (Selting 2000), Japanese (Tanaka 1999) or Mandarin (Li 2014), concluding that the general rules of Sacks et al.'s model can also be observed in these contexts.

None of these studies using CA methodology investigated turn-taking patterns from a World Englishes perspective, though, and they also did not focus explicitly on cultural preferences. Tanaka, for instance, clearly states that "local socio-cultural orientations" are a potential factor to influence the choice of turn-taking resources (1999: 32); however, her study on conversational organisation in Japanese focuses on linguistic aspects only. Other analyses have taken the socio-cultural context into account: When analysing data from Western Samoa, Ochs (1988) finds clear evidence for the repair practice of clarification to be culturally sensitive. Tannen (1984) manages to show that the interactional style of Jewish communities in New York is marked by a greater number of cooperative overlaps and faster conversational tempo than that of so-called 'high considerateness' communities on the US West Coast. In his essay on grammar and interaction, Schegloff therefore points out that interaction is obviously shaped by what he calls the "contextual particulars", i.e. "culture, language structures, situation, relationship, immediate interactional contingency and import, and all the other things under the generic rubric of context" (1996: 54). Ten years later, Sidnell takes up that point and accentuates it, stressing that "conversational analytic work is strongly suggestive of an approach to culture" (2006: 171).

Despite all that, research into the relationship of conversational interaction and culture is still scarce. In their groundbreaking study on turn-taking patterns in different languages, Stivers et al. therefore have to admit that still "relatively little is known about how this system varies across cultures" (2009: 10587). Their paper constitutes the first quantitative comparison of speaker change in ten individual languages (Danish, Italian, Dutch, American English, Tzeltal, ≠Akhoe Hai//om, Yélî-Dnye, Japanese, Lao, and Korean) and addresses the question of whether turn-taking follows robust universal norms (such as minimising gaps and overlaps) or whether several different systems exist simultaneously

[3] Please note that Sacks et al. use the term "context" to refer to parameters such as location, time, or social identities, rather than syntactic or phonological environments (Sacks et al. 1974: 699, footnote 8).

(some of them, for example, allowing for longer gaps and overlaps) (Stivers et al. 2009: 10587). To that end, the authors investigated the reaction time between polar questions and their verbal and non-verbal answers, the so-called response offset. Their results strongly suggest that turn-taking is a universal system which is indeed geared towards minimal overlaps and gaps of approximately 0.2s, and that the system operates independent of the speakers' language. Nevertheless, the paper also reports "measurable cultural differences" (Stivers et al. 2009: 10589), which do not correlate with linguistic structures (such as the presence of sentence-final question markers). These variations seem to be linked to the general interactional tempo of a language; that is, what is perceived as a delay is strongly subjective. Stivers et al. therefore conclude that speakers are extremely sensitive to slight variations when it comes to turn-taking, they are "calibrated to a local norm" and "become hypersensitive to perturbations", even if those are as small as 0.1s or less (2009: 10591).

However, Stivers et al.'s study is not without problems. Their data consist of "video recordings of informal natural conversation in 10 languages from 5 continents", which "vary fundamentally in type […] and are drawn from cultures of quite different kinds (from hunter-gatherer groups to peasant societies to large-scale postindustrial nations" (2009: 10588). Despite that, the data are strongly biased towards European/Western languages and cultures, with other groups being underrepresented: ≠Akhoe Hai//om, for example, is the only African language in the data set, Slavic or Native American languages are completely missing. Furthermore, the authors do not specify how they define culture – both Japan and Denmark classify as 'postindustrial nations', but they differ in many other aspects. That is, equating a country's economic makeup with its culture is certainly too superficial. It is therefore unclear what Stivers et al. mean, when they talk about "tempo within a culture" (2009: 10591) – The speech tempo? The amount of speaker changes per minute? The "overall tempo of social life" (Stivers et al. 2009: 10590)? And, in case of the latter, which aspects contribute to it? The degree of industrialisation? The amount of urbanisation? Is the tempo of social life in a Japanese city comparable to rural areas? Similarly, other sociolinguistic variables, such as the speakers' gender or age, are not reported at all, even though they are likely to influence the results. It is, for instance, unclear which social relation the speakers have and whether they are on different hierarchical levels (such as employer and employee, adult and child, etc.).

When analysing conversational interaction in varieties of English, the notion of culture cannot be neglected. This has also been addressed by scholars working in the World Englishes paradigm. The relationship between language and culture is not unidirectional;

rather, as Kachru & Smith posit, culture "shapes action – verbal as well as a variety of other actions – and in turn is shaped by them" (2008: 31). "Verbal action", however, does not only refer to different languages but also includes varieties and dialects, an aspect which seems to have been neglected in previous conversation analytic research. That is, 'English conversations' are not uniform entities; individual varieties of English bring along diverse linguistic, social, and cultural conditions, all of which influence the interaction. Kachru & Smith therefore notice that "[i]n the multilingual and multicultural context of Outer and Expanding Circle varieties, English is used in conversational interactions in ways that do not meet with the expectations of the speakers of Inner Circle varieties" (2008: 114).[4] This includes, for example, stress placement in varieties with syllable- rather than stress-timed speech rhythms, such as Indian English (Kachru & Smith 2008: 78f), or varieties which lack subject-auxiliary inversion in polar questions, which is, for instance, the case in a number of Caribbean creoles (Sidnell 2008: 485ff). Based on these observations, Kachru & Smith posit that these variety-specific features also influence the turn-taking system:

> Every language [or variety] and culture has particular conventions, characteristic sets of strategies, and specific devices for the management of conversational interaction […]. […] They also involve patterns of turn-taking, acquiring, maintaining, and relinquishing the floor, giving backchannel cues, interrupting a speaker or talking simultaneously, and other aspects of interaction management (2009: 121).

Unfortunately, the authors do not provide concrete evidence for their claims, at least not with respect to English varieties. They merely refer to studies comparing interactional patterns in different languages, such as Yamada's (1992) work on Japanese and American business meetings, concluding that "[w]hat is true of communication across languages and cultures is true of varieties of a language and subgroups within a culture" (Kachru & Smith 2008: 133). This idea that varieties of English might also differ from each other on a pragmatic level has also been stressed by other World Englishes scholars (see for instance Mühleisen & Migge 2005 or Schneider 2018). Even though Ulrike Gut is not concerned with turn-taking *per se* in her study on structural innovations in English varieties, she also states that cross-linguistic influence "does not only occur as directly accessible and countable linguistic structures but also as indirect effects underlying many organizational

[4] The terms 'Inner', 'Outer' and 'Expanding Circle' refer to Braj Kachru's influential 'Three Circles' model of World Englishes and was first introduced in 1985. Broadly speaking, Kachru understands Inner Circle varieties as those countries where English is the primary (and typically native) language of the speech community, e.g. the UK, the USA, Australia, etc. Outer Circle varieties are classic second-language varieties, typically former British and American colonies, such as India, Malaysia, the Philippines, etc. Expanding Circle varieties are to be found in countries where English is acquired as a foreign language, i.e. mainly used for international purposes, e.g. Japan, China, Indonesia, etc. For a critical overview and discussion of the model as well as a comparison to other models of English around the world see Schneider (2017).

principles of language [and in fact] […] all linguistic subsystems" (2011: 105-107). The assumption that this also applies to patterns of conversation, thus does not seem to be far-fetched. Nevertheless, empirical work on whether different cultural groups might also differ in turn-taking patterns when they are speaking varieties of the same language (as a first, second, or third language) is still largely absent in World Englishes research.

In CA, however, this aspect has also been neglected: Whereas patterns of interaction have been studied across different languages (such as in Stivers et al.'s 2009 study), research into varieties of English is almost non-existent – a gap which is certainly astonishing. In the introduction to *Conversation Analysis. Comparative Perspectives*, for instance, the editor Jack Sidnell stresses that

> [b]ecause every turn-at-talk is fashioned out of the linguistic resources of some particular language [or variety, *my comment*], the rich and enduring semiotic structures of language must be consequential in a basic way for social interaction. So, although the problems are generic and the abilities apparently universal, the actual forms that interaction takes are shaped by and adapted to the particular resources that are locally available for their expression (2009a: 4).

That is, as different World Englishes come with different local forms – be they morphosyntactic, prosodic, lexical, or pragmatic – and are located in different cultural contexts, interactions in those varieties are likely to exhibit different characteristics than British or American English conversations. For Caribbean English creoles in Indo-Guyana and Bequia, for instance, it could already be shown that variety-specific morphosyntax influences repair practices (Sidnell 2009b).

Nevertheless, analyses combining a CA perspective with the World Englishes paradigm remain an exception. To my knowledge, the only studies addressing the topic are Jack Sidnell's above-mentioned papers on repair and his work on turn-taking structures in Caribbean English creoles (Sidnell 2001, 2008, 2009b). Sidnell (2001) discovered that turn allocation in Guyanese Caribbean Creole English largely follows the pattern described by Sacks et al. (1974), and thus managed to refute a previous and highly disputed study by Reisman (1974). Reisman had characterised English creole interactions in Antigua as chaotic and interruptive, because they do not seem to follow the 'one-party-at-a-time'-rule:

> Antiguan conventions appear, on the surface, almost anarchic. Fundamentally there is no regular requirement for two or more voices not to be going at the same time. The start of a new voice is not in itself a signal for the voice speaking either to stop or to institute a process which will decide who is to have the floor. […] [I]f there is no sense of interruption, or need to fit carefully into an ongoing pattern of conversation, or need to stop if somebody else speaks, then the impulse to speak is not cued by the external situation but comes from within the speaker (1974: 113ff).

According to Reisman, Antiguan conversations can be labelled 'contrapuntual'. Claiming that speakers deliberately ignore the "'English' cultural patterns", i.e. the orderly, rule-

governed system of minimising gaps and overlaps described by Sacks et al. (1974), the author describes Caribbean interactions as "unruly, disruptive, stubborn, disorderly – in a word as noise" (Reisman 1974: 123). In his investigation of turn-taking in Guyana, however, Sidnell (2001) managed to prove Reisman wrong, demonstrating that English creole conversations in Guyana are absolutely in line with Sacks et al.'s (1974) system. Based on his findings, Sidnell therefore concludes that "conversational turn taking is not subject to a great deal of crosscultural variation […] [but] there are also many practices which are specific to a group (defined in terms of culture of language)" (2006: 171).

In my study, I want to build on these observations and emphasise the fruitfulness of combining the study of World Englishes with the CA paradigm. Studying varieties of English has to include investigations of how speakers interact with each other in ordinary face-to-face conversation – which constitutes the vast majority of their everyday encounters. Moreover, I believe that CA will greatly benefit from incorporating insights from variational approaches: A study of turn-taking cannot ignore the local linguistic resources speakers have at their disposal. Apart from that, as discussed above, both language and interaction are in a reciprocal relationship with a third factor – the speakers' culture – which has been claimed to influence both the choice of linguistic structure and the preference for specific turn-taking patterns or strategies. In the next chapter, I define what I understand by the notion of 'culture' and explain why the speaker groups investigated in this study can be said to constitute different cultural clusters.

2.2. Interaction-in-culture

Culture is a notoriously fuzzy and extremely complex concept, which is probably the reason why it has often been avoided in conversation analytic research. Tanaka (1999: 10f), for instance, stresses the danger of treating potential cultural traits as deterministic and normative and warns that *a priori* explanations often lack empirical proof and exaggerate differences. However, she also admits that the factor 'culture' has often been neglected in CA research: "CA may perhaps have been biased towards the investigation of universal features of interaction, partly as a reaction to theories which emphasise differences, but also because of its central concern with primordial aspects of the generic organisation of conversation" (Tanaka 1999: 16). Even though, at the time of writing, two decades have passed since this statement, the situation has not changed much.

In fact, the notion of culture as such is not easy to grasp, as it can be (and often is) used as a cover term for a variety of different aspects, such as ethnicity, values, religion, etc. Nevertheless, scholars have proposed a huge number of definitions, ranging from narrow to encompassing, and sometimes contradicting each other (for an overview see Minkov 2013: 10-18). Minkov therefore concludes that, essentially, "[c]ulture can be whatever a scholar decides it should be" (2013: 9), thus stressing the importance of clear explanations which reveal how the construct is to be understood in an individual study. In my study, I draw on Hofstede's well-known description of culture as "the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another" (2001: 9). That is, culture is regarded as not necessarily nation- or region-bound; rather, it has to do with shared beliefs, norms, and values,[5] which are reflected in peoples' behaviour (Haviland 1990: 30). Cultural traits can therefore be inferred from interactants' verbal and non-verbal actions – they are (indirectly) observable patterns and as such also have predicting functions (cf. Levitin 1973: 492, quoted in Minkov 2013: 17). This view is absolutely in line with the conversation analytic approach, "a deeply empirical tradition" (Sidnell 2010: 22), which assumes that social expectations can be perceived in the structures of talk-in-interaction. Neither cultural values nor interactional order can be regarded as something which is *a priori* given and predetermined; they must not be imposed on a piece of data but have to be reconstructed and discovered (Tanaka 1999: 16; Maynard 2013: 19).

Culture as 'collective programming' must not be mistaken for a static concept though. Groups and societies are not homogenous entities, and specific values or beliefs are not necessarily shared equally by all of their members. Thus, when looking at how much value a society attaches to a certain concept (e.g. religion) on average, one must not be tempted to draw conclusions on individuals, as their beliefs might differ greatly (cf. Minkov 2013: 20ff). Schneider therefore warns that "the results by Hofstede and others typically yield index values rather than absolute or qualitative distinctions" (2018: 109). Moreover, even though a society's cultural characteristics often possess some stability and are not likely to change quickly (Minkov 2013: 23f), they have to be regarded as a set of potentials rather than a fixed entity. This view has been advocated most prominently in Tony Fang's 2012 article "Yin Yang. A new perspective on culture". Considering processes of globalisation and the increasing social contact with others via the World Wide Web, Fang criticises a bipolar understanding of culture, stressing that "potential paradoxical values coexist in any

[5] In this study, the term 'values' is used to denote both personal values (i.e. traits which people value for themselves) and societal values (i.e. traits which people regard as desirable in the society) (for a detailed discussion of the term see Minkov 2013: 40ff).

culture and they give rise to, exist within, reinforce, and complement each other to shape the holistic, dynamic, and dialectical nature of culture" (2012: 26). That is, in a globalised world, culture must not be regarded as an 'either-or'-concept – rather, it is subject to transformation and learning and has to be negotiated in interaction-in-context (Fang 2012: 29f). Fang uses the metaphor of an ocean to explain this concept: "At any given point in time, some cultural values may become more salient, i.e., rise to the surface, while other cultural values may be temporarily suppressed or lie dormant to be awakened by conditioning factors at some future time" (2012: 30). Contrary to Fang, however, I believe that regarding culture as collective programming and, at the same time, accounting for its potential to change and adapt to different contexts are factors that are not mutually exclusive. Even though Hofstede and other scholars in his tradition (such as Project GLOBE[6]) use sets of what they call "cultural dimensions" to characterise societies, these dimensions constitute abstract endpoints on a scale. That is, describing one culture as collectivist does not automatically annihilate this culture's potential for individualism – rather, cultural dimensions must be regarded as idealised concepts, as indicating tendencies. Furthermore, cultures can comprise differing or even contradictory potentials. Fang's Yin Yang perspective on culture, which stresses the impact of cultural learning and transformation and accounts for context-bound (and sometimes paradoxical) orientations, thus unquestionably adds an important aspect to Hofstede's definition. It also highlights the importance of employing adequate scientific methodology when analysing talk-in-interaction-in-culture.

Of course, including culture as a factor when analysing Southeast Asian and Caribbean conversations is not without problems. I am aware that choosing nations or regions as representing a certain "culture" has to be arbitrary, and necessarily simplistic. Southeast Asia and the Caribbean are multifaceted societies, consisting of a variety of diverse subcultures, which an analysis inevitably lumps together. However, as Minkov puts it, "choosing a higher or lower level of analysis is not more logical and does not make things easier" (2013: 24). Groups of people can never be regarded as uniform, no matter how narrowly they are defined. Hence, any analysis of a certain group is inevitably an abstraction, a generalisation – and scholars therefore have to keep in mind that broad sociocultural labels, such as 'Chinese culture' might be helpful tools but always have to be taken with a pinch of salt. As Kachru & Smith put it: "We have to remember, all tools are

[6] The acronym 'GLOBE' stands for 'Global Leadership & Organizational Behavior Effectiveness'.

useful, but they may not be used indiscriminately without danger of doing harm" (2008: 38).

On the other hand, as analyses such as Project GLOBE illustrate, cultural tendencies can be shared on a supra-national level (House et al. 2004). Comparing 62 countries according to nine cultural dimensions, such as performance orientation[7] or uncertainty avoidance, the project describes larger, socio-culturally similar groups, for instance a "Latin Europe cluster" or an "Anglo cluster" (GLOBE). Originally, this approach goes back to the work by the sociologist Geert Hofstede, who tries to quantify national cultural differences by using a system of six 'cultural dimensions': power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism/collectivism, masculinity/femininity, long-term orientation/short-term orientation, and indulgence/restraint (Hofstede 6-D model). Similarly, based on the World Values Survey (WVS), the largest world-wide study on human beliefs, Inglehart & Baker (2000) manage to show correlations between countries' levels of industrialisation or economic development and their orientation to values such as tradition or self-expression. They also highlight the importance of "cultural heritage" (2000: 31) like Confucianism. Even though they are certainly not without flaws, projects like GLOBE or the WVS show that it is possible to identify cultural clusters – always keeping in mind that this necessarily has to be a construct rather than a universal statement.[8]

In this study, I look at two supra-national cultural groups, the first one consisting of countries from the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the second one of Jamaica, Trinidad, and Tobago, i.e. islands of the Anglophone Caribbean. According to Project GLOBE, ASEAN countries belong to two larger cultural clusters, the "Southern Asia" and the "Confucian Asia" cluster. Southern Asian nations, such as Indonesia or Malaysia, are described as scoring high on values such as collectivism, power distance, and humane orientation but are relatively low with respect to gender egalitarianism. The Confucian Asia group, comprised of, e.g., China, Hong Kong, or Singapore, behaves quite similarly; collectivism and performance are rated highly, and the societies are characterised as rather hierarchical with low scores on gender equality (GLOBE). Similar results can be found in Hofstede's work (e.g. 2001) and in other studies, such as Schwartz's Value Survey (1994) or the Chinese Culture Connection (1987), which replicates Hofstede's original questionnaires in a Chinese context. One factor, which has been offered as a reason for this

[7] Performance orientation is defined as „[t]he degree to which a collective encourages and rewards [...] group members for performance improvement and excellence" (GLOBE).
[8] For a detailed discussion and criticism of these studies and an overview of similar projects see Minkov (2013).

collectivist orientation, is the economic tradition: Asian societies used to be largely pastoral, i.e. dependent on communal cooperation (e.g. when it comes to organise the irrigation of rice fields) – as opposed to, for instance, European hunter-gatherer systems, which were more competitive (Minkov 2013: 428ff). On average, all of the studies mentioned above, therefore describe countries from the ASEAN as adhering to a broadly similar set of cultural values, which allows me to treat them as one data group in my analysis.

For Trinidad, Tobago, and Jamaica, Project GLOBE does not provide any analyses, and, unfortunately, most other studies also exclude the Caribbean countries. In his national indices, Hofstede gives scores for Jamaica and describes the country as favouring low power distance (2001: 87) and clearly defined gender roles (2001: 286). With respect to the individualism-collectivism dimension, Jamaica occupies a medium position (2001: 215). The World Values Survey (Inglehart et al. 2014), which works with questionnaires, includes Trinidad and Tobago, and participants from these islands indicate that they greatly value individual autonomy (V216),[9] gender equality (V139), and democracy (V140). When compared to Asian countries, such as Hong Kong, China, or Singapore, nationals from Trinidad and Tobago regard competition as more harmful (V99). They also describe themselves as being more tolerant to "wrong behaviour" (V77) and as being less focused on performance (V75). Values such as cooperativeness, on the other hand, are rated similarly in both Asian and Caribbean countries (V74B).

Surveys like the WVS, Hofstede's cultural dimensions, or GLOBE therefore allow to identify two supra-national cultural clusters – an ASEAN cluster and a Caribbean cluster. Based on the findings described above, both clusters can be characterised as shown in table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Data groups as cultural clusters – a summary of previous studies

ASEAN cluster	Caribbean cluster (JA, T&T)
• Collectivism and harmony are valued highly	• Tolerance towards individual autonomy and speaking one's mind
• High humane orientation (i.e. concern about others) and willingness to cooperate	• Cooperativeness is cherished
• Performance-oriented	• Less performance-oriented
• Hierarchical societies with large power distance	• Democracy and small power distance are valued highly

[9] Numbers given correspond to the numbers of the respective variables in the questionnaire.

As the table illustrates, ASEAN and Caribbean countries differ in a number of general socio-cultural tendencies. That is, if cultural preferences influence conversational patterns, they can be expected to show when analysing turn-taking strategies and structures in these speaker groups. Having established the theoretical background for this study, the next chapter introduces the data and methodology used to approach the project.

3. Data and methodology

This chapter is comprised out of three related parts: First, I discuss the deliberations underlying the choice of data. I introduce the corpora used to extract the individual interactions and explain how I created smaller sub-corpora of unscripted natural conversations. Furthermore, the reasons for choosing the Jeffersonian conventions as the guideline for creating the transcripts for this study are sketched out. In a second step, I describe the mixed-methods approach underlying the project. To that end, the concepts of turn-taking, (complex) transition relevance places, and turn-constructional units are illustrated. As these notions constitute the central framework for the analysis, they are discussed in greater detail. A special focus is put on the ideas of turn-holding and turn-claiming, and on the general set of strategies and resources speakers have at their disposal to manage speaker change. Based on these concepts, a system of formal coding was devised, which enables me to quantify my findings. This system is introduced in the final part of this chapter, where I also comment on some caveats of using quantitative methods in the CA framework.

3.1. Data

Much of the existing research on interaction and culture is actually looking at intercultural communication, i.e. conversational interaction involving participants with different cultural backgrounds. As societies are more and more influenced by processes of globalisation, intercultural encounters are often becoming natural parts of everyday life. This certainly explains the strong interest in investigating conversations between cultures and the focus on problematic encounters and misunderstandings many of these studies take (for an overview cf. Hua 2013). However, even though I am looking at potentially culturally sensitive features of interaction, I have deliberately refrained from analysing intercultural conversations. Rather, as mentioned above, I investigate conversations within closely-related cultural groups. Everyday interactions in relaxed, non-hierarchical surroundings, necessarily involve accommodation processes, i.e. participants often adjust their speech patterns to those of their interlocutors (cf. Giles & Ogay 2007: 294f). Hence, culturally divergent features will be less likely to show or will at least be less dominant. As I am investigating if and how cultural backgrounds influence interactional patterns, it is essential to analyse conversations in which culturally sensitive features can be expected to show

unmitigatedly. I therefore chose intracultural interactions, which trigger less accommodation and where speakers might even deliberately employ culturally sensitive patterns to emphasise group membership. In that respect, I am following Tanaka (1999) who claims that cross-cultural (rather than intercultural or mono-cultural) studies provide a "valuable heuristic for exploring how certain linguistic and cultural features may account for a different realisation of a similar action" (Tanaka 1999: 17). In other words, comparing interactional practices in their specific linguistic and socio-cultural contexts can facilitate detecting similarities and differences which might be too mundane to be noticed otherwise.

3.1.1. Asian Corpus of English, ICE-Jamaica, and ICE-Trinidad & Tobago

As mentioned above, the data for this study consist of English conversations in two larger cultural contexts, Southeast Asia and the Anglophone Caribbean. In total, they comprise roughly five hours of everyday conversation taken from two larger corpora:

a) The Asian Corpus of English (ACE) is a one-million-word corpus of naturally occurring spoken interaction. It covers a variety of different settings and speech events, with the categories "Education" and "Leisure" also including everyday face-to-face conversations.[10] Speakers in ACE describe themselves as highly proficient in English, they are multilingual nationals of countries belonging to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)[11] as well as China, Korea, and Japan. English typically plays the role of a *lingua franca* (ELF) in the conversations, as interactants often do not share a first language (L1) (ACE 2014). For my analysis, this situation is favourable, as it ensures that the use of English is natural to the speakers and not forced upon them in an artificial role-play context. Furthermore, ACE is a comparatively new corpus, which makes it a preferable choice for investigating English in a region which has undergone drastic change over the last decade (cf. Schneider 2014 for an overview).[12]
b) The International Corpus of English (ICE) is a conglomerate of 26 individual corpora covering different national or regional varieties of English. Each of these consists of one

[10] Please note that the category "Education" in ACE refers to the speakers' profession rather than an institutionalised classroom setting. That is, even though interactions are marked as "ED", they often constitute everyday conversations.
[11] All in all, the ASEAN has ten member states: Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam.
[12] Other corpora of spoken Asian English, such as the Singaporean component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-SIN), were compiled much earlier. ICE-SIN, for instance, was compiled in the early 1990s, which is highly problematic in a linguistic context which is rapidly changing (cf. Kirk & Nelson 2018 for an overview).

million words of spoken and written English, including 90 private face-to-face conversations. Speakers are educated in English and have spent most of their lives in the respective country (ICE 2016). In my study, I focus on two specific ICE-corpora – ICE-Jamaica (ICE-JA) and ICE-Trinidad & Tobago (ICE-T&T) – thus covering the two most populous islands of the Anglophone Caribbean (Deuber 2014: 29; Mair & Sand). While ICE-JA was published in 2009, ICE-T&T is currently being compiled. Most of the spoken components of ICE-JA were collected in the early 2000s (Rosenfelder et al. 2009: 1); the data extracted from ICE-T&T were collected between 2006 and 2012. Other than the interactants in ACE, who typically speak English as a second or foreign language (ACE 2014), conversationalists in Jamaica, Trinidad, and Tobago typically speak an English-lexicon Creole in everyday interactions (Deuber 2010: 26). Standard English can be compared to a "second dialect" (Görlach 2002: 54) in these contexts. However, as the recording situation inevitably triggers a "more semi-informal kind of interactions where speakers tend not to use their most vernacular speech" (Deuber 2010: 36), both ICE-JA and ICE-T&T are essentially comparable to the ELF conversations in ACE.

I had access to the recordings of all the conversations analysed in this study. Obviously, participants of face-to-face interactions will also orient themselves towards non-vocal features, such as gaze shift or body movement. The interplay of these multimodal resources and their influence on turn-taking has been shown by a number of influential studies, such as Goodwin (2000) or, in a Mandarin Chinese context, Li (2014). I am aware that working with audio data only is necessarily bound to miss embodied actions and that, while they sometimes merely accompany or underscore verbal utterances, these also have the potential to act independently. This might be particularly relevant in periods of silence, which can be "interactionally-loaded and significant due to the occurrence of relevant visual behaviours" (Li 2014: 3). As I am mainly interested in the verbal strategies speakers use to hold or claim a turn at talk, audio data is sufficient to tackle my research questions. I will, however, comment on situations where the analysis is impeded by the lack of complementing video recordings.

3.1.2. Data collection: creating sub-corpora

The study at hand is based on a mixed-methods approach. Following traditional CA methodology, I first broke down the large ICE- and ACE-corpora to create small sub-

corpora of everyday conversations – so-called 'collections'. These sub-corpora consist of interactions adhering to the following conditions:

a) They involve three or more speakers,

b) they involve both male and female speakers as well as different age groups,

c) the recording quality allows for a detailed CA transcription,

d) the conversations are sufficiently long, and

e) the participants do not show an excessive orientation to the recording situation.

Condition a) guarantees that the effect of the observer's paradox (Labov 1970: 32) on the interaction will be minimised – the more participants, the less they will focus on the recorder. Intelligibility poses a natural limit on the number of interactants, as more speakers usually result in split conversations which impede transcription. Most of the interactions I investigated thus involve 3-5 participants. Table 3.1 gives an overview of the conversations analysed and their respective numbers of participants.

Table 3.1: Number of interactants in the conversations analysed (ACE, ICE-JA, ICE-T&T)

Corpus	Conversation	Number of interactants (individual convers.)	Total no. of interactants (sub-corpus)
ACE	SG_ED_con_4	3	13
	SG_ED_con_6	3	
	VN_LE_con_pho restaurant	7	
ICE-JA	S1A-003	3	40
	S1A-004	5	
	S1A-006	3	
	S1A-010	5	
	S1A-013	4	
ICE-T&T	S1A-008	4	
	S1A-034	3	
	S1A-050	5	
	S1A-057	3	
	S1A-067	5	

As gender and age effects are not a primary focus of my analysis, I included both mixed and single-sex interactions (all-male and all-female) in the sub-corpora, and participants are from a variety of different age groups. Obviously, the data is biased to a certain extent – there are more female speakers than male – as can be seen in table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Sociolinguistic background of the conversations analysed (ACE, ICE-JA, ICE-T&T)

Corpus	Gender		Conversational setting		Age span covered[13]
	male	female	mixed	single-sex	
ACE	3	10	2	1 (all-female)	20-50 years
ICE-JA, ICE-T&T	15	25	4	2 (all-male), 5[14] (all-female)	18-66+[15] years

This bias is largely due to two factors: First, the corpora themselves often include more female speakers and more all-female conversations (cf. the overview in Rosenfelder et al. 2009 on ICE-JA); and second, as my data had to fulfil several criteria, the amount of interactions suitable for analysis was certainly limited.

In order to create detailed CA transcripts and to capture potentially relevant prosodic features as completely as possible, it is essential to have audio files with good recording quality. Unfortunately, this meant that I had to exclude a number of highly interesting and lively interactions from my analysis because of noise or poor sound quality. Some of the conversations which are included in my sub-corpora still pose some problems for transcription, e.g. because the recording took place in a noisy environment like a restaurant, or because of split and background conversations, which impede the data's intelligibility (cf. VN_LE_con_pho restaurant in the Southeast Asian data). However, these noises arise out of the data's nature and are a sign of the interaction's naturalness – they therefore should be regarded as positive if not desirable, even if they obviously complicate the transcription process.

Condition d) ensures that I can check for speakers' idiosyncrasies, as observing the participants' behaviour over a longer period of time allows me to detect individual preferences, which might influence the analysis of the whole conversation. This is particularly relevant for studies with a qualitative focus and a small data base, i.e. in situations where the effects of individual speakers cannot be mitigated by comparing them to a large control group. Using longer interactions enables me to spot speaker-specific patterns, such as fast tempo, and to take them into account when analysing the conversations. Table 3.3 sums up the durations of the individual conversations as well as the sub-corpora.

[13] Unfortunately, ACE and ICE use different age spans to group their participants, which does not allow for a more detailed comparison.
[14] Conversation S1A-067 in ICE-T&T starts as a mixed interaction and ends as an all-female conversation. It is therefore mentioned in both columns.
[15] ICE-JA does not indicate the speakers' age, so the age span covers ICE-T&T speakers only.

Table 3.3: Length of individual interactions and duration of sub-corpora

Corpus	Conversation	Duration (individual convers.)	Total duration (sub-corpus)
ACE	SG_ED_con_4	01:00:59	03:02:15
	SG_ED_con_6	01:02:56	
	VN_LE_con_pho restaurant	00:58:20	
ICE-JA	S1A-003	00:12:31	01:50:22
	S1A-004	00:11:07	
	S1A-006	00:12:32	
	S1A-010	00:13:50	
	S1A-013	00:09:22	
ICE-T&T	S1A-008	00:11:18	
	S1A-034	00:09:23	
	S1A-050	00:07:17	
	S1A-057	00:11:30	
	S1A-067	00:11:21	

As table 3.3 shows, the interactions taken from ACE are longer, i.e. speaker-specific preferences are easier to spot and can be taken into account while analysing the conversations as such. Throughout SG_ED_con_4, for instance, participant Zhi's speaking style is marked by slower pace than that of her co-conversationalists, and she also tends to allow for longer pauses. Consequently, while situations such as (3.1) and (3.2) (taken from the beginning and the end of the one-hour conversation) are characteristic of Zhi's personal way of talking, they do not reflect the interaction as such.

(3.1) From China (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 Zhi:        ((alveolar click))
02             (0.7)
03 Zhi:        °I (1.2) come from China (0.3) and er° ((alveolar click))
               do my (0.3) er bachelor and master (1.0) the learning (.)
               period (0.4) er in China
```

(3.2) PhD (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:         =so how many y(.)ears is he into his p h d?
               (0.3)
02 Zhi:        ((alveolar click))(0.3) erm:::
03             (0.8)
04 An:         [(deep within)?]
05 Zhi:        [I       ↑think] (0.2) erm:: (0.2) <↑he still need>
06             (1.2)
```

```
07 Zhi:        <almost er TWO ↑years>
```

Choosing longer conversations allows me, first of all, to detect these idiosyncrasies, and second, to take them into account when analysing the interaction as such. As Zhi's talking style will not only be noticeable to the analyst but also to her co-conversationalists, this can explain why none of the other speakers starts up during her seemingly dysfluent utterance in example (3.2). For the Caribbean data group, ICE does not offer single conversations of similar length. However, as more speakers are included in this sub-corpus, idiosyncratic effects will be mitigated as well.

Finally, I only chose conversations where the participants' orientation to the recording device, the recording situation, or the fieldworker is minimal. Thus, I excluded conversations which openly or repeatedly addressed these factors. Interactions with minor and short mentions of the recording situation, such as shown in example (3.3), were treated as unproblematic and were therefore not excluded from the corpus. Again, this was meant to guarantee that the effect of the observer's paradox on the data remained as small as possible.

(3.3) Radio (ICE T&T, S1A-057)

```
01 Tre:  <put it ↑on!>
02       (0.4)
03 Kat:  >↑no be↑cause:< <then I'd have the> background ↑NOISE!
04       (0.3)
05 Kat:  <so I'd to ↑TELL ↑you>
06       (0.3)
07 Kat:  <I couldn't just tell you ↑take off the ra[↓d      i        o]
08 Tre:                                            [((steups)) (↑(boy)]
         <↑TAKE off the ra:↑dio nah>
```

3.1.3. Transcription conventions

Even though both ACE and ICE come with ready-made transcripts, the interactions had to be re-transcribed in order to meet CA standards. Transcriptions in ACE are modelled after the conventions of the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) (ACE 2014), which ensures their computer-readability but makes manual analysis confusing and difficult to deal with. Apart from that, aspects such as prosody are largely missing from the transcripts.

I decided to transcribe my data using the Jefferson Transcription System rather than other systems of transcription. Most CA transcripts still use this system or variations of it, as it allows for depicting many interactionally relevant features in a systematic and clear

way. There are other well-known guidelines apart from the Jeffersonian system; however, they are less suitable for my research for a number of reasons: One of these approaches is GAT2 (Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem 2), which is the system used predominantly by German interaction analysts (Selting et al. 2009). GAT2 focuses on intonation phrases and provides symbols to capture different levels of prosodic detail. Apart from that, the system is relatively similar to the Jeffersonian conventions (Hepburn & Bolden 2017: 174). As phonetic and prosodic features will not be the main focus of my analysis, I decided to not to use GAT2. For similar reasons, I also did not choose the Discourse Transcription system (DT) developed at the University of California, Santa Barbara (Du Bois et al.1992), which is also based on intonation contours but is less precise when it comes to other aspects (such as laughter) (cf. also Hepburn & Bolden 2017: 174f).

An overview of the transcription conventions used is provided in the appendix. However, it has to be stressed that any transcript is necessarily selective and thus incomplete. It is a tool, a way of depicting the data – but not the data themselves. Consequently, any analysis has to be based first and foremost on the original recording. Nevertheless, the process of transcribing is an important part of the analysis, which is why CA research is typically not based on ready-made transcripts. As Heath & Luff put it, "[t]he process of transcription is an important analytical tool […]. It provides the researcher with a way of noticing, even discovering, particular events, and helps focus analytic attention on their socio-interactional organisation" (1993: 309). Apart from allowing me to double-check on the original transcripts provided in ACE or in the ICE-corpora, re-transcribing the conversation is therefore an important part of the investigation.

3.2. Methodology: qualitative and quantitative analysis

The study at hand is firmly rooted in CA methodology. Originally, my analysis was sparked by the – both impressionistic but also theoretically-based – hypothesis that different cultural backgrounds might be reflected in conversational patterns; a question which has also been raised in a number of anthropological and intercultural studies (cf. chapter 2.1.2). However, starting to look for differences among speakers is problematic – whoever expects to detect differences will certainly do so in the end. CA, by contrast, stresses the importance of starting from unmotivated inquiries and demands that "the investigator as much as possible puts aside or brackets assumptions about how a domain of human action does or could operate" (Maynard 2013: 18). Of course, this does not mean that studies cannot be triggered

by presuppositions (Clayman & Gill 2004: 596f) – the present study obviously is – however, it certainly highlights one of CA's major tenets: Analysts have to avoid imposing their own assumptions and instead observe how the participants of the interaction behave. As conversationalists openly negotiate meanings in the talk itself, and as their understanding of one turn will shape their interactional behaviour in the next, scholars can use these participants' understandings as evidence for their analysis: "The display of those understandings in the talk of subsequent turns affords both a resource for the analysis of prior turns and a proof procedure for professional analyses of prior turns – resources intrinsic to the data themselves" (Sacks et al. 1974: 729). My analysis therefore starts with an in-depth qualitative investigation of the data at hand, and contextual features, such as cultural background, gender, or variety, are only treated as relevant, if they exhibit "procedural consequentiality", i.e. influence the ongoing interaction in an observable way (Sidnell 2009b: 8).

Rather than looking for special (linguistic) forms, CA is interested in 'practices' or 'functions', i.e. "relatively stable ways of performing actions" (Sidnell 2006: 169). This distinction is essential, as one practice in a conversation can be realised by a variety of specific verbal but also non-verbal forms – greetings, for instance, can be accomplished by head nods, single lexical items (such as *hi*), sentences (*How are you?*), etc. On the other hand, individual forms can fulfil several interactional functions, depending on the interactional context (to give an example, *How are you?* can also work as an inquiry). Any conversation analytic investigation therefore has to always consider the specific context in which a linguistic form is employed with a certain function – following the central question: "Why that now?" (Sidnell 2006: 170; cf. also Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 291f; Schegloff 1998). The practice I am interested in in this study is turn-taking as such, which constitutes "a generic problem of interaction [and] […] must be solved through the mobilization of available local resources" (Sidnell 2009a: 23). Turn-taking is a central aspect of human interaction – it can be compared to an economy with turns-at-talk being valuable items, which have to be negotiated, defended, or seized (Sacks et al. 1974: 701). That is, as turns are "scarce resource[s]" (Tanaka 1999: 27) in a conversation, negotiating their allocation becomes the engine which keeps the interaction going and prevents it from becoming a monologue. Turn-taking therefore involves three sub-practices:

(1) turn-claiming, i.e. a potential next speaker tries to establish him- or herself as the new current speaker,

(2) turn-holding, i.e. a current speaker attempts to prevent others from starting up and/or tries to keep their status as turn occupant over more than one turn-constructional unit (TCU), and

(3) turn-yielding, i.e. a current speaker or a potential next speaker drops out, yielding the floor to another interactant.

My analysis is premised on the assumption that, while these practices themselves remain the same in different cultural and linguistic contexts – in any conversation, speaker change has to be accomplished –, how they are carried out might be variety-specific, i.e. based on local morphosyntactic, phonological, lexical, or pragmatic resources, or culturally sensitive, i.e. rooted in a more general set of values and preferences. This assumption is based on the evidence described in chapter 2, i.e. studies revealing the influence of linguistic structures on interactional patterns (cf. Tanaka 1999; Sidnell 2009a), and the fact that conversations are not in a contextual limbo – they are shaped by and shape their social and cultural environment.

In order to tackle my hypothesis, the study at hand uses a mixed-methods approach. Thus, I first conduct a qualitative bottom-up analysis of the individual interactions, thereby following the CA methodology described above. This enables me to comment on what speakers do at TRPs, which strategies they use to hold or claim a turn, and whether there are any recurrent patterns or noticeable absences of features which are typically present in British or American conversations. The findings gained from this analysis constitute the basis for my second step, the quantitative assessment of the data. In order to conduct this analysis, I devised a formal coding system, which allows me to investigate broader patterns in my data as well as compare larger data sets with each other in a systematic way. Although quantitative studies are a relatively recent phenomenon in CA research and have often been the subject of scrutiny from scholars (e.g. Heritage 1995; Schegloff 1993), they are perfectly compatible with CA methodology; and mixed-methods studies are increasingly employed by CA scholars. Apart from Heritage & Greatbatch's 1986 study of political speeches and audience applause, which can be counted as the first mixed-methods study in CA, other noticeable investigations address various topics, e.g. the response offset time in question-answer adjacency pairs (Stivers et al. 2009) or the relationship between race and next speaker-selection in medical visits (Stivers & Majid 2007).

In fact, CA and quantitative methodology complement each other. Traditional CA methodology calls for characterising individual cases of an interactional practice and matching them to specific sub-practices by comparing larger collections. However, as a

logical consequence, "CA's insistence on clear characterizations of the phenomena being studied creates a solid foundation from which to build formal coding schemes" (Stivers 2015: 5). This is also highlighted by Tanaka, who stresses that "a prerequisite of quantification is a fine-grained analysis of a phenomenon being investigated on a case-by-case basis" (1999: 14f). Furthermore, "the very process of operationalisation […] can serve as a useful exercise for discovering features which are relevant to the participants, and hence for the analysis" (Tanaka 1999: 15). When analysing whether certain interactional patterns are linked to specific socio-cultural contexts or other variables which are independent from the interaction itself, e.g. values, culture, or attitudes, Heritage (1995: 404f) even stresses that quantification is essential (cf. also Stivers 2015: 12).

In my study, the qualitative investigation of the data showed that the practice of turn-taking in Southeast Asian and Caribbean interactions is systematically realised in a number of specific sub-practices, such as self-selection or continuation, or, on a more fine-grained level, self-selection after gap, etc. The next parts of this chapter first introduce the concept of turn-taking in everyday interactions, and then outline the basic set of strategies speakers can employ to claim or hold a turn at talk. Furthermore, I describe the coding system which was derived from the bottom-up analysis and address some caveats and limitations with respect to combining CA and formal coding.

3.2.1. Turn-taking and TRPs as places of action

In formal speech situations, such as debates, interviews, or courtroom talk, 'who speaks next' is usually fixed in advance. That is, turns at talk are – at least partially – pre-allocated and interactants will typically know when and how long they are allowed to speak, and what their turn should be about.[16] Everyday conversations, however, differ drastically from these kinds of institutionalised turn-taking. In natural face-to-face interactions who speaks next and when is by no means fixed: Even though dialogues naturally exhibit an ABAB-structure with two speakers alternating, the length (and content) of the utterances is not pre-determined. In conversations involving more than two participants, not even the order of the speakers can be predicted. Rather than following an ABCD…-pattern, turn allocation in multi-speaker interactions depends on various other factors, which include aspects such as power and dominance, expertise on the topic, idiosyncratic behaviour, etc. Speakership

[16] Or, if they do not, they might be at a severe disadvantage (cf. Eades 2007 on Australian Aboriginal speakers in courtroom interactions).

or turn size is thus not fixed in natural conversations but is "locally" and "interactionally managed", i.e. decided on a turn-by-turn basis as the interaction develops – the authority over the system lies solely with the participants themselves, it is "party-administered" (Sacks et al. 1974: 725f). Nevertheless, turn-taking in everyday conversations has shown to be remarkably orderly – instead of starting up randomly, next speakers seem to orient themselves towards an underlying 'one-party-at-a-time'-rule, minimising overlaps but also gaps in the interaction.

In their seminal 1974 paper, Sacks et al. show that this close finetuning is due to the social nature of the turn-taking system, where "interactants must act not as independent agents but in close coordination with one another" (Clayman 2013: 150). Rather than simply reacting to "signals" indicating the end of the current speaker's turn, as other studies claim (e.g. Duncan 1972; Duncan & Fiske 1977[17]), potential next speakers interactively negotiate turn allocation (Sacks et al. 1974: 726; cf. also Sidnell 2016), thereby orienting themselves towards upcoming possible completion places in the ongoing turn and towards three options for speaker change provided in the turn-taking model. At any place where speaker change becomes relevant in ordinary conversation, i.e. at any transition relevance place (TRP), a set of three hierarchically ordered rules applies (Sacks et al. 1974: 704):

(a) If the current speaker has selected a next speaker, no other speaker must start up at the next TRP.

(b) If the current speaker has not selected a next speaker, any speaker can self-select at the next TRP, and the right to a turn is distributed on a 'first come, first served'-basis.

(c) If the current speaker has not selected a next speaker and no other speaker self-selects, the current speaker can (but does not have to) continue talking.

Speaker change becomes a possibility in the conversation, i.e. a TRP is reached, after a turn-constructional unit (TCU) has been completed by the current speaker. TCUs are the "smallest interactionally relevant complete linguistic units in their given context" (Selting 2000: 512). As such, they are solely defined as turn-constructional entities within the context of turn-taking; they do not necessarily constitute linguistic (i.e. grammatical) units (Selting 2000: 478). Rather, TCUs are gestalt-like but flexible "construction schemata" which enable participants of an interaction to project potential TRPs:

> Irrespective of the flexible and variable details, the actual tokens [i.e. TCUs] are recognizable as realizations of a particular holistic schema on which participants rely for their orientation in constructing and interpreting units, e.g. the schema of a "possible sentence," a "possible

[17] For a detailed critique of Duncan & Fiske's approach see e.g. Wilson et al. 1984 or Goodwin 1979.

> clause," a "possible phrase," or a particular kind of "intonation contour" with a "possible unit or turn-ending pitch (movement)." (Selting 2000: 492)

Thus, these schemata are not only based on syntactic completion but can be described as an "interplay of syntactic, lexico-semantic, pragmatic, activity-type-specific, and prosodic devices in their sequential context" (Selting 2000: 487). Some of these devices have been studied in great detail, particularly the role of syntax and grammar (e.g. Schegloff 1996; Lerner 1996, 2004a) and prosody (e.g. Local et al. 1985; Local et al. 1986; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 1996; Wells & Macfarlane 1998; Local & Walker 2012), and it is now well-accepted that none of them can function singularly (Selting 2000: 491; cf. also Oreström 1983 and Tanaka 1999: 36). Hayashi therefore describes turns as "multimodal packages […] that make use of a range of different modalities" (2005: 47), including not only verbal but also non-verbal elements, such as gaze or gesture. However, "there is little systematic and large-scale empirical work on all of these resources, and particular the specific *ways* in which they interact with one another in turn organization" (Li 2014: 6, emphasis in original). This lack of research does not only hold for many languages other than English but also for varieties of English, particularly those in the Outer and Expanding Circle.

To sum up, Sacks et al.'s turn-taking system centres around two basic components, turn-construction and turn allocation. These components are mutually related, as TCUs are always oriented towards transition relevance. TCUs are online constructions, which current speakers shape and modify as the turn proceeds, and which potential next speakers closely monitor in order to detect upcoming TRPs. As Schegloff puts it:

> [W]hat they [i.e. TCUs] are directional toward is possible completion. […] Co-participants will properly be oriented to possible completions as places where they may have rights or obligations to talk, and speakers accordingly will be oriented to them as resources for drawing others in and exiting the turn themselves, or holding others off so as to extend what is being said (Schegloff 1996: 82).

In other words, current speakers can construe TCUs in a way as to prevent others from starting up, thereby enhancing their own chances of producing longer, multi-unit turns. The resources they employ to achieve this can thus be described as turn-holding strategies, i.e. techniques that are geared towards places of possible speaker change, which they aim to hide or block for other interactants. On the other hand, speakers can also prompt transition by signalling completion and yielding the turn. Similarly, aspiring next speakers will try to project upcoming TRPs in order to start up as early as possible and secure the next turn. This includes using turn-claiming signals to make other conversationalists aware of their intentions – and, necessarily, these signals are also oriented towards the TRP. It is therefore appropriate to describe TRPs as the 'places of action' in any conversation (cf. Sidnell 2010:

47); they are the centre toward which both central components of the turn-taking system – turn allocation and turn construction – are directed. Schegloff even assigns TRPs a central role in the turn-taking system as such, as they have consequences on both preceding and following TCUs. This is also why it makes sense to speak of transition relevance *places* with own beginnings and endings rather than *points* (Schegloff 1996: 96f).

Due to these deliberations, I look at turn-taking from a variety of perspectives in this project. I first focus on how speaker change is accomplished in the interactions, focusing on the general type of turn allocation as well as on the specific transition scenarios and their distribution. Then, I have a closer look at turn construction and the speakers' use of turn-holding or -claiming strategies. The characteristics that allow next speakers to project a TCU's trajectory and thus to anticipate upcoming TRPs can be roughly divided into two groups – elements which enable macro-projection and elements which facilitate micro-projection. The former can be regarded as the general trajectory of an interactional project, for instance when a speaker is telling a story which requires them to produce multi-unit turns. Micro-projection is oriented towards the linguistic makeup of the single TCU, such as its phonological or lexical organisation (Schegloff 2013: 42). In my analysis, I look at both types of projection. Apart from syntactic and prosodic schemata, I investigate the role of lexico-semantic items, such as address terms, as well as actions exploiting the 'first come, first served'-rule, i.e. latches and overlaps (cf. Selting 2000: 512).[18] These resources work on both levels, the macro-level, (e.g. when speakers initiate adjacency pairs or when they announce story-telling) and the micro-level (e.g. in the case of syntactic projection). I analyse these resources individually but also examine them in combination. This allows me to comment not only on the speakers' individual or collective preferences but also on preferred patterns and correlations of strategies, which have been shown to differ between languages (cf. Auer 2014).

Essentially, this means that I focus on what Ford et al. (1996) label "Complex Transition Relevance Places" (CTRPs),[19] the interplay of multiple resources at places of possible speaker change. It is this interplay, which determines whether interactants perceive speaker change as relevant or not at the end of a TCU, or, as Selting puts it, "[c]lear cases of units

[18] Due to the nature of my data, which consist of audio recordings only, I have to exclude non-verbal aspects of turn-taking, such as gesture, gaze, or facial expression. I am aware that these practices also influence turns in face-to-face conversation and will comment on situations which cannot be explained without having access to video data wherever this becomes relevant.

[19] I use the term TRP in this study, because this is the term commonly employed in the literature. In doing so I certainly do not deny Ford & Thompson's notion of the CTRP; in fact, TRPs are almost always complex and the major part of this study is concerned with this fact.

[i.e. transition-relevant or not] are produced by using converging practices; the use of diverging practices or signalling cues results in larger units, unclear cases of units, camouflage of boundaries, split-up units etc." (2000: 491). Hence, if a TCU is syntactically and prosodically complete, potential next speakers are likely to treat the end of the unit as transition-relevant.[20] If, however, a TCU constitutes a prosodically complete unit which is syntactically incomplete, or vice versa, co-conversationalists may be prevented from perceiving the turn production as complete. In that case, the end of the TCU might trigger backchannels or false starts, but interactants will not treat it as a fully-fledged TRP – they are likely to drop out again, as soon as the turn occupant continues talking (Selting 2000: 494; cf. also Schegloff 1996: 59 for a similar example). Please note, however, that I still treat the end of a TCU as potentially transition-relevant in my analysis, even though the likelihood of speaker change might be small. This contrasts with, for example, Selting, who claims that "a TCU ends in a TRP unless extra work is done to postpone the TRP to the end of a larger unit" (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 51). However, even though TRPs might be obscured or blocked by the macro- or micro-structure of the turn, e.g. in story-telling or because of diverging 'signals', this does not necessarily delete the TRP as such: As research on turn-taking in Southeast Asian and Caribbean English interactions is still almost non-existent, it would be pure speculation to assume *a priori* that just because, e.g. the story-telling context blocks TRPs in British/American English or German interactions, ASEAN and Caribbean speakers follow the same pattern. I therefore treat any completion of a TCU – be it prosodic, syntactic, or pragmatic – as a potential TRP and then look at the "extra work" being done to prevent speaker transition, i.e. the resources the speakers use to manipulate TRPs.

Furthermore, I decided to group these resources into two larger groups, depending on whether they are employed by the current speaker to prevent others from starting up, i.e. have a turn-holding function, or whether potential next speakers use them to claim a turn. In doing so, I am adhering to one of CA's major assumptions, the fact that turn-taking is context-sensitive. What constitutes a TRP or a TCU, and whether speakers are holding, claiming, or yielding the floor[21] can thus only be decided via a case-by-case analysis, as it entirely depends on contextual factors of the interaction, such as the activity type underway or the recipients (Sacks et al. 1974: 727; Schegloff 1996: 89f; Selting 2000: 487f). In the

[20] See also Oreström (1983) for an in-depth analysis of British English data.

[21] I understand 'having the floor' as being established as the current speaker, which seems to be in line with most other CA studies; although most authors do not explicitly define the notion (for an overview see Edelsky 1981: 400ff). In that sense, my definition differs from Edelsky, who regards 'floor' as a topical notion, as "the acknowledged what's-going-on within a psychological time/space" (1981: 405).

next part of this chapter, I give an overview of the actions conversationalists can perform at the end of a TCU and describe which strategies they can employ to manipulate transition at the TRP.

3.2.2. Turn-holding and turn-claiming strategies

As described above, TCUs can be defined as "coherent and self-contained utterance[s], recognizable in context as 'possibly complete'" (Clayman 2013: 151), i.e. as gestalts. Projecting when a current speaker will have completed a TCU allows potential next speakers to prepare for claiming a turn, most clearly visible in the case of so-called latches, where speaker change occurs directly at the last sounds of the current speaker's utterance. Apart from that, as the turn-taking system is locally controlled and the turn allocation rules apply at every TRP, speakers only acquire rights to produce one single TCU, when they start up. For a current speaker this means that they cannot go on talking infinitely and need to make provisions to prevent others from starting up, if they intend to talk for more than one TRP. In other words, the turn-taking system, as described by Sacks et al. (1974), is oriented towards turn-yielding as the default case. As soon as a current speaker wants to utter a multi-unit turn, they have to indicate their intention to their co-conversationalists. Turn-holdings must therefore be regarded as the "marked cases" (Selting 2000: 510) in a conversation; they involve effort on the part of the turn occupant, who has to employ additional resources to avoid transition (Schegloff 1996: 61; cf. also Schegloff 1982).

Due to the nature of the turn-taking system, which is oriented towards TRPs, this is exactly where turn-holding strategies are to be found: They aim at realising the upcoming transition space "in such a way as to reduce the likelihood of turn transfer and increase the likelihood of the current speaker extending his/her turn" (Clayman 2013: 159). According to Clayman, turn-holding can involve "a variety of design features – syntax as well as other aspects of speech delivery" (2013: 154). Selting (2000) therefore distinguishes between final TCUs, i.e. those that end in a TRP, and non-final TCUs which do not. She claims that "[n]on-final TCUs in the turn often, but not always, project turn-holding; final TCUs project turn-yielding. The TRP of non-final TCUs in the turn is suspended until the possible turn-final TCU" (Selting 2000: 487). In other words, if current speakers want to produce longer stretches of talk, they can shape their turn as to close or hide upcoming TRPs, thus preventing other interactants from starting up. This is the reason why interactions can involve multi-unit turns – i.e. turns consisting of more than one non-final TCUs (Selting

2000: 490). Speakers who produce longer stretches of talk, multi-TCU constructions, therefore manage to evade transition relevance, and they do so by employing turn-holding strategies, which manipulate[22] upcoming TRPs. Typically – but not always –, these strategies will therefore cluster around the TRP. As Schegloff puts it

> the endings of TCUs live under the shadow of the incipient beginnings of next turns, and that beginnings of turns can be thoroughly preoccupied with the ends of their preceding turns. […] [T]aken together, the two sets of practices – of turn and TCU beginnings and turn and TCU endings constitute the major factors shaping *the social and interactional organization of the transition space* (Schegloff 1996: 96; emphasis in original).

This naturally implies that TRPs also constitute the central points of reference for speakers who want to claim a turn. Just like turn-holding interactants, prospective next speakers can also back up their claim for the floor using a number of interactional resources – this is particularly relevant if more than one conversationalist start up simultaneously or if the turn occupant is not willing to yield their turn. Turn-holding and turn-claiming strategies have been found to differ across languages (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 61); although, particularly with respect to turn-holding, research has mainly concentrated on British/American English, German, and Japanese, and "[m]uch work remains to be done on […] practices in other languages and language families" (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 94). In the Southeast Asian and Caribbean contexts, the strategies current speakers use to hold their turn or to claim the right to speak can be subsumed into six groups: latches and overlaps, interruptions, lexical planners, phonetic planners, and syntactic planning strategies. They are briefly introduced in the next sub-chapters.

3.2.2.1. Latches and overlaps

When sketching the pillars of the turn-taking system for conversation, Sacks et al. discern that when no next speaker has been selected before a TRP is reached, the floor is open to any participant of the interaction and "first starter acquires rights to a turn" (1974: 704). Thus, potential next speakers will make sure to be 'first starters', if they plan on claiming a turn, and they will do so by beginning as soon as the current speaker has completed their TCU, at the earliest legitimate TRP possible. Ideally, this results in transition without any

[22] Of course, speakers do not necessarily consciously manipulate their turns – and their intentions are obviously not accessible to the analyst. However, what is accessible to the researcher is the interlocutors' reaction to a certain type of interactional behavior. Levinson (2013) therefore distinguishes between 'action formation' – i.e. the speaker's interactional behavior – and 'action ascription', which refers to the inferences recipients draw when confronted with the speaker's action (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 210f).

gap or overlap, i.e. with a minimum loss of time and maximum intelligibility. This is what Jefferson calls "absolute adjacency" (1986: 154), which she defines as "the perfect juxtaposition or 'latching' of a next turn to a turn just now completed" (1984a: 16). Latching can occur between two different speakers' turns, as in (3.4) below:

Example (3.4): Silk (ICE-JA, S1A-006)

```
01 War:  >the only thing we use silk for nowadays is ↑like< (0.4)
         tractions=
02 Bob:  =↑if you do that then you won't have any to- (0.2) to-=to-
03       (0.6)
04 Bob:  to-=to work with
```

By starting at the last sounds of Warren's utterance, Bob makes sure that he is the first speaker to self-select at the TRP (l. 02). This means that any other speaker who starts later will be a 'second starter', including the previous speaker (Warren), who can only continue (rule (1c)), if rule (1b) (self-selection) has not been applied. This makes latching a very powerful turn-claiming device. As Schegloff puts it, "by virtue of one self-selector having already begun, other 'intending' self-selectors [will] […] withhold talk because they were not the first" (2000: 44). On the other hand, current speakers can also use latches to make sure that their co-participants do not produce more than a minimal response token. Example (3.5) illustrates this:

Example (3.5): Nineteen (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:   'cause I didn't speak the language=and
02 Zhi:  ↑oh:=
03 An:   =((alveolar click)) it's ↑quite (.) u- you are nineteen and (the)
         people will target ↑you
```

In this excerpt, the current speaker, An, is telling a story about a visit to Korea, and another participant, Zhi, produces a minimal response, *oh* (l. 02), indicating surprise. The speakers do not overlap, but note that An latches her continuation to Zhi's utterance, thus leaving her no space to expand her turn (l. 03). That is, latches can fulfil two separate functions: They can be used to claim a turn by a prospective next speaker, and they can have a turn-holding effect if used by the turn occupant. Both functions can be identified in my data and they are discussed in greater detail in chapter 4.2. Apart from that, latches can also link two TCUs produced by one speaker (cf. l. 01 in example (3.5) above). This technique is known as 'rush-through' and will be introduced in chapter 3.2.2.3 below.

Overlaps are a natural consequence of the turn-taking system, which necessarily involves passages in which two or more interactants are talking simultaneously. CA research has shown that

> [f]irstly, overlapping talk, though common, tends to occur in a highly restricted set of places in conversation. Secondly, most overlap appears to be a product, rather than a violation, of the system of turn taking […]. Thirdly, conversationalists typically treat overlap as a potential source of impairment and seek to resolve and repair it (Sidnell 2010: 52).

Each of these three claims can be found to apply for the interactions analysed in this study, which is why they are introduced briefly in the following paragraphs.

To begin with, overlaps are orderly phenomena and everyday conversations include places which are particularly vulnerable to simultaneous talk: TRPs. As has been described above, the turn-taking system is geared towards smooth speaker change, i.e. gaps between turns are supposed to be minimal. One consequence of this system is the 'first starter gets the turn'-rule discussed at the beginning of this chapter, which requires next speakers to start up at the earliest TRP possible. On the other hand, current speakers can also decide to produce multi-unit turns, i.e. continue talking. If both of these rules (i.e. (1b) and (1c)) are applied simultaneously at a TRP, or if several speakers start up at the same time, overlap occurs. This makes TRPs places which are naturally overlap-vulnerable in any conversation. See, for instance, example (3.6).

Example (3.6): Uniformity (ICE-JA, S1A-004)

```
01 Ron:  […] it's=a LANGUAGE in=which you are NOT able to communicate in
         (uniformly)! (0.3) [with some UNIFORMITY!]
02 Bla:                     [that-  (that)'s  abso]lute [NONSENSE!]
```

After Ronald has completed a TCU, he allows for a short gap of 0.3s but then adds an expansion to his turn, a so-called increment, i.e. a "nonmain-clause continuation[…] after a possible point of turn completion" (Ford et al. 2002: 16). This leads to overlap with Blaine, who self-selects at the TRP. The overlap is the result of rule-governed behaviour; Jefferson describes it as "a byproduct of two activities: (1) A recipient reasonably, warrentedly [sic] treats some current utterance as complete, 'transition ready', and starts to talk, while (2) the current speaker, perfectly within his rights, keeps going" (1986: 154). However, overlap can even occur, if next speakers have been selected, as in (3.7):

Example (3.7): Daiso (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Che:  […] you ↑know the JAPANESE shop? (0.2) DAISO?
02       (0.4)
03 Lan:  [↑n:o: (it's)-]
04 Sam:  [daiso >(yeah)] (YEAH YEAH YEAH)<
```

When the current speaker, Chen, completes his question in line 01, he addresses the complete pool of potential next speakers rather than singles out a particular interactant. Consequently, both Lan and Sam respond simultaneously. As before, the overlap results

from applying the turn-taking system, i.e. when speakers start up at a legitimate TRP. For British and American interactions, overlaps have been shown to be rule-based and regular (cf. Jefferson 1984a; 1986; 2004; Schegloff 2000). The assumption that "the turn-taking mechanism may be said to have broken down, or perhaps to have been discarded" (Duncan 1972: 286) therefore has to be refuted. However, it has been claimed that not all speaker groups overlap 'orderly'. As mentioned above, Caribbean English has been described as anarchic and marked by interruptions (cf. Reisman 1974). Other scholars regard orderliness as a culturally-specific feature, stating, for instance, that "in normal, civilized, Western-type conversations, conversationalists do not speak all at the same time" (Mey 2007: 139) or stressing that the one-party-at-a-time rule does not hold for certain speech communities (e.g. for Japanese speakers), and that "[i]nterruptions and simultaneous talk may be quite common in these situations" (Kachru & Smith 2008: 12). By contrast, it has also been suggested that there are speech communities where overlap hardly ever occurs (cf. Philips 1976).

In order to investigate the role overlap plays in Southeast Asian and Caribbean conversations, I analyse it from two perspectives: I look at overlap as a turn-claiming device, i.e. at situations where potential next speakers start up despite the current speaker still talking. Apart from that, overlap can also have a turn-holding function, namely when the turn occupant ignores others' attempts to start up. I show that both functions are orderly and regular phenomena and that overlaps differ from so-called 'interruptions'. This distinction is essential, as interruption is a concept "beset by serious problems" (Schegloff 2000: 3). The term as such is negatively connoted and linked to moral judgements (Tannen 1994: 58); however, it is a concept which has to be tackled: Whereas overlaps have been shown to be relatively unproblematic to conversationalists, there are situations in the interactions which do not fall into this category. Neglecting these instances or subsuming them under the term 'overlap' would clearly be insufficient. Chapter 3.2.2.2 therefore gives a definition of 'interruption' as understood in this study and it also explains which situations do not qualify as such.

3.2.2.2. Interruptions

From a structural-syntactic perspective, interruptions can be contrasted with overlaps when looking at their starting points: Whereas overlaps start at legitimate TRPs, interruptions typically involve a second speaker starting at a non-TRP, i.e. "'in the midst of' another's

turn at talk, not letting the other finish" (Jefferson 1984a: 16). Thus, while overlaps can be classified as being systematic, this does not hold for interruptions, which might even be "unaccountable" (Jefferson 1984a: 38). Jefferson's classic definition is based on the notion of clear TRPs; however, it is less clear how 'not letting the other finish' should be measured objectively. Apart from that, the conversations analysed contain instances of a first speaker not being able to finish their turn which are not treated as interruptions by the interactants. This includes questions of clarification, continuers (such as *mh-hm*), joint productions, terminal overlap, or procedural metacomments (cf. Schegloff 2000: 5f). See, for instance, example (3.8) below:

Example (3.8): PGDEs (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:   which is (.) like pretty indiffe↑rent (0.4) yah, but I had ↑the
         (.) p g d es to bridge it, so ((alveolar click)) [wasn't too]
02 Wan:                                                   [  what's  ]
         that?
03 An:   hh er:m the post↑grad ↑er:m
04       (0.6)
05 An:   ↑teaching qualification over here?
06       (0.2)
07 Wan:  o:h, okayhh=
08 An:   =↑yah:, ↑so: it's=a ↑switch
```

The current speaker, An, clearly indicates a willingness to continue in line 01: She ends her TCU *I had the pgdes to bridge it,* on a slightly rising intonation contour and has already moved into her next TCU (*so* + click), when Wan overlaps her (l. 02). Structurally, Wan's turn could classify as an interruption, as she starts up at a non-TRP. However, other-initiations of repair were never treated as interruptive in my data. This can also be seen in the example above, where Wan's request for explanation initiates a short inserted repair sequence, in which An disambiguates the trouble source (l. 03-05), until Wan closes the sequence by acknowledging the new information: *oh, okay* (l. 07). This allows An to move back to her original story, which she does in latch position, resuming her abandoned TCU by taking up on where she left it: *yeah, so* (l. 08). As this excerpt shows, questions for clarification can formally resemble interruptions; however, they are not treated as such by the interactionalists and they certainly cannot be described as unsystematic. In fact, they occur in perfectly orderly position, namely just after the TCU (or part of the TCU) they are referring to. As it is absolutely crucial for repair initiations to occur in temporal and spatial proximity to the corresponding trouble source, it is very likely that they will lead to overlap. Sacks et al. even claim that "addressing problems of understanding […] is a priority activity in conversation" (1974: 720). If the second speaker waited too long, their understanding would be impeded, and referring to the unclear element would be considerably more

difficult. In other words, other-initiation of repair does not exhibit elements which are crucial for being classified as an interruption: They neither lead to a dysfluency of talk nor force the first speaker to abandon the current topic. On the contrary, they are essential if a smooth flow of talk is to be achieved, as

> if one is failing to understand what the speaker is trying to communicate because one did not catch or did not understand a word used, one might legitimately break in to ask for clarification; or, if one realizes that the speaker in answering a question one has posed, has not properly understood it, one might legitimately interrupt in order to rephrase the question in a clearer way (James & Clarke 1993: 240).

This is why scholars have proposed other definitions to grasp the concept of interruption. In the following, I briefly discuss some of the most influential ones, before outlining the definition used in this study.

Rather than focusing on the structure of the TCU, some studies work with a speaker-based concept of interruption. According to Murray, who criticises Sacks et al.'s (1974) definition as being to "mechanical" (1985: 35), it is "[n]ot to be allowed to make one point at all [which] is the prototypical case of interruption" (1985: 33). Murray therefore argues for what he calls a "members' model[…] of interruption" (1985: 35), which takes larger parts of the conversation into account. He defines interruption as fulfilling one of four criteria:

> 1. [C]utting off someone before s/he has made his/her first point […];
> 2. cutting off a speaker before s/he makes his/her first point in a speaking turn […];
> 3. cutting off a speaker in mid-clause after s/he has made at least one point in a speaking turn […];
> 4. beginning to speak in the environs of a pause or what seems to be the end of a clause, or anywhere (clausally) in a repetition perceived to be a 'turn signal' […] (Murray 1985: 35).

This definition is problematic in a number of aspects. First, it is not clear at all, how Murray understands 'making a point' and he also does not specify how this concept differs from the idea of the TCU as an internally logical unit which an interruption breaks apart, as e.g. suggested by Jefferson (1984a). Second, Murray perceives his model as Guttman scalable, i.e. as differing in the "severity of violation of completion right" (1985: 35), with criterion 1 being the most unambiguous case of interruption. This is in contrast with CA methodology, which does not speculate about speakers' feelings or intentions but looks at an action's procedural consequentiality for the interaction (cf. chapter 3.2). And furthermore, Murray's definition neglects the factor of local control: It does not look at each TRP individually but attempts to make general statements about the conversation as a whole. Again, this runs contrary to CA's bottom-up approach, which is why Murray's concept will be discarded for the present study.

Further definitions of interruption are more recipient-focused or "participant-oriented" (Bilmes 1997: 507). Ian Hutchby, for instance, regards interruption as "not just a technical category in speech exchange but a members' evaluative construct" which involves a "moral dimension" (2008: 226f). In fact, interruptions are often being viewed as rude by interactants, because

> by virtue of the recognizability of norms and non-conforming conduct, behavior which departs from normative conventions is regularly understood and treated by members as willful, intended or motivated (Sidnell 2001: 1279, annot. 21).

However, according to Hutchby, the main criterion for classifying a turn as interruptive is if the interrupted speakers shows some form of reaction toward the incident, thus marking it as problematic for the conversation. A similar approach can be found in an earlier paper by Bilmes (1997), who stresses that analysts ought to treat

> as violative [i.e. interruptive] not those acts to which a norm CAN be applied, but those to which a norm IS applied. We may speak of a violation only when one or more of the participants gives some sign that a violation has occurred. […] There must be some 'objection,' 'apology,' or other signal of violation, though it need be verbal or explicit (Bilmes 1997: 511, emphasis in original).

Both Hutchby and Bilmes treat interruptions as being done by both, the interrupting and the interrupted party. In that sense, it is an "action reciprocal" (Bilmes 1997: 518), and interrupted parties can "do being interrupted" by addressing the problem, directly claiming the floor, or ignoring the talk in overlap (Bilmes 1997: 515). However, as I show in chapter 6.2.1, I did not find a single instance fulfilling Bilmes's and Hutchby's requirements in the data analysed. In fact, I would argue that only a minority of actual interruptions involve verbal reactions by the interrupted speaker: If they addressed the problem verbally, they would actually impair their situation, because their chance to comment on a previous topic would decrease more and more. As Sacks puts it

> [i]f what you want is a chance to continue, this [i.e. addressing an utterance as being interruptive] is an automatically ineffective way, at least directly, to get the floor back. One thing you're definitely going to do is to give them [i.e. the interrupting party] the floor in the first instance. In that regard, then, if what you want is to tie your utterance to some immediately preceding utterance, for example, then insofar as what you're doing is producing an utterance that can itself be tied to by that of another who may then select another, you're putting a lot of room between what you're in the first instance interested in, and your next possible chance to talk (Sacks 1992 [1967]: 638).

Consequently, it is unlikely for conversationalists to address an interruption in the course of an ongoing conversation – which is why it is not surprising that I did not manage to find a single instance in my data. Definitions which are solely based on the assumption that speakers do verbally react to interruptions are therefore not applicable to everyday

conversations; in fact, Bilmes himself admits that instances which fulfil these criteria are rare in natural face-to-face interactions (1997: 515).

So, if both speaker- and recipient-based definitions of interruption have to be discarded, and the traditional Jeffersonian view is not fine-grained enough to grasp the concept, how shall it be understood in the study at hand? In line with the notion of the TCU as a holistic entity (cf. chapter 3.2.1), I define 'being interrupted' as not being prevented from completing an emerging gestalt. That is, interruptions do not necessarily involve overlaps, rather they "involve competing trajectories of action and perhaps also evidence of disaffiliation" (Sidnell 2010: 54); they are "public display[s] of 'not attending to the talk in progress'", which is why they typically occur in situations where parties disagree (Sidnell 2001: 1279f). Additionally, as research on British English and German data has shown, interruptive overlaps are often accompanied by phonetic markers, such as high pitch and loudness (French & Local 1983: 23; Selting 1995: 228).

3.2.2.3. Phonetic[23] strategies

Phonetic and prosodic features play an important role when it comes to identifying potential TRPs in a conversation. They include aspects such as intonation, loudness, and tempo, but also other features, which are sometimes referred to as "non-linguistic" elements (e.g., inbreaths, laughter, clicks, etc.) (cf. Schegloff 1996: 106). As Clayman puts it: "[U]tterances are recurrently packaged not only as coherent syntactic units, but also as prosodic units marked by a cohesive intonational trajectory in conjunction with other phonetic features such as loudness and tempo" (2013: 155) That is, TRPs do not only open up because a syntactically coherent unit has been completed, but they are also closely linked to terminal intonation contours.

Research into the role of phonetics with respect to turn-taking started in the 1980s with work on regional English conversations, most notably Tyneside English (Local et al. 1986), Irish English in Ulster (Wells & Peppé 1996) and West Midlands English (Wells & Macfarlane 1998). Furthermore, analyses of conversations of the Jamaican diaspora in London show that varieties of English differ in how phonetic resources such as pitch, tempo, or loudness are distributed around the TRP (Local et al. 1985). However, many aspects are still unclear or debated. In this chapter, I give a brief overview of the current state of

[23] In this study, I use the term 'phonetics' as a cover term, encompassing both segmental and suprasegmental aspects.

research with respect to the phonetics of interaction, focusing on turn-holding and turn-claiming. In chapter 4.3 I analyse the use of phonetic resources in the Caribbean and Southeast Asian conversations which constitute the corpus for this study.

Research so far agrees on regarding turn-final intonation as a cluster of different features, involving at least pitch, loudness, tempo, and rhythm, but probably more. Apart from that, "the precise combination of features [seems to be] […] different in different varieties of English" (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 76). Table 3.4 gives an overview of some of the phonetic features associated with turn-yielding in different English varieties as well as languages other than English. The table shows that, despite some similarities, the picture is all but clear-cut when it comes to establishing a turn-final contour which pre-signals a forthcoming TRP. Research into German and American English interactions even suggests that turn-yielding might be prosodically unmarked and has to be defined as the absence of turn-holding strategies (cf. Selting 1996: 379; Ford 2001: 75). This is in line with an early statement by Gail Jefferson, who suggests that turn-yielding "intonation contours […] constitute some sort of 'accompaniment' rather than a transition-relevant 'signal'" (1986: 181).

Table 3.4: Turn-yielding phonetic markers in selected studies (adapted and extended from Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 74, 86)

Language/variety	Features associated with turn-yielding (selection)	Study
Tyneside English	Turn-final upstep in pitch, decrease in tempo, last accented syllable is louder	Local et al. (1986)
Ulster English	Turn-final fall-rise in pitch, otherwise similar to Tyneside English	Wells & Peppé (1996)
West Midlands English	Two TRP-projecting accents with either: pitch rise from mid-low to mid or fall from mid-high to mid-low, otherwise similar to Tyneside English	Wells & Macfarlane (1998)
London Jamaican English	Fall on last syllable without earlier pitch movement, no decrease in turn-final loudness	Local et al. (1985)
Japanese	Only in absence of utterance-final element (i.e. in informal interaction): five types of "truncated turns" (lengthening of final or penultimate syllable, glottal stop, compressed turn-final word(s), partial repeats)	Tanaka (2004)
Finnish	Changes in voice quality, typically creaky voice, breathiness, etc.	Ogden (2004)
(Northern) German	Absence of turn-holding elements	Selting (1996)

In this study, I therefore refrain from looking for a 'completion contour' at the TRP but focus on what happens when current speakers hold their turn or how potential next speakers employ phonetic resources to claim the floor. I show that both aspects are related, i.e. whether a certain strategy is classified as turn-holding or turn-claiming depends on the concrete situation in the interaction. All in all, four categories proved to be relevant for the speakers in the conversations under investigation and are therefore analysed in chapter 4.3 below: click sounds, changes in volume, changes in pace, and changes in intonation or pitch.

However, prosody alone cannot function as a turn-holding element; it has to be accompanied by other devices. In other words, "[t]he TCU is not identical with an 'intonation unit' or 'prosodic unit'" (Selting 2000: 490). The next chapter introduces one group of those strategies, which I described as 'lexical planners'.

3.2.2.4. Lexical planning strategies

Rather than being 'by-products' of language, minimal tokens like *er* or *erm* have been shown to influence the construction of turns-at-talk (cf. Jefferson 1974). This is why

scholars like Schegloff argue to treat them as part of a turn's "grammar" (Schegloff 1996: 100). All in all, the group of lexical planning strategies[24] which proved to be relevant for this study includes three sub-categories: planners or fillers, address terms, and particles. Each of them will be briefly introduced below.

The term 'planner' refers to two sound objects,[25] *er* and *erm.*[26] They have been labelled differently in the literature, e.g. "filled pauses" (Maclay & Osgood 1959; Goldman-Eisler 1968; Stenström 1990; Kjellmer 2003), "interjections" (Clark & Fox Tree 2002), "hesitation phenomena or disfluencies" (Maclay & Osgood 1959; Corley & Stewart 2008), "hesitations" (Corley et al. 2007); "pauses" (Rühlemann et al. 2011), or "fillers" (Bortfeld et al. 2001; Clark & Fox Tree 2002; O'Connell et al. 2005). For this study, I follow Tottie (2015), who uses the term 'planners', because *er* and *erm* allow speakers to conduct "online planning of their contributions to the conversation without necessarily implying uncertainty or dysfluency" (Tottie 2015: 381). Thus, planners fulfil an important function in talk-in-progress, even though speakers will usually use them unconsciously (Stenström 1990: 243). As Levinson puts it,

> the particle *hmm* is not dismissable as just a 'performance error' or a 'filled pause'; it has specific interactional functions, best explicated in terms of the system for taking turns at speaking in conversation, where it can be seen to be (amongst other things) a turn-holding device (1983: 51).

For British and American English interactions, these functions have been researched extensively (e.g. Stenström 1990; Clark & Fox Tree 2002; Tottie 2015). In his analysis of the COBUILD[27] corpus, Kjellmer distinguishes five main tasks of *er(m)*: indicating hesitation or uncertainty, e.g. in word searches, turn-taking (including turn-claiming, -holding, and -yielding), attracting attention to the speaker, highlighting elements of the turn-in-progress, and marking repair (2003: 182ff). However, he also stresses that these functions typically overlap (2003: 189f). Furthermore, languages use different items as planners (Clark & Fox Tree 2002: 92), and their use and frequency have been shown to even differ between varieties and social registers (Tottie 2014; 2011). For this analysis, I focus on *er(m)* and its role in turn-taking but comment on other functions where necessary (cf. chapter 4.4.1). A potential other planner, the (alveolar) click, which seems to correlate to both

[24] The distinction between lexical and syntactic strategies is by no means clear-cut and (at least to some extent) arbitrary (cf. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 61). For this study, I treat one-word-items as lexical resources and longer structures (such as tag questions or prospective indexicals) as syntactic projection markers.
[25] I understand the term 'sound object in the sense of Reber, who uses it to refer to "conversational objects with minimal semantic content" (2012: 39), such as interjections, clicks, etc.
[26] Authors differ in how to represent this token. I am following studies such as Kjellmer (2003) in using *er(m)*. Other spellings include e.g. *uh/um* (Tottie 2015) or *hmm* (Levinson 1983: 51).
[27] COBUILD stands for Collins Birmingham University International Language Database.

function and distribution of *er(m)* in the Southeast Asian interactions, is discussed in chapter 4.3.1.

Using an address term, e.g. a personal name, a nickname, a term of endearment (e.g. *love*), or a category term (e.g. *boss, guys*) can be used to directly select a next speaker (Lerner 2003: 184). This function is discussed in chapter 4.1.1. However, this is not their only use in interaction. Address terms can be compared to particles in that they are "independent one-word constructions" (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 22 Online-Chapter F) and can be mobilised *ad hoc* as the turn goes along. On a more general level, they "direct a sequence-initiating action unambiguously to a particular coparticipant" in a specific conversational situation (Lerner 2003: 184).[28] This action can be yielding the turn and singling out a prospective next speaker, but it does not necessarily have to be. As Lerner suggests, address terms "do more than simply specify whom the speaker is addressing. In other words, this is a form of addressing employed when considerations beyond addressing are involved" (2003: 184). In chapter 4.4.2, I therefore focus on these other considerations, namely on the use of address terms to hold or claim a turn in Caribbean and ASEAN interactions.

The group of 'particles' is comprised of typically short one-word items, which can either be free-standing (e.g. minimal response tokens) or complementarily distributed (e.g. turn-final particles) (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 495). With respect to the interactions analysed for this study, three types of particles turned out to influence turn-taking: minimal response tokens, turn-initial and turn-final particles, and variety-specific particles. Each of them is briefly introduced below, for the analysis please see chapter 4.4.3.

Minimal response tokens have typically been described as turn-yielding and encouraging the current speaker to continue. They have sometimes been labelled "backchannels" (e.g. Kjellmer 2009; Peters & Wong 2015); however, this term is problematic, as it is too encompassing and does not distinguish between continuers in the narrow sense (e.g. *uh-huh*) and minimal response tokens, such as *yeah* or *right*. As these items have different functions in the conversations analysed (cf. chapter 4.1.3 for an in-depth discussion), I refrain from using the label 'backchannel' in this study, and, following Couper-Kuhlen & Selting (2018: 512) differentiate between continuers and minimal response tokens instead. Minimal response tokens belong to the class of free-standing particles, which means that they do not initiate interactional sequences on their own (though

[28] Obviously, this function is also taken over by gaze in face-to-face interaction. As I am working with audio data, I can only comment on lexical address terms.

they may do so in combinations) but respond to a prior action by the current speaker (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 497). Building on Tottie (1991: 256) and Stenström (1994: 82), Kjellmer (2009: 84) describes five typical functions: encouraging the current speaker ("regulative function"), displaying acknowledgement of the current speaker's turn ("supportive function"), confirming the current speaker's statement ("confirmatory function"), showing active listenership ("attention-showing function"), and showing affiliation ("empathetic function"). However, Kjellmer also emphasises that this list is not exhaustive (2009: 83). In fact, I show that minimal response tokens do occur in these roles in both Caribbean and Southeast Asian interactions. That is, they often indicate a willingness to yield the floor to the current speaker. This function is discussed in chapter 4.1.3. Yet, response tokens can also trigger speaker change. Conversationalists can use assessment to initiate a new sequence (Schegloff 1996: 64ff), and this also holds for potential next speakers who can use a minimal response token as their basis to 'board' the floor. That is, turn claimants can build on the "relationship of the talk being launched to what has *preceded*" (Schegloff 1996: 81, emphasis in original), e.g. in a previous speaker's turn. As turns often require some sort of uptake on the recipients' side, an assessment or repair initiator is a relevant action at the end of a current speaker's turn. Turn claimants can exploit this by using assessments to launch a turn of their own (cf. Schegloff 1996: 81f).

Contrary to free-standing particles like the ones just mentioned, particles can also be part of a previous or following TCU. In that case, they will be prosodically linked to the TCU, i.e. not separated by breaks, pauses, or pitch resets (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 514). Turn-initial particles, e.g. *so* or *well*, typically connect a TCU to the previous turn (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 515ff); turn-final particles have been shown to point at upcoming TRPs in languages with delayed projectability, e.g. Japanese (Tanaka 1999: 104), but can also be found in English, for instance in the case of conjunctionals (Jefferson 1983b), i.e. words like *so* or *but*, which are produced with a turn-yielding "trail-off" prosody (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 529). Both turn-initial and turn-final particles are considered in the present analysis.

Apart from that, I also take into account variety-specific particles. Asian Englishes, particularly Singapore English, include a great number of discourse particles, which are typically associated with functions such as creating solidarity among speakers or marking attitude. These particles have been investigated closely in World Englishes literature (see Leimgruber 2013: 84ff for an overview; cf. also Gupta 1992 and Lim 2007), and some of them were also found to influence turn-taking – *ah*, for instance, can have a turn-holding

function (Lim 2007: 46). Therefore, these features have to be considered when looking at turn-taking patterns in the Southeast Asian data group.

3.2.2.5. Syntactic strategies

Interactants draw on syntactic rules to project potential places of speaker change. With the exception of minimal TCUs, which consist of one word only, most TCUs are shaped as clauses, phrases, or sentences, i.e. exhibit a rule-governed and therefore syntactically predictable structure (Clayman 2013: 154). In fact, CA typically regards grammar as both being shaped by and shaping the turn-taking system.[29] Even though Schegloff also acknowledges other resources as influencing the projectability of a TCU (e.g. prosody or semantics), he clearly states that grammar and interaction are closely interrelated: Grammar is influenced by its "natural habitat", i.e. talk-in-interaction, but it also affects turn-taking (Schegloff 1996: 55f). Grammatical structures therefore have an important function in allowing potential next speakers to project upcoming TRPs and to prepare for starting up. Consequently, in the CA paradigm, syntax is viewed in its interactional context and with respect to its turn-holding or -yielding qualities.

Any analysis of turn-taking thus has to take into account the syntactic makeup of the conversationalists' language. This is corroborated by recent psycholinguistic studies (e.g. Levinson & Torreira 2015), which further highlight the role of grammatical structures for the projection of TRPs. Whereas next speakers on average respond 0.2s after the current speaker has stopped talking, the actual preparation of the turn-to-come starts much earlier. In fact, by visualising brain waves EEGs[30] can identify the beginning of the planning process, i.e. the conceptualisation phase, at approximately 0.6s before the actual launching of a next turn. That is, there has to be a period in which the next speaker is already preparing their turn, but while the current speaker is still talking. Levinson & Torreira call this period the "crunch zone" and argue that, even though lexis and prosody also play a role in identifying TRPs, "morphosyntax may provide most of the early clues […] offering some long distance [sic] projection" (2015: 13). Thus, syntax and grammar are an essential component in TRP projection, and they constitute an important factor in allowing smooth transition to the next speaker.

[29] See, for instance, Roberts & Levinson (2017), who show that the word order of many languages is influenced by interactional constraints.
[30] EEG stands for 'electroencephalography', which is a method of visualising the electrical activity of the brain.

It is therefore not surprising that syntax has been discussed extensively in CA literature. In their "simplest systematics for turn-taking", Sacks et al. had already defined "sentential constructions […] [as] the most interesting of the unit-types [i.e. TCUs], because of the internally generated expansions of length they allow – and, in particular, allow BEFORE first possible completion places" (1974: 709, emphasis in original). Since then, their ideas have been taken up and elaborated on. In 1996, Schegloff closely investigated the relationship between grammar and turn-organisation, eventually concluding that "[f]rom the point of view of the organization of talk-in-interaction, one of the main jobs grammar or syntax does is to provide potential construction- and recognition-guides for the realization of the possible completion points of TCUs, and potentially of turns" (1996: 87). Other scholars have focused on specific grammatical structures, such as turn-extensions (e.g. Lerner 1996; Ford et. al 2002) or repair (e.g. Fox et el. 1996), or have looked into the interaction between syntax, prosody, and pragmatic aspects (e.g. Ford et al. 1996; Selting 1996 (on German); Tanaka 1999 (on Japanese); Li 2014 (on Mandarin)). Apart from that, grammatical practices in turn-taking have also been investigated from a cross-linguistic perspective (e.g. Lerner & Takagi 1999 (on English and Japanese); Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007 (on English, Japanese and German)).

As spontaneous spoken data often does not coincide with the traditional idea of 'grammatical sentences' and as grammar in interaction always is "positionally sensitive" (Schegloff 1996: 111), Crystal (1979: 159f) suggests that clauses might play a prominent role when it comes to projecting turn completion, particularly as they also often coincide with prosodic boundaries (cf. also Selting 2000: 489). In her analysis of turn-taking in Japanese conversations, Tanaka therefore uses the term "conversational syntax" to avoid confusion with traditional linguistic notions of the sentence, and she also stresses the interrelatedness of syntax and the turn-taking system as such: "It is difficult to conceive of such all-pervasive systems of conversational organisation as conversational syntax and turn-taking not being dynamically interrelated in actual practice" (1999: 31). That is, when analysing conversation, syntax and grammar have to regarded primarily as interactional practices,

> as a set of social resources that is in the first instance situated in the hands of participants who can deploy and exploit (and play with) these used-in-common features of sociality […]. This does not erase language structure from the description, but respecifies the features of language as features of talk in interaction (Lerner 1996: 238f).

This distinction between linguistic and interactional features, or linguistic and conversational grammar, is central. As described above, the turn-taking system is built

around the two notions of the TRP and the TCU, with TCUs being defined as interactionally complete units which allow TRP projection while minimising gaps (and overlaps). Frequently, syntactic (or grammatical) completion and interactional completion coincide, as in (3.9) below, where two speakers are talking about the teacher's day in Vietnam.

Example (3.9): Teacher's day (ACE, VN_LE_con_pho restaurant)

```
01 Dia:  =↑er WHAT ARE ↑THE: GIFTS (0.2) from the students usually?=
02 Hue:  =↑er:- [>actually- at lea]st< ↑FLOWERS and sometimes the::
03 N.N.:        [  > a   ↑TIE: <  ]
04 Hue:  er may↑be: [ (  ) ! ]
05 Thu:             [↑clothes]
```

Dian, an English teacher from Indonesia, is interested in how teacher's day is celebrated in Vietnam. The question *what are the gifts from the students usually?* (l. 01) is a prime example for the TCU as a complex but holistically complete gestalt: Its prosodic contour ends in an intonational rise, marking it as an interrogative; its syntactic makeup is that of a question with an increment after the 0.2s gap; and interactionally, Dian has just opened up the first pair part (FPP) of an adjacency pair – a question. The reaction of the other interactants confirms this analysis: They complete the adjacency pair by providing answers to the question (l. 02, 03, and 05) with speaker Hue even starting up in latch position, which shows that she has closely monitored Dian's turn and is able to precisely project the upcoming TRP. What this extract illustrates is that macro- and micro-projection of a TRP cannot be separated – a TCU's structure is shaped in reference to the action it purports to do (in the example above, a question FPP), while the action underway also depends on the interactants' online step-by-step processing of the TCU (cf. Schegloff 2013: 42). This obviously also implies that different grammatical structures trigger or enable different turn-holding or -claiming moves. As Schegloff puts it, "the grammatical properties of a language may contribute to the organization of turns-at-talk in that language and of the turn-taking device by which they are employed" (1996: 56).

That is, as different typologies allow for different sentence structures, languages do not rely equally on syntax when it comes to projection. Cross-linguistic research has shown that languages such as English or German can be described as 'early projection' languages. That is, their syntactic structure typically requires that the core elements of the sentence, i.e. subject and object, are mentioned very early in the clause – at the beginning of the TCU. As it is these elements which typically determine the trajectory of the TCU, potential next speakers will be able to project upcoming TRPs at a very early stage (cf. Egbert 1996; Ford

et al. 1996). Japanese, on the other hand, is an SOV language, i.e. the verb is mentioned late in the TCU, and syntactic structures can be revised relatively flexibly. This means that

> crucial information concerning the shape of turn being produced tends to be concentrated towards the end of a turn. These features can make it difficult for participants in Japanese to project a possible completion point or the type of activity which will be performed by a turn until slightly before the end of a turn (Tanaka 1999: 143; cf. also Ford et al. 1996: 213).

This is further reinforced by the fact that contextually inferable constituents may be omitted in Japanese syntax (Hayashi 2004: 1344). Japanese has thus been called a "delayed projection language" (e.g. Tanaka 1999) with consequences for the turn-taking system: Japanese speakers will draw on other aspects of the TCU to project upcoming TRPs, such as phonological and prosodic elements or particles (cf. Tanaka 1996; Iwasaki 2009). Apart from that, Japanese syntax has been claimed to be associated with a culturally specific interactional style, which emphasises affective information (e.g. Suzuki 2006).

As varieties of English do not necessarily follow standard British or American English syntax, they might differ in how much they allow for early projection. In the Southeast Asian data group, for instance, speakers come from a variety of linguistic backgrounds, and their Englishes are influenced by Mandarin, Malaysian Malay, Indonesian Malay, and Vietnamese. All of these languages can omit syntactic constituents, such as subject or object pronouns, articles, or copula *be,* if they are clear from the context, and this has also been attested for the corresponding varieties of English, (cf. Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013, see also Leuckert & Neumaier 2016). Similarly, Caribbean Englishes also exhibit different morphosyntactic patterns, such as a lack of subject-verb inversion in interrogative sentences, which has been reported for Trinidad and Tobago (James & Youssef 2004: 46). In order to investigate syntactic projectability in varieties of English, research from World Englishes therefore has to be taken into account.

In my study, I focus on how interactants use grammar and syntax as resources in claiming or holding a turn. Four larger aspects are investigated: the use of recycles (chapter 4.5.1), the use of syntax to obscure or delay TRPs, e.g. via cut-offs or compound TCUs (chapter 4.5.2), requests to produce longer turns, e.g. via pre-announcements or tag questions (chapter 4.5.3), and topic placement (chapter 4.5.4).

3.3. Codifying patterns of interaction

Having introduced the data and the theoretical framework underlying this study in chapters 3.1 and 3.2, this chapter outlines how the data was prepared for the analysis. As a first step,

I compiled collections of different types and scenarios of speaker change to allow further investigation. Starting from collections of instances, which are then analysed in greater detail, is classic CA methodology: Collecting how one specific interactional practice is realised in concrete conversations allows scholars to detect recurrent "default pattern[s and] […] also reveals the operation of underlying preferences or principles [as well as] […] the identification of 'deviant' instances" (Sidnell 2009a: 16). Therefore, I first identified all places of possible speaker change in the conversations, i.e. I marked all TRPs – thereby taking into account the features and characteristics explained in chapter 3.2.1. As described above, TRPs are central for turn-taking, they are the 'places of action' in the conversation. That is, they play an essential role for the interactants – both current speaker and potential next speaker(s) – who orient themselves towards these places, e.g. by deciding whether to claim, hold or yield a turn, or to encourage the turn occupant to continue talking. Scholars can then piggyback on these members' analyses. As Schegloff puts it, the "[m]anagement of the interface or conjunction of action [undertaken] and implementing utterance is a key task of the parties and a key topic for disciplinary analysis of talk-in-interaction" (1996: 58f).

As a next step, I analysed each TRP in greater detail, focusing on three aspects:

(1) the type of turn allocation which took place,

(2) the scenario it triggered, and – if present –

(3) the strategies speakers used to claim or hold a turn.

Each of these notions is discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

In all interactions analysed, speaker change basically follows the patterns described in Sacks et al.'s 1974 paper. That is, in order to achieve minimal gaps and overlaps in a (natural, i.e. non-institutional) conversation, three types of speaker change can occur (cf. Sacks et al. 1974: 704):

- (type 1a) The current speaker selects a next speaker – either directly, e.g. via address terms or gaze, or indirectly, e.g. via topic choice;
- (type 1b) no next speaker has been selected by the current speaker and another speaker self-selects; or
- (type 1c) no next speaker has been selected and the current speaker continues talking.

As a pilot study showed, these three types of transition can be further sub-divided into three scenarios each. After a next speaker has been selected, transition can occur immediately (scenario (1a:1)) or after a small gap (scenario (1a:2)). Gaps are defined as "silence[s] after

a possible completion point", i.e. a TRP, by Sacks et al. (1974: 715, annot. 26), and thus differ from pauses, which occur within the TCU. However, even though Sacks et al. originally speculated that the majority of speaker changes takes place without any gap or overlap (1974: 700), they later modified their statement. In fact, so-called 'unmarked next position onsets', i.e. transitions which involve an inter-turn silence of approximately 0.2s, showed to be more common (Jefferson 1984a: 18f; Heldner & Edlund 2010: 563f). This duration is also the threshold when it comes to whether speakers actually notice a gap in everyday conversation (cf. Walker & Trimboli 1982). I therefore decided to treat only transitions with offset times of more than 0.2s as (1a:2)-scenarios. Apart from that, a number of next speaker-selections could neither be classified as (1a:1) nor as (1a:2), for instance, because they involve overlaps or trigger repair sequences. These cases were tagged as (1a:3) and are discussed in greater detail in chapter 4.1.1 below.

Similar scenarios can be observed when no next speaker has been selected and a participant self-selects at the TRP. If transition takes place after the current speaker has abandoned their turn, i.e. without overlap, this was coded as (1b:1), if it does not involve a silence of more than 0.2s and as (1b:2), if the silence is longer. Self-selecting speakers can also actively claim a turn, using the strategies described above (1b:3) (cf. chapter 3.2.2). As this scenario turned out to be the most frequent case of self-selections, it was further classified according to the strategy type(s) employed. An overview of the tag symbols used for codification is given in table 3.5 below.

Finally, current speakers who continue talking might do so only after a lapse (1c:1). Lapses are defined as "extended silences at transition-relevance places" by Sacks et al. (1974: 715, annot. 26), but the authors do not specify when a gap can be classified as "extended". In fact, many studies do not even distinguish between lapses and gaps at all, because both involve silences at a TRP (e.g. Heldner & Edlund 2010: 556). However, lapses differ from gaps in a number of aspects: First, whereas gaps are short but noticeable silences and can occur in combination with any type of speaker change, lapses can only arise if no next speaker has been selected, i.e. if rule (1a) does not apply. They are the consequence of "a series of rounds of possible self-selection by others and self-selection by current to continue […] in none of which are options to talk exercised" (Sacks et al. 1974: 715). In other words, lapses are due to the current speaker trying to yield their turn and none of the other interactants starting up. Furthermore, while lapses are a typical by-product of task-based activities, they are noticeable to participants of everyday conversations and often mark the ending of an interactional sequence (Hoey 2018: 329f; cf. also Schegloff 2007:

194). That is, lapses fulfil a number of specific functions in interaction, which is why it makes sense to differentiate them from unmarked gaps. In my analysis, I follow Hoey (2018) and define a lapse as a period of inter-TCU silence which is 0.5s or longer. That this duration is perceived as extended by interactants, is suggested by studies with Dutch or English data, which show that current speakers regularly resume their turn and other speakers are more likely to initiate repair after this period (Kendrick 2015; ten Bosch et al. 2005). Apart from continuations involving lapses, current speakers might also actively hold their turn, using a number of strategies (1c:2). As with turn-claimings, I grouped these strategies and coded them (cf. table 3.5 below and chapter 3.2.2 for a more detailed overview). And finally, other speakers might yield their turn and encourage the current speaker to continue talking, for instance by providing continuers (1c:3).

To sum up, the three general types of speaker change can be sub-divided into a total of nine different scenarios. Two of them, active turn-claimings and turn-holdings were further classified, as they involve the use of additional resources surrounding the TRP (cf. chapter 3.2.2 above for an introduction and overview). In most cases, speakers use a combination of different strategies to hold or claim their turn (Clayman 2013: 153). Cut-offs, for example, are typically accompanied by glottal stops, i.e. a syntactic resource is combined with a phonetic one. Apart from that, syntactic turn-holdings are often combined with lexical planners, such as *er* or *erm* (Clayman 2013: 153). (3.10) illustrates a typical instance of how a prospective next speaker uses several strategies to claim a turn:

```
Example (3.10): George W. Bush (ICE-JA, S1A-010)

01 N.N.: [(I=wasn't) (0.2) >(spo[ken to)]=[  (    )  <  ]=
02 Sue:                                  =[I=↑mean ↑BUSH]=
03 Mar:  =and=Bu[sh is a very (.) ↑rational]
04 Sue:         [>Bush- some ↑of- some ↑of-] some of Bush's< ↑statements
         [are scary in that respe]ct!
```

Two speakers, Sue and Marie, are claiming the floor from the unidentified speaker in this extract. Both are combining different strategies to achieve their goal: Sue starts up at a TRP in the current speaker's turn and continues talking despite the overlap, raising her volume and announcing her intention to grasp the floor: *I mean BUSH* (l. 02). She restarts several times and persistently repeats her utterance in fast succession, until the other speakers drop out (l. 04). Marie begins in latch position (l. 03) and syntactically links her TCU to the previous turns. She makes sure that she is the first starter after the turn occupant stops talking and continues well into Sue's overlap.

In order to investigate which of the strategies frequently co-occur and whether the speaker groups differ in that respect, I coded the larger resource categories, i.e. I distinguished lexical from phonetic strategies etc. Table 3.5 gives an overview of the coding schema used for the analysis.

Table 3.5: Overview of tag symbols used for the analysis

Type of speaker change		**Scenario of speaker change**		**Turn-holding/-claiming strategy (if used)**	
Tag symbol	Explanation	Tag symbol	Explanation	Tag symbol	Explanation[31]
1a	Current speaker selects next	1	Speaker change without gap		
		2	Speaker change with gap		
		3	Other[32]		
1b	Next speaker self-selects	1	Current speaker abandons turn (no gap)		
		2	Current speaker abandons turn (gap)		
		3	Turn-claiming by next speaker	I	Interruption
				La	Latching
				L	Lexical 'warning' signals
				O	Overlap
				P	Phonetic strategies
				S	Syntactic strategies
1c	Current speaker continues	1	Continuation with gap		
		2	Turn-holding by current speaker	La	Latching
				L	Lexical planning strategies
				O	Overlap
				P	Phonetic planning strategies
				S	Syntactic planning strategies
		3	Continuation with active turn-yielding by second speaker(s)		

[31] For a more detailed explanation, please see chapter 3.2.2 above.
[32] This includes, for instance, overlaps, false starts, or unsuccessful speaker changes.

On the one hand, this tag system facilitates the qualitative analysis of my data, particularly, as I am working with several hours of multi-party interactions, leading to very long and detailed transcripts. The coding system resulted from an in-depth qualitative analysis and also helps to ensure the reliability of my results, as being able to systematically search for specific features makes it easier to double-check my findings and enables further comparison between different practices (cf. Hopper 1989: 57). As mentioned above (cf. chapter 3.2), this approach is not contradictory to CA methodology but is directly derived from them, provided that coding is not imposed on the data from above but developed out of it. According to Stivers (2015), combining CA with formal coding comes with three limitations: hard boundaries, freezing the analytic frame, and the potential of an inappropriate use of mixed-methods. I am aware of these caveats and make sure to take them into account in my investigation. For instance, coding is necessarily reductive to a certain extent. It requires the researcher to resort to clear categories with hard boundaries, which obviously do not replicate the complexity of real behaviours. When looking at how interactants who have been selected as the next speaker react, for example, coding seems to be unproblematic at first glance: Speakers can start up immediately (1a:1) or after a small gap (1a:2). (3.11) and (3.12) illustrate these two scenarios:

Example (3.11): Telephone number (ICE-JAM, S1A-006)

```
01 Luk:  you ↑have (.) >the number for the man there?<
02 Bob:  yeah man
```

Example (3.12): Daughter (ACE, VN_LE_con_pho restaurant)

```
01 Thu:  your ↑first?
02       (0.3)
03 Tem:  ↑yeah (0.2) DAUGH↑TE:R
```

In (3.11), the current speaker Luke directly addresses Bob and asks him for a telephone number. Questions are classic FPPs of adjacency pairs; they require another speaker to provide a relevant SPP to be complete. In the excerpt, Bob's response follows immediately, i.e. with an offset time of less than 0.2s (l. 02). Similarly, (3.12) also depicts a Q&A-adjacency pair. This time, however, the selected speaker, Tembam, only answers after a short gap of 0.3s (l. 02 and 03). Both extracts are unproblematic with respect to formal coding, as they constitute relatively clear cases – (3.11) would be classified as (1a:1), (3.12) as (1a:2). Categorisation becomes less clear, however, when looking at an example like (3.13):

Example (3.13): Psychology (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

01	An:	ok[ay]
02	Zhi: FPP_{base}	[but] you still have strong (ins) in psychology, right?
03	Wan: FPP_{ins}	I still have what?
04		(0.4)
05	Zhi: SPP_{ins}	er: s- ins- s- strong interests in psycholog[y?]
06	Wan: SPP_{base}	[yah], >of course< (.) my master's was in: clinical psy[chology], yea[h]

As before, the current speaker, Zhi, opens up an adjacency pair by asking a question addressed to another conversationalist, Wan (l. 02). Wan starts up immediately, but she does not provide the answer SPP. Rather, she points at a trouble source in Zhi's talk, the unclear pronunciation of *ins* 'interests': *I still have what?* (l. 03). Through her question, Wan is other-initiating repair; she opens up a second adjacency pair within the overarching base Q&A-sequence. In order to be able to complete the base adjacency pair, the problem in Zhi's question has to be solved, and the interactants do this by means of a so-called post-first insert expansion sequence (l. 03 and 05), which breaks the contiguity of the base pair (l. 02 and 06) (cf. Schegloff 2007: 100ff). Wan's inserted FPP (FPP_{ins}) is thus addressed to the original question (the FPP_b) and establishes an immediate relevance for Zhi to provide repair of the trouble source. As soon as Zhi repeats her utterance and corrects her pronunciation (*strong interests*, l.05), Wan completes the base adjacency pair. Contrary to the previous examples (3.11) and (3.12), situations like (3.13) pose a problem for formal coding. Wan's utterance in line 03 fits neither of the two classical scenarios observed for speaker change after next speaker-selection. One way to solve this problem would be adding more scenarios to the coding system, e.g. a code for next speaker-selection triggering repair. However, this still does not capture the rich variety of situations – just think of Wan's answer in line 06, which is neither repair-initiating nor appears 'in the clear' but overlaps with the end of Zhi's question. I cannot solve this problem when creating my coding scheme, as no formal system can be detailed enough to depict the complexity of real life. This is why the qualitative analysis of the data remains so central, particularly when dealing with cases like (3.13).

Furthermore, only close qualitative analysis of the data can prevent what Stivers calls "freezing the analytic frame" (2015: 14f), i.e. the danger of overlooking unusual or previously undetected cases. In my analysis, for instance, the occurrence of alveolar clicks in turn-initial or turn-medial position in the Southeast Asian data group would have been missed without a close bottom-up analysis. And thirdly, while a quantitative analysis can depict broad tendencies, it cannot capture the intricate makeup of human interactions. That

is, while I am able to comment on general types of turn-taking or on larger groups of similar strategies (such as the group of 'phonetic strategies' etc.), the complex interplay of these variables can only be grasped by close qualitative analysis. In fact, "quantifying CA practices is not always appropriate, nor is it always analytically productive" (Stivers 2015: 15). One of the interactions I analyse, for instance, takes place in a lively restaurant and features seven participants (ACE, VN_LE_con_pho restaurant). Multi-party conversations of more than three participants are likely to split into several conversations, as "any pair of parties not getting or taking a turn over some sequence of turns can find their mutual accessibility for getting into a second conversation" (Sacks et al. 1974: 713). Such schisms are speakers' reactions to larger groups of conversationalists – the one-party-at-a-time-rule is preserved, while more participants get a chance to speak (Sacks 1992 [1968]: 34). In the seven-party-conversation, speakers often split into smaller groups, which leads to several simultaneous conversations. While this makes the interaction particularly interesting for a qualitative analysis, formal coding cannot yield usable results for a quantitative investigation and only leads to a large amount of unclear cases. I therefore decided to exclude conversation VN_LE_con_pho estaurant (ACE) from the quantitative analysis, which leaves approximately two hours of formally coded conversation for each data group.

Nevertheless, as mentioned above, CA should not refrain from employing quantitative methods. As Stivers puts it, "[a]s long as the practices under study include an investigation of interactant orientation already, formal coding can provide a second story of the analytic house, thus improving the view and reach of CA research" (2015: 16). The second part of my analysis (chapter 5) is therefore concerned with examining the relationship between the findings from the qualitative analysis (chapter 4) and the speakers' cultural backgrounds.

4. Qualitative analysis – results

Conversational patterns in Southeast Asian and Caribbean interactions have often been depicted quite differently in anthropological reports and in studies on intercultural interaction. Southeast Asian conversations have been described as marked by a 'high-context' communication culture in the sense of Hall (1976), i.e. as putting less emphasis on talk, as avoiding direct messages, and as tolerating longer silences (FitzGerald 2003: 41ff). Their speaking style has been labelled 'subdued' (FitzGerald 2003: 169), and speakers are said to avoid overlaps and rather yield the floor than compete for the right to talk (cf. Clyne 1994). Caribbean interactions, on the other hand, have been characterised as 'chaotic' and 'interruptive', as not following systematic turn-taking patterns (cf. Reisman 1974). This chapter looks at conversational interaction in Southeast Asian and Caribbean varieties of English in greater detail, focusing on the first three research questions of this study. That is, I investigate whether turn-taking is an orderly process in the two data groups, and whether it differs from Sacks et al.'s 'classic' framework of speaker change. Furthermore, I identify different forms of turn allocation in the corpora and discuss the various contexts in which they occur (chapter 4.1). As a second step, I focus on the strategies interactants' have at their disposal when it comes to hold or claim a turn at talk. To that end, I examine four larger categories – latches and overlaps, phonetic strategies, lexical strategies, and syntactic strategies – and analyse how they are realised by the conversationalists (chapters 4.2-4.5).

4.1. Types of speaker change

The first section of this chapter focuses on the types and scenarios of speaker change in Southeast Asian and Caribbean interactions. As described above (cf. chapters 3.2 and 3.3), three types of speaker change can be distinguished: (1a) The current speaker selects a next speaker, (1b) a next speaker self-selects, and (1c) the current speaker continues. In the following, I focus on how these general types are realised by the interactants. To that end, I look at each type individually, and investigate to which specific scenarios the transition gives rise to. My findings then allow me to comment on the first two central questions of this study, i.e.:

(1) Is turn-taking in Southeast Asian and Caribbean English face-to-face conversations an orderly process, and does it follow the turn-taking framework described for other languages or cultures?

(2) What are the different forms and contexts of turn allocation in Southeast Asian and Caribbean English conversations?

4.1.1. Current speaker selects next (1a)

In their seminal paper on turn-taking, Sacks et. al. (1974: 716-718) distinguish four ways by which current speakers can select another conversationalist as the next speaker:

(1) They can address the FPP of an adjacency pair[33] to a particular interactant, for instance by using a concrete address term, a personal pronoun, or gaze.

(2) They can exploit the preference for 'prior speaker is next' by other-initiating repair, e.g. via *what?*.

(3) They can use tag questions to encourage others to speak up.

(4) They can select a next speaker by addressing their turn to them, e.g. when they are the only ones who are in a position to comment; this is what Lerner calls "tacit addressing" (Lerner 2003: 190ff).

All of these strategies can be found in my data, as the following examples show:

```
Example (4.1): Lift (ICE-T&T, S1A-050)

01 Jul:  [all ↑right Sarah!]
02       (0.4)
03 Jul:  I'll do that=
04 N.N.: =haha=
05 N.N.: =[ (  ) ]
06 Sar:  =[you'll] drop ↑ME::?
07 Jul:  I'll drop=you
```

In (4.1), the speakers have just been making plans for the evening, and Sarah has announced that she will not be able to accompany the others to a concert in town. Julia now offers go give her a lift (l. 01 and 03), and Sarah makes sure that she understood her correctly by asking *you'll drop ME?* (l. 06). She has thus directly selected Julia as the next speaker – the personal pronoun *you* and the preceding context of the interaction unambiguously address Julia. Again, as the data consist of audio files only, I cannot check for gaze, though it obviously plays an important role in situations like that (cf. Lerner 2003). In any case, Julia accepts her role as the next speaker and starts up as soon as Sarah has stopped talking (l. 07).

[33] Obviously, adjacency pair first parts do not necessarily select a specific next speaker, however, they can be employed to do so (Sacks et al. 1974: 717).

Example (4.2): Colonialism (ICE-JA, S1A-010)

```
01 Sue:  =>in the FIRST place America doesn't have the attention< span
         for colonialism!=
02 N.N.: =hhh hahahaha=
03 Mar:  =have what?
04 N.N.: hhah
05 Sue:  has not [the] attention ((chuckling)) ↑s[pan: ((/chuckling))]
```

Excerpt (4.2) is taken from a lively discussion about the role of the USA in the war in Iraq. Sue claims that the war is going to be short-lived and the American military is going to leave soon (l. 01). However, in line 03 another speaker, Marie, other-initiates repair and points at trouble in Sue's utterance: *have what?*. This directly passes the ball back to Sue, the prior speaker, who is now expected to provide repair – which she does by repeating the unclear turn (l. 05).

Example (4.3): Ao dai (ACE, VN_LE_con_pho restaurant)

```
01 Dia:  [>WOULD ↑PEOP]LE look differently< if a per↑son:=
02 N.N.: =hm!=
03 Dia:  =>comes to class [with an<] ao ↑dai?
04 N.N.:                  [h h a h ]
05       (0.2)
06 Thu:  mh=↑yeah: [>we th-] we [think that< ↑O]H
07 Jal:            [the-   ]    [>the ↑teacher-]
08 Thu:  >↑THIS person LOOk very< formal ↑FORMAL to↑day:
         ↑w[ h y : ?    ]
09 Jal:    [>the teacher](will) be sur[↑PRI:][SED!]
```

Example (4.3) is a discussion about traditional clothing in Vietnam. Dian, who is from Indonesia, wants to know whether students would be able to wear the traditional dress *ao dai* to class. In total, the conversation consists of seven participants, however, only a number of them are from Vietnam and thus have the epistemic authority to answer Dian's question – they are what Lerner calls the "response-eligible recipients" (2003: 190) which are selected as next speakers. Out of this group of recipients,[34] two, Thuy and Jalak, start to answer the question, i.e. produce an SPP to complete the open adjacency pair.

Apart from that, Sacks et al. (1974) list question tags as a common device for next speaker-selection. Question tags are defined as "particle-like expressions […] that are added on to TCUs that have already been brought to possible syntactic, prosodic, and pragmatic completion" (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 534). Even though they can be found in the Caribbean data as well, their function often differs from that in the ASEAN interactions. In

[34] Please note that it is unclear how many participants would have been able to provide the information required. As there is at least one more Vietnamese conversationalist (Tembam), the group of (theoretically) response-eligible recipients is likely to be larger. However, the only thing which can be determined without speculating is what the data show – i.e. that two interactants feel able to provide the necessary information to complete the adjacency pair.

the latter, question tags, like *right?* or *is(n't) it?*, in fact occur in turn-final position and trigger speaker change, which can be seen in the examples below:

Example (4.4): Not cheap (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Sam:  there's some (.) plan you can get here right
02       (0.3)
03 Che:  uh-huh ↑yeah: (0.3) >but the PLAN is also< not cheap!
```

In (4.4), the speakers are talking about the price for iPhones in China. Sam adds the question tag *right* to his statement *there's some plan you can get here* (l. 01) and thus transforms his original declarative utterance retrospectively into the first part of an adjacency pair. This makes speaker change relevant, although it does not select any particular speaker from the group of conversationalists.

Example (4.5): Sec three (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:   sec three is like streaming is it?
02 Wan:  yah, yah
```

Similarly, in (4.5), An continues after the TCU *sec three is like streaming* by adding the tag *is it?*, which triggers Wan to produce a corresponding SPP, here, an affirmation (l. 02). Sacks et al. describe this use of question tags as "the generally available 'exit technique' for a turn" (1974: 718), because speakers can use it to apply rule (1a) in retrospect. This becomes particularly obvious, when current speakers add the question tag after longer periods of silence to stress that they are yielding their turn, as in one of the rare Caribbean examples:

Example (4.6): Condescension (ICE-JA, S1A-003)

```
01 Wil:  Pidgin English is the (0.1) equivalent [to your ↑patois]
02 Her:                                         [it is a-       ]
03       (0.2)
04 Her:  ↑no, it is ↑NOT! (.) in any way equivalent to patois!
05       (0.7)
06 Her:  >it is a< (0.1) CONDESCENSION!
07       (0.9)
08 Her:  right?
09       (1.3)
10 Rob:  ↑you're [enjoying] yourself, aren't [you?]
```

The heated discussion in (4.6) centres around the status of Jamaican Patois. In line 04, Herman strongly disagrees with the previous speaker, Wilson. As none of the other speakers displays any verbal reaction, however, he continues after a lapse of 0.7s, and makes his point even more controversial by describing (Nigerian) Pidgin English as *a condescension* (l. 06). This again results in a lapse, with none of the other interactants self-selecting. Finally, Herman resorts to *right?* as a means of re-completing his turn and explicitly re-

invoking transition relevance (l. 08) (cf. Sacks et al. 1974: 718). In fact, speaker change now occurs but only after another long period of silence.

However, question tags are not only used as next-speaker selecting devices in the data, particularly not in the Caribbean conversations. They are more frequently to be found in turn-medial positions, where current speakers where clearly not yielding their turns. That is, question tags are more often employed as turn-holding devices in the interactions, particularly in the conversations in ICE-T&T, where no turn-yielding use of question tags could be detected. I therefore discuss them in greater detail in chapter 4.5.3 on syntactic turn-holding strategies.

Next speaker-selections are realised in a number of different ways in my data, the general scenarios observed, however, remain similar: On the one hand, the selected speaker can start up as soon as the current speaker stops talking (scenario (1a:1)), i.e. without any gap or overlap. That is, the next speaker's turn begins less than 0.2s after the current speaker has dropped out, as in (4.1) from ICE-T&T or (4.5) from ACE above. Apart from that, next speakers might allow for a gap before responding (scenario (1a:2)), which is what can be observed in the following situation:

```
Example (4.7): Bachelor degree (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

01 Sam:  (you have) ↑GOT=YOUR- (0.1) just er:: bachelor de↑gree?
02       (0.3)
03 Che:  ((alveolar click?))=er:: I got ↑it- (0.3) s:ome time ago (0.1)
         I=used to be a:: primary school teacher
```

In (4.7), taken from the ASEAN data group, Sam has selected Chen as the next speaker by addressing his question to him.[35] Chen is now obliged to provide an answer, an SPP to the open adjacency pair, which he does after a short period of silence (l. 02 and 03). This period amounts to 0.3s, i.e. it is longer than the 0.2s which have been established as the threshold for gaps (cf. chapter 3.2). That is, it cannot be explained by aspects of language production only and will be noticeable to the participants (also see chapter 5.4 for a closer discussion of silences in the data). Next speaker-selections with delayed response offset can also be found in the Caribbean interactions, for instance in the extract below (taken from ICE-JA):

```
Example (4.8): Cane-row (ICE-JA, S1A-013)

01 Ann:  =I=can't cane-row at [↑all,                        ( )]
02 Joa:                       [so you went >to the hairdresser] or you<?
03      (0.4)
04 Ann:  somebody's SISTER did the ↑front, <'cause she does ↑hair>
```

[35] Again, obviously gaze will play a role here as well but has to be excluded from the analysis.

The women in this conversation are discussing hairstyles. When Ann claims not being able to do cane-rows, i.e. braid the hair close to the scalp, Joanne wants to know whether she asked a hairdresser to do it for her instead (l. 02). Joanne's question overlaps the end of Ann's turn, but it also re-selects her as the next speaker, which is typical of questions of clarification. Ann is the only speaker in the four-party interaction who is eligible to provide an answer to the question, as it is directly addressed to her and she is the only one who possesses the relevant background knowledge. Her response occurs clear of overlap; however, it only starts after a period of 0.4s (l. 04). This is rather late but still in the range of average response offset times as established by Stivers et al.'s cross-linguistic study – it is "neither in overlap nor delayed by more than a half-second" (2009: 10591).

Apart from that, both data groups also show a considerable number of next speaker-selections that do not correspond to any of the two scenarios just described (and were correspondingly labelled 1a:3). This includes, for example, situations where the onset of the selected speaker's turn is either early or delayed for more than 0.5s. Example (4.9), for instance, depicts a case where the selected speaker starts up while the current speaker's turn is not yet completed:

Example (4.9): Mom (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:   oh, so y-you- uh- (0.4) ALL the while you have been drinking
         [this?]
02 Wan:  [no no] no, my mom just went ↑there (0.2) and bought [recently]
```

An's question is directed to Wan who has just shown her co-conversationalists a box of chia seeds, which she takes in order to lose weight. Other than in the scenarios described above, however, Wan's response starts in recognitional overlap, i.e. while the current speaker's turn is still in progress, but its trajectory has already become clear (cf. chapter 4.2 for an in-depth discussion of different types of overlaps). Early response offsets after next speaker-selections are not unique to the ASEAN data group. They can also be found in the Caribbean data, as can be seen in (4.10):

Example (4.10): Tall friend (ICE-T&T, S1A-057)

```
01 Tre:  hhh ha haha hhh h h=((chuckling)) which friend
         [would that ↑be:? ((/chuckling))]
02 Kat   [the           tall        ↑one!]
03       ((all are laughing))
```

As in the previous excerpt, (4.9), the selected speaker, Katherine, is able to project the trajectory of the FPP and starts before the TCU is formally completed. The overlapped passage is slightly longer in (4.10), but it is not treated as problematic by the interactants.

Rather, early starts allow conversationalists to display their co-attentiveness and their willingness to collaborate in the interaction (cf. chapter 6.1.2 for a discussion of this phenomenon).

However, there are also situations in which a next speaker clearly has been selected, but the current speaker then decides not to yield the floor, as in (4.11):

```
Example (4.11): Writing system (ICE-JA, S1A-003)

01 Her:  [and ↑you're] saying they DON'T HAVE A ↑LANGUAGE!=
02 Wil:  =but=what- but I'm sayin' >when [it comes<] to WRI:TIN' IT!=
03 Her:                                  [   yeah? ]
04       =but=↑WHY: is that (0.1) the KEY:: CORNER ↑STONE:?
05       (0.4)
06 Wil:  [be↑cause-]
07 Her:  [it's=only] im↑portant to >↑you it was< never important to
         ↑them!=
08 Wil:  =BE↑CAU:SE (0.2) ↑when you wanna communicate […]
```

The speakers in this excerpt are discussing the status of written languages. In line 04, Herman selects the prior speaker as the next – his FPP is clearly referring to Wilsons's previous statement (l. 02), so Wilson is the obvious "response-eligible recipient" (Lerner 2003: 190). After a gap of 0.4s, Wilson starts to provide a corresponding SPP (l. 06); however, he is overlapped by Herman, who continues talking and even speeds up to block potential TRPs (l. 07). Herman completes two more TCUs, before Wilson manages to claim the floor and begins to answer the original question (l. 08). Several factors play a role in this process: First, Wilson does not immediately start up after having been selected. This can lead to self-initiated self-repair by the FPP speaker, and in fact, Herman does further specify what he means by his question when he continues in line 07. On the other hand, with 0.4s, the gap is relatively short (cf. below for a discussion), and Herman does not abandon his turn when the selected speaker starts talking – Wilson first drops out (l. 06) and then even has to actively claim his turn, which shows in the loud volume and rise in pitch when he restarts (l. 08). In this scenario, the current speaker continues talking after having selected a next speaker. The next speaker is actively prevented from providing the SPP, until the current speaker drops out or the selected speaker manages to claim the floor. Contrary to insert repair sequences, which are discussed below, current speakers in this scenario start up early and do not yield their turn when the next speaker tries to speak.

On the other hand, responses can also be delayed, i.e. occur later than 0.5s (which corresponds to the longest response offset time identified in Stivers et al.'s 2009 study). That is, they will typically be noticeable to other participants. Extract (4.12) illustrates a

situation with an extended transition space between the first and second parts of an adjacency pair:

Example (4.12): Degree (ICE-T&T, S1A-067)

01 FPP_{base} Bar: ↑okay (0.2) >where you doing your de↑gree?<
02 (0.9)
03 FPP_{ins} Eri: ↑huh?
04 (0.2)
05 SPP_{ins} Bar: where you doin'=your de↑gree?
06 (0.1)
07 SPP_{base} Eri: ↑erm (0.1) COSTATT

Barney has opened up a Q&A-adjacency pair and selected Eric as the next speaker by addressing him directly, using the personal pronoun *you* (l. 01). However, Eric does not respond for 0.9s, and when he speaks up, he does not provide a relevant SPP but utters *huh?* (l. 03), an all-purpose repair initiator indicating an unspecified problem of hearing (Dingemanse et al. 2014: 34). This starts an insert expansion sequence[36] in which the speakers mend the trouble: Barney repeats his original question (l. 05), and Eric is now able to close the base adjacency pair (l. 07). In fact, other-initiated repair can be found in most cases of delayed responses in the data. This is not surprising, as it is a dispreferred action in everyday conversations. As Schegloff et al. show, interactants strongly favour self-corrections which results in "other-initiations occurr[ing] after a light gap, the gap evidencing a withhold beyond the completion of the trouble-source turn – providing an 'extra' opportunity, in an expanded transition space, for speaker of trouble source to self-initiate repair" (1977: 374). The delay in response offset time is therefore due to the dispreferred action in the next turn. This can also be found in the ASEAN dataset:

Example (4.13): Husband (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

01 FPP_{base} Sam: [>but BOTH] of you are over here<
02 (0.7)
03 FPP_{ins} Lan: >er- ↑sorry?<
04 SPP_{ins} Sam: is your husband's also ↑here?
05 SPP_{base} Lan: ah ↑yes yes yes
06 SCT Sam: ha: okay

Again, the current speaker – Sam – asks a question which is directed at a particular interactant (l. 01). His talk is very fast and partly overlapped, which is probably the reason why the selected next speaker, Lan, provides a next-turn-repair-initiator (NTRI) instead of responding. As in (4.12) above, she uses an open-class repair initiator (*sorry?*) (l. 03), a rather formal token which indicates problems in decoding the previous speaker's utterance

[36] By way of illustration, base and inserted adjacency pairs are explicitly marked in some examples.

(Sidnell 2010: 103; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 147f). Even though Lan's turn is linked to Sam's FPP (l. 01), it does not constitute an appropriate SPP to close the base adjacency pair but rather opens up an insert expansion (l. 03 and 04). Schegloff therefore uses the term "post-first insert sequence" (2007: 100) to describe the relationship of NTRI + response and base FPP. Note that, as above, the selected speaker allows for a considerable period of silence (l. 02) and further delays the NTRI with a filler *er* (l. 03), before indicating trouble in the previous speaker's talk. As soon as the problem is resolved, however, speaker change occurs smoothly: Lan answers Sam's repaired question without any gap (l. 05), and Sam confirms this with a sequence-closing third (SCT), *okay* (l. 06) (cf. Schegloff 2007: 118ff).

Even though, in both data groups, inserted repair sequences make up the vast majority of delayed starts after next speaker-selection, some of them are due to other reasons. See, for instance, example (4.14):

Example (4.14): Shipping costs (ICE-JA, S1A-006)

```
01 War:  so what's the-=what's the final price?
02       (0.6)
03 War:  >for the vhs?<=
04 Luk:  =>you're for- you're now-< you're now paying ↑ERM:
05       (1.7)
06 Luk:  twenty-↑three (0.2) twenty-three U S ↑plus
07       (1.1)
09 Luk:  fourteen hundred (0.1) Jamaican (er)
```

In this Jamaican interaction with three male speakers, Warren wants to know more about the shipping costs for a VHS tape. His FPP clearly selects Luke as the next speaker; he is the only recipient who has the relevant background knowledge to answer the question. Nevertheless, Luke does not answer at first, and there is a noticeable period of silence (l. 02), which makes Warren initiate repair and refine his question by specifying which price he is talking about (l. 03). This time, Luke begins to answer, but the beginning of his turn consists of a series of false starts, fillers and repetitions (l. 04). There is a long period of silence of 1.7s before he starts to provide the relevant information (l. 06) and another of 1.1s before the SPP is completed. Nevertheless, none of the other participants interrupts or overlaps – joint productions in order to collaboratively resolve the dysfluency are not possible in this situation, as Luke is the only participant with the necessary epistemic authority. I argue that the reason for the delayed SPP in this situation is task-related: Luke has to remember the price he paid for the shipping costs and probably also calculate the sums. He has already indicated that he is going to provide an answer by thinking aloud in line 04, and the other interactants accept that his turn involves long pauses. Similar examples can be found in ACE:

```
Example (4.15): O-levels (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

01 Zhi:  [excuse me, what is o] level?
02       (0.2)
03 An:   hh, ↓o:h, okay, erm: we have
04       (0.6)
05 An:   erm, we have o >lev- it's called< ordinary level (it's) ordinary,
         right?
```

When Zhi asks about the Singaporean General Certificate of Education (GCE), An reacts very fast and begins formulating the SPP to Zhi's question (l. 02). Her *oh* is oriented to Zhi's indication of a trouble source in the conversation – Zhi does not know the term *O-Level*. It is produced with falling pitch, which has also been observed for news receipts in British and American English (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 277), and it is followed by an *okay*, which accepts Zhi's request for repair (cf. Schegloff 2007: 127). That is, An clearly displays her intention to provide an SPP. However, she then stops and allows for a long period of silence (l. 04) before completing the TCU. As in the example above, this delay is task-related: An is trying to come up with an explanation and can afford the longer period of silence, because she has already indicated her readiness to answer.

Furthermore, delayed response offsets can be due to dispreferred SPPs, as in the Trinidadian conversation below:

```
Example (4.16): Trinidad (ICE-T&T, S1A-067)

01 Nat:  [so how long] you livin' in Trinidad?
02       (0.7)
03 Eri:  ↑oh ↑well
04       (0.5)
05 Eri:  >((steups)) I actually< ↑from Toba↑go but
06       (0.5)
07 Eri:  I live >in [Trinidad] since I< was ↑nine:
```

In (4.16), Eric does not provide the required SPP until after two longer gaps (l. 02 and 04) and a series of hesitation phenomena, including *well* (l. 03), which mark the SPP as either dispreferred or departing from the FPP (Schegloff 2007: 67f; Schegloff & Lerner 2009; cf. also Sidnell 2010: 78). In fact, Eric's response is not straightforward – he has to utter a disclaimer (l. 05) before he can proceed to answer Nathalie's question (l. 07). Dispreferred SPPs like this are a typical context for delayed response offset, not only in the Caribbean data but also in ACE, as (4.17) illustrates:

```
Example (4.17): Ethics (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

01 An:   =so it's like what ↑ethics (0.1) ↑o:r
02       (0.5)
03 Wan:  er::hh
04       (1.0)
05 Wan:  like- I don't know, I can't (0.2) ((chuckling)) I can't remember
```

```
         ((/chuckling)) haha haha=
```

The selected speaker, Wan, in this extract also does not start up until after two longer gaps (l. 02 and 04) and additional turn-initial delaying devices (*er::*, audible breathing, *like* (l. 03 and 05)). When she finally responds to An's question, she admits that she cannot provide the information requested. Excerpt (4.18) given below is taken from the same interaction:

Example (4.18): Plan (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 Wan:  […] what's the PLAN (0.3) after that?
02       (0.7)
03 Zhi:  me huh?
04       (0.3)
05 Wan:  °for=yah° (.) for BOTH of you?
06       (0.7)
07 Zhi:  ↑erm (.) ↑plan (0.4) ((alveolar click))
08       (0.7)
09 Wan:  haha
10 N.N.: hhh
11       (0.4)
12 Zhi:  (sniffs)=
13       =((all are laughing))=
14 Wan:  =[sorry, is that a ((chuckling)) sensitive question?
         ((/chuckling))]=
```

Wan wants to know about the plans Zhi and her boyfriend have for their future (l. 05). Zhi has thus been selected as a next speaker, which means that she is obliged to take the turn. However, she delays the beginning by not starting up for 0.7s and by other hesitation markers (*erm,* click) (l. 07). The other speakers, An and Wan, react to this behaviour – with laughter and by directly addressing the potential trouble source: *is that a sensitive question?* (l. 14). What all of these examples have in common is that they are marked by conflicting preferences – on the one hand, the selected speakers are supposed to complete the adjacency pair, on the other hand their SPP does not align with the FPP, e.g. because the response does not correspond to the question type as in (4.16), because the speaker cannot provide the information requested (4.17), or because the requested information is sensitive (4.18) (cf. also Raymond 2003: 946). My results corroborate recent studies that find a correlation between the timing of response offset and the format of the SPP, stating that there appears to be a 0.7s threshold after which "the proportion of dispreferred actions becomes greater than that of preferreds and virtually all responses have a dispreferred turn format" (Kendrick & Torreira 2015: 286).

In some cases, several speakers feel addressed by an FPP and simultaneously start to provide a corresponding SPP, as in (4.19):

Example (4.19): Recognised language (ICE-JA, S1A-003)

```
01 Wil:  is patois [ a   r]ecognised language?=
02 Her:            [right?]
03       =u- th[at is ↑NOT- THAT'S-] that is neither here nor there=
04 Rob:        [↑NO:: it   is   not]
```

Even though Wilson has opened up a Q&A-adjacency pair (l. 01) and thus indirectly requests one of the other interactants to provide an SPP, he has not addressed his question to a particular next speaker. This leads to two other conversationalists starting up almost simultaneously. There is a short period of overlap with both Robert and Herman claiming the floor: Robert is using loud volume and stretches his *NO::* (l. 04); however, he finally yields to Herman, who bridges the overlap with a series of restarts and cut-offs and also increases loudness before he manages to establish himself as the new sole speaker (l. 03) (cf. chapters 4.3.2 and 4.5.2 for a more detailed discussion of these turn-claiming techniques).

Example (4.20): Birthday (ICE-T&T, S1A-008)

```
01 Nik:  [I=wanted to] get a (0.1) ↑BLACK (0.2) [↑jeans]
02 N.N.:                                        [  hm? ]
03       (0.4)
04 Nik:  >and I ↑went< (.) yes (0.1) >'cause I got< (.) mo↑ney
05       (0.8)
06 Luc:  how you mo↑ney?
07       (0.2)
08 Nik:  [my birth↑day]
09 Tin:  [↑her birth↑d]ay
10       (0.6)
11 Luc:  ↑OH: […]
```

In excerpt (4.20) from ICE-T&T, Lucy's question (l. 06) leads to two speakers starting simultaneously. Niki, who has been the explicit addressee, i.e. the one selected by Lucy's *you*, and Tina, who is response-eligible as well, as she possesses the relevant knowledge to provide the SPP. Contrary to (4.19) above, however, the overlap remains short and none of the speakers tries to claim the floor. In fact, there is a long gap before Lucy self-selects again and continues talking. Even though most of these multiple simultaneous starts after unspecified next speaker-selections are quickly resolved and all but one speaker drop out soon, they can also lead to quite complex scenarios, as in (4.21), a conversation with five female interactants:

Example (4.21): Social work (ICE-T&T, S1A-050)

```
01 Sar:  =or maybe >↑she should just work in< social [work?]
02 Flo:                                             [↑(mh)]:
         [ ↑yes]
03 Bee:  [she w]ants
         to DO [    she       ↑say    ] ↑be she-=BE↑FORE
```

```
04 Jul:         [>(she could) do that!<]
05 Bee:  [she reach-] she WANTS TO […]
06 Eil:  [    (  )    ]
```

Florence reacts to Sarah's question with an early start in recognitional overlap (l. 02). She uses a filler (*mh*) and sound stretch to make her answer appear in the clear; however, it is overlapped by another speaker, Bee, who starts up as soon as Sarah's question has been completed. Bee also provides an SPP but is, in turn, overlapped by two more interactants, Julia and Eileen. Sarah's question has therefore indirectly selected all of her co-conversationalists as next speakers, and even though a suitable SPP is provided early on (l. 02), all speakers display their willingness to participate in the conversation.

Finally, next speaker-selections can also lead to terminal transitional overlap, e.g. when the current speaker expands their TCU by adding, for instance, an increment or a question tag, while the selected speaker has already started talking. In (4.22) below, taken from ICE-T&T, Barney retrospectively adds a replacement to his TCU.

Example (4.22): National hockey team (ICE-T&T, S1A-067)

```
01 Bar:  >who (you) play with< Trini↑da:d (.) the=country [(Trinbago)]
02 Eri:                                                   [  ↑yeah:  ]
```

Syntactically and intonationally, Barney has already completed a TCU, when, after a micropause, he replaces *Trinidad* with *the country Trinbago*. Couper-Kuhlen and Ono call this type of turn-expansion an "add-on", as it is grammatically linked to the prior TCU but involves a break in prosody (2007: 515f). Add-ons are extremely vulnerable to overlap, as they occur after clearly a marked TRP; however, as in the example above, they are typically treated as unproblematic. They also occur in the Southeast Asian conversations, as in (4.23):

Example (4.23): Clinical psychology (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:   ah-, so it's a double >de↑gree [then you<] decide to:
02 Wan:                                 [yah,  yah]
03 An:   specialise in clinical psychologist=
04 Wan:  =>well I've [al↑ways liked]
05 An:               [er,  psycholo]gy
06       (0.4)
07 Wan:  psycholo↑gy: >but then erm<, my pa↑rents-, oh my dad didn't
         ap↑prove
```

In this excerpt, the speaker, An, wants to know more about Wan's course of study, particularly about her area of expertise. An's turn actually consists of two linked TCUs, and Wan reacts to both of them: She confirms that she has done a double degree (l. 02), which leads to overlap with An who already rushes into her next TCU (cf. chapter 4.3.3 for an in-

depth discussion of rush-throughs as turn-holding strategies). An's question-TCU,[37] *then you decide to specialise in clinical psychologist* (l. 01 and 03), is immediately answered by Wan (l. 04), which results in overlap, as An self-repairs her error with an add-on, *er, psychology* (l. 05). Even though Wan reacts to this by interrupting her turn, she does not treat it as problematic and resumes her answer after a gap (l. 07).

Question tags, which a current speaker attaches to their already completed TCU, also frequently overlap with the next speaker's turn; however, just like add-ons they are typically not treated as trouble in the conversation. Interactants can use question tags, like *right?* to select a next speaker or to yield their turn (cf. above), but as they are added after the TRP, overlap is very likely (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 534). As mentioned above, question tags to employ rule (1a) predominantly occur in the Southeast Asian data:

Example (4.24): Fruit ninja (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Che:  [yeah]=it's- f:ruit ninja=you just >slice slice slice<
         [right?]
02 Lan:  [ yeah ]=
```

The speakers in (4.24) are talking about video games in general, and Lan does not remember the name of a specific game. Chen finally suggests *fruit ninja* (l. 01). His question-TCU is already complete, which makes transition relevant for Lan. However, when she starts up without any gap (l. 02), she is overlapped by Chen who adds *right*?

This chapter has been concerned with speaker changes of the type (1a), i.e. current speakers having selected a next speaker. I showed that conversationalists in both data groups use the same strategies to select a next speaker: They address adjacency pair first parts to one or more interactants and thus oblige them to provide an SPP, they re-select prior speakers by pointing at a trouble in the previous turn, and they select speakers indirectly, e.g. via topic choice. Furthermore, tag questions are also used to trigger speaker change, although my data show that this is not their only function in the Caribbean dataset. Investigating the individual scenarios of next speaker-selection revealed that, when selected, speakers from both groups either start up without any gap or overlap or allow for a gap but remain clear of overlap. These scenarios come closest to Sacks et al.'s idealised description of speaker change, as they realise transition without much delay and at the same time maintain the status of one-party-at-a-time (1974: 706). However, a number of factors

[37] Please note that the term 'question' refers to the practice or action not the linguistic form. Questions are "actions whose *main job* […] is to request information. They make Answers, turns providing the information requested, relevant next" (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 218). That is, even though linguistically An's turn does not qualify as an interrogative, its function in the conversation is to request confirmation and/or more information (which is what Wan provides in the next turn).

leads to deviations from these scenarios: Next speakers may start before the current speaker has abandoned their turn, which, in extreme cases, can result in short competitive sequences. On the other hand, next speakers' starts can also be delayed, e.g. because of problems in the previous speaker's turn which lead to inserted repair sequences, because of dispreferred SPPs, or when the selected speaker is required to perform a cognitive task and needs time to provide the required information. Apart from that, overlap occurs when more than one speaker is eligible to provide the requested SPP, and this can either result in rather competitive turn-claiming situations or in displays of conversational collaboration. And finally, the selected speakers' turns can be overlapped by turn expansions from the current speaker, e.g. in the case of add-ons or, in ACE, tag questions.

Chapters 5.1 and 5.2 look at the three general types of speaker change and at the specific scenarios of next speaker-selection from a broader, quantitative perspective, and compare how often they are realised in the different speaker groups. In the following chapter, I focus on the second type of turn allocation in the conversations, next speaker self-selections.

4.1.2. Self-selection (1b)

In order to self-select at a TRP (i.e. to apply rule (1b)), speakers overwhelmingly orient themselves to a principle observed by Sacks et al., namely that the "first starter gets the turn" (1974: 718). That is, a prospective next speaker will try to start up as soon as possible, always aiming to be the first starter, and gaps between turns can be expected to be minimal. This also shows in my data, in both the Caribbean and the Southeast Asian conversations. (4.25) depicts an ASEAN next speaker self-selecting in first starter position:

```
Example (4.25): A-levels (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

01 An:   [so ↑af]ter: (0.4) o levels=is a levels u- adVANCE level
02       (0.5)
03 An:   ((alveolar click))=in Singa↑pore
04       (0.7)
05 An:   ↑yah
06 Wan:  three ↑years (0.3) a level?
```

In this excerpt, the speakers are discussing levels of education in Singapore. An, the current speaker, is clearly turn-yielding – she allows for two lapses (l. 02 and 04) – but always continues as none of the other participants speaks up. First, she adds an increment[38] in the

[38] 'Increments' are defined as "recompletions of an already possibly complete turn unit" (Sidnell 2010: 155). They can take various syntactic forms, e.g. phrases or clauses (cf. Ford et al. 2002 for an overview).

form of a prepositional phrase (*in Singapore* (l. 03)), then she continues with *yeah* (l. 05). Finally, one of her co-conversationalists self-selects (l. 06). Note that Wan starts up close to the TRP – she does not even allow for a gap of more than 0.1s. This is a typical case of scenario (1b:1), self-selection without gap or overlap. As before (cf. chapter 4.1.1), I define gaps as silences at the TRP which are longer than 0.2s. Next speakers can only start up without such a gap (i.e. in less than 0.2s) if they have projected the upcoming TRP in advance. This involves two processes, that of speech comprehension and that of speech production or articulation. Recent psycholinguistic research has managed to shed light on the interaction between these processes: Studies show that next speakers already begin to plan their turn in the midst of the current speaker's talk but withhold launching it until the ongoing TCU is about to be completed, thereby orienting to turn-yielding signals by the current speaker (Levinson & Torreira 2015: 13f). This can explain why they are able to minimise gaps between turns while at the same time avoid overlaps – even in lively interactions with frequent speaker change, as in (4.26) below:

Example (4.26): Parent company (ICE-JA, S1A-010)

```
01 Geo:  =the=[Caribbean region] the- the=Cari[bbean at large]
02 N.N.:      [   (        )   ]
03 Mar:                                      [( )- ( )- ( )-]
04 Geo:  isn't doing too badly=but (.) the PARENT compa↑ny
05 Mar:  well it's >because of the PARENT company why I'm saying that<=
06 Geo:  =↑yeah=
```

In this extract, the speakers are discussing problems with telephone providers in the Caribbean. George has just stated that the fault lies with the *PARENT company* (l. 04), when Marie self-selects and supports his statement (l. 05). Note that Marie has already uttered a series of (unintelligible) false starts earlier (l. 03) but has not actively pursued turn-claiming at that time. This indicates, however, that her turn was already 'ready to launch' at an earlier TRP. Rather than competing with the current speaker, Marie abandons her false start and waits for the next unblocked TRP in George's turn[39] before she starts up again.

Nevertheless, clear cases of scenario (1b:1) are rare in my data. Typically, self-selecting speakers combine starts with an offset time of less than 0.2s with active turn-claiming strategies (which corresponds to scenario (1b:3)). Instances where self-selecting speakers solely rely on starting first are infrequent in both data groups. They are typically restricted to four environments:

[39] There is an earlier TRP in George's turn, however, he closes it by speeding up and latching the TCUs (l. 04). See chapter 4.3.3 for a discussion of this turn-holding technique.

(1) The previous (current) speaker has already indicated a willingness to yield their turn and the interaction is marked by long gaps and lapses.

(2) The self-selecting speaker is producing a sequence-closing third (SCT), i.e. a turn which does not extend the adjacency pair sequence underway but can be regarded as a minimal post-expansion suggesting closure, typically in the form of free-standing particles or assessments (e.g. *okay*) (Schegloff 2007: 118ff).

(3) The selecting speaker's contribution is minimal, consisting, for instance, of a freestanding particle only. That is, the new speakers do not initiate a sequence (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 497).

(4) The self-selecting speaker is asking a question related to a prior turn.

Situation (1) has already been illustrated by (4.25). Similar scenarios can also be found in the Caribbean data group, as shown in (4.27):

```
Example (4.27): Australia (ICE-T&T, S1A-050)

01 Sar:  but=I WANT to use THAT ↑TIME next year to write up my thesis
         (0.4) >and to go to< Australia!
02       (1.0)
03 Sar:  ↑erm:
04       (0.1)
05 Flo:  oh you're going to Aus↑tralia:? you have somebody ↑there?
```

In this extract, Sarah is talking about her plans of going to Australia in the following year. However, her announcement does not elicit any verbal responses from her co-conversationalists. After a lapse of 1s (l. 02), Sarah therefore continues by uttering a hesitation token, *erm* (l. 03). This is when Florence self-selects and establishes herself as the new turn occupant. Note that Sarah is not pursuing her turn nor does she defend her position as the current speaker – she clearly yields the floor, which allows Florence's turn to appear clear of overlap.

SCTs without gap or overlap – i.e. instances which correspond to the second situation described above – are generally rare in the interactions; however, they occur in the Southeast Asian data, as in (4.28):

```
Example (4.28): East and West (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

01 Sam:  dong is
02       (1.4)
03 Sam:  [ ↑WEST ]
04 Lan:  [↑(east)] (west)?
05       (0.3)
06 N.N.: hha
07       (0.2)
08 Sam:  hhahh=
09 Lan?: =ha=
```

```
10 Che:  =↑ea-
11 Sam:  er:: dong is (0.4) ↑EAST hh
12 Lan:  yes
13       (0.6)
14 Sam:  ↑north EAST monsoon
```

The interactants in (4.28) are talking about the Chinese word *dōng* 'east' which Sam, who is Malay but speaks Mandarin, wrongly translates as 'west' (l. 03). The Chinese speaker Lan reacts to this with a question-intoned repeat: *west?* (l. 04), a strategy which has been identified as a typical repair initiator in Mandarin Chinese, typically indicating that an element is unexpected (Wu 2009: 40, 57). After some laughter, Sam repairs the trouble in his utterance (l. 11), which Lan confirms with *yes* (l. 12), thus closing the repair sequence. After a longer period of silence, Sam resumes his turn and the conversation moves to another topic (the weather in Malaysia).

Speakers can also self-select to respond to an action by the previous speaker. This is illustrated by (4.29), an example taken from ICE-JA:

```
Example (4.29): Listening (ICE-JA, S1A-004)

01 Bla:  [↑no:] [>(but you're not-)< just no]=because you guys are not
         ↑LISTENING!
02 N.N.: ↑no:
```

The current speaker, Blaine, has just uttered an assessment, negatively evaluating the other participants of the interaction and accusing them of not listening to him (l. 01). Assessments are conversational actions which make agreeing or disagreeing responses relevant (cf. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 294) – in this example, the "responsive action" (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 497) is realised by an unidentified speaker self-selecting and acknowledging Blaine's turn with a disagreement marker: *no* (l. 02). Similar situations can also be found in data from ICE-T&T, for instance in (4.30):

```
Example (4.30): Trouble (ICE-T&T, S1A-008)

01 Luc:  ↑YOU=only causin' problems!
02 Mic:  I (ain't) cau↑sin' lots of pro↑blems (0.1) I was in
         [my ↑CLA::][::SS]
```

When Lucy accuses her colleague of *causin' problems* (l. 01), Michelle immediately self-selects to object to this assessment and then goes on to give an account of her whereabouts. As Michelle is the only conversationalist who is directly concerned by Lucy's evaluation, she has first rights to respond. This is why she does not need to back up her turn by using turn-claiming devices. It is only when she moves into her second TCU (*I was in my CLASS* (l. 02)) that other speakers overlap her.

Finally, self-selections without gaps are used in contexts where they other-initiate repair or point at trouble in the prior turn, as in (4.31):

```
Example (4.31): Guided tour (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

01 Wan:  =erm: (.) you ↑JUST hh (0.2) when we went without the tour it
         was so tough
02       (0.8)
03 Wan:  it was REALLY tough
04 An:   'cause you do not under[stand?]
05 Wan:                          [  yah ], we can't READY ((read))
         any↑thing […]
```

This excerpt is part of a conversation between three Southeast Asian speakers. Wan, who is from Malaysia, is talking about a former visit to Japan, which she and her husband made without a guided tour. She describes this experience as *so tough* (l. 01), and, when none of the other interactants reacts to this, repeats it after a lapse of 0.8s: *it was REALLY tough* (l. 03). As mentioned above, assessments like this are actions which make a response immediately relevant, preferably in the form of an agreement (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 294). This is why Wan recycles her utterance, replacing the intensifier *so* by the stronger form *REALLY*, thus upgrading it both semantically and phonologically. An's self-selection, which follows immediately afterwards (l. 04), sheds light on her reluctance to comment on Wan's turn: An has problems with interpreting Wan's assessment, so she other-initiates repair by proffering a candidate understanding: *'cause you do not understand?* (l. 04). Her turn points back to the prior utterance and requires Wan to provide some form of confirmation or correction – which she does in line 05 (cf. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 174). Understanding checks frequently lead to self-selections without gap or overlap in the ASEAN interactions. Similar situations can be identified in the Caribbean data group:

```
Example (4.32): Tonight (ICE-JA, S1A-004)

01 Ron:  that's the way the spell it?
02 Bla:  ↑yeah
03 Ron:  you sure?
04       (0.1)
05 Bla:  to↑night
```

In this example, Ronald and Blaine are discussing spelling conventions. Blaine has just told his co-conversationalist about the American variant *tonite* 'tonight', but Ronald is still doubtful. He first asks Blaine to confirm that *that's the way the(y) spell it?* (l. 01). When Blaine answers with *yeah*, Ronald immediately self-selects again and requests Blaine to

comment on his epistemic authority: *you sure?* (l. 03). Similar situations can also be found in data from Trinidad and Tobago:

```
Example (4.33): In person (ICE-T&T, S1A-008)

01 Luc:  so now you (.) >prefer not to< ↑thank him?
02 Nik:  ↑I >told him thank you< last night
03       (0.2)
04 Luc:  ↑oh you were there in ↑person?
```

Just like (4.32) above, (4.33) starts with a Q&A-adjacency pair (l. 01 and 02). Afterwards, there is a short gap of 0.2s, before Lucy, who has originally provided the question FPP, asks a follow-up question to clarify an aspect which is still unclear to her – namely whether Niki has gone to see her father-in-law to thank him for sending her a birthday present.

Apart from self-selections without gap and overlap, the data also contain self-selections involving a gap of more than 0.2s but no active turn-claimings (1b:2). In some instances, these arise naturally, e.g. when speakers are performing a task which requires them to stop talking for a moment, such as moving furniture or driving (cf. ICE-T&T, S1A-034 or ICE-T&T, S1A-057). Apart from these task-based scenarios, longer gaps with self-selecting restarts often result from previous competitive sequences which end with all speakers dropping out and one re-starting after a gap. This is what happens in (4.34) below, an excerpt from a Jamaican interaction:

```
Example (4.34): Come on (ICE-JA, S1A-003)

01 Her:  [okay], the reco↑gnition (.) is: that Jamaicans do ↑speak
         ↑PATOIS!
02       (0.3)
03 N.N.: ( )=
04 Rob:  =but (0.2) [patois isn't- it's=just- (it's- ↑oh:::)]
05 Wil:             [↑BUT    Jamaican    is    an   aDULTEra]tion<
         [of ↑English!]
06 Rob:  [come     on!]
07       (0.5)
08 Her:  patois is not (.) JUST an adultera[tion of En]↑glish […]
```

Herman's statement that Jamaican Patois should be recognised as the Jamaican language is met with heavy criticism by the other interactants. Both Robert and Wilson disagree with Herman, they overlap each other and employ a number of turn-claiming techniques, e.g. loud volume and recycles (cf. chapters 4.3.2 and 4.5.1 for a discussion). Finally, they both stop talking and there is a gap of 0.5s (l. 07), before Herman self-selects as a single turn occupant (l. 08). Even though this type of scenario is less frequent in ACE, it can be found there as well, as in (4.35) below, an excerpt in which the speakers are talking about piano practice:

```
Example (4.35): Piano practice (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

01 Sam:  [>the beginning] is< (0.1) h::o[rrible!]
02 Che:                                 [ always]s
         the[:- (.) ↑yeah↓:]
03 Sam:     [YOU DON'T PLAY] mu↑sic-=er the [   SONGS   ↑RI↓:GHT?   ]
04 Che:                                     [you ↑DON'T >play music!]
         it's j[ust   the- < ]=
05 Sam:        [>you (just)-<]=
06 Lan:  =↓Y:E[  S!  ]
07 Che:       [↑y:e↓s]
08 Sam:       [ ↑prac]tise [(practise the ] [same) !]
09 Che:                    [( ) (just the)] [    fin][ger!]
10 Lan:                                     [↑y:e↓s!][ ↑ye]↓:s
11       (0.3)
12 Che:  finger (skill) ye:ah
13 Lan:  ↑YE↓:S A:ND er- […]
```

The beginning of this extract is very lively; Chen and Sam are talking simultaneously, and their turns are marked by rises in volume, pitch upsteps, and fast tempo. Note that both speakers are discussing the same topic: In order to illustrate the monotonous first steps in piano practice, they are reinforcing each other, repeating each other's turns (cf. l. 04) and confirming them (l. 07). Lan, the third participant of the interaction, utters several acknowledgment tokens (l. 06 and 10) in overlap with the other speakers, which results in short sequences of all participants talking simultaneously (l. 06-10). Finally, just after this high point of multi-party overlap, all conversationalists drop out and there is a short gap of 0.3s (l. 11) after which Chen self-selects (l. 12) to utter a summary assessment – and 'one-party-at-a-time' status is reinstalled.

Apart from that, prospective next speakers use minimal turn fragments to 'test the water' before launching their actual turn. This is what Ronald does in (4.36) below:

```
Example (4.36): Making a point (ICE-JA, S1A-004)

01 Bla:  >it is a< [  ↑SHORT ]
                   [((claps))]
02       (0.4)
03 Ron?: ((steups)) but-
04 Bla:  ↑right? (0.3) ↑'kay:?
05 Ron:  yes (0.1) [but] >would ↑you agree< my point has been ↑MADE? […]
```

The interactants in this Jamaican conversation are discussing the pronunciation of Jamaican Patois *ku* 'look'. After having held the floor for a longer turn, Blaine closes with *it is a short [sound]* (l. 01). There is a gap of 0.4s before Ronald self-selects. However, he does not utter a fully-fledged TCU but cuts it off after a one-word fragment, *but-* (l. 03). In her analysis of fragments in conversation, Selting claims that fragments are "epiphenomena of the participants' practices of constructing, organizing and making recognizable turns at talk" (2001: 254). I would argue that this also holds for my data: Ronald self-selects in order to

check whether the current speaker is willing to yield the floor. He shows his intention to produce a turn which is going to disagree with Blaine's statement by starting up with a contrastive conjunction but then drops out again immediately. This allows the current turn holder, Blaine, to react, which he does by yielding the floor through two tag questions. As already mentioned above (cf. chapter 4.1.1), tag questions can serve as a turn "exit technique" (Sacks et al. 1974: 718), i.e. they typically allocate the turn to another speaker. In (4.36), Ronald is now able to take the floor – he first acknowledges Blaine's statement with *yes* and then proceeds to utter his own turn (l. 05). See also (4.37) for a similar example, this time from ICE-T&T:

Example (4.37): Jack and Nina (ICE-T&T, S1A-008)

```
01 Tin:  (>you ↑have  to ↑write a<) ( ) (this un↑us[ual)]
02 Mic:                                              [Jack]?
03       (0.4)
04 N.N.: ((steups))
05       (0.8)
06 Nik:  [I hear]in' ↑you
07 N.N.: [↑(  )!]
08       (0.2)
09 N.N.: (okay)
10 Mic:  Jack ↑erm:
11       (0.9)
12 Mic:  ↑he and Nina ↑Brown=you know Nina ↑Brown?
13       (0.4)
14 N.N.: ((steups))
15       (0.7)
16 Nik:  she's ↑QUI↓ET
17       (0.8)
18 Mic:  they had a FIGHT
```

In this situation, the four speakers, all of them teachers, are talking about their pupils and their misbehavior in class. Tina is commenting on a previous topic (l. 01), when Michelle mentions another student's name: *Jack?* (l. 02) in overlap. There is a longer period of silence before Niki acknowledges this as a potential next topic and encourages Michelle to continue: *I hearin' you* (l. 06). However, rather than starting to tell her story right away, Michelle only utters a fragment and a hesitation marker and then halts her turn: *Jack erm* (l. 10). She allows for a considerable gap of 0.9s before she continues, thus making sure that the other participants accept her status as the new turn occupant. Apart from that, she then produces a so-called 'pre-pre', a preliminary to a preliminary, i.e. a turn which "exempt[s] what directly follows […] from being understood as the base FPP, while providing recognition criteria for the base FPP when it 'arrives'" (Schegloff 2007: 44). In this scenario, Michelle is making sure that the other participants know who she is going to talk about – Schegloff calls this a "pre-mention" (2007: 45): *you know Nina Brown?* (l. 12).

Only after the other participants have confirmed recognising the student in question (l. 16) does Michelle proceed to the story-telling itself. Using both a preliminary fragment and a pre-pre, Michelle manages to establish herself as the new turn holder – and in fact, she is not threatened in this position when telling the story later on. Interestingly, 'testing the water'-situations only occur in the Caribbean part of the conversations analysed. They cannot be found in the ASEAN data, which might be due to a greater willingness to yield the floor in this speaker group (cf. chapter 5.2).

Furthermore, longer periods of silence typically lead to speakers self-selecting in order to resolve dysfluency in the conversation or to other-initiate repair. (4.38) illustrates both of these functions for the Southeast Asian data group:

Example (4.38): Snack less (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 Wan:  hh (0.2) I ↑would (0.2) h I- ike- I('ll) (0.2) er
         [    SNACK      less    ]
         [((loud knocking sound))]
02       (0.5)
03 An:   snack less
04       (0.1)
05 Wan:  ↑yah
06       (0.9)
07 An:   I snack all the ↑time (0.2) [I mean I] have […]
```

In this scenario, the current speaker Wan has trouble finding the right words. Her turn is marked by several cut offs and restarts. When she finally comes up with the expression *SNACK less* (l. 01), she is overlapped by a loud noise from outside. After a longer period of silence (l. 02), another speaker, An, thus checks her understanding and other-initiates repair by repeating the trouble source (l. 03). When Wan confirms with *yah* (l. 05) but does not continue, there is a long gap of 0.9s in which none of the interactants speaks up. Finally, An self-selects and re-establishes the conversational flow (l. 07). Similar examples can also be found in the Caribbean conversations. In (4.39) below, the speakers are talking about the price of medical equipment in Jamaica:

Example (4.39): Price of silk (ICE-JA, S1A-006)

```
01 Luk:  a bag OF silk is like two hundred (dollars) you ↑know=
02 N.N.: =if there ↑is=
03 N.N.: =hhah=
04 Bob:  =again it come bac[k   to    this] third world ↑thing
05 N.N.:                   [ha ha ha ha ha]
06       (0.3)
07 N.N.: ha ha ha [ha ha hah]
08 Bob:           [I   ↑mean]
09       (1.1)
10 Luk:  one TENTH!
11       (1.3)
12 War:  ↑jesus
```

```
13       (1.3)
14 Bob:  the other thing is- er hh I find incredible is ↑that […]
```

After Luke has informed his co-conversationalists about the price of silk, which is used for suture, and Bob has attributed this to the status of Jamaica as a third world country (l. 04), the interaction becomes dysfluent. The speakers provide assessments (l. 10 and 12); however, there are long periods of silence between the individual turns. Bob finally self-selects in line 14 and announces a topic shift: *the other thing is- […]*.

In fact, longer periods of silence resulting in self-selections frequently lead to topic shifts in the interactions analysed, particularly in the Southeast Asian interactions (though not exclusively, as (4.39) shows). (4.40) below depicts a typical topic-shifting sequence:

Example (4.40): Rollercoaster (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:   [↑yah:] (0.1)
         >lik[e       when       ] we were ↑YOUNG we can just
02 N.N.:     [((alveolar click))]
03 An:   ↑play< like- h (0.1) ↑like=
04 N.N.: =((sniffs))=
05 An:   =>roller coaster anything but NOWa↑days we are like< ↑yah >we
         get NAUseous [           (here)           ↑(    )      ]
06 Wan:              [((chuckling)) (really) a:h ((/chuckling))] O:H
         ↑N[         O↓       ]:
07 N.N.:   [((alveolar click))]
08       (0.8)
09 An:   >or perhaps it's just (the) few of ↑us< hh hihihi
10       (0.2)
11 Wan:  ((alveolar click)) I'm ↑still o↑kay
12       (0.2)
13 An:   ↑mh↓m
14 Wan:  hhha
15       (0.6)
16 Wan:  hh
17       (0.6)
18 Wan:  hrmhrm (0.4) ((sniffs))
19       (2.1)
20 N.N.: ((alveolar click))
21       (1.1)
22 An:   so how long is your contract?
```

The speakers have been talking about motion sickness (l. 01-07), when the conversation comes to a standstill and a long lapse of almost one second arises (l. 08). An, the current speaker, resumes her turn and provides a summary assessment: *perhaps it's just the few of us* (l. 09). Summary assessments have been described as being "recurrently deployed prior to various forms of topic shift" (Jefferson 1984b: 211). When Wan responds (l. 11), the speakers move to close down the topic: They stop adding to it but provide hesitation markers, inbreaths, and other forms of continuers (l. 13-20, cf. chapter 6.1.3 for a more detailed discussion). The interaction is now marked by extremely long periods of silence of

up to 2.1s (l. 19) before An self-selects and changes the topic (l. 22). Similar examples can be found in ICE-T&T, although they are rarer than in the ASEAN conversations:

Example (4.41): Movie (ICE-T&T, S1A-034)

```
01 Jod:  >but Trinity Hall is the best!<
02       (0.9)
03 Tes:  ↑mh: (0.1) of=course you would say ↑THAT until you go across to
         Milner
04       (0.2)
05 Jod:  ↓NO↑:?
06       (0.1)
07 Tes:  (mh:) [↑(       )]
08 Cla:        [((coughs))] ((coughs))
09       (2.0)
10 Cla:  I=wanted to go and see a ↑movie:
```

The speakers in (4.41), particularly Jodi and Tess, have just been talking about campus accommodation at the University of the West Indies (UWI). When Jodi provides a summary assessment of the discussion, *but Trinity Hall is the best!* (l. 01), the topic moves towards closure. Finally, the conversation comes to a standstill and results in a long gap of 2.0s. This allows Claire to introduce a new topic, completely unrelated to the previous talk. In their analysis of figures of speech and their role in topic transition, Holt & Drew identify similar cases, which they describe as "disjunctive" (as opposed to "stepwise" or "pivotal") topic transition (2005: 36ff). In my data, disjunctive transitions frequently occur after periods of silence; however, they are often accompanied by turn-claiming signals, which are discussed in chapters 4.2 to 4.5 below.

As shown above (chapter 4.1.1), longer gaps – particularly, if they are longer than 0.7s – can also indicate dispreferred turns. With self-selections, however, the delay is typically related to dispreferred FPPs rather than SPPs. See, for instance, (4.42) below, taken from ICE-JA:

Example (4.42): Country wake (ICE-JA, S1A-013)

```
01 Joa:  >have you ever been to a wake< recently?
02       (0.5)
03 Joa:  coun[try-]
04 Ann?:     [↑ye:]s=
05 Joa:  =COUNTRY wake
06       (1.2)
07 Ann:  well: >when was it<?
08       (0.5)
09 Ann:  a couple ↑weeks ago
10 Joa:  who [died? ]
11 N.N.:     [(who-)]
12 Ann:  my ↑au:nt
13       (0.5)
14 Joa:  where she's- (0.2) which- (0.2) ↑in- in-=er::
15 Ann:  <↑Man (0.2) chester>
```

```
16       (0.2)
17 Joa:  ↑o:kay (0.1) the ↑L:AST >one I went to was< my grandfather's […]
```

This sequence starts with Joanne asking whether the other interactants have attended any country wakes lately. In Jamaican tradition, a wake involves the deceased's friends, relatives, and acquaintances coming together, singing songs, eating, and paying their respect to the family. That is, they are social events and not restricted to the closest family circle – Joanne's enquiry is therefore not unusual in this context. One of the other speakers, Ann, responds to Joanne's question (l. 04) and, after some thinking, states that the last wake she attended only took place some weeks ago (l.09). Joanne and another unidentified speaker react by asking a follow-up question: *who died?* (l. 10), which Ann answers immediately, stating that the deceased was a close relative, her aunt (l. 12). This changes the situation – whereas Joanne's original question was related to country wakes as community gatherings, it is now clear that Ann is talking about a personal event: It is not 'just' an acquaintance who died but a member of her family, and so the death is likely to have an emotional effect on Ann – she might be in mourning. There is a gap of 0.5s in which none of the interactants speaks up (l. 13) before Joanne self-selects again and begins to inquire into the burial place (l. 14). Her utterance is dysfluent and marked by several cut-offs, restarts, and repetitions as well as by inter-turn gaps and the hesitation marker *er*, all of which are typical markers of dispreferred turns (cf. Schegloff 2007: 63ff). Also note that Joanne does not actually complete her question: Even though the TCU's trajectory is recognisable, it remains unfinished when Ann takes over to resolve the situation and provide the name of the parish in which her aunt is buried (l. 25). Joanne accepts this information by uttering a sequence-closing third, *okay* (l. 17), and then moves on to give a personal account of her last attendance at a wake. Similar scenarios can also be found in ACE, for instance in (4.43) below:

Example (4.43): Cheaper (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Che:  it's [cheaper in Canada!]
02 Lan:       [the ↑pri:ce  -   y]es!
03 Che:  ↑ah yup!
04       (0.5)
05 Che:  that's ↑what they say:
06       (0.5)
07 Sam:  >is it?<
08       (0.1)
10 Sam:  [I'm I'm NOT (>sure I'm not<)]
10 Che:  [yeah   (.)   it's cheaper in] >Canada it's ↑like< […]
```

In this extract, the speakers are discussing price differences between the US and Canada. Chen claims that *it's cheaper in Canada!* (l. 01), which is confirmed by Lan (l. 02). After a

lapse of 0.5s, Chen resumes his turn, shifting its epistemic stance from personal knowledge to hearsay (*that's what they* say) (l. 5). There is another longer gap until Sam self-selects and expresses further doubt: *is it?* (l. 07). Although Chen himself has already downgraded his turn, Sam's utterance is clearly dispreferred – he immediately goes on to provide an explanation for asking (l. 09).

To sum up, this chapter has given an overview of two scenarios involving the self-selection of a next speaker. I have shown that self-selections often involve little or no gap between the current and next speaker's turns (1b:1), i.e. interactants draw on the 'first starter gets the turn'-rule. This corresponds to what has been observed for British or American data (cf. Sacks et al. 1974) as well as for other languages, such as Japanese (Tanaka 1999: 50ff). Nevertheless, 'unmarked' cases of no-gap-no-overlap self-selections are rare in the data. On the one hand, speakers typically employ turn-claiming techniques to back up their utterances; on the other hand, their early starts often lead to overlaps with the current speaker or other prospective turn-claimants. This is not surprising, as starting first "rests on precise timing to co-ordinate entry with reference to a prior talk's possible TRP" and interactants will therefore make sure to "minimis[e] possible loss of audibility through overlap with the prior turn of other contenders for the floor" (Tanaka 1999: 52). As these instances were coded as scenario (1b:3) which will be analysed in greater detail below (cf. chapters 4.2 to 4.5), they were not discussed in this chapter. I demonstrated that scenario (1b:1) can typically be identified in specific situations, e.g. after a prior speaker has yielded their turn, when the self-selecting speaker produces an SCT or a minimal turn, or when they refer to a previous turn, e.g. in order to other-initiate repair or check understanding. Self-selections without the use of turn-claiming techniques can also a lead to gap exceeding 0.2s; however, these instances are rare in both data groups. They can be grouped according to five scenarios, namely, marking a restart after a passage rich of overlap or after a competitive sequence, solving interactional dysfluency or trouble of understanding, initiating disjunctive topic transition, or delaying dispreferred turns. Furthermore, in the Caribbean data, speakers also self-select in order to 'test the water' and establish themselves as turn occupants, before they initiate a longer conversational sequence.

The next chapter now gives an overview of how rule (1c), continuation of the current speaker, is operated in the data.

4.1.3. Continuation (1c)

If no next speaker has been selected (1a) and no interactant self-selects (1b), then the current speaker can – but does not have to – continue talking (1c). As mentioned above, the turn-taking system is geared towards speaker change at the TRP and continuation only becomes possible if rules (1a) and (1b) have not been applied. Current speakers who wish to produce multi-unit turns will therefore have to take precautions to make sure that none of the other participants speaks up – this makes continuation or turn-holding "the marked device in turn-taking" (Selting 2000: 511). In this chapter, I focus on two scenarios which can occur when current speakers continue to utter more than one TCU: continuation after lapse, i.e. after silences of more than 0.5s, (scenario (1c:1)), and continuation after turn-yieldings by other interactants (scenario (1c:3)). Both scenarios can be found in my data; however, they are considerably less frequent than scenario (1c:2), i.e. the use of turn-holding techniques, which is treated in greater detail in chapters 4.2 to 4.5.

As defined above (chapter 3.3), lapses are noticeable inter-turn silences arising when a current speaker first yields their turn and then, as none of the other interactants self-selects at the TRP, resumes it. Sacks et al. therefore describe lapses as the result of "a series of rounds of possible self-selection by others and self-selection by current to continue" (1974: 715). Example (4.44) below illustrates this:

Example (4.44): Application process (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 Wan:  ((alveolar click)) just started the: applica[tion  process]
02 An:                                               [(sh) process?]
03 Wan:  ↑yah (0.3) so it'll take a while
04       (0.9)
05 Wan:  ((alveolar click)) the this ↑is (0.2) my job (0.3) hh erm: (0.3)
         being r ↑a (0.2) is NOT recognised as a ↑SKILL
06       (0.4)
07 An:   mh ↑hm=
08 Wan:  =in Austra↑lia? (0.3) it's NOT a SKILLED occupation
09       (0.8)
10 An:   okay
11 Wan:  >I don't know< if you guys are aware of THAT=
```

This excerpt is part of a longer sequence in which the participants are talking about Wan's plan to emigrate to Australia. An has just asked whether Wan does already have all the required documents and Wan responds that she is only in the early stages of this process (l. 01-03). Note that there is a very long period of silence (almost 1s) in which none of the other interactants reacts or self-selects (l. 04). Wan therefore continues talking and adds more information, specifying the problems she has with the application process: *being R.A. [research assistant] is not recognised as a skill* (l. 05). This results in a gap, before An

reacts with a continuer, thus indicating "passive recipiency" (Jefferson 1983a: 4) and encouraging Wan to go on. Wan now produces an increment to her previous turn, i.e. an extension that is grammatically linked and syntactically subordinate to her last TCU: *in Australia?* (l. 08) (cf. Schegloff 1996: 90; Ford et al. 2002: 16). She then repeats her earlier statement and drops out again. However, as in before, she has not selected a next speaker and, again, none of the other interactants self-selects – which leads to 0.8s of silence, i.e. another lapse (l. 09). When An yields the floor yet another time (l. 10), Wan resumes her turn and continues talking (l. 11), still adding more information to the prior topic, i.e. her plans to apply for immigration to Australia. In fact, as in this example, lapses in my data typically do not lead to a topic change. Rather, they are followed by further elaboration on the topic under discussion or by post-positioned self-initiations of repair, as in line 11 above, where Wan provides an understanding check, referring back to her previous utterances: *I don't know if you guys are aware of that*. Another lapse triggering self-repair can be found in example (4.45), also taken from ACE:

Example (4.45): Malaysia (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Lan:  =I have been to: (0.2) er Malay- (0.2) er:: Malaysia
02       (0.2)
03 Che:  ↑o↓h
04 Lan:  ONCE:! er maybe in::: hh (0.3) this year (of) the (Januar)
05       (0.8)
06 Che:  [ e r :]:
07 Lan:  [Januar]
08 Che:  ↑oh in January=
```

Lan's assertion that she has been to Malaysia this January (l. 01-03) is marked by dysfluency, hesitation markers, and unclear pronunciation. It is therefore not surprising that her turn results in a lapse of 0.8s (l. 05), with none of the other participants seeming to react verbally. As a consequence, Lan repeats the last item of her previous TCU (l. 07), thus identifying and repairing the potential trouble source. She provides post-positioned repair, i.e. repair "on an item that has already been produced" (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 123). Chen's reaction shows that her conversational move has been successful: He repeats the repaired item and prefaces his turn with *oh*: *oh in January* (l. 08). *Oh* has been described as a 'change-of-state' token (e.g. Heritage 1984), and it also fulfils this function in Chen's turn – by starting his utterance with *oh*, Chen indicates that he has undergone an epistemic change, a change involving "the transmission of information" (Heritage 1984: 304).

A similar, but slightly different scenario is depicted in (4.46):

Example (4.46): Hockey (ICE-T&T, S1A-067)

```
01 Bar:  ((steups)) o↑kay: (0.3) >I had a< partner ↑who::'s (0.1) play-
         >one of the other< auditors (0.3) play hockey as ↑well
02       (3.3)
03 Bar:  so like a >group of all you used to just< get together after
         ↑school or somethin'?
04 Eri:  ↑yeah: like [(that) ((steups)) I] ↑use- […]
```

In this scenario, Eric has just told his co-conversationalists about his membership in the national Trinidadian hockey team. Barney comments on this by mentioning that one of his colleagues also plays hockey (l. 03); however, his contribution does not yield any verbal reaction by the other speakers. After a relatively long lapse of more than 3s (l. 02), Barney returns to the previous topic and directly addresses Eric (l. 03). That is, other than in the examples above, the current speaker in (4.46), Barney, does not continue with the talk from the sequence directly preceding the lapse, i.e. he does not add further information on his co-worker. Rather, Barney refers back to talk prior to the prelapse sequence, in this case Eric's narrative of how he came to play hockey. This scenario has also been observed for British and American conversations, e.g. by Hoey, who concludes that "[b]y using the prior talk to resolve a lapse, participants treat those matters as still open, available for use, and talk-about-able in some respect" (2018: 338). I argue that this also allows speakers to perform 'being cooperative': By recycling previous material from the interaction, they can depict themselves as attentive and considerate listeners, who show an interest in their interlocutors' contributions. This is particularly relevant in postlapse situations – as lapses emerge per definition through a withdrawal from active speakership, they constitute places at which collaboration has to be revived, if the conversation is not to move towards closure (cf. Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 303ff).

Lapses being followed by continuations or elaborations of the current topic are the most frequent realisation of scenario (1c:1), both in the Caribbean and in the Southeast Asian data. This is in line with other recent studies focusing on British and American speakers of English (Hoey 2018: 333). However, my data also reveal two further devices of lapse resolution, namely topic change and active turn-yielding by current speaker.

Topic changes rarely result from lapses. As shown in chapter 4.1.2 above, they regularly follow longer gaps, i.e. they are initiated by a self-selecting speaker after the current speaker has indicated that they are willing to yield their turn (Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 304). As lapses imply continuation by the turn occupant, it is less likely that the topic will shift completely in these situations. Nevertheless, postlapse topic changes can be found in the

ASEAN conversations. In excerpt (4.47) below, for instance, the current speaker has been talking about her family, when she switches the topic and addresses another interactant:

```
Example (4.47): Boyfriend (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

01 An:   °yah:° oh yah=I have TWO brothers [    yah   ]
02 Wan?:                                   [((sniffs))]
03       (0.7)
04 N.N.: ((alveolar click))
05       (0.6)
06 An:   m↓hm (0.4) ((alveolar click?)) (0.3) °↑so°
07       (1.9) ((one speaker is audibly breathing))
08 An:   but- what's your: erm
09 Wan:  ((sniffs))
10       (0.6)
11 An:   er:: boyfriend:
12       (0.5)
13 An:   studying? […]
```

An has been describing her family and now ends in a summary assessment (l. 01), indicating a willingness to yield her position as the turn occupant. She abandons the role as 'speaker' by stopping to produce content-TCUs and uttering a number of freestanding particles and hesitation markers (*yah*, *mhm, so*, clicks).[40] These particles can be described as making "no substantive contribution to topical talk, they are heard as embodying a 'pass'" (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 326). Even though An allows for a long time before she continues talking (see the two lapses in lines 03 and 07), none of the other interactants reacts to this pass, offers to self-select, or (verbally) acknowledges her move towards topic closure. Finally, after almost two seconds of silence, An introduces a disjunctive topic change and directly selects Zhi as a next speaker: *but what's your boyfriend studying?* (l. 08-13). Similar instances can be found in the Caribbean interactions, as in (4.48) below:

```
Example (4.48): White girl story (ICE-T&T, S1A-057)

01 Kat:  yes, I ↑DO:: I do f- (0.4) ↑feel much >safer when you're driving
         on< the main ↑road
02       (0.8)
03 Kat:  I shan't- I shan't <lie about ↑tha:t>
04 N.N.: ( )
05       (0.5)
06 Kat:  hhh (0.1) (wait=f-)! ↑I WANT TO HEAR TH/i/ WHOLE of the story of
         ↑WHY THIS WHITE GIRL was=in
         [SEA ((chuckling)) ↑LOTS? ((/chuckling))]=
```

In this scenario, the three speakers are driving in a car and the conversation has so far centred on Trevor's (i.e. the driver's) driving style. Katherine states that she prefers him

[40] Please note that these kind of discourse particles (or hesitation markers) are characterised as having a dual function, i.e. depending on the context they can be either turn-holding or turn-yielding (cf. Tottie 2015: 402f). See chapter 4.4 for a detailed discussion.

driving on the main road (l. 01), and, after a lapse of 0.8s which does not yield any verbal reaction by her two co-conversationalists (l. 02), adds another TCU, expanding her previous turn: *I shan't lie about that* (l. 03). Katherine clearly displays her willingness to yield her position as the current speaker: She does not produce new information but rather comments on her previous turn, and she slows down considerably, which has been identified as a turn-yielding marker in British dialects and also seems to play a role here (cf. Local & Walker 2012; Wells & Peppé 1996: 124). Nevertheless, none of the other interactants self-selects,[41] and, after another lapse, Katherine abruptly changes the topic (l. 06).

Contrary to (4.47) and (4.48) above, (4.49) below illustrates a typical instance of a lapse accompanied by turn-yieldings which does not lead to a change of topic. The speakers are talking about the advantages of writing a PhD while working at university:

Example (4.49): Support group (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:   I >↑think good ['cause it's su]pport group for< ↑him (al)↑so
02 N.N.:                [  ((sniffs))  ]
03       (0.5)
04 N.N.: ((alveolar click))=
05 Wan:  =[ yup]
06 An:   =[↑yah]:
07       (0.3)
08 An?:  ((alveolar click)) hh
09       (1.1)
10 An:   ((alveolar click)) (0.2) yup
11       (0.5)
12 An:   ((alveolar click)) >how about ↑you?<
13       (0.5)
14 Zhi:  mh ((alveolar click))
```

An is talking about an acquaintance and asserts that his colleagues are likely to support him in writing his PhD (l. 01). None of the other interactants reacts, so she adds a *yeah* (l. 06), in overlap with Wan's turn-yielding response *yup* (l. 05). Still, however, no other speaker self-selects, i.e. An remains in the position of turn-occupant. After two more lapses (l. 09 and 11), An finally explicitly addresses another speaker, Zhi, and selects (and obliges) her to speak next. Similar scenarios can be identified for the interactions from Trinidad, Tobago, and Jamaica:

Example (4.50): Cane (ICE-T&T, S1A-034)

```
01 Jod:  yeah (man) I didn't rea↑lize (0.3) to ↑me c- (.) >we used to
         ↑have cane, then we used to put cane in [    the<  ] ↑fridge
02 N.N.:                                        [((steups))]
03       (1.7)
04 Jod:  and=↑then
```

[41] There is an extremely short unintelligible contribution by an unidentified speaker (l. 04), which is probably a backchannel.

```
05        (0.3)
06 Cla:   >maybe it was too< ↑SHO:RT?
```

In (4.50), the speakers have just discovered a bundle of rotten sugar cane stalks, a local speciality, which is often chewed for its refreshing taste. Jodi now describes what her family used to do with cane stalks and explains that she cannot understand why the food has gone bad, because she put it in the fridge to preserve it (l. 01). When her utterance does not yield any response for 1.7s (l. 03), she extends her TCU by adding a fragment: *and then* (l. 04) before she stops again. Fragments can be used to indicate "trailing off", i.e. an intention to pass speakership on to another interactant (cf. Selting 2001 on German conversations), and they certainly do so in this example: By extending her turn after the lapse, Jodi breaks the turn allocation cycle and – through creating a new TRP – makes self-selection immediately relevant again (cf. Ford et al. 2002: 25). In fact, she is successful; after another short gap (l. 05), Claire self-selects and takes the floor (l. 06). An even more explicit withdrawal from speakership can be seen in (4.51), an example taken from a Jamaican conversation:

Example (4.51): Morbid (ICE-JA, S1A-013)

```
01 Joa:  what he has been ↑is (.) putting every↑THING=and organising all
         of his ESTATE=↑and handing over th-=like (0.1) ↑I- I'm in
         ((chuckling)) charge of the MONEY=and all of those ↑things=and
         SETTIN' everything in order=which is ↑KIND of MOR↑BID (0.1)
         but.
02       (0.8)
03 Joa:  [you=know?]
04 Ann:  [  well=I ] PREFER that! (.) [(to=nothin'!)]
05 Joa:                               [   ↑yea:h    ]
06       (0.2)
07 Ann:  I PRE↑fer […]
```

In this sequence, Joanne, the current speaker, is talking about her husband who is taking provisions in order to make sure that his wife will be well provided for in case of his death, an action which Joanne considers *kind of morbid* (l. 01). Having described her husband's behaviour, Joanne completes her turn with *but* and then stops talking. Note that *but* can be used not only as a conjunction but also as a turn-final particle (as in this example) – this process of grammaticalization has been claimed to be a marker of Australian English conversations (Mulder et al. 2009) but is clearly visible here as well: Joanne ends on a turn-final intonation contour and then abandons her turn. She allows for a lapse of 0.8s (l. 02), before she adds a tag question: *you know?* (l. 03). As in (4.50) above, Joanne re-completes her turn and thus creates a new opportunity for speaker transition; in this case, however, she directly addresses the other participants by means of the personal pronoun *you*. When Ann starts speaking in overlap (l. 04), Joanne yields her turn and withdraws into a listener

position: She does not attempt to re-claim the floor but utters a minimal acknowledgement token, *yeah*, to support Ann's turn (l. 05).

While lapses are characterised by long silence and other speakers' passivity when it comes to transition, interactants can also actively yield their turn, thus indicating that they encourage the current speaker to continue talking (scenario (1c:3)). This does not necessarily lead to longer gaps but can be described as deliberately granting a pass to the turn-holding speaker, inviting them to produce (at least) one more TCU. Potential next speakers in my data use a number or features to yield their turns, including continuers, minimal response tokens, and joint productions. The following paragraphs give an overview of these techniques.

Both continuers and minimal response tokens[42] differ from turns as such. They do not initiate sequences, such as repair or topic change, but can be described as "actions within already initiated sequences" (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 497). That is, they do not convey 'content' in the narrow sense, and they also do not typically call for overlap-resolution devices (Schegloff 2000: 5). Rather, their function is to encourage and support the current speaker. Therefore, Duncan – using the term backchannel for both – stresses that "because back-channel signals do not constitute a turn or a claim for a turn, their display by the auditor simultaneously with the speaker's speech is not considered to be a state of simultaneous turns in the dyad" (1972: 288).

Following Schegloff, I define continuers as elements which, when produced, "pass[…] the opportunity to do any sort of fuller turn at all, on the grounds that an extended unit [produced by the current speaker] is already in progress" (1982: 87). In fact, Schegloff highlights that, as most utterances are in fact fully-fledged turns, the set of potential continuers is limited to a small number of freestanding particles, such as *uh-huh* or *mh*. These particles are not linked to any specific type of action, such as agreeing or confirming (Schegloff 1982: 81f), their sole function is to "hand the floor back to the immediately prior speaker" (Gardner 2001: 2). It is therefore not unusual for continuers to occur at non-TRPs (Goodwin 1986: 210), particularly as they can also be non-verbal (e.g. head nods).[43] Continuers are collaborative by definition; they allow interactants to show their awareness "that another [speaker] is in the course of an extended turn which is not yet complete"

[42] Following Gardner (2001) and Couper-Kuhlen & Selting (2018), I use the terms 'continuer' and 'response/acknowledgement token' rather than the more encompassing (and therefore too unspecific) term 'backchannel' (e.g. Duncan & Fiske 1977).

[43] As my analysis is based on audio data, I focus on verbal continuers only.

without uttering "an independent and competitive spate of talking" (Schegloff 1995: 36). (4.52) illustrates a typical scenario:

```
Example (4.52): Storage fee (ICE-JA, S1A-006)

01 Luk:  some FEE (↑don't)=some ↑fee:: er- (0.2) some storage >↑fee is
         a↑bout=
02 Bob:  =m[    h   m   ]
03 Luk:    [four=hundred] and some↑thing
04       (0.5)
05 Luk:  and=↑than (0.3) you have ANOTHER
```

Even though Bob overlaps Luke, the overlap is (a) minimal and (b) not treated as problematic in the conversation. That is, Luke, the current speaker, does not need to provide repair or to defend his position. Of course, continuers do not necessarily have to be uttered in overlap as example (4.53) (taken from an ASEAN conversation) shows:

```
Example (4.53): Exchange (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

01 Zhi:  °so=you went to Canada and New Zealand?°
02       (0.2)
03 An:   yah
04       (0.2)
05 Zhi:  uh-huh=
06 An:   =>for a short< period of ex- just to exchange […]
```

An only provides a minimal answer to Zhi's question (l. 03) and then seems to drop out of speakership again. This causes Zhi to invite her to continue talking: She utters an *uh-huh* (l. 05) and then, when An resumes her turn, immediately shifts back into her role as listener. That is, her intrusion into An's turn has been minimal and non-competitive, and it is not treated as problematic by the turn holder. Accordingly, continuers have been described as marking "passive recipiency" (Jefferson 1983a: 4).

Apart from the 'classic' continuers described above, interactants in my data also produce other types of minimal responses, such as *yeah*, instead of taking their chance to utter a longer turn. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting use the term "responsive action" for these – typically one-word – particles, because, other than continuers, they constitute specific reactions to the current speaker's turn (2018: 497). This is also why they typically occur in close proximity to the TRP (Goodwin 1986: 210), i.e. at places where they can be used to display active listenership. Even though minimal responses can have other functions in conversation – they have, for instance, been shown to indicate turn-claiming (Jefferson 1983a: 10) – they are also used to yield the floor. As Gardner (2001) has shown, intonation seems to play a decisive role in differentiating between these tasks. That is, a token which

is used as a continuer will come with a corresponding intonation contour (Gardner 2001: 129). See, for instance, (4.54) below:

```
Example (4.54): I'm not a linguist (ICE-JA, S1A-003)

01 Wil:  [well=↑I'm-] (0.1) I'm ↑NO lin↑guist (.) but I would
         IMA↑G[  IN ]:E
02 Her:       [yeah?]
03       (0.7)
04 Wil:  that >if I wanna look at the< LAN↑GUAGE (0.2) >I would like to
         see some< uniformi↑ty?
```

In this excerpt, Wilson is the current speaker, and his turn is overlapped by Herman's *yeah?* (l. 02). *Yeah* is typically regarded as an acknowledgement token (cf. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 506); however, in this scenario this is not its only function. In fact, Herman invites Wilson to continue talking: Uttering *yeah?* with rising intonation indicates acknowledgment of the turn so far, but it also adds an aspect of hesitancy, an interest in how the trajectory of the turn is going to unfold. Also note that Herman does not produce further talk, although he would have ample opportunity to do so (cf. l. 03). He thus yields his chance to self-select for the sake of encouraging the current speaker. For a similar example, this time taken from a Trinidadian conversation, also see (4.55):

```
Example (4.55): Going to Tobago (ICE-T&T, S1A-067)

01 Bar:  >↑nah I not goin' to Tobago ↑goin'< (0.2) right in the
         airport=(so)=
02 Eri:  =↑o↓h
03       (0.1)
04 Bar:  I [just waitin' on] them ↑to:
05 Eri:    [    (okay)     ]
06       (0.6)
07 Bar:  take me across!
08       (0.5)
09 Eri:  o↑kay:
10       (0.5)
11 Bar:  to the other side
```

In this extract, Eric is using a number of minimal response tokens to encourage the current speaker, Barney. He first reacts to Barney's announcement that he is not going to fly to Tobago (l. 01) – as the speakers are at an airport and Eric does not know that Barney works there, this information is unexpected and causes Eric to utter *oh (0.1) okay* (l. 02 and 05). *Oh okay* is a composite, i.e. it is a combination of two (or more) practices (Schegloff 2007: 127): Eric first responds to the news provided in Barney's turn, and he does so by means of the change-of-state token *oh* with rising-falling pitch, marking the information as surprising (Local 1996: 204). The following *okay* then accepts the news as heard and understood, indicating that even though the content of the utterance comes as a surprise, it does not

cause problems for the conversation. Eric's reaction thus allows Barney to continue without having to provide repair. Both tokens display Eric's active listenership and his intention to yield the floor to the current speaker – this is also particularly obvious in another minimal response token, the *okay* in line 09, which is produced after Barney has already stopped talking. Schiffrin's conclusion that tokens like *oh* "ratif[y] the current participation structure of the conversation: speaker remains speaker, and hearer remains hearer" (2014: 273) is therefore also corroborated by my data.

Minimal response tokens can also consist of more than one word, as in (4.56) below, where Jodi supports Tess's speakership by acknowledging her statement with *yeah, it was* (l. 02) and then yields the floor again:

```
Example (4.56): Chilly morning (ICE-T&T, S1A-034)

01 Tes:  ↑YEA:H ↑BOY: (0.2) ↑this >morning' I got ↑up and, you know the
         first thing I do get up go and ↑bathe<, right? but- (.) no, not
         this ↑mornin' it was< (.) REALLY [chilly]
02 Jod:                                  [ ↑yeah], it ↑was
03       (0.3)
04 Tes:  and=↑I in my ↑shorts
```

Apart from that, listeners can also yield their chance to speak through laughter, as in (4.57):

```
Example (4.57): Jaywalking (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

01 An:   […] 'cause there's no POwer in what you say, it's=like, ↑OH,
         don't jay↑WALK, but they see you jaywal↑king
02       (0.2)
03 Zhi:  hha hahaha=
04 An:   =so, I'll be like, […]
```

Instead of starting a turn of her own after the current speaker has allowed for a small gap (l. 02), Zhi reacts with laughter (l. 03), thus passing the ball back to An, who continues talking (l. 04). Laughter is not an uncontrolled phenomenon; in fact, it has been shown to be extremely orderly (cf. Jefferson 1985, Glenn 2003), and this certainly also holds for the interactions analysed in this study. Zhi's reaction does not only indicate a willingness to yield her turn, it also demonstrates alignment with the current speaker (cf. also chapter 6.1.3 for a discussion of laughter and other markers of affiliation and alignment).

Joint productions (also called collaborative completions) are turns produced by two (or more) speakers, with the current speaker starting the turn and another speaker proffering a candidate completion – as Sidnell puts it, they are "clear case[s] of interaction between speaker and hearer *within* the bounds of a single-turn-at-talk" (2010: 167). Mostly, joint productions occur in the context of "compound TCUs" (Lerner 1996), i.e. they consist of two complete TCUs (e.g. in the case of *if-then*-clauses); however, other forms can also be

identified in my data. What all of them have in common is "the issue of who 'owns' the utterance as a whole" (Sidnell 2010: 170). My data illustrates that joint productions are typically non-competitive, i.e. the current speaker remains turn-holding. See, for instance, (4.58), an excerpt from ICE-T&T:

```
Example (4.58): Black women (ICE-T&T, S1A-008)

01 Luc:  I think (the) white wo↑me:n are EASI↑ER
02       (0.9)
03 Luc:  in a >lot of ways< than black wo↑men, >because I ↑think< black
         wo↑me:n (.) a::re=
04 N.N.: =((steups))
05       (0.2)
06 Nik:  they've [to ↑FIGHT!]
07 Luc:          [   ↑more  ] (.) STAND-UP, (0.1) they have to ↑FIGHT,
         […]
```

When the current speaker, Lucy, becomes hesitant and searches for the right expression (l. 03), Niki provides a candidate solution (l. 06). Word searches are indicators of trouble in a conversation and invite repair to restore the progressivity of the turn (Lerner 1996: 261). In the example above, Niki is clearly not competing with the current speaker. In fact, Lucy's sound stretch and her incomplete TCU (*black women a::re* (l. 03)) "provide conditional access to the current turn for other participants [in this case Niki] to aid in the search by suggesting candidate words" (Lerner 1996: 261). Niki allows for a small gap before she speaks up (l. 05), and she abandons her turn as soon as she has completed the candidate. Even though Lucy overlaps her, when she continues talking almost simultaneously, she refers back to Niki's contribution by repeating and thus incorporating it into her ongoing turn (l. 07).

Joint productions like that are indicative of the close collaboration between speakers which marks all the interactions analysed for this study. Contrary to response tokens and continuers, they therefore have been described as markers of "active recipiency", as being "more engaged" than the former (Xu 2016: 136). This is why they are discussed in greater detail below (cf. chapter 6.1.1). Apart from that, chapter 6.1.3 gives more insights into the types and usage of response tokens, continuers, and laughter, and also comments on similarities and differences between the data groups.

This chapter has illustrated the third type of speaker change, continuation by the current speaker. Two scenarios have been described; the third and most frequent one (1c:2), i.e. continuation with active turn-holding by the current speaker, is discussed at length in the following chapters (4.2-4.5). I have shown that turn holders will often resume their turn if none of the other participants self-selects for a longer time (1c:1). In most cases, the

continuing speaker then elaborates on a previous topic; however, my data also show that topic changes do occur after lapses and that they can be abrupt. Apart from that, lapses can lead to displays of turn-yielding by the current speaker, e.g. through hesitation markers or direct selection of a next speaker. And finally, speakers might provide self-repair, if their co-conversationalists do no react to their turn for a longer time. On the other hand, potential next speakers can also actively yield their chance to take a turn. Three variants of this scenario have been introduced above: the use of continuers, minimal response tokens, and joint productions. All of them are subject to closer scrutiny in chapter 6.

The following chapters (4.2-4.5) focus on the two remaining scenarios of speaker change, turn-claiming by a potential next speaker, and turn-holding by the turn occupant. As many of the strategies which speakers employ overlap, I discuss both scenarios simultaneously, focusing on the type of strategy and its realisation in the individual conversations. I start by investigating speakers exploiting the 'first starter gets the turn'-rule through anticipatory starts, overlaps, and latches.

4.2. Latches and overlaps

Research on British and American conversations has identified three larger types of overlap, all of which can also be found in the data I analysed (cf. Jefferson 1984a, 1986, 2004; Schegloff 2000). That is, overlaps in Southeast Asian and Caribbean English conversations seem to follow the same patterns as established for 'Inner Circle' Englishes. These can be divided into three larger groups, which are discussed in detail below. When describing instances of overlap, I follow the terminology outlined in Jefferson's classic papers (1984a, 1986, 2004), as the cases discussed by her also correspond to my findings.

4.2.1. Transitional overlap and latches

To begin with, the majority of overlaps in both data groups can be found directly at the transition space. This does not seem to be surprising at first glance, as this is also what is typically reported by CA literature (cf. Sidnell 2010: 52). However, as mentioned before, turn-taking in Caribbean Creole Englishes has been described as chaotic, as displaying "a pervasive pattern of making what we can call *counternoise*" (Reisman 1974: 114). This assumption clearly has to be refuted when taking a closer look at the data. In fact, all three

types of transitional overlap which were identified are logical consequences of the application of the turn-taking system.

As has been shown above, aspiring next speakers have to make sure that they are the first starter at an upcoming TRP. That is, they will monitor the current speaker's talk to project the earliest legitimate place for speaking up. Ideally, this earliest place to start is in "absolute adjacency" (Jefferson 1986: 154), which means that the next speaker starts up at the last sounds of the current speaker's utterance, as in (4.59) below:

```
Example (4.59): White women (ICE-T&T, S1A-008)

01 Mic?: ↑YEAH=
02 Tin:  =they [feel like] that about black woman=
03 Mic:        [  ↑yeah  ]
04       =that's why a lot of m:ovie stars=and big pop↑star:rs and:
         (0.1) successful black men (0.4) marry white women=
05 Tin:  =>and you always< hear the black women say the white women are
         <stealing their men>!
```

In this excerpt from a Caribbean conversation with four female participants in total, Michelle and Tina are discussing the status of black women in society. Their turns are latched to each other (l. 01 and 02, l. 02 and 04, l. 04 and 05), i.e. the two speakers are alternating with one another without allowing the transition space to open up for any other participant. Beginning in latch position functions as an effective turn-claiming strategy in this scenario. On the other hand, it is also a sign of close monitoring: In order to produce a turn in absolute adjacency, speakers have to finetune their utterances to their co-conversationalists' behaviour – and this is only possible if they are attentive. See also example (4.60) below:

```
Example (4.60): Air Asia (ACE, VN_LE_con_pho restaurant)

01 Thu:  [which air]↑way (0.2) is=it?=
02 Dia:  =↑ER::M air >asia they either taking air< asi↑a:
         [>↑o:r they take ↑the]:::< lion ↑air:
```

Thuy's *which airway is it?* (l. 01) constitutes an adjacency pair first part (a question) which requires a second part (an answer) to be completed. This response is provided by Dian, who begins talking at the last sounds of Thuy's question, i.e. in latch position (l. 02), leaving no space between the two turns. Note that Dian does not provide an answer straightaway but starts with a hesitation marker *er::m*, stretching the first syllable and raising both pitch and volume before actually providing the SPP required. That is, what is essential here is the early start rather than the response proper: The absolute adjacency guarantees Dian the

status as first speaker[44] and also signals the intention to deliver an SPP, the actual response only follows afterwards. Apart from that, latches are by definition extremely vulnerable to overlap. The current speaker might, for instance, choose to extend their turn or stretch their last sound. That is, Dian's *er::m* in (4.60) also acts as a pre-turn filler, testing the water and ensuring that the SPP as such remains clear of overlap. Nevertheless, as I show later in this chapter, overlap is common if next speakers latch their turn to that of the previous interactant. For a turn-taking system which aims at avoiding both gaps and overlap, the 'ideal' transition involves a minimal gap between speakers. Jefferson describes this as follows:

> A recipient/next speaker produces his talk in such a way that it occurs with neither haste nor delay. It is not pushed up into or latched immediately onto the prior utterance, but permits just a bit of space between the end of the prior and the start of the next. It is 'simply next'. And I have the impression that this is the most common, the usual, the standard relationship of one utterance to another (Jefferson 1986: 162).

In fact, I have shown that ideal transitions like that exist in my data (cf. chapter 4.1). However, they do not constitute the majority of speaker changes. Rather, self-selecting next speakers often find themselves in overlap with the current speaker, who continues after a small gap. See, for instance, (4.61), taken from a Caribbean interaction:

```
Example (4.61): Not far (ICE-T&T, S1A-067)

01 Nat:  [so] what ↑part=of Tobago you from then?=
02 Jan:  =Bon Ac↑cord
03       (0.5)
04 Nat:  oh that's (0.2) not too far!
05       (0.3)
06 Jan:  (not too-) (.) ↑WELL::
07       (.)
08 Jan:  [if you ((chuckl.)) c]onsid[er that (not ↑far)! ((/chuckl.))]
09 Moi:  [     it     ↑far    ]     [now!    >(you have to go ↑from)>]
         ( )!
```

When Nathalie asserts that Janice's home in Bon Accord, Tobago, is not far away from her workplace (l. 04), Janice reacts hesitantly, indicating disagreement: *not too- well* (l. 06). After a micropause, i.e. a gap smaller than 0.1s, she adds another TCU: *if you consider that not far!* (l. 08). This second part of her turn is now overlapped by a third speaker starting up, Moira (l. 09). Note that both Moira and Janice are uttering completely legitimate turns; Moira is starting up at a TRP, and Janice is producing a multi-unit turn. That is, none of the

[44] Thuy is asking about Tembam, one of the Indonesian speakers. She thus selects one of the Indonesian participants as a next speaker, which means that there are theoretically five potential interactants (including Tembam herself) who might start up at the TRP. Of course, I cannot exclude that Thuy addresses Dian directly via gaze. However, the previous interaction makes clear that all of the Indonesian conversationalists have the knowledge to answer Thuy's question (they have all been on the same flight).

participants is acting interruptive – the overlap is a byproduct of the speakers applying the turn-taking system and thus can be seen as a marker of the conversation's orderliness. Most cases of this "unmarked next position" onset (Jefferson 1986: 162) in the data are resolved quickly, i.e. one speaker abandons their turn within one or two "beats" (Schegloff 2000: 24). A beat roughly corresponds to a syllable (Schegloff 2000: 19), and in fact, many overlaps turn out to be 'false starts' which do not last much longer than two syllables. See, for instance, the examples below, taken from both data groups (overlap in unmarked next position in bold):

Situation (1): Example (4.62) shows a false start in unmarked next position, which is resolved after one syllable with both speakers dropping out and restart by the current speaker:

Example (4.62): Sichuan food (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Lan:  er::: (0.2) er- (0.2) chi- er:: ↑XI'AN's (0.2) food is=e- (0.1)
         ↑er::↓: similar ↑with (0.1) er:::: (0.2) Sichuan (0.2) province!
02       (0.2)
03 Lan:  [°food°]
04 Che:  [    ↑o]kay
05       (0.5)
06 Sam:  [ m-]
07 Lan:  [so-] (0.1) (but-) (.) it's- (.) I ↑think hhh (0.2) ↑er:↓: (0.2)
         it's er (.) very delicious […]
```

Situation (2): Example (4.63) illustrates a false start in unmarked next position, which is resolved after two syllables with the turn-claimant dropping out:

Example (4.63): Understanding Chinese (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 Zhi:  [hh can you] understand chiNESE?
02 Wan:  ((sniffs)) mhm [↑no], not really
03 Zhi:                 [ no]
04 N.N.: ((alveolar click))
05 Wan:  [   very  ] simple
06 An:   [your eth-]
07       (0.2)
08 An:   but your ethnicity […]
```

Situation (3): In (4.64), the false start in unmarked next position is resolved after more than two syllables with the current speaker dropping out:

Example (4.64): Not reflected (ICE-JA, S1A-003)

```
01 Her:  [but why you AS↑S:UME] that the people don't have the uniformity
         [(there isn't-)]
02 Wil:  [ it's  not  re]↑FLECTED! (0.3) you have JUST said to ↑me ↑when
         Carolyn Cooper writes some↑thing=
```

Similar durations of overlap have been observed for American and British interactions (Schegloff 2000: 22). However, overlaps can also turn into what Schegloff terms "competitive production",[45] i.e. one or both of the parties using additional turn-claiming or turn-holding techniques to make the other abandon the floor (2000: 21). See, for instance, (4.65) from a Jamaican interaction:

Example (4.65): Which school (ICE-JA, S1A-013)

```
01 Joa:  […] well, ↑we >had to go to Saint< Monica's home because it was
         close to [ us ]
02 Ann:           [m↑hm]
03 Joa:  [     and   every    s-  ]
04 Deb:  [>which- which school you] went to?<
```

The current speaker, Joanne, is overlapped at a TRP when she continues to add another TCU and a second speaker, Debby, self-selects at the same time (l. 03 and 04). Note that Debby uses turn-claiming techniques in her turn; she restarts after a cut-off (cf. chapter 4.5.2 for a closer analysis of this strategy). That is, Debby is in a turn-claiming mode, while Joanne's utterance is not 'protected' by turn-holding markers – as a consequence, Joanne soon abandons her turn, leaving the floor to Debby (cf. Schegloff 2000: 21). It is therefore not surprising, that aspiring next speakers typically back up their early starts in overlap by other turn-claiming strategies. See below for an overview of the possible combinations (turn-claiming passages in bold, for a detailed description of the individual strategies see chapters 4.3-4.5):

Case 1: Overlap in unmarked next position with phonetic turn-claiming (in (4.66): increase in tempo and upstep in pitch) (1b:3OP)

Example (4.66): That's not the point (ICE-T&T, S1A-008)

```
01 Mic:  >so I say Jack< that's not the ↑point
02       (1.1)
03 Mic:  [    (that's  ↑not-)   ]
04 Tin:  [>↑he doesn't know the<] (0.1) ↑WA::Y
```

Case 2: Overlap in unmarked next position with lexical turn-claiming (in (4.67): direct address) (1b:3LO)

Example (4.67): Blaine (ICE-JA, S1A-004)

```
01 Bla:  […] it HAS ↑been (0.3) up till ↑now (0.3) been able to transmit
02 Ron:  ((steups)) [ right ]
03 Bla:             [informa]↑tion=
```

[45] The term 'competitive' is misleading in this context, as it portrays conversations as 'fights for the floor' rather than collaborative enterprises. The interactions analysed for this study can by no means be described as competitions (see also chapter 6 for an in-depth discussion). Rather than referring to a 'competitive production' mode, I therefore use the term 'turn-claiming', which I consider more neutral.

```
04 N.N.: =[↑that's-]
05 Ron:   [ (okay) ]
06 Bla:  [isn't that] what a (.) [LANGUAGE] [ is   sup]posed [to do?]
07 Tim:  [ (↑Blaine)]                        [(Blaine!)]
```

Cases of overlap in unmarked next position onset with syntactic turn-claiming only could not be identified in either of the data groups. This does not mean that speakers do not use syntactic strategies to claim a turn in overlap – rather, they typically combine them with additional techniques. In fact, these complex strategies constitute the majority of all turn-claiming scenarios. See, for instance, examples (4.68) and (4.69) below:

Case 3: Overlap in unmarked next position with lexical and phonetic turn-claiming (minimal response tokens and increased volume) (1b:3LOP)

Example (4.68): Narrow streets (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 Zhi:  =on- between two sides buil↑ding
02       (0.7)
03 Zhi:  [the  street  is  very  narrow]
04 An:   [oh yah=yah, the AISLE, right?] yah=
05 Zhi:  =uh-huh, […]
```

Case 4: Overlap in unmarked next position with phonetic and syntactic turn-claiming (high pitch, cut-off, and restart with loud volume) (1b:3OPS)

Example (4.69): Getting up (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Che:  =s::even we start
02       (0.2)
03 Che:  [↓so↑:-]
04 Lan:  [↑what-] >(↑WHEN) will you< get up?
```

Instances in which speakers combine overlap in unmarked next position with lexical and syntactic turn-claiming are extremely rare and can be treated as negligible in the conversations analysed. However, there are cases in which strategies from three different groups can be found, as in (4.70) below:

Case 5: Overlap in unmarked next position with lexical, phonetic, and syntactic turn-claiming (discourse particle, loud volume, cut-off, and repetition) (1b:3LOPS)

Example (4.70): Sharp fellow (ICE-JA, S1A-006)

```
01 War:  >he's a bit- (he live at the nurses' ↑home)<
02       (1.1)
03 Bob:  [>what does THAT mean?<]
04 Luk:  [   ↓WELL  = (it's)-   ] >well well it's< a SHARP fellow ↓uh
```

Cases 1-5 shown above all depict instances in which a next speaker actively claims a turn in overlap. However, overlap obviously also plays a role in turn-holding, namely when the

current speaker defends their position as turn occupant. See, for instance, the situation below, taken from an ASEAN conversation:

Example (4.71): Kids (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:   how many kids do you ↑wa:nt?
02       (0.3)
03 An:   >do you ↑want<=
04 Wan:  =oh my god no hh=
05       =((all are laughing))=
06 N.N.: =((sniffs))
07 An:   [      have      you    ( )  ]
08 Zhi:  [ have  you  (got  a)   plan?]
09 Wan:  [>I think before that you ask] me< how many DOGS I want first=
10       =((all are laughing and chuckling))=
11 Wan:  =that one's MORE important!
```

In (4.71), the speakers are talking about their plans for the future and An asks her co-conversationalist whether she plans on having children (l. 01). Wan pretends being shocked (l. 04), which leads to laughter by all of the interactants (l. 05). When the conversation restarts, all three participants begin speaking at the same time. This is an unusual situation – as Schegloff has observed for multi-party conversation, "it turns out with great regularity that, when more than one person is talking at a time, TWO persons are talking at a time and not more" (Schegloff 2000: 7, emphasis in original). My analysis corroborates this finding: Situations like (4.71) above are rare and typically quickly resolved. Even though the overlap is longer than just two syllables, it is not competitive. None of the turn-claiming speakers mobilises additional resources to win the floor (l. 07 and 08), and the current speaker manages to talk through the overlap, thus holding her turn (l. 09). Also note that Wan does not repair the overlapped passage in the clear but simply continues speaking (l. 09). That is, the incident is treated as unproblematic by both the current speaker and the turn claimants, who do not announce trouble either. Choral laughter additionally serves to resolve the situation (l. 10).

However, most instances of overlap in unmarked next position lead to speaker change, i.e. the current speaker abandons their turn and the turn-claiming party takes over. This holds for both the Southeast Asian and the Caribbean data group.

A second type of transitional overlap, which also can be regarded as a byproduct of turn-taking, is what Jefferson labels "latched onset" (1984a: 17). In these cases, the overlap occurs because a next speaker starts up in latch position (i.e. at the last sounds of the current speaker's utterance), while the current speaker continues talking (Jefferson 1986: 154). In other words, this type of overlap is a variant of the unmarked next position onset described above. Starting in latch position is a very effective method to establish oneself as a next

speaker; however, it is also extremely vulnerable to overlap, as the following examples illustrate:

```
Example (4.72): Praying (ICE-T&T, S1A-057)

01 Tre:  Jeanne, are you ↑prayin'?=
02 Kat:  =↑I was [ just  go]nna ↑ask
03 Tre:          [is=↑that-]
04       hh=
05 Jea:  =no=
```

```
Example (4.73): Spicy (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

01 Lan:  so there ALSO some: delicious food!
02       (0.3)
03 Che:  ↑ah yah=(some-)=
04 Lan:  =if [you want to try]
05 Che:      [  ↑is=it   spic]y? no lah?
```

In both scenarios, (4.72) and (4.73), a prospective next speaker self-selects at the last sounds of the prior speaker's TCU (see l. 02 in (4.72) and l. 04 in (4.73)), and in both examples overlap occurs when the turn occupant adds another TCU to their turn (see l. 03 in (4.72) and l. 05 in (4.73)). None of the situations is treated as problematic by the participants: There are no initiations of repair or any other indications of trouble. In fact, the turn occupant either reacts by abandoning their turn expansion (see (4.72)) or by talking through the overlap and holding the turn (see (4.73)). Both passages are resolved relatively fast. However, passages in overlap can also be considerably longer, as (4.74) illustrates:

```
Example (4.74): Something about her (ICE-T&T, S1A-050)

01 Bee:  […] h i- hh she ↑H:AS SOMETHIN' ABOUT ↑HER=
02 Jul:  =she [ like  those ↑things=she  like ] to see DEAD ↑PEOPLE:!=
03 Bee:       [>you have to give her that uh?<]
```

In this scenario, five female participants are talking about a mutual acquaintance. Bee has just been speaking for a longer time, and when she completes a TCU (l. 01), Julia self-selects in latch position (l. 02). In doing so, Julia makes sure that she – rather than the three other speakers – is the first starter. However, as Bee continues talking, both women overlap for a considerable amount of time, before Bee abandons her turn and Julia takes over. Note that the passage of simultaneous talk is much longer than two beats. Apart from that, Bee does not yield when Julia produces an upstep in pitch but completes her TCU instead. Even though long overlaps are not unusual in the conversations analysed, at least not for the Caribbean data group, most overlaps are resolved within one or two beats. Participants are thus likely to have good reasons for maintaining longer overlaps. These can include the prior course of the conversation, e.g. the fact that Bee has already been talking for a

considerable amount of time, or the current turn position, which allows Julia to introduce a topic she deems newsworthy at this particular point (cf. Schegloff 2000: 24). As with onset in unmarked next position, overlaps starting with latches can also be accompanied by turn-holding or -claiming devices (see, for instance, Julia's change in pitch in (4.74) above).

Overlap with latched onset can also be found in turn-holding situations. See, for example, the situation in (4.75) below in which the participants are talking about family members with babies:

Example (4.75): No choice (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:   […] you have no ↑choice [>so when they<] cry
02 N.N.:                         [     ah       ]
03 An:   it's yours, it's ↑yours=
04 Zhi:  =((chuckling)) ↑yah: ((/chuckling))=
05 An:   =[you bring them home, too]
06 Wan:  =[↑actually↑ c- the crying] is o↑kay: it's […]
```

An has completed a TCU and Zhi reacts with a minimal response token (*yah* (l. 04)). Rather than allowing for a small gap or even a micropause, An extends her turn by latching another TCU to Zhi's utterance (l. 05). This leads to overlap with the third speaker, Wan, who also self-selects in latch position (l. 06). As in (4.74), the turn occupant (An) does not stop but completes her TCU in overlap before she yields the floor to the turn claimant. Overall, however, overlap with latched onset rarely serves as a turn-holding device in the data analysed – it is particularly rare in the Caribbean group. Furthermore, most instances clearly do not occur in situations where another interactant is claiming the floor; rather they constitute scenarios where overlaps are "licensed or mandated", i.e. typically treated as unproblematic (Schegloff 2000: 6) (see also chapter 5.3 for an overview of the most frequent turn-claiming and turn-holding strategies). This includes, for instance, continuers or laughter (Schegloff 2000: 5f), as in (4.76) below:

Example (4.76): Bus route (ICE-T&T, S1A-057)

```
01 Kat:  hh[h ((chuckling)) LIKE ↑SHE] JUST REACH ON TH/i:/
         [BUS] ↑ROU:TE,
02 Tre:  [ ha]
03 Kat:  she=didn't [KNOW ↑HO:::W ((/chuckling))]
04 Tre:             [    ha    ha    ha    ha   ]haha=
05 Kat:  =hh[SHE'S LIKE ↑PLEA:SE]=
06 Tre?:    [   ((chuckling))   ]=
07       =((all are laughing))=
```

In this extract, the current speaker, Katherine, latches her continuation to Trevor's laughter (l. 05) and overlaps part of it (l. 06). At no point are the other speakers actively claiming the right to speak, they "do not conduct themselves as […] alternatives or competitors, but

rather as properly simultaneous occupants of the floor" (Schegloff 2000: 6). Even though Katherine is speaking with raised volume, this is more due to her performing the story in this particular context – she is imitating a resolute elderly lady – than to a 'fight for the floor'.[46]

A final case of overlap which is a consequence of speaker transition involves the next speaker starting up early, i.e. while the current speaker is still completing their TCU. This "terminal onset" (Jefferson 1986: 156) can involve just the last sound of the preceding unit, but it can also lead to overlaps of words or even longer structures. See (4.77) below for two cases of minimal terminal overlap:

```
Example (4.77): Australia (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

01 Che:  (I=mean-) when ↑I was in Australia I- (0.1) I- I studied ↑there
         hhh
02 Lan:  so-=
03 Che:  =↑er::[: m ]
04 Lan:        [you-] you WENT to Austral[ia ?]
05 Che:                                  [yeah] (0.2) for=about=
```

When the current speaker, Chen, seems to have completed his turn in line 01, Lan self-selects and indicates her willingness to be the next speaker (*so-* (l. 02)). Before she can continue, Chen starts to expand his utterance, using a filler and rising pitch (l. 03). This is when Lan overlaps him – she starts while Chen still stretches his *er:::m* and self-selects a second time (l. 04). Terminal onsets like this one clearly have a turn-claiming function: Lan makes sure that she is the first starter by beginning to speak as soon as the TRP is projectable, neglecting the final sounds of the current speaker. She then restarts again (*you-you* (l. 04)) to make sure her actual question is produced in the clear, after the current speaker has dropped out (Schegloff 2000: 34) (cf. also chapter 4.5.1 for a more detailed discussion of recycled turn-beginnings). Interestingly, Lan's question itself is subject to terminal overlap – Chen starts to answer it while Lan is still producing the last syllable (l. 05). Again, the overlap is minimal, the "turn in progress is for all practical purposes completed" (Jefferson 1984a: 14). For Chen, the early start means that he manages to regain the floor before any other speaker can self-select. At the same time, he can display close co-attentiveness to his interlocutors by showing that he recognises the trajectory of their turn-in-progress. Chen orients to the principle of "reasonable turn incursion" (Jefferson 1984a: 14): As soon as he recognises what Lan is about to say, he takes over.

[46] This instance illustrates the importance of combining qualitative with quantitative analyses when investigating interaction. A mere quantitative approach, looking at transcription conventions only, would have most likely mislabelled the situation as competitive.

Terminal overlap can also affect longer parts of an utterance, e.g. complete words. These cases of "last-item onset" constitute the majority of terminal overlaps in both data groups. See, for instance, (4.78), an example from Trinidad: Nathalie, the turn-claiming speaker, overlaps the turn holder, Janice, while she is still producing the last word of her turn:

Example (4.78): Far (ICE-T&T, S1A-067)

```
01 Jan:  ↑N[O: it's] (oui) it's [FAR] for you [ ↑NOW! ]=
02 N.N.:   [ h a - ]
03 N.N.:                        [hha]
04 Nat:                                        [h ↑YES!]=
05 N.N.: =[hahaha]
06 Nat:  =[ B E F]ORE IT WAS LIKE- ↑THAT'S ↑RIGHT
         ↑H[ERE! (.) (but) ↑NOW:- hhh]
```

In the data analysed, terminal overlaps are almost exclusively used by turn-claiming speakers. However, this is not the case with longer cases of last-item onset. See example (4.79) below, taken from the same conversation:

Example (4.79): Customers (ICE-T&T, S1A-067)

```
01 Moi:  […] and it's because they TREAT their employees >badly and their<
         employees in ↑TURN (0.1) they
02 Jan:  [   treat  =  the    custo↑mers    badly    ]
03 Moi:  [WON'T >QUIT OR ANY↑THING! hh they treat the] customers badly
         and they (will) TELL< […]
```

As in the examples above, the next speaker (Janice) overlaps Moira terminally – in this particular case to provide a candidate to complete the TCU (l. 02). What differs from (4.77) and (4.78) is that Janice does not claim the floor – she drops out again as soon as the turn is complete and yields the floor back to the current speaker. Furthermore, Moira herself does not treat Janice's utterance as competitive; rather, she incorporates it into her own turn (l. 03). Cases like this are discussed in greater detail in chapter 6.1.1, as they fall into the categories of 'collaborative completions' and 'compound TCUs'.

To sum up, the conversations analysed feature three distinct cases of transitional overlap, i.e. overlap which occurs as a byproduct of speaker change: Turn-claiming next speakers might start up in unmarked next position, they can latch their utterance to the current speaker's turn, or they might start up early, i.e. at the last sounds or words of the turn-in-progress. All of these onset types can lead to overlap, as could be shown in the data. Most passages of simultaneous talk are quickly resolved; however, when compared with the Southeast Asian group, the Caribbean interactions are marked by longer overlaps. Nevertheless, transitional overlap is clearly not a sign of chaotic conversations – in fact, it

shows that the participants orient themselves to the turn-taking rules and exploit the 'first starter gets the turn'-principle.

4.2.2. Interjacent onset – progressional and recognitional overlaps

Apart from overlap in the proximity of the TRP, next speakers also start up before a TCU is completed, i.e. in "interjacent onset" (Jefferson 1986: 158). This does not necessarily have to be interruptive, as has been discussed above (see chapter 3.2.2.2); rather, the contrary seems to be the case. Two larger groups can be distinguished: progressional and recognitional overlap (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 104). Both constitute a considerable number of the overlaps identified in my data and are therefore discussed in greater detail in the paragraphs below.

Next speakers starting in progressional onset do so in order to resolve some kind of dysfluency or "hitches" in the ongoing utterance (Jefferson 1984a: 12). See, for instance, example (4.80):

```
Example (4.80): Master's (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

01 Wan:  [if you D]ID the- (0.3) your under↑grad:
02       (0.5)
03 Wan:  and your m- honours ↑year and your master's >there then it's very
         easy< (0.4) >but if you did it anywhere else< ↑then: (0.2) you'll
         ↑be:: [  it's  tougher  ]
04 An:         [>but you did it-<] ↑erm:
05       (0.3)
06 Wan:  >I only did< undergrad only
```

An's starting up in line 04 serves two purposes. First, the current speaker's turn has become slightly dysfluent: Wan produces sound stretches, allows for gaps, and restarts elements of her TCU: *then: (0.2) you'll be::* (l. 03). By overlapping her even though the TRP has not been reached yet, An restores conversational flow. That is, she is not interrupting the current speaker. As Jefferson observes, hitches often lead to "the starting up of a recipient's talk, regardless of the (in)auspiciousness or interactional (im)propriety of starting at such a place" (1984a: 37). I have already discussed similar cases in chapter 4.1.3, where I showed that collaborative completions and joint productions often have a turn-yielding function, i.e. they are not treated as claims to the floor by the participants, and the self-selecting speakers typically abandon their turns as soon as they have offered the candidate solution. Nevertheless, progressional overlaps differ from joint production in that respect. They involve a next speaker using the dysfluency to claim a turn rather than providing repair. An, in (4.80) above, does not proffer a possible completion for Wan's TCU but self-selects to

ask a question. In doing so, she breaks Wan's cycle of restarts and re-establishes interactional progress. Apart from that, she also ensures that a potential trouble source gets removed: Her question serves as an understanding check and is thus a prerequisite for being able to follow Wan's further story. In fact, "dysfluency in the ongoing talk […] constitute[s] a recurrent locus of next-speaker startings" (Jefferson 1984a: 12). However, overall the amount of progressional onset as a turn-claiming resource is minimal in the interactions analysed. Most of these instances in my data neither involve overlap nor constitute claims for the floor. They are discussed in greater detail in chapter 6.1.1 on joint productions.

Apart from that, a second group of overlaps which start at non-TRPs can be subsumed under the label "recognitional overlap" (Jefferson 1984a: 12). Again, starting up before the current speaker has stopped talking is typically not perceived as interruptive in these contexts. In the data analysed, two subtypes can be identified, which correspond to Jefferson's distinction between "item-targeted" and "thrust-projective" recognitional overlap (1984a: 28ff). Speakers who produce overlaps with item-targeted onset start speaking as soon as a word or phrase is identifiable, even though the current speaker has not yet reached a TRP. See, for instance, the following examples, taken from both data groups:

Example (4.81): All the while (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:   oh, so y- you- uh- (0.4) ALL the while you have been drinking
         [this?]
02 Wan:  [no no] no, my mom just went ↑there (0.2) and bought [recently]
```

Example (4.82): On the list (ICE-JA, S1A-013)

```
01 Joa:  but – I ↑know (.) Port Royal was on the ↑list
02       (0.2)
03 Ann:  Hope [     Garden    (   )     ]
04 Joa:       [Ara(kwik)- Arawak=mu↑seum] (.) Hope ↑Garden, the ↑zoo,
         Coconut [  P a : r k    ↑h    ]
05 Deb:          [>there's another park] ↑that< we went to ↑man >there's
         another one out< near Cor- ↑er:m […]
```

In both excerpts, the current speakers have not completed their TCUs when a next speaker overlaps them. In (4.81), An is in the process of asking a question directed at Wan (*you have been drinking* (l. 01)), who does not await the TRP to provide an answer (l. 02) – the final part of An's question is already recognisable. In (4.82), Debby overlaps the current speaker, Joanne, while she is about to produce a list of sightseeing destinations (l. 04 and 05). Again, Joanne's turn is noticeably incomplete (*Coconut Ø*); however, the missing part

can be deduced from the context (*Coconut Park* used to be a popular amusement attraction in Jamaica).

Next speakers can also produce recognitional overlaps, if the trajectory of the TCU is recognisable. This is what Jefferson describes as "thrust-projective" overlaps (Jefferson 1984a: 12, 29f). By doing so, conversationalists orient themselves to the status of an interaction as a social activity (Tanaka 1999: 37), i.e. they indicate that an action has been accomplished successfully and the conversation can move on. This is what happens in (4.83), a conversation from ICE-T&T:

```
Example (4.83): Niece-in-law (ICE T&T, S1A-050)

01 Bee:  [↑I wan]t you as a niece-in-[↑law]
02 Eil:                              [ S a]rah
         co[min'   back   married  !   ]
03 Bee:    [>and you'll ↑see 'bout me!<]
04       (0.3)
05 Jul:  >tell her< [(true)]
06 N.N.:            [ A H  ]HAHAHA
07       (0.1)
08 Bee:  ↑oh [  god  I  bad !  ]
09 Eil:      [>you don't need-<]=
10 Bee:  =UH!=
11 Eil:  =>I don't ↑NEED to be your< niece-in-law >to see
         a[bout ↑you:?<]
12 Bee:   [ >no  t-  ↑I] know that [(you'll still see me a-)<]
13 Eil:                            [  j u s t    w r i t e   ] me in the
         ↑will (and)[(I)-]
14 Bee:             [↑OH:] >come on [↑( )<]
```

The excerpt is part of a conversation between five women who are discussing marriage. In lines 01 and 03 Bee addresses her younger neighbour, Eileen, and expresses her wish to have her as a niece-in-law, so that she can care for her when she is older. However, Eileen does not react at first – instead, there are two smaller gaps (l. 04 and 07) and a side comment by Bee's real niece, Julia (l. 05). This lack of acknowledgement is indicative of potential trouble – Bee's expression constitutes the first part of an adjacency pair, and Eileen's failure to produce a response, i.e. a second pair part, is noticeably absent. Bee therefore initiates repair by re-framing her utterance as a joke: *oh god I bad!* (l. 08). At the same time, Eileen reacts to Bee's original turn, first in overlap (l. 09), then in the clear. She also indicates that there is a potential problem by asking *I don't NEED to be your niece-in-law to see about you?* (l.11). Both women are thus orienting to the same trouble source: Bee by conducting self-repair to highlight the teasing character of her utterance, Eileen by disagreeing and thus displaying her understanding of Bee's statement. By starting to speak again before Eileen has stopped talking, Bee shows that she has recognised Eileen's turn as what it is – a repair initiator – and that its task has been accomplished: *no t- I know that (you'll still see me a-)*

(l. 12). This example shows that transition does not only become relevant and legitimate at places of syntactic or phonetic completion but can also be a consequence of recognisably complete actions. In fact, as soon as Eileen notices that Bee's utterances constitute friendly teasing, she also overlaps her, thus indicating that the repair sequence has been completed successfully and that she is willing to join the banter: *just write me in the will* (l. 13).

Similar situations can also be found in the Southeast Asian conversations analysed, for instance in (4.84):

```
Example (4.84): Skilled trade (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

01 An:   but- (0.2) ((alveolar click)) I heard- (0.2) if you're a
         plum↑ber:: you:: >get really high points [down there?<]
02 Wan:                                           [ ↑y e : a h ] all
         these e:r >what they call< SKILLED
03       (0.2)
04 Wan:  [↑TRADE]
05 An:   [ ↑yah ] skilled trade=
06 Wan:  =e:::rm
```

Prior to this excerpt, Wan has been talking about her plans of going to Australia and the difficulties she experiences as a research assistant when applying for a visa. An, another participant in the conversation, now asks a follow-up question and inquires which occupations the Australian government considers as being in demand (l. 01). Before she can complete her question, and before the TRP is reached, Wan overlaps her with a response (l. 02). As before, the overlap is not perceived as interruptive by the participants – An does not defend her turn but completes the question TCU in overlap, then yields the floor to Wan and confines herself to encouraging the current speaker (l. 05). By starting up early to provide a response SPP, Wan signals that she has understood the general 'thrust' of An's utterance, namely that her action in the FPP (i.e. requesting information) has been achieved. Rather than constituting an interruption, recognitional overlaps stress the success of conversational co-operation: Next speakers are able to start up before the TRP is reached, because they are closely observing each other's turns. By beginning to speak as soon as the gist of the current speaker's utterance is clear, they are demonstrably performing 'being cooperative' in the interaction.

In her analysis of Japanese conversations, Tanaka finds similar examples of these recognitional overlaps, and she concludes that "[a] striking cross-cultural similarity is observed in the kinds of instances where interactional considerations may be prioritised over displays which can mark turn-completion" (1999: 37). It could therefore even be argued that the recognition of a turn's trajected action constitutes a legitimate TRP – as discussed above (cf. chapter 3.2.1), transition does not only become relevant at the

completion of a syntactic and/or prosodic unit but is a much more complex phenomenon. Recognitional overlaps occur as a consequence of the completion of a pragmatic or activity-specific unit, which potentially opens up a TRP just like the 'classic cases' of terminal or transitional overlap. The distinction between transitional and recognitional overlap is therefore primarily one of content, not of form (cf. Jefferson (1984a: 14), who also points at this relationship). Overlaps are transitional, if they occur after the current speaker has completed a syntactic or intonational unit; they are recognitional, if the current speaker has produced a recognisable action. Both types are results of the turn-taking system and occur at TRPs – after all, a TCU, an identifiable gestalt, has been completed. On the other hand, TRPs are complex entities which are not defined by one feature alone. If syntax, intonation, pragmatic actions, and other modalities align in pointing at an upcoming TRP, transition relevance can be regarded as strongly marked (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 53). With recognitional overlap, however, it is only the trajectory of an action which is identifiable as complete when the next speaker starts up – i.e. the transition relevance is less marked but might be established for interactional purposes, such as displaying affiliation and cooperation or enhancing conversational progress.

4.2.3. Blind spot overlaps

A last type of overlap identified in the data has been described as "blind spot" overlap by Jefferson (1986: 164). See example (4.85), taken from a Southeast Asian conversation. The speakers are discussing the advantages of different types of memory cards:

```
Example (4.85): Chewing gum (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

01 Lan:  er ↑S[ O M E  ]      [of the-]
02 Che:       [it=looks] like [<↑chewi]ng> gum >you know (this)<
03       (0.6)
04 Lan:  [ ahhh ]
05 Sam:  [(yeah)]
06 Che:  yeah=the small little
07       (0.7)
08 N.N.: ((alveolar click))=
09 Che:  =↓ye:↑ah sma[ller than sd card!]
10 Lan:              [ s-  s- (er)=sever]al card <↑rea↓de↑rs (.) can↑not
         read it!>=
11 Che:  =yeah::
```

Lan self-selects in line 10 and overlaps the current speaker, Chen, although he has already noticeably started to continue his turn after a pause (l. 06 and 09). This latency in starting up has to do with the next speaker – Lan – already preparing to start up at the TRP before the current speaker expand their turn: "[H]e [i.e. the next speaker] is no longer in recipient

orientation, but in a state of speakership, although he is not yet producing sounds" (Jefferson 1986: 164). This corresponds to the idea of a crunch zone (cf. chapter 3.2.2.5; Levinson & Torreira 2015), in which the prospective next speaker is both planning their upcoming turn and preparing its production; a double task, which might make Lan momentarily 'blind' for the current speaker's continuation. The opposite scenario can be found as well: In (4.86) and (4.87) below, the current speaker has reached a TRP but continues after a period of silence, despite another speaker having self-selected already:

Example (4.86): What I said yesterday (ICE-JA, S1A-010)

```
01 Sue:  hh is this what the pink or leftist are saying in the ↑STATES
         that it's=a- it's a big (0.3) N:EXUS between big ↑business and
         government ↑an:d- and ↑erm:
02       (2.5)
03 N.N.: (>what I sa[id<   yester↑day   and   ↓erm- )  ]
04 Sue:             [and=the Christian ↑RIGHT which is-] which is
         actually the- the most [frightening part of] the:
```

Sue, the current speaker, seems to have stopped talking, when she allows for a relatively long period of silence (l. 02). Finally, another (unidentified) conversationalist self-selects and starts up (*what I said yesterday* (l. 03)). Although the turn is already in progress, Sue resumes her abandoned utterance with *and* (l. 04). This results in a longer overlap, which is only resolved when the turn claimant drops out.

Example (4.87): Eat a lot (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 Zhi:  then I'll eat a LOT
02       (0.4)
03 An:   yah, [initia↑lly, when I fir]st met ↑HER (0.3) she was- the
04 Zhi:       [ so   I   get   ↑FAT ]
05 An:   first day I met her she is like, I want to lose [↑weight]
```

In (4.87), the current speaker, Zhi, also completes a TCU (l. 01) and then extends her turn after a gap (l. 04), overlapping An, who has already self-selected and started to talk (l. 03). This time, it is the former turn occupant, Zhi, who finally drops out and yields the floor to the turn claimant. Note that both examples, (4.86) and (4.87), involve the use of phonetic turn-holding devices: Sue and Zhi are increasing their volume and raise their pitch (l. 04 (4.86), l. 04 (4.87)) (also see chapter 4.3.3 for an in-depth discussion of these strategies). Furthermore, the speakers who manage to talk through the overlap (i.e. the turn occupant, Sue, in (4.86) and the turn claimant, An, in (4.87)) react to this afterwards by repeating part of the overlapped TCU (*which is – which is* (l. 04) in (4.86); *when I first met her (0.3) she was- the first day I met her* (l. 03 and 05) in (4.87)). That is, they allow the potentially impaired utterance to appear again in the clear – this is a typical post-overlap strategy which

Schegloff calls a "recycled turn beginning" (2000: 34; 1987 [1973]) (cf. chapter 4.5.1 for a discussion of how this technique can be employed to claim or hold a turn).

Chapter 4.2 has been concerned with two related interactional resources, latches and overlaps. I showed that both the Caribbean and the Southeast Asian English conversations follow regular patterns when it comes to overlaps, and that the occurrence of simultaneous talk can be regarded as a consequence rather than a violation of the turn-taking system. In that respect, my analysis corroborates Sidnell's investigation of turn-taking in Guyanese Creole English (2001). In the interactions analysed, the systematicity of overlaps and latches is revealed in a number of aspects, particularly in the functions and positions of overlap onset and in the strategies speakers use to resolve passages of simultaneous talk and re-establish a status of 'one-at-a-time': In order to make sure that they are the first speaker to get the turn, participants often start up in latch position. This turn-claiming technique is common in both data groups; however, it is also vulnerable to overlap, e.g. when the current speaker continues talking or another next speaker self-selects in a blind spot. A closer analysis of passages in which two or more interactants are speaking simultaneously revealed that they can typically be attributed to a specific set of factors: First, two speakers might start up at the same time in unmarked-next-position, i.e. after a TRP and a small gap. I showed that many of these cases are resolved quickly, with either the turn-occupant or the turn-claimant dropping out. Nevertheless, some overlaps also exceed a duration of two beats, particularly in the Caribbean interactions. Furthermore, conversationalists frequently back their turn-claiming with further strategies, often combining different categories, e.g. phonetic and lexical techniques. This also holds for overlaps which result from latches. A more detailed overview of the most frequent combinations is given in chapter 5.3, where I also compare the different speaker groups. A third type of transitional overlap, the so-called 'terminal overlap', occurs when next speakers start early, i.e. while the turn holder is still completing their TCU. Again, the passage in overlap is typically minimal in these contexts and the situations are not treated as problematic or interruptive by the participants. Overlap, which starts at a non-TRP, i.e. in the midst of the current speaker's TCU, seems to be restricted to two contexts – the resolution of hitches in conversational progress and the promotion of the interaction a such. Finally, so-called blind spot overlaps at the beginning of a TCU can be attributed to aspects of speech production and processing. They are mostly resolved with either the current or the new speaker dropping out or completing their TCU and then yielding the floor. All of these overlap scenarios have also been identified for British and American interactions, and studies like Sidnell (2001) and Tanaka (1999)

suggest that they also hold for other linguistic and cultural contexts. However, as Tanaka puts it, even if the general resources of turn-taking are remarkably similar,

> this does not necessarily mean that the individual resources [speakers have to claim or hold a turn] are shared cross-culturally or that the *concrete ways* in which they may be mobilised are the same. What needs to be underscored is the distinction between the gross level of turn-taking rules […] and the possibly disparate ways in which they may be implemented through the specific resources provided by the host language and culture (1999: 59; emphasis in original).

Of course, this does not imply that languages and cultures will necessarily differ in their interactional resources and certainly not that they will differ in all of them. Nevertheless, assuming *a priori* that turn-claiming and turn-holding follows universal patterns, is neither warranted nor claimed by Sacks et al., who, albeit in a footnote, explain that "the cross-cultural question, as we understand it, asks how the structures on which we report vary across languages […] or language communities, or across social organizations etc. – structures which are thereby cast as more basic ones" (1974: 700, annot. 8). Therefore, the following chapters take a closer look at some of the resources which interactants have at their disposal to claim or hold their turn.

4.3. Phonetic turn-holding and turn-claiming

Even though Sacks et al. do not explicitly focus on the role of prosody for turn-taking, they ascribe "sound production" a central role (1974: 721). In this chapter, I focus on four phonetic aspects, which are employed by either both Caribbean and Southeast Asian speakers or which are unique to one data group: the use of clicks, in- or decreasing volume, changes in pace, and TCU-final rising intonation. Each resource is discussed with respect to its turn-holding or -claiming function in the interactions. Furthermore, if possible, the findings are compared to previous research on 'Inner Circle' English conversations.

4.3.1. Clicks

Whereas all of the other phonetic turn-taking devices are used by both Southeast Asian and Caribbean speakers and mainly differ in frequency, clicks[47] turned out to be a feature with

[47] Clicks are speech sounds produced with an ingressive airflow and anterior and posterior closure. I do not distinguish between clicks and loud percussives (which lack posterior closure), as they seem to fulfil similar functions in the data analysed. Furthermore, I follow Wright (2011) in using the term alveolar click to refer to both dental and alveolar clicks, as the distinction between these two places of articulation is extremely hard to draw. Clicks are typically alveolar/dental in the Southeast Asian data. Apart from that, the exact form of

a function exclusive to ASEAN interactions. In fact, clicks have often been ignored in analyses of languages where they do not have phonemic status, such as English, or they have been primarily regarded as expressing stance or emotion, with studies often being based on introspection rather than authentic data (see Wright 2011: 208 for an overview). However, a number of more recent publications have started to look into the functions of clicks within natural British and American English conversations, most notably Ogden (2013), Reber (2012), and Wright (2005; 2011). These studies reveal that clicks are systematically distributed in interaction and that they are employed to mark the initiation of new sequences (Wright 2011), in word searches (Wright 2005), and as a marker of stance or aspect (Reber 2012; Ogden 2013).

Clicks are also used in the Southeast Asian interactions. They can be found in four positions, turn-initial (or -second), turn-medial, turn-final, and as an accompanying sound, i.e. without being embedded in a turn. Even though some examples seem to fulfil the functions discussed in the literature so far – particularly marking word searches (cf. (4.91) or (4.93) or marking stance (examples (4.96) to (4.98)) – this obviously does not hold for all instances. Furthermore, alveolar clicks and loud lipsmacks occur relatively frequently in the Southeast Asian interactions, as the following table shows:

Table 4.1: Average number of clicks per minute in ASEAN interactions

Conversation	Duration	No. of clicks[48]	Clicks/minute (mean)
SG_ED_con_4	01:00:59	228	3.7
SG_ED_con_6	01:02:56	62	1.0
VN_LE_con_pho restaurant	00:58:20	64	1.1

Compared to these findings, studies on British English speakers find considerably fewer instances: In Ogden's (2013) paper, the mean number of clicks per minute is 0.8. That is, on average, the ASEAN speakers investigated seem to click more often. Even though some

the click might not be consequential for its function: As Ogden concludes, "modifications to place of articulation or accompaniments to the click articulation do not seem to be used to modify what is displayed through the click (2013: 311) (cf. also Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 43 Online-Chapter E; Wright 2011).

[48] Unclear cases are ignored for the analysis, i.e. the numbers given only represent clicks and percussives which are noticeably louder than 'normal' percussives which occur as a byproduct of starting to speak (cf. Wright 2011: 223f).

speakers use more clicks than others (e.g. Lan in SG_ED_con_6), they are clearly not an idiosyncratic feature. Clicks are used by at least eight different participants in ACE, probably by more.[49] They are auditorily salient and cannot be explained as epiphenomena, i.e. as byproducts of lip openings, only. Examples like (4.90) or (4.92) below show that clicks can occur after vowels, i.e. sounds without audible lip closure, indicating that in many instances, "clicks are not an articulatory consequence of the movements of the speech organs but are instead a resource which speakers can draw on to manage the sequential and interactional design of their talk" (Wright 2011: 224). In the ASEAN conversations analysed, this resource can be shown four different functions:

Function 1: Alveolar click in turn-initial or turn-second position

Turn-initial or turn-second clicks are frequent in the conversations analysed. (4.88) is a typical scenario:

Example (4.88): Psychology and business (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:   [so] ↑your your bachelor was in psychology, right?
02 Wan:  ((alveolar click)) I did psychology and business
```

An, the current speaker, selects Wan directly as next by addressing a question to her (l. 01). Wan starts to answer immediately, i.e. in less than 0.2s, but without overlap. Her turn begins with a click before the SPP proper is provided. This is a common position for clicks, as has been observed for British interactions (e.g. Ogden 2013). In line with Ogden, I would argue that turn-initial clicks function as a means to "identify oneself as a next speaker, and to secure the attention of others" (2013: 307). That is, they are used to actively claim a turn, to make other participants aware that someone is about to start up. Clicks are therefore used as warning signals, which speakers employ to feel their way onto the conversational floor. See (4.89) for a similar case:

Example (4.89): Electric (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 Che:  but- (0.2) android is: (.) easier! (.) to use
02       (0.5)
03 Lan:  (uh-huh)=
04 Che:  =[yeah] (.) that's what I (found)
05 Sam:  =[(  )]
06       (0.8)
07 Che:  ↓m[ h  -  ↑  h  m :  ]
08 Lan:    [((alveolar click))] .hh (0.1) I think=that
         [(the)  <elec]tric:< (0.3) ↑oh↓:- elec↑tric-
```

[49] In the VN_LE_con_pho restaurant interaction, speakers are extremely difficult to identify, as the conversation takes place in a noisy restaurant. That is, many turns could not be linked to a particular speaker in this recording.

```
09 Che:  [↑mh::? ↓uh↑:]
```

As in (4.88), the click occurs in turn-initial position. The three conversationalists have been discussing how to transfer files via electronic clouds. Chen finally provides a first summary assessment, *android is easier to use [than icloud]* (l. 01), and, after a lapse and a continuer by Lan (l. 03), adds a second: *that's what I found* (l. 04). This results in another lapse of 0.8s, before Lan self-selects (l. 08). Note that she does not start with lexical content right away but first produces a click and an inbreath. This allows her to make sure that her actual turn remains free of overlap – the click functions as a warning signal without giving away information which might not be heard in a passage with simultaneous talk. In fact, clicks are particularly suitable for this task, as they are loud and conversationally salient sounds but do not require much interactional space (Ogden 2013: 307). The current speaker, Chen, who just resumes his turn after the lapse and produces a turn-yielding *mh-hm* when Lan starts up, reacts to this marker and does not continue talking. This allows Lan to utter her actual turn in the clear – she allows for a small gap of 0.1s and only then starts to produce lexical content. A similar scenario can be seen in (4.90) below:

```
Example (4.90): Thursday (ACE, VN_LE_con_pho restaurant)

01 Git:  [(at) ↑school] usually [ on  thur]s↑day
02 Tem:                         [we ↑have-]
03       (0.1)
04 Tem:  we [have-]
05 Dia:     [ on- ] (0.1) on s- ↑er ((alveolar click)) (.) SCHOOL is
         thurs↑day=
```

This excerpt is marked by frequent speaker change. Gita has just completed her turn, stating that teachers at her school have to wear batik on Thursday (l. 01). She is overlapped by Tembam, who utters a false start but drops out again immediately (l. 02). After a small gap, two new turn claimants self-select, Tembam, who repeats her abandoned utterance and tries to gain the floor a second time (l. 04), and Dian, who starts up in blind spot onset, i.e. after Tembam has already produced one beat of talk (l. 05). Both speakers stop talking at once, which results in another minimal gap of 0.1s. Finally, Dian restarts as a sole speaker. He begins to speak but then breaks off his talk, utters a hesitation marker, and produces a click, before beginning anew. As in the examples above, the click does not appear to have a stance-taking function in this extract (cf. below for a discussion of this function). Rather, Dian is doing two things by clicking: First, he signals incipient speakership, i.e. he claims the floor. Second, he is engaging in self-initiated self-repair – both the cut-off and the hesitation marker *er* indicate trouble, and the click informs the other participants that Dian is trying to resolve the problem. In fact, clicks have been shown to accompany word

searches (cf. Wright 2005; Ogden 2013: 308), and this clearly also seems to play a role in the ASEAN interactions.

Function 2: Alveolar click in turn-medial position

Word searches and repair are also accompanied by clicks occurring in turn-medial position. In (4.91), Hue explains how she manages to stay healthy:

Example (4.91): Keep fit (ACE, VN_LE_con_pho restaurant)

```
01 Hue:  but I WANT to [ keep  ] ↑FI:T and=[↑erm: ] ((alveolar click))
02 N.N.:               [(↑slim)]
03 N.N.:                                  [(↑ah:)]
04       (0.4)
05 Hue?: ((alveolar click))
06       (0.1)
07 Hue:  ↑I::- >in the evening I< often go with=↑my:: my ↑FRIE:NDS […]
```

Hue is already established as the current speaker, i.e. the clicks she produces cannot be regarded as a turn-claiming device in this scenario. Neither do they display stance or indicate the beginning of a new conversational sequence: Hue is the turn occupant, she does not utter response tokens to another speaker's turn, and she does not initiate a new sequence but continues telling a story. That is, her clicks (l. 01 and 05) have to fulfil a different purpose. I argue that turn-medial clicks predominantly have a turn-holding function, particularly in dysfluent situations like the one above. In fact, Hue is searching for the right way to present her story – she produces a hesitation marker (*erm*) (l. 01), slows down, stretches her words (both l. 07), and allows for two gaps before continuing (l. 04 and 06). The clicks are part of this process: They signal that the speaker is engaging in self-repair of some kind and thus indicate that they are not ready to yield the floor right now. In this respect, they fulfil a function similar to that of the planners *er* and *erm* (cf. chapter 4.4.1 for a discussion), which is why I argue that they might be an equivalent option for Southeast Asian speakers. This hypothesis is further corroborated when looking at the examples below:

Example (4.92): China (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 Zhi:  °I come from China (0.3) and er° ((alveolar click)) do my (0.3)
         er bachelor and master
```

Example (4.93): Very expensive (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Lan:  ↑so[- (.) ↑I] ↑think ((alveolar click))=the iphone::: is very
02 N.N.:    [ y e s  ]
03 Lan:  ex[pen]sive (0.1) in:: (0.1) ((alveolar click)) (0.1) China
04 N.N.:   [h h]
```

Example (4.94): Half Chinese (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:   =half chinese, [right?]
02 Wan:                 [ yah  ] (0.2) but, ↑erm: ((alveolar click)) in
         K L >not many people speak< ↑MANdarin
```

Some of these situations are marked by slow and hesitating speech (e.g. (4.92) or (4.93)) and can therefore be regarded as similar to (4.91) above. The last scenario, (4.94), however, does not fall into this category. The speakers are talking about their mother tongues and An is inquiring into Wan's ethnic heritage by asking her whether she is half-Chinese (l. 01). Wan affirms, overlapping the end of An's question. She then goes on to explain why she is not fluent in Mandarin (l. 02). Her turn is clearly not dysfluent: There are no gaps, cut-offs, restarts, or other indicators of repair. Nevertheless, Wan produces both a planner, *erm*, and an alveolar click. This suggests that these features might not exclusively function as markers of word search but should be viewed as turn-holding devices. They are used to indicate that the current speaker (i.e. Wan) intends to continue talking, even though the turn might involve planning or reshuffling (as in (4.91) to (4.93)). That is, accompanying word searches is just one special case of the larger function 'turn-holding'. Most clicks in the Southeast Asian interactions are produced turn-medially, which mirrors studies focusing on *er* an *erm* in British and American conversations where 73% of occurrences can be found in this position (Tottie 2015: 393). Turn-final clicks, on the other hand, are extremely rare.

Function 3: Alveolar click in turn-final position

Example (4.95): Only two in Singapore (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:   [yah, I ↑think there=are on]ly two in Singa↑pore, so
02       (0.8)
03 An:   it's=the OPtion available for them (0.4) ((alveolar click))=yup
04 N.N.: mhm mhm
05       (0.7)
06 N.N.: (uh-↓huh)=
07 N.N.: =((sniffs))=
08 Zhi:  =so, erm, (0.2) what's subJECTS in the (.) o level examination?
```

In (4.95), the interactants are talking about school subjects in Singapore. An, the current speaker, completes her utterance in line 03 and, after a short gap, adds a click and the particle *yup*. She does not resume her turn afterwards, despite a long period of silence (l. 05), which finally results in another speaker self-selecting (l. 08). The click obviously does not indicate turn-holding in this scenario, rather it seems to be a turn-yielding marker. This assessment is corroborated by the additional particle: *yup* has been described as projecting turn completion in the literature (Raymond 2000: 43, qtd. in Couper-Kuhlen & Selting

2018: 500). It is therefore not surprising that turn-final clicks are almost non-existent: If turn-completion is the unmarked case in everyday conversation, turn-yielding does not have to be indicated using special markers. This can again be compared to research on the use of *er(m)*, which reports similar results: In Tottie's (2015) study, for instance, only 6% of all *er(m)*s occur in turn-final position. In the Southeast Asian interactions analysed, clicks therefore seem to have a function equivalent to that of *er(m)* in British and American face-to-face conversation.[50] This correlation is illustrated in table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Comparison of *er(m)* in British and American interactions (Tottie 2015) and clicks in ASEAN interactions

Position in turn	Function	Tottie (2015): *er(m)*	Alveolar clicks in ACE[51] (n=207)
turn-initial	turn-claiming	21%	30.9% (n=64)
turn-medial	turn-holding	73%	66.2% (n=137)
turn-final	turn-yielding	6%	2.9% (n=6)

The table shows that *er(m)* and clicks are in fact similarly distributed in the turn, which further supports the idea that clicks in ASEAN interactions fulfil a role similar to that of other hesitation markers. While more research surely has to be done, the data clearly show that clicks occur systematically and exhibit an interdependence of function and position, i.e. they can be employed as both turn-holding and turn-claiming devices.

Function 4: Alveolar clicks as accompanying sounds

Finally, clicks can be used to display stance, i.e. as a form of minimal response. (4.96) nicely illustrates this:

```
Example (4.96): More expensive than here (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

01 Sam:  [er:] it's ↓al↑so: more >expensive than
         [  ( h e r e ) <   ]
02 Lan:  [((alveolar click))]            [°yes° ]
03 Che:  [A      m       e  ]ri↑ca- from [what I] ↑he:↓ar depends on […]
```

The speakers have been discussing the price for electronic devices and Sam concludes that these things are more expensive abroad (l. 01). Lan shows her affiliation with a click and a

[50] Tottie's (2015) findings are based on the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBCSAE) and the British National Corpus (BNC).

[51] Only tokens where the speaker could be identified unambiguously were considered. Clicks which do not occur as part of a fully-fledged turn but accompany response tokens were ignored.

particle *yes* (l. 02), which is uttered very softly. That is, the click in this example functions as an agreement marker which is further amplified by a corresponding minimal response token. In (4.97) below, the click is followed by a minimal assessment:

Example (4.97): Embarrassing (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:   […] >then I was [like]
02 N.N.:                 [ ha ] ha=
03 An:   =↑[no:], (it's) embarrassing↑
04 N.N.:   [h a]
05       (0.2)
06 Wan:  ((alveolar click)) oh ↑dear=
07 An:  =↑yah:
```

An has just told a story about how she became sick and had to throw up while travelling on a coach. She ends with an assessment: *it's embarrassing* (l. 03). This is followed by a click and a minimal assessment, *oh dear*, produced by Wan (l. 06). As before, the click displays affiliation – it indicates that Wan has understood the story as one requiring an expression of sympathy. The token *oh dear* is chosen accordingly and fits the general trajectory of the story. (4.98) also features a click, this time following a continuer:

Example (4.98): Traditional dress (ACE, VN_LE_con_pho restaurant)

```
01 Dia:  >so it's like (that there is a) mo↑dern:: (0.1) tradi[tio↑nal]
02 N.N.:                                                     [ yeah! ]
03 Dia:  (.) mo↑dern ↑and traditional< dress!=
04 Tem:  =haha[ha ]
05 Hue:       [↑mh]:::↓::[:: ((alveolar click))]
06 Dia:                  [ m o d e r n   ↑ b a ]tik (>is all for
         girls<)=
```

Dian is talking about traditional Indonesian clothing, explaining that there is a difference between cheaper modern and traditional batik (l. 01 and 03). At the end of his turn, Hue invites him to continue by producing both a continuer, *mh*, and a click (l. 05). Clicks have been shown to indicate encouragement (Ladefoged 1982: 177), and this – apart from displaying acknowledgement – also seems to play a role here. As (4.96) to (4.98) show, clicks often – though not always – occur together with other stance markers, such as minimal response tokens, when they are used to mark stance. This has also been found in studies on British English (cf. Ogden 2013: 310f). However, as Ogden admits, "it is hard to demonstrate that clicks by themselves display a stance" (2013: 317). In fact, as my analysis is based on audio data only, clicks which do not occur in combination with further verbal material often could not be linked to a particular speaker, which means that they had to be excluded from a more detailed analysis. I assume that many of these 'accompanying

clicks' function as continuers; however, this hypothesis can only be tested by using video data.

This chapter has given an overview of the interactional functions of (alveolar) clicks in Southeast Asian conversations. Apart from turn-yielding clicks, which constitute only a minority of all cases, three larger functions could be distinguished: First, clicks are used as 'warning signals', i.e. to make interlocutors aware that a speaker is claiming the floor. It could be shown that clicks are particularly effective turn-claiming resources – they are conversationally salient but only convey minimal semantic content (which might be overlapped turn-initially). This makes them an ideal element for starting a turn as a next speaker. Apart from that, clicks are used to indicate continuation in dysfluent situations, i.e. as a turn-holding strategy. And finally, clicks are employed as stance markers or as displays of affiliation and acknowledgment. I demonstrated that these functions systematically coincide with specific positions in the turn: Turn-initial clicks typically have a turn-claiming effect, turn-medial clicks indicate turn-holding, and clicks which are produced by interlocutors and are not part of the ongoing turn typically function as stance markers. Taking a closer look at the Caribbean interactions shows that clicks and similar sound objects (e.g. lipsmacks or 'steupsing') exhibit neither the frequency nor the salience they display in the ASEAN data group. This suggests that they might be a feature which is specific to Asian English conversations – possibly an alternative to classic planners used in Inner Circle Englishes.

4.3.2. Changes in volume

As mentioned in chapter 3.2.2.3, loudness has often been identified as being part of a larger cluster of features which influence TRP projection. In the data analysed, it also plays an important role in both the Southeast Asian and the Caribbean interactions. Volume changes occur in two forms, i.e. speech is perceived as being 'louder' or 'softer' than usual – always taking the speaker's general voice level or the prior talk as a point of comparison. Typically, loudness and high pitch co-occur, as increases in volume mean that more air is pushed through the glottis, which, on also leads to a faster vibration of the vocal folds and thus a higher pitch (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 6 Online-Chapter E). French & Local use the combination >h + f< ('high and forte') to depict this relationship (1983: 23).

In the present study, upgrades in volume can be found in both turn-claiming and turn-holding positions, whereas downgrades do not seem to affect turn-taking and are a rare

phenomenon in both data groups. This chapter therefore focuses on loudness only. Example (4.99) below, a turn-claiming sequence in a Jamaican interaction, illustrates how this phonetic resource is applied:

```
Example (4.99): Uniformity (ICE-JA, S1A-003)

01 Wil:  what=I'm tr[yin' to] say to  ↑you=
02 Her:              [right? ]
03       ='kay?=
04 Wil:  =okay? (0.3) ↑Pidgin ↑English has uniformity
05       (0.5)
06 Wil:  >so if ↑you< RIGHT ACROSS thirty-two ↑states
07 Her:  <BECAUSE [ I T   H A ]S BEEN HANDED ↑DOWN IT WILL HAVE
08 N.N.:          [no=that's-)]
09 Her:  UNIFORMI↑TY DON'T> YOU UNDERSTAND WHAT I'M
         SAY[ING TO YOU WIL↑SON]
10 Wil:     [ but  your patois ] has no [uniformity!]
11 Her:                                 [IT'S COMING] FROM THERE ↑DOWN!
12       (0.7)
13 Her:  right? (0.3) it's come from THERE ↑DOWN=(the men) establish […]
```

The speakers in this scenario are discussing the linguistic status of Jamaican Patois. While Wilson claims that Patois lacks uniformity and thus should not be classified as a language, Herman contradicts him. In the excerpt above, Wilson has just asked for the chance to spell out his argument (*what I'm tryin' to say to you* (l. 01)) and starts to explain why he thinks Patois differs from (Nigerian) Pidgin (l. 04-06). He is cut off by Herman, who starts up with loud volume and strongly disagrees with him (l. 07-09). Note that Herman's turn begins with loud volume straightaway, i.e. he does not upgrade it step by step (cf. Schegloff 2000: 21) but starts with full volume. This is due to a number of aspects: First, Herman speaks up at a 'weak' rather than a clear TRP. Wilson has completed a logical unit, namely the first clause of a conditional sentence (l. 06). However, both the sentence type (the first part of a compound turn) and the rising intonation at the end of the TCU indicate that he intends to continue talking. That is, when Herman self-selects at the TRP, he has to take into account that his turn is likely to be overlapped by the current speaker. By starting without gap, he makes sure that he is the first speaker, i.e. that rule (1b) is applied before the current speaker can continue (1c). By beginning with forte intensity,[52] he takes precautions against not being heard. In fact, he is successful; even though an unidentified speaker – probably Wilson – tries to speak up in overlap (l. 08), Herman manages to produce a multi-unit turn. When Wilson overlaps him a second time (l. 10), Herman continues with increased loudness until Wilson drops out. He only returns back to his normal volume, when none of the other

[52] Apart from that, Herman also slows down and directly addresses Wilson. These are other turn-claiming devices which are discussed in chapters 4.3.3 and 4.4.2.

interactants speaks up for a longer period of silence, i.e. when he is firmly established as the turn occupant.

Raising one's voice is one of the most obvious ways to claim a turn – turn claimants make themselves being heard and request the current speaker (and their co-conversationalists) to stop and listen. In fact, next speakers can also use loud volume to drown out their co-conversationalists – Schegloff describes this as "win[ning] by a show of acoustic force" (2000: 12). This is what Herman does in (4.99) above – for a similar example see (4.100) below, also taken from the Jamaican sub-corpus:

Example (4.100): Statistically (ICE-JA, S1A-013)

```
01 Joa:  [↑no], statistically >my husband is< more likely
         t[o ↑die:: before- HE'S TWENTY-some]thin' ↑years
02 Deb:   [ ↑M Y::   H U S B A N D   ↑N O T ]
03 Joa:  o[lder  than  ↑me!]
04 Deb:   [>ME NO MAT↑TER!<] >IT DOESN'T MEAN NUT↑TEN<
05       (0.5)
06 Deb:  [>NUT]TEN THAT TOOK< THE (DEAD) [↑OH statistic]ally
07 Joa:  [hm? ]                          [I ↑kno:w but-]
         ↑yes, sta↑tistically, ↑and (0.3) so […]
```

Joanne's explanation that her husband is probably going to die before her (l. 01 and 03) is overlapped by Debby's turn-claiming. Debby disagrees with Joanne and makes herself being heard by increasing loudness. After a first false start (l. 02), she attempts to take the floor a second time and now manages to drown out Joanne (l. 04). Note that Debby continues to talk with high intensity when she is established as the new turn occupant, even though none of the other interactants is challenging her right to speak (l. 06).[53]

Apart from that, loudness adds importance to both the act of turn-claiming and the topic which is involved. This is illustrated in the short excerpt (4.101) below, which is part of a Caribbean interaction with three female participants. The women are talking about a lack of cleanliness at their university:

Example (4.101): Rats in UWI (ICE-T&T, S1A-034)

```
01 Cla:       >(it'd even be worse) so rats in u↑wi: you ever see ↑them?<
02 Tes: FPP-> r[ats  in  uwi? ]
03 Jod:        [they have some] [all over uwi!]
04 Cla: SPP->                  [ l  i  k  e  ] ↑DO:GS!
```

When Claire mentions that her university (UWI = University of the West Indies) has a problem with rats (l. 01), Tess checks her understanding: *rats in uwi?* (l. 02). Her question-FPP is addressed to the prior speaker, Claire, who also provides the corresponding response-

[53] Joanne tries to speak up at a TRP towards the end of Debby's utterance but abandons her turn immediately (*I know but-*) and only restarts when Debby stops talking.

SPP, affirming and even upgrading Tess's turn: *like DOGS!* (l. 04). The complete Q&A-adjacency pair is overlapped by the third interactant, Jodi, who comments on the situation herself (l. 03). In order to make her SPP being heard, Claire upgrades both volume and pitch of her utterance.[54] This move is a typical overlap resolution device, which Schegloff calls shifting to "competitive production" (2000: 21). Similarly, French & Local (1983) also speak of competitive turns, when speakers increase their loudness in overlap, stating that "in the incomings we hear as directly turn-competitive one gets a sense that the incomer urgently requires the floor to himself" (1983: 36). The term 'competitive' is problematic though, as Schegloff admits himself: "But others of these deflections in the production of the talk may appear rather more as casualties of the conflict than as weapons in it" (2000: 12). In fact, the data analysed contain examples which involve loudness and high pitch, but which clearly do not constitute fights for the floor. See, for instance, (4.102) below:

Example (4.102): Passive old woman (ICE-T&T, S1A-057)

```
01 Kat:  (right >↑they say she) drive< MA:D you know?
02 N.N.: ((steups)) [   b  u  t  -   ]
03 Kat:             [((chuckling)) I'm ↑li:ke hhh ((/chuckling)) (0.2)
         okay:: [(it wasn't-)]
04 Tre:         [   ↑  S  H  ]E: dn- d-
05       (0.3)
06 Kat:  but=[be↑cause  she  looks like a  ↑PA]SSIVE old wo↑man
07 Tre:      [I >don't know if she ↑was< ti-hh]
08 Kat:  >like you don't< EX↑PECT (0.1) so=you don't feel UNSAFE?
```

Katherine and Trevor are talking about a mutual acquaintance, an elderly woman who is a risky car driver. Katherine is the current speaker, but Trevor overlaps her in line 04, starting his turn with an upstep in both pitch and volume. However, even though Trevor is clearly claiming a turn, he does not behave competitively. In fact, he drops out and abandons his TCU almost immediately after the overlap, and, although he tries to speak up a second time (l. 07), he again does not complete his turn but yields to Katherine. At least with respect to Caribbean English interactions, loudness therefore seems to be a marker of turn-claiming but not of competition. This is further corroborated by the fact that volume and pitch upsteps to claim a turn do not necessarily occur before TRPs have been reached – which has been described as a precondition for "competitive" (i.e. interruptive) overlaps (e.g. Wells & Macfarlane 1998; French & Local 1983). In my data, >h+f< incomings with turn-claiming function are not restricted to non-TRPs as illustrated by (4.102). This is in line with newer studies, such as Kurtić et al. (2013: 17), who report similar findings when analysing

[54] The fact that Jodi drops out before Claire actually produces the upgrade does not change this interpretation, as Claire cannot project Jodi's decision in advance.

overlaps in American meetings. In fact, upsteps in loudness and pitch can also be employed free of overlap in the Caribbean interactions, as in (4.99) above. That is, overlap resolution is just a one possible use of the device, a by-product of its turn-claiming function.

When looking at the cluster of phonetic features which influence turn-claiming, increased volume (and, correspondingly, pitch) has been claimed to be particularly effective, at least for American (Schegloff 2000: 21) and British English (French & Local 1983: 36) conversations. This also holds for the Caribbean interactions analysed for this study. Loudness is frequently used by self-selecting speakers, particularly – but not exclusively – when starting up in overlap. It can be combined with other turn-claiming techniques, e.g. sound stretches or recycles, but also works on its own. Apart from that, increasing volume also works as a turn-holding strategy, as in (4.103):

Example (4.103): A Gift (ICE-T&T, S1A-050)

```
01 Bee:  Louise [is-]      [ ↑I   see = her- ]
02 Sar:         [>so] ↑why [is she doin' it a]↑way we need
         [people to do THAT ↑HE::RE:!<]
03 Bee:  [ ↑I  ↑S E E-  L: O U I S E  ] HAS A GIFT (↑THERE)=SHE HAS A
         GIFT >there ↑I ain't lyin' to tell […]
```

Bee is the current speaker in this scenario, she has been telling the others about Louise, an acquaintance whom she praises for doing social work abroad like a "Mother Theresa". When she is overlapped by Sarah, who criticises Louise's decision not to help people in Trinidad and Tobago, Bee first utters a series of restarts and recycles (l. 01) and then increases the volume of her turn to drown her co-conversationalist out (l. 03). Depending on the specific context, loudness can therefore have both a turn-claiming and a turn-holding function.

Interestingly, however, volume changes do not play an important role in the Southeast Asian interactions. Current speakers use loudness to make themselves being heard in overlap situations and to stress single elements in their turns – but compared to the Caribbean data these instances are very short and typically restricted to one or two syllables. See, for instance, the examples below:

Example (4.104): Egg white (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:   oh, I think it'[s egg W]HITE and (0.3) food colouring […]
02 N.N.:                [uh-huh ]
```

Example (4.105): Snow (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Lan:  did=↑YOU see er:: snow?
02       (0.3)
03 Che:  >yeah I- [I've seen snow]: in the
```

```
04 Lan:            [ ever before? ]
05 Che:  [   S  ]TATES in America: ↑in=
06 Lan:  [(but-)]
07       =↑oh […]
```

In both (4.104) and (4.105) the current speakers, An and Chen, produce single elements of their turns with increased intensity. The change in volume here clearly serves as an overlap resolution device, i.e. the speakers react to a possible impairment because of background noise – due to a continuer in (4.104) or a false start in (4.105). They return back to their normal volume as soon as the overlap is resolved. (4.106) depicts another turn-holding situation, but this time the current speaker uses a change in volume and pitch to emphasise parts of the turn in progress:

Example (4.106): Conservative (ACE, VN_LE_con_pho restaurant)

```
01 Dia:  back ↑to:: five, ten years a↑go::
02       (1.1)
03 Dia:  it's >NOT as (it's just) ↑no:w<
04       (0.5)
05 Dia:  >(if you) wore ba↑tik< (0.1) that means you're ↑OLD (0.4)
         ((clears throat)) (0.4) and you're ve↑ry: (0.2) conservative!
```

Dian is talking about a change in Indonesian fashion. He claims that nowadays wearing traditional batik is not restricted to *old* or *very conservative* people (l. 05) and upgrades those elements of his turn which highlight this difference – the negator in line 03 and the adjective *old*. These words constitute the main message of Dian's utterance and stressing them allows him to make sure that they will be heard by the other six interactants.

Loudness is also used for turn-claiming in the ASEAN data group, even though it does not seem to play a great role. In fact, only few instances could be detected, all of them restricted to single words or short passages, as in (4.107) below:

Example (4.107): Funding (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Che:  °yeah° (0.2) it's=the FUNDING lah!
02       (0.3)
03 Lan:  [  ↑ye↓:]s
04 Sam:  [↑mh-↓hm]
05       (0.2)
06 Lan:  >but [ ↓WHEN  ↑YOU- <  ↑er::]↓:m
07 Che:       [sometimes the funding-]
08       (1.0)
09 Lan:  er::: [ work!] (0.2) with the stu↑dents hh […]
10 Che:        [mh-hm?]
```

When Chen completes his turn in line 01, this first results in a short gap. Finally, his two co-conversationalists react – Sam utters a continuer (l. 04), i.e. a token of passive recipiency (Jefferson 1983a: 4), encouraging Chen to go on talking while at the same time yielding his

turn. Lan reacts with a minimal acknowledgment token, *yes* (l. 03), both signalling understanding and preparing to self-select,[55] which she does in line 06. When Chen resumes his role as current speaker almost simultaneously (l. 07), Lan increases her volume and pitch and produces a planner, *erm*, which she stretches until Chen abandons his TCU and drops out, leaving her as the sole floor occupant. After a longer gap (l. 08), Lan continues talking in the clear (l. 09), with Chen now accepting the role of an encouraging listener (l. 10).

When compared to the Caribbean interactions, volume changes clearly play a lesser role in the ASEAN data, in both turn-holding and turn-claiming situations. That is, even though the phonetic resource >h+f< is available to both speaker groups, there seem to be different preferences when it comes to how frequently and how intensively it is applied. For the Caribbean conversations, pitch and loudness show to be crucial for turn occupants and turn claimants. This is in line with French & Local's (1983) and Wells & Macfarlane's (1998) studies, although their assumption that the combination typically occurs in turn-competitive situations, i.e. involves interruptions or next speakers starting up at non-TRPs, cannot be verified for my data. Rather than being a marker of competition, volume upsteps are better described as a turn-claiming resource or an overlap resolution device in the Caribbean interactions. In the Southeast Asian conversations, they predominantly function as short warning signals or emphatic markers. Longer stretches of loud talk could not be identified in this context, which might indicate that speakers are either more sensitive to volume changes, i.e. that small differences suffice to make speakers abandon their turn, or that they prefer other resources to achieve a similar effect.

4.3.3. Changes in pace

Apart from changes in volume, speakers can also manipulate tempo to either claim or hold a turn at talk. Two types of tempo-related devices can be identified in the data: Speakers speed up while talking, or they stretch individual sounds or slow down over whole passages. This chapter begins by looking at tempo increases and their function for turn-holding or -claiming and then investigates the role of stretches and ritardandos.

In order to hold their turn and produce more than one TCU, current speakers can block speaker change by increasing tempo and talking through the TRP. Schegloff describes these 'rush-throughs' as a prototypical turn-holding device, stating that it is

[55] See chapter 4.4.3 for a discussion of minimal response tokens as turn-claiming elements.

> a practice in which a speaker, approaching a possible completion of a turn-constructional unit, speeds up the pace of the talk, withholds a dropping pitch or the intake of breath, and phrases the talk to bridge what would otherwise be the juncture at the end of a unit. Instead, the speaker 'rushes through' the juncture without inbreath, reaches a point well into a next unit (e.g. next sentence), and there stops for a bit, for an inbreath, etc. (Schegloff 1982: 76).

In employing these rush-throughs, current speakers therefore close the transition space for the other interactants and remain turn-holding. See, for instance, example (4.108) below in which the speakers are talking about the benefits of doing physical exercises at work:

Example (4.108): Ridiculous (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:   for him it's like, okay, just do your shoulder ma!
02       (0.1)
03 Wan?: h[  h  h  ]
04 An:    [which is] >true you look ridicu↑lous but after a while
         everybody< knows that you- (0.2) every↑ONE should do that
```

An is the current speaker and she is describing how a colleague of hers regularly incorporates physical exercise into his workday (l. 01). She ends on *ma*, a Singaporean English particle, which indicates that the information given – in this case the easiness of doing small exercises – is obvious to the other interactants (Kwan-Terry 1991: 177). After a short gap, An continues talking in overlap with another participant, probably Wan, who chuckles. This time, An makes sure that none of the other conversationalists starts to speak at one of the upcoming TRPs. She does so by speeding up before the first TCU has been completed and continues to talk fast over the next two TCUs. That is, she manages to close two TRPs (indicated in grey shading) for the other interactants by directly jumping into the next unit of talk. Note that, grammatically, An's TCU has been completed, i.e. the TRP is only blocked by the change in tempo and (often but not always) the presence of non-final prosody (cf. chapter 4.3.4 for a discussion; cf. also Schegloff 1996: 93; Walker 2010). Rush-throughs have two big advantages, which make them prime turn-holding devices: First they are minimally invasive, i.e. they do not disrupt the flow of talk (like recycles or cut-offs), and second, they can be employed in retrospect, i.e. while the turn is already underway. As Schegloff describes it, they constitute

> a technique for a speaker to try to get past a unit's completion point and into a next unit, before another can use the first unit's possible completion as the occasion for effecting a turn transfer; […] [which makes them] usable in an *ad hoc* way late in a turn, for unilaterally extending its size, without having planned to do so (1987 [1973]: 78).

This makes rush-throughs an effective resource for turn-holding, and, in fact, they feature prominently in the interactions analysed for this study. When looking at the frequency and efficiency of the device, I could not identify any difference between Southeast Asian and Caribbean interactants. Both speaker groups speed up in order to block TRPs for their co-

conversationalists. This can range from closing just the TRP by starting early into the next TCU to increasing pace over longer passages of talk. See, for instance, (4.109), which illustrates two rush-throughs restricted to the part of the turn surrounding the TRP:

```
Example (4.109): African words (ICE-JA, S1A-003)

01 Her:  patois is not (.) JUST an adultera[tion of ↑En]glish=we have
02 Wil:                                     [ it  ↑is:! ]
03 Her:  a lot of African words [in ↑it]=we have a lot of Spanish […]
04 Wil:                         [↑and- ]
```

The current speaker, Herman, produces three TCUs in this scenario, *patois is not just an adulteration of English* + *we have a lot of African words in it* + *we have a lot of Spanish* (l. 01 and 03). By speeding up just shortly before he reaches the TRPs (highlighted in grey), Herman pre-empts any other speaker intending to self-select at these places. That this might be a necessary precaution can be seen in Wilson's attempts to start up early, i.e. in terminal overlap just before the TRP (l. 02 and 04). The upstep in pitch, which can be observed additionally, does not seem to play a systematic role in this context, i.e. its presence in the example above is coincidental and not representative of the rush-throughs as such. This is in line with observations in studies on British and American English (e.g. Walker 2010).

Rush-throughs can also work over longer passages of talk. See, for instance, (4.110) below, an excerpt from a Southeast Asian interaction which involves acceleration over a longer stretch of speech. Sam, the current speaker, is talking about an advertisement website, *craigslist*. As before, the compressed TRPs are shaded in grey.

```
Example (4.110): Craigslist (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

01 Sam:  (I've)- craigslist=↑I (0.3) °can° (0.2) >find a lot of stuff<
         like-
02       (0.3)
03 N.N.: ((alveolar click))
04       (0.2)
05 Lan:  ↑oh=
06 Sam:  =furni↑ture:
07       (0.2)
08 Che:  [  ↑yeah   yeah ]
09 Sam:  [a >lot of peo↑p]le:< (.) expat (0.1) (the:re are-) people they
         are >↑moving a LOT of people< COME and >↑go and all-
         th[ey always] sell second hand furniture for<
10 Lan:    [ ↑h u ↓h ]
12 Sam:  hh (.) >really cheap- SOME of THEM are< FREE! H (.) ↑so=
```

This extract involves a number of rush-throughs to close the TRPs in Sam's multi-unit turn for potential other turn-claimants. Apart from speeding up immediately before the TRP (l. 01), Sam also increases his pace over longer stretches (l. 09), thereby compressing any space which might allow Chen and Lan to start up. While these rush-throughs "operate on the unit

of talk in progress", some changes in paces also "operate on the next unit of talk" (Clayman 2013: 159). This is what Sam does in line 11: He abruptly starts into a second TCU with a cut-off and a compressed TRP (*really cheap- SOME of THEM are FREE!*). Additionally, the next TCU starts louder than the prior one. In the literature, cases like this are referred to as "abrupt-joins" because of their disjunctive quality (Local & Walker 2004: 1376, 1388). In the data analysed, both rush-throughs and abrupt-joins fulfil similar functions with respect to turn-taking – they serve to compress the TRP and do not require advance planning. The difference lies mainly in their function for the interactional sequence in progress. As Couper-Kuhlen & Selting put it, "where rush-throughs link two successive units *conjunctively* by smoothing the seam between them, abrupt-joins link two units *disjunctively*: in other words, the seam creates a perceptual jolt" (2018: 30 Online-Chapter E; emphasis in original). This distinction also shows in the Caribbean data, as illustrated below. The excerpt depicted is part of an example given previously in this paper, for convenience it is repeated again as (4.111) below:

Example (4.111) [4.51]: Morbid (excerpt) (ICE-JA, S1A-013)

01 Joa: what he has been ↑is (.) putting every↑THING=and organising all of his ESTATE=↑and handing over **th-=like** (0.1) ↑I- I'm in ((chuckling)) charge of the MONEY=and all of those ↑things=and SETTIN' everything in order=which is ↑KIND of MOR↑BID […]

Joanne is describing her husband's precautions in case of his death. Her turn consists of multiple TCUs, which she links by speeding up prior to the TRPs. This allows her to expand her utterance as she goes along. All but one of the TRPs are compressed conjunctively, i.e. the next TCU is integrated into the trajectory of the turn as such – this corresponds to a classical rush-through. The link between the third and fourth TCU (marked in bold) is different though. Here, Joanne shifts the topic from her husband's preparations to her own role: *[he is] handing over th-=like I- I'm in charge of the money […]*. In order to achieve this move, she stops prematurely and jumps into her next TCU right away, thereby re-directing the focus of her turn – in other words, she produces an abrupt-join.

Both rush-throughs and abrupt-joins are always marked, as they "require extra effort to bring off, work that is necessary to overcome normative and habituated practices associated with TCU boundaries" (Clayman 2013: 160). That is, speakers deliberately employ tempo-related changes in their talk. The interactions analysed for this study show that speeding up typically serves as turn-holding device in both data groups. These findings add to previous

research on rush-throughs and abrupt-joins, which, so far has been scarce for languages and varieties other than British or American English (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 91).[56]

Apart from turn-holding, increasing tempo also occurs with speakers claiming a turn, as illustrated in (4.112) below, an excerpt from an ASEAN interaction in which the speakers are discussing the status of *apple* products in Asia:

```
Example (4.112): Fanboy (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

01 Sam:  I'm:: (0.4) [I'll see (what they do)]
02 Che:              [yeah- it's good ↑NOT to] be
03       [↑a: >what do] you [ call  it< (.) FANBOY! ]
04 Lan:  [ .h    h    ]     [>but ↑some of the com-<] (0.1) com↑puter:?
05       (0.4)
06 Lan   the [↑appl]e::: (.) I=mean:: the […]
07 Che:      [ mh? ]
```

The current speaker, Sam, has just announced that he is going to adopt a "wait and see" attitude when it comes to the future of the tech company under discussion (l .01). He is partly overlapped by Chen, who starts up at a pause in Sam's turn (l. 02). Chen now employs a number of devices in order to claim the floor. He first acknowledges Sam's assessment with *yeah* and then immediately jumps into his own turn, increasing both volume and pitch to emphasise central elements of his talk and to make his co-conversationalists aware of his incipient speakership (l. 02 and 03). When Sam drops out, however, Chen does not remain the sole speaker. He is now overlapped by Lan, who starts up with an inbreath and then speeds up her talk (l. 04). Lan is clearly not turn-holding – she is the last speaker to start up – so the change in tempo cannot be a rush-through in the classical sense. Rather, Lan is using tempo to consolidate her status as next speaker by moving as far into her turn as possible. On the one hand, this allows her to 'catch up' with the first starter, Chen. That is, providing more content in a compressed TCU is a means to achieve equal rights to speakership – it is a technique to align both the first and second starter's TCUs. On the other hand, speeding up in overlap also results in more talk which is potentially not being heard by the other speakers. As the example above shows, Lan reacts to this by abandoning her turn when Chen drops out, and by retrieving her relinquished utterance *computer?* as soon as the overlap is resolved. This recycling of a central part of her TCU indicates that Lan is in fact turn-claiming, i.e. that she wants to make herself being heard.[57] Tempo increases to claim a turn can also be found in the Caribbean interactions. In (4.113) below, Sarah has

[56] Tempo-related devices have been identified for German and Mandarin Chinese interactions (Selting 1995: 98ff; Zhang 2012). To my knowledge, systematic studies dealing explicitly with rush-throughs and abrupt-joins in non-Inner Circle varieties of English are non-existent at present.
[57] Recycles additionally add to the process of turn-claiming and are discussed in greater detail in chapter 4.5.1.

just announced her intention to go to Alaska for a holiday, and the other speakers are contemplating which famous actors she might encounter there:

```
Example (4.113): Idris Elba (ICE-T&T, S1A-050)

01 Eil:  ↑oh↓: (0.3) no Idris Elba lives in Europe
02       (0.5)
03 Eil:  ↑er:m
04       (2.0)
05 Eil:  >↑I don't [know ( )<]
06 Sar:            [>I'm NOT goin' to] look for< any↑body
```

In this excerpt, Sarah self-selects in line 06 and overlaps the current speaker in blind spot overlap (cf. chapter 4.2 for a discussion of this particular type of overlap). She disagrees with Eileen and uses both volume and tempo to claim the floor. As in (4.112) before, moving as far into her TCU as possible allows Sarah to strengthen her claim to speakership by catching up with the first starter. A similar situation is illustrated in (4.114), also taken from the Caribbean data group:

```
Example (4.114): That's not the point (ICE-JA, S1A-008)

01 Mic:  >so I say Jack< that's not the ↑point
02       (1.1)
03 Mic:  [ ( that's    ↑not- )  ]
04 Tin:  [>↑he doesn't know the<] (0.1) ↑WA::Y
05 Mic:  he doesn't know the WA::Y in which to ask […]
```

As before, the self-selecting speaker, Tina, overlaps the turn occupant and manages to make her relinquish her turn by increasing the tempo and uttering large parts of her TCU in overlap. Note that Tina does not repair the potentially impaired talk, she just continues talking as soon as the overlap is resolved, treating the overlap as unproblematic for the understanding of the talk – Jefferson calls this "unmarked self-retrieval" (2004: 51). Michelle's reaction proves this assumption to be correct: She embeds Tina's turn into her own utterance and thus shows that she understands and acknowledges it. Michelle provides "unmarked other-retrieval" and repeats Tina's turn in the clear, re-incorporating it into the interaction (Jefferson 2004: 56). Instances like this illustrate that turn claimants can risk speeding up in overlap, as this does not automatically mean that larger parts of their TCU will be unheard. They also show that conversationalists are able to monitor each other's contributions even when speaking simultaneously (cf. also chapter 6.1.2 for a discussion).

Furthermore, tempo increases to claim a turn also occur free of overlap, even though these instances constitute a minority. See (4.115) below, in which the interactants are talking about the Chinese system of education:

Example (4.115): Not only that (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Lan:  […] we MUST=ah go to school when ↑I:: er when: we::: (.) five
         years old! (0.2) when=er- (0.1) ↑WE ARE five years old!
02       (0.2)
03 N.N.: yeah[:? ]
04 Lan:      [and]=ah GRADUATE from the: (.) university ('till) maybe:
         TWENTY: (.) TWO years old=
05 Sam:  =>and NOT only that!< (0.2) the ↑time- (0.1) ER:M (0.1) I=mean
         >before university I ↑HEARD-< […]
```

When the current speaker, Lan, reaches a legitimate TRP at the end of line 04, Sam self-selects in latch position and utters his first TCU with fast tempo (l. 05). Contrary to the examples given above, Sam does not claim the floor by overlapping the turn holder; however, the resource he uses remains the same: He speeds up to quickly advance as far into his turn as possible and to claim speakership before any other interactant speaks up. That is, he exploits the 'first-speaker-gets-the-turn' principle and increases his tempo to announce his turn: *and not only that!* As soon as he has made his intention to comment on Lan's utterance clear, Sam pauses and then restarts again with normal tempo. Examples like this provide further evidence that tempo changes can be used to both hold and claim a turn.

Apart from increasing tempo, speakers can also decrease pace in order to claim or hold a turn. This strategy is also described in the literature, for instance by Schegloff who identifies sound stretches as one method of winning the floor: In situations of overlapping talk, interactants can slow down before a TRP is reached and thus stretch their turn or parts of it until the overlap is resolved, i.e. until the other speaker(s) abandon(s) their turn (Schegloff 1996: 86; cf. also Jefferson 2004: 48). However, stretches and ritardandos (i.e. slowing down) are not restricted to overlap. In the interactions analysed for this study, the following situations were identified:

- Sound stretches as a resource for overlap resolution by the current speaker
- Sound stretches as a resource for overlap resolution by the turn claimant
- Sound stretches as a floor holding mechanism
- Ritardando as a turn-claiming resource
- Ritardando as a floor holding mechanism

Each of these situations is described in greater detail below. Please note, however, that sound stretches which are used to hold or claim a turn, must not be confused with hesitation phenomena due to a lack of proficiency in English. In order to differentiate passages which are marked by slow tempo because of "overloaded speech production and perception systems" (Schegloff 2000: 14) from those where tempo is deployed as a resource in turn-taking, the interactional context has to be considered carefully. That is, if a speaker's turns

are dysfluent in general, a decrease in tempo is not treated as resource to claim or hold the floor. In the data analysed for this study, all speakers are highly proficient in English. Only two of the ASEAN interactants (Zhi from SG_ED_con_4 and Lan from SG_ED_con_6) show a slower rate in speech tempo when compared to their co-conversationalists. These personal idiosyncrasies are considered in the analysis, they illustrate again the importance of complementing quantitative studies with in-depth qualitative investigations.

Sound stretches can be used as an overlap resolution device to allow current speakers to hold their turn despite others starting up simultaneously. This can be seen in excerpt (4.116) below where the speakers are talking about different postal services in Southeast Asia:

Example (4.116): Changed (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Sam:  (er) ↑so (m=m-) (.) ↑er[::: ] (.) you have ↑changed to others?
02 Che:                          [but-]
```

Sam has just managed to establish himself as the current speaker and his turn is marked by a series of planners and cut-offs, which makes it extremely vulnerable to overlap (cf. chapter 4.2 for a discussion of progressional overlap). When Chen actually self-selects in line 02, Sam reacts by stretching his hesitation marker *er*, until Chen drops out and abandons his turn-claiming. He then produces his actual turn unimpaired, i.e. as the sole speaker.

(4.117) below illustrates how a turn claimant employs sound stretches to gain the floor and resolve overlap. It is taken from an ASEAN interaction with seven participants. The conversation is about going sightseeing in Vietnam, and one speaker has just suggested visiting the Mekong delta, mentioning that there are guided one-day tours.

Example (4.117): Mekong River (ACE, VN_LE_con_pho restaurant)

```
01 Hue:  [yeah=Me][↑KONG the] river!
02       (0.1)
03 Jal:  [Mekong ↑ri]ver, [that's (a)-]
04 N.N.: [  m h :   ]
05 Dia:                   [ ↑ S O : : ]↓::: ONE ↑DAY: (.) OKAY I'LL
         HAVE- [I'LL A]SK FOR A:: (0.1) TEN DAY!
```

The interactants react to this suggestion by showing their approval. In line 03, Jalak self-selects and starts talking: *Mekong river, that's a-*. He is overlapped by Dian, who self-selects as well (l. 05). Dian's talk contains a number of what Schegloff describes as "hitches and perturbations" in speech (2000: 12): He starts louder than his usual volume, there is an upstep in pitch, and the vowel of *so* is stretched extraordinarily. I have already discussed the role of loudness and pitch for turn-claiming in chapter 4.3.2 and will not go into detail here. Note, however, the function of the prolonged sound in this sequence: Dian manages to stretch the first word of his utterance until all of his six co-participants have yielded their

turn and even beyond that. This allows him to drown out any other speaker and produce the rest of his utterance in the clear, i.e. free of overlap. Sound stretches can thus be deployed as turn-claiming devices, particularly when combined with other linguistic resources (such as volume).

Overlap-resolving sound stretches have also been described for American and British interactions (e.g. by Jefferson 2004: 48 or Schegloff 2000: 13). They can be identified in both data groups, even though tempo decreases of all kind are considerably rarer in the Caribbean interactions, where they seem to be a marginal phenomenon.

This also holds for prolonged sounds which are used to block TRPs. They occur predominantly in the Southeast Asian interactions. In (4.118) below, Sam is stretching his *yeah* and thus compresses the subsequent TRP:

Example (4.118): An Asian thing (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Sam:  [>I ↑think] it's a ASIAN thing<=
02 Che:  =[ ↓yeah  ]
03 Sam:  =[↑serious]↓ly:!=
04 Che:  =>it's MORE of a< [Asian thing:!]
05 Lan:                    [  ↑mh: - ↓hm ]
06       (0.1)
07 Sam:  (er-)=yeah:: >and ↑NOT only in CHINA or what (else)? JA↑PAN<!
```

The situation as such is marked by frequent speaker change. Sam and Chen are both contributing to the question of whether nation-wide university entrance exams are typical of Asian countries. When Sam self-selects in line 07, he deploys a number of resources to support his turn-claiming: He starts with a hesitation marker (*er*) and then produces an abrupt-join to link his first TCU, an acknowledgment response token (*yeah*).[58] Note that Sam stretches the vowel in this word over a period of approximately two beats (i.e. the time he needs to produce two syllables). This allows him to close the upcoming TRP (marked in grey) for his co-conversationalists – by still producing 'talk' Sam manages to hold the turn and then immediately jumps into his next TCU. Overall, Sam's turn is not dysfluent at all, in fact, he is speeding up immediately after the sound stretch. That is, slowing down is not due to a lack of proficiency here but helps the current speaker to keep the floor occupied: It is "a deployable resource mobilized to do a determinate job at a determinate place" (Schegloff 2000: 14). In this respect, sound stretches can fulfil a function similar to that of rush-throughs.

Speakers can also slow down over longer passages of talk; this is what is referred to as 'ritardando' in music. Note that this differs from what has been described as "trailing off"

[58] See chapter 4.4.3 for an analysis of *yeah* as a turn-claiming device.

(e.g. Local & Kelly 1986: 195). Trailing off involves a decrease in both tempo and volume and is typically perceived as turn-yielding (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 32 Online-Chapter E). This is clearly not the case in examples such as (4.119) below:

```
Example (4.119): Handed down (ICE-JA, S1A-003)

01 Wil:  =okay? (0.3) ↑Pidgin ↑English has uniformity
02       (0.5)
03 Wil:  >so if ↑you< RIGHT ACROSS thirty-two states,
04 Her:  <BECAUSE [  I T   H A]S BEEN HANDED ↑DOWN=IT WILL HAVE
05 N.N.:          [no=(that's)]
06 Her:  UNIFORMI↑TY=DON'T> YOU UNDERSTAND WHAT I'M
         SAY[ING TO YOU WILSON!]
07 Wil:     [ but  your patois ] has no [uniformity!]
```

In this discussion about the linguistic status of Jamaican Patois, Herman self-selects in line 04, although the current speaker Wilson has clearly announced continuation – he has only produced the preliminary part of a compound TCU (*if*...) and also ends on slightly rising intonation (l. 03). As Herman wants to disagree with Wilson, however, it is important for him to speak up as soon as possible, i.e. in close proximity to the problematic utterance. He thus makes sure that his start is backed up by a number of turn-claiming devices, such as loud volume and a decrease in pace. In fact, Herman is successful and establishes himself as the new turn occupant, drowning out an unidentified speaker who tries to claim the floor in line 05. In the data analysed, slowing down is used to take up room and establish oneself as the current speaker in both Caribbean and Southeast Asian interactions. Furthermore, ritardando turns also prevent others from starting up by emphasising elements of the turn in progress, particularly when combined with loudness. This can be seen in scenario (4.120) below. Wan has just been asked about her plans for the future. She has a major in psychology and is about to specialise in a certain area:

```
Example (4.120): Specialised (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

01 Wan:  ((aveolar click)) and erm:: (0.3) or- maybe just ↓depression
         (0.2) or FAMILY >therapy and things [like that<]
02 An:                                       [ ↓ m m   ]
03       (0.3)
04 Wan:  so I <HAVEN'T> (.) specialised yet (0.4) with further training
         […]
```

By slowing down and speaking louder when producing *haven't* (l. 04), Wan adds further emphasis to this part of her turn, which turns out to be the key element of her utterance – she cannot say anything definite, because she has not decided yet. The double change in both pace and volume can be regarded as a turn-holding element in this context: It ensures

that the central message remains unimpaired in case of overlap and moves the focus to the current speaker.

This chapter has given an overview of tempo-related resources speakers have at their disposal to claim or hold a turn, illustrating how these devices can be deployed ad-hoc as the turn progresses. I started by describing how increases in pace can be used to block upcoming TRPs and thus prevent others from starting up. Two sub-groups were discussed: rush-throughs – which can range from two words to whole passages – and abrupt-joins. It was shown that both Southeast Asian and Caribbean speakers employ these strategies for turn-holding, which adds to the small number of studies on the topic so far (cf. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 91). Furthermore, the study illustrates that tempo-increases are also used to claim a turn, namely by compressing the TCU or enabling the turn-claimant to catch up with a prior speaker. Decreasing pace either involves single sounds or longer elements. Typically, speakers slow down in passages of simultaneous talk to make parts of their turn appear clear of overlap or to hold the floor by stretching the last sounds of their utterance far into the TRP. Both variants are relatively rare in the Caribbean data group but occur regularly with Southeast Asian speakers – a finding which confirms Clyne's observation that "turn maintenance and appropriation [is] attempted by elongation of words […] [and] a decrease in speed" in this context (1994: 157). When interactants decrease pace over longer parts of their utterance, this generally results in strengthening their role as current or turn-claiming speaker.

4.3.4. Turn-holding intonation

As described above, prosody is an "interactionally relevant resource" (Selting 2000: 498) when it comes to projecting points of possible speaker change. Having defined turn-yielding as the unmarked case, I follow Selting (2000: 510) in this paper and focus on TRPs which are marked. That is, I concentrate on what current speakers do in order to hold their turn over two or more TCUs. The focus of this chapter is on how current speakers can deliberately employ prosody as a turn-holding device, making potential next speakers less likely to treat it as ending in a TRP. However, as described in chapter 3.2.2.3, studies disagree profoundly, when it comes to identifying turn-final intonation contours. Apart from that, research into how varieties of English employ intonation to indicate turn-holding is almost non-existent (cf. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 94). Wells & Macfarlane provide an account of West Midlands English and identify a turn-holding contour, which they

describe as a pitch rise from the accented (low pitch) syllable to the post-accentual syllables (1998: 289). For American English, Wennerstrom & Sigel (2003) report low rises, plateau boundaries, and partial falls as indicating continuation. With respect to Australian English, the high rising terminal or 'uptalk' contour has been suggested as a turn-holding resource, because "it often has the effect of securing the listener's cooperation in the construction of an extended turn at talk for one speaker to carry out a relatively complex verbal task" (Guy et al. 1986: 44f; cf. also Fletcher & Loakes 2006).

However, recent research shows that, when it comes to turn-taking, the effect of pitch is often overridden by non-pitch resources, and therefore suggests that its role might be less decisive when it comes to turn-holding (e.g. Walker 2017, cf. also Jefferson 1986 for an early but similar account). In fact, turn-holding pitch is typically accompanied by additional strategies in the interactions analysed for this study. These can be prosodic – such as changes in volume or pace – but can also involve lexical or syntactic techniques, e.g. in the context of story-telling. It is beyond the scope of the present study to determine how much the individual resources contribute to achieve a turn-holding effect – this is a question which can probably only be best answered in a controlled, experimental setting. Apart from that, the nature of the interactions analysed further complicates a phonetic analysis: Many of the conversations are recorded in settings with background noise, such as restaurants, traffic, etc.

In this chapter, I want to focus on one particular intonational feature, which could be identified in both data groups and seems to have a turn-holding effect in a particular interactional context: Having been established as a story-teller (cf. chapter 4.5.3 for details on pre-announcements and requests which are used to do this), current speakers often end their TCUs with a rise in pitch, which has been described as 'uptalk' in the literature, i.e. as "a marked rising intonation pattern found at the ends of intonation units realised on declarative utterances, and which serves primarily to check comprehension or to seek feedback" (Warren 2016: 2). Uptalk is a feature which is not just associated with Inner Circle Englishes but has also spread to other varieties of English, including Caribbean and – to a lesser extent – Asian Englishes (Schneider 2004: 1126).

See, for instance, (4.121), an excerpt from an ASEAN interaction. It is part of a longer story with An as the current speaker:

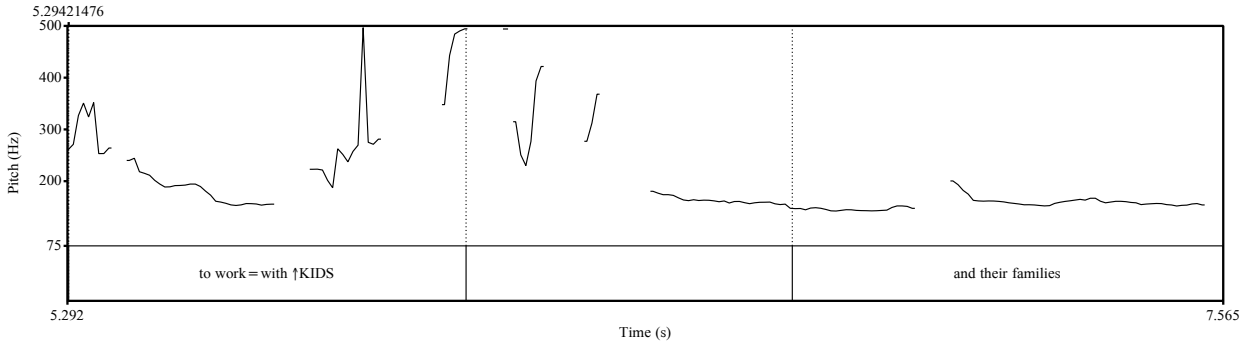
Example (4.121): Work with kids (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

01 An: that's quite interesting, (0.1) 'cause (0.1) my- my friend=actual↑ly (0.4) really likes (.) erm: (0.4) ((alveolar click)) to work=with ↑KIDS

```
02        (0.4)
03 Wan:   mhm=
04 An:    =and their families (.) because erm (.) she found that h (.)
          she FINDS that .hh
```

At the end of line 01, An's TCU is syntactically complete: *my friend actually really likes to work with kids*. Prosodically, however, she announces continuation by producing both a rise in pitch and volume. See figure 4.1, which shows the TCU-final pitch contour, the following pause of 0.4s (l. 02), and An's continuation (l. 04):

Figure 4.1: TCU-final pitch contour (continuation) (SG_ED_con_4)



Note that An does not only end on rising intonation but she also allows some time for her interlocutors to display attentiveness – which Wan does when she utters a continuer in line 03. In fact, An's TCU-final pitch contour has an effect similar to that of tag questions, such as *right?* or *you know?*, which will be discussed below (cf. chapter 4.5.3): Positioned just before the TRP, it invites her co-participants to confirm their understanding and at the same time yield their chance to produce a fully-fledged turn themselves (cf. Guy et al. 1986: 48). As soon as Wan provides a continuer, An resumes her turn again and continues talking.

Similar instances can be found for the Caribbean data group. In fact, uptalk has been observed as being a characteristic prosodic feature for Trinidad and Tobago. Referring to Allsopp (1972), Youssef & James write:

> Trinidadian and Tobagonian also exhibits a peculiar intonational characteristic in mesolectal speech of a rising intonation at the end of an utterance as if the speaker is in doubt or questioning […]. It may be that the speaker is seeking a responsiveness in the hearer as he/she does when using the very popular local tag *Right?* (2008: 334).

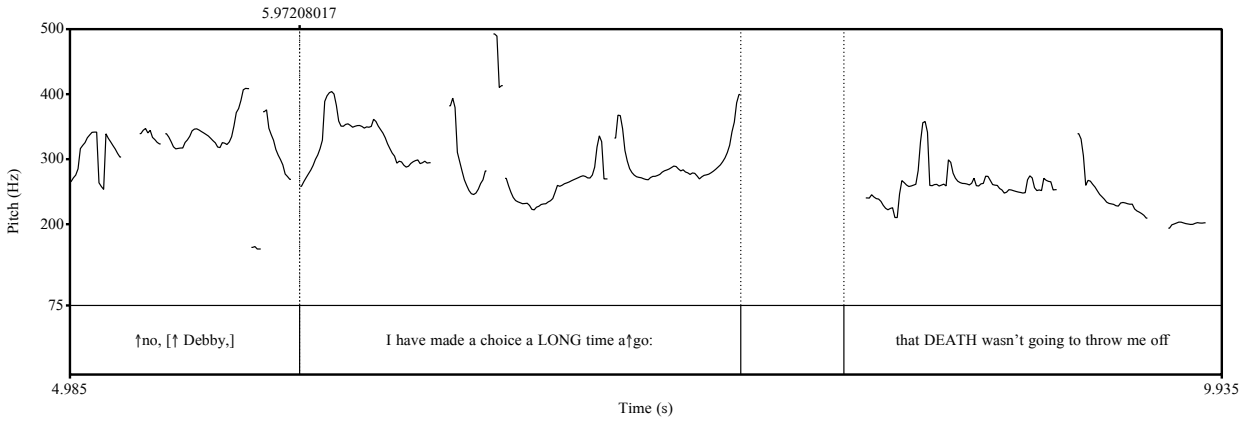
However, uptalk can also be identified in the Jamaican sub-corpus, where it seems to fulfil similar functions. See, for instance, (4.122) below:

Example (4.122): Long time ago (ICE-JA, S1A-013)

```
01 Joa:  =↑no, [↑Debby,] I have made a choice a LONG time a↑go:
02 Deb:        [let=me-]
03       (0.4)
04 Joa:  that DEATH wasn't going to throw me off ↑so much that […]
```

As in (4.121) above, Joanne is the story-teller in this sequence. Note that she uses a variety of turn-holding resources to secure her position – she increases her volume and pitch and addresses a turn-claiming speaker (Debby) directly to make her drop out of overlap. Having established herself as the turn occupant, Joanne utters a syntactically complete TCU, *I have made a choice a long time ago* (l. 01), which ends in a rising intonation contour (cf. figure 4.2). She then allows for a gap of 0.4s before adding an increment (l. 04) and continuing to tell her story. Again, the rising intonation has a turn-holding effect, although it does not elicit a verbal marker of acknowledgement in this example.[59]

Figure 4.2: TCU-final pitch contour (continuation) (ICE-JA, S1A-013)



These examples illustrate that TCU-final rises in intonation are used by speakers from both data groups to indicate continuation and turn-holding. This is, of course, not their only function in conversation; however, as Warren puts it,

> it is clear that the interactional functions of uptalk are central – it is used for checking and seeking feedback, which is often given through verbal or non-verbal responses. It is used to mark new information and to invite the listener to make links between information being conveyed and their existing beliefs. It asks 'are you following me?' It shares rather than tells (2016: 68).

That is, TCU-final rising intonation can be, and in fact is, used as an interactional device. It is a means to involve interlocutors in the current speaker's talk, which allows the speaker to display their attentiveness to their co-conversationalists' needs. Just like tempo-related

[59] Interlocutors might, of course, show non-verbal acknowledgement and support, e.g. through nodding.

changes, patterns of intonation do not require previous planning, i.e. speakers can shape their turn as the conversation proceeds and are therefore able to react to the contingencies of the interaction. As Couper-Kuhlen & Selting put it, this resource "is implemented locally, beginning on the last accented syllable and continuing to the end of the [turn-constructional] unit. Furthermore, it has only local scope, projecting simple continuation […]. It is thus a local contextualization means for holding the floor" (2018: 93). This makes uptalk a powerful but non-intrusive turn-taking device. In the interactions analysed, it can be identified predominantly in the context of story-telling, i.e. in situations where current speakers are producing multi-unit turns, and where interlocutors are expected to provide only minimal feedback (cf. also Ogden & Routarinne 2005 who report similar findings for Finnish conversations).

In chapter 4.3, I have analysed how speakers in ASEAN and Caribbean interactions employ phonetic resources to claim or hold a turn at talk. Four groups of strategies were discussed: clicks, changes in volume, changes in pace, and rising intonation. I showed that most of these techniques can be found in both data groups – with the exception of clicks and loudness which are distributed asymmetrically. While clicks seem to occur systematically in the Southeast Asian conversations and also fulfil specific interactional functions in this context, they are rare in the Caribbean group. Loudness, on the other hand, is a powerful turn-taking device in ICE-JA and ICE-T&T but only plays a minor role in ACE. The consequences of this distribution are discussed in greater detail in chapter 6.3. In the next chapter, I look into another larger set of turn-taking strategies – lexical resources.

4.4. Lexical turn-holding and turn-claiming

In this chapter, I analyse the lexical resources which speakers in the Caribbean and the Southeast Asian interactions have at their disposal to claim or hold a turn. As described in chapter 3.2.2.4, three major groups are discussed: planners (or fillers) (chapter 4.4.1), address terms (chapter 4.4.2), and particles (chapter 4.4.3). As they constitute the vast majority of lexical turn-holdings, the planners *er* and *erm* are considered first.

4.4.1. Planners

Following the definition outlined in chapter 3.2.2.4, the filler words *er* and *erm* are referred to as 'planners' in this study. To begin with, *er(m)* is used by speakers from both data groups

and it can be found in three positions – turn-initial, turn-medial, and turn-final. See the following examples for typical instances[60] of turn-initial *er(m)* in both data groups:

Example (4.123): Nothing like that (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:   […] ho- how was the exams like in (0.4) ↓Malaysia
02       (0.9)
03 Wan:  erm, nothing like ↓↑that
```

Example (4.124): Mexican-sounding name (ICE-JA, S1A-006)

```
01 War:  hh there's one you- (0.2) (mean) by some Mexican-sounding >name
         Rodriguez ↑or:<
02       (1.0)
03 Bob:  e[:r  >  I  don't  know ] I don't KNOW about that name in the
04 War:   [>somethin' like this?<]
05 Bob:  world of< endo↑scopes<
```

Both examples show a similar scenario – the current speaker (An in (4.123) and Warren in (4.124)) opens up an adjacency pair first part, a question. They thereby select a next speaker directly, either by referring to background knowledge which only one participant possesses (Wan, who is from Malaysia in (4.123)), or by using the personal pronoun *you* to single out a particular interactant – in (4.124) the prior speaker, who is asked to confirm a candidate understanding. Note that both extracts involve an unusually long period of silence before the addressed speaker starts to provide a corresponding SPP; in (4.124), Warren even already starts to conduct self-repair, which then leads to overlap with Bob's answer. When the selected speakers begin talking, both responses are prefaced by a planner, *erm* in (4.123) and a stretched *er* in (4.124). In fact, turn-initial planners in SPPs to question FPPs are not infrequent in British and American interactions – Tottie finds these cases to constitute the majority of turn-initial *er(m)*s (2015: 396) and Kjellmer also reports that *er(m)* "shows a significant tendency to occur next to answer particles […] and also next to a turn beginning" (2003: 184). That is, *er(m)* typically occurs in pre-beginning position, i.e. before the actual (SPP-)TCU starts. This is often a marker of hesitation or ongoing planning, as in (4.124), where Bob does not know the answer to Warren's question and thus hesitates before responding. Turn-initial *er(m)* is therefore often found in combination with other hesitation markers, as in (4.125) below, where Lan has just told her co-conversationalists about a monument she has seen in Kuala Lumpur:

Example (4.125): Horse (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Sam:  >WH:AT [is that? is that a=(whole) ↑BUILDING o]r:::
02       (0.4)
```

[60] To highlight their position in the turn, the planners in question are in bold font.

```
03 Lan:  er=↑this is erm::: a HORSE which: (0.2) pai::nt
04       (0.5)
05 Lan:  red!
```

As in the examples above, Lan's answer in line 03 is initiated with an *er*. Additionally, she uses sound stretches, pauses, and produces a second planner, this time *erm*. That is, her turn is clearly marked as dysfluent – in fact, it turns out that she is not able to explain which type of landmark she has seen on her visit, because she is not sure whether her memory is correct.

However, indicating hesitation or planning is not the only function of turn-initial *er(m)* in the interactions. Wan's answer in (4.123) above, for instance, is clearly not dysfluent, and she also does not need extra time to plan her response, although she allows for a considerable gap before answering. See also (4.126), an excerpt taken from ICE-T&T:

Example (4.126): Defence (ICE-T&T, S1A-067)

```
01 Bar:  what position you play?
02 Eri:  ((steups)) erm: DEFENCE
```

The scenario depicts a Q&A-adjacency pair with the SPP being preceded by *erm* (as well as 'steupsing', which refers to the sound of sucking (or 'kissing') one's teeth, an affect marker typically associated with African or Caribbean interactions (Figueroa 2005: 74f). Eric's answer is not delayed, nor is it marked as problematic, dispreferred, or dysfluent. In fact, the conversation has centred on his role in the national hockey team of Trinidad for some time, i.e. Barney's question is not unexpected. Classifying *erm* as a hesitation marker therefore clearly does not catch its function in this situation. Rather, the particle acts as a turn-initiator (cf. Stenström 1990: 227); it signals that a speaker is about to start a turn. This is not necessarily restricted to scenarios in which a speaker has been pre-selected, as example (4.127) illustrates:

Example (4.127): Drug addict (ICE-T&T, S1A-008)

```
01 Luc:  the drug addict?
02       (0.1)
03 Nik:  ↑yea:h the drug [↑addict]
04 Mic:                  [ ↑ e r ][↓ m : : ]
05 N.N.:                          [(it was)] ( )?
06       (1.2)
07 Mic:  it was a drug addict?
```

This interaction involves four female participants. They have just been talking about a recent crime and Lucy has asked a question of clarification (l. 01), which Niki – the story-teller – confirms (l. 03). Note that a third participant, Michelle, self-selects and produces a stretched *erm*, while Niki is still completing her turn (l. 04). However, Michelle does not continue talking; rather, she is overlapped by another (unidentified) interactant who takes

the floor before she can start her TCU proper (l. 05). Michelle drops out and only restarts again after the unknown speaker has completed her turn and a considerable period of silence has passed (l. 07). Rather than indicating hesitation, *erm* functions as a 'warning particle' in this extract: Michelle is testing the water by self-selecting and starting up with a non-content particle which informs the other speakers of her intention to take the floor. *Erm* is unproblematic if overlapped by other interactants, because it does not convey information relevant to the content of the upcoming turn – Reber therefore classifies it as sound object (2012: 39). That is, even if a speaker's turn-claiming should be unsuccessful, the damage is minimal. This is in line with Kjellmer (2003), who also concludes that "[t]he speaker who signals by means of *er(m)* that he wants to take over the turn is mostly successful in doing so, but sometimes, he fails, at least temporarily" (184). I would argue that the planner *er(m)* is a very efficient turn-claiming strategy, which causes little perturbation to the interaction-in-progress but acts as a signpost for an upcoming new speaker. In the Caribbean data group, this function turned out to be the dominant use of turn-initial *er(m)* – in fact, hesitating *er(m)* is extremely rare in these interactions. This may have to do with the English proficiency, which, on average, seems to be higher with the speakers from Jamaica, Trinidad, and Tobago than with the ASEAN conversationalists. However, in her study on British and American native English speakers, Tottie also finds turn-claiming initial *er(m)* to be less frequent than hesitating *er(m)* (2015: 396); a result which cannot be explained with differing levels of proficiency in the language. Furthermore, the boundaries between the two functions – hesitating and turn-claiming – are fuzzy and functions often overlap (Kjellmer 2003: 189f). After all, a speaker starting up with a hesitation marker is still claiming the floor. Rather than treating them as mutually exclusive, both functions should therefore be regarded as endpoints on a scale, with many nuances in-between.

Er(m) can also be found in turn-medial position, i.e. either within a TCU or at the end of a TCU in multi-unit turns. Together, these instances make up the vast majority of all planners in the Caribbean and ASEAN interactions. If uttered at a non-TRP, *er(m)* typically marks repair. See (4.128), a Southeast Asian conversation in which the speakers are talking about teacher's day in Vietnam:

Example (4.128): Very busy (ACE, VN_LE_con_pho restaurant)

```
01 Hue:  [actua↑l]ly: [(on=that)- er, on THAT >da]y at Sea↑meo< (.) ↑no
02 Thu:               [we very busy on THAT=day! ]
03 Hue:  one:- (0.2) we don't have to WORK!
```

Hue's *er* in line 01 is produced in the middle of an ongoing TCU (marked in grey). She starts with *on that-* but then abandons her utterance with a cut-off and immediately initiates

self-repair: She utters a planner and then repeats the problematic element, this time stressing the determiner: *on THAT day*. This is a classic case of post-positioned, self-initiated self-repair: The speaker goes back to fix part of their prior utterance (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 123). The planner here functions as a signal indicating that the speaker is aware of a problem in their turn and will provide a solution to it (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 188). The cut-off and the absence of any other hesitation markers show that the problem is not one of proficiency or a lack of words. Compare this to the following excerpt, (4.129):

```
Example (4.129): My research (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

01 Sam:  [I-=↑I]: (0.1) >be↑cause-< (0.3) >you ↑know my:< (0.1) ↑er::: 
         my:  >research last time my research
         [(right?) I did a p]aper< on: hh (0.1) face[book] games
02 Che:  [ (↑ m h - ↓ h m ) ]
```

The planner in Sam's turn (l. 01) also marks repair and is positioned within a TCU. However, the scenario differs clearly from (4.128) above. Sam does not repair part of his previous utterance but is searching for a suitable expression to complete his turn. In doing so, he abandons his utterance mid-way, stretching the last sound before he allows for a short gap: *you know my:.* He then produces a planner, *er*, with a long sound stretch and a rise in pitch. Note that, contrary to (4.128), Sam is trying to solve trouble which is yet to come – i.e. his repair initiation is pre-positioned. When he restarts again, he recycles the possessive determiner (*my: research*), thus further postponing the solution (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 118). As before, mid-TCU *er(m)* marks the initiation of a repair sequence; however, it clearly also functions as a hesitation device in this context. Similar examples can be identified in the Caribbean interactions, for instance in (4.130) below, where the speaker is trying to explain why she did not pay attention to the previous conversation. As in (4.129) the planners are part of a word search, i.e. of a pre-positioned self-initiated repair strategy:

```
Example (4.130): Facebook (ICE-T&T, S1A-057)

01 Jea:  [( ↑well] is-) hh whenever I ↑get er::: stressed >out about
         somethin' I< checkin' my- my (0.3) F:ACEBOOK >again and all
         these< ↑erm: (0.3) ((steups))
02       (0.5)
03 Jea:  messages >somebody want me to do some↑thin' […]
```

Er(m) within the TCU (marked in grey) primarily indicates ongoing repair in both data groups, but it can be combined with prosodic features and hesitation markers to indicate uncertainty. These scenarios constitute the majority of all turn-medial planners, which is in line with studies on British and American speakers of English. Tottie, for instance, finds 73% of *er(m)* in the spoken British National Corpus (BNC) and the Santa Barbara Corpus

of Spoken American English (SBCSAE) to occur turn-medially (2015: 393). This position makes planners a prime resource for turn-holding. As Kjellmer puts it, producing *er(m)* is a means of avoiding silence and thus "will indicate that the speaker is preparing a new information unit, intends to go on speaking and is not willing to yield his turn" (2003: 185). This view is challenged by Tottie, who agrees in that planners signal continuation but denies them having a turn-holding function, because "in the overwhelming majority of cases, UHM is used because the speaker is looking for a good way to phrase the upcoming message, not necessarily or primarily to prevent another speaker from taking over" (2015: 397). As the examples given above illustrate, Tottie is certainly right in pointing at the primary function of mid-turn *er(m)*: In both the Caribbean and the Southeast Asian conversations, planners almost exclusively occur in situations where speakers are providing self-repair or show hesitation. However, if speakers use a planner to announce that they are going to deal with trouble in their talk, potential next speakers are likely to interpret this as a turn-holding move. In fact, *er(m)* is a very powerful resource for keeping the floor, as the examples given above show. None of the other speakers starts up, even in very dysfluent situations with long periods of silence, such as (4.130) or (4.131) below:

Example (3.131): Condy Rice (ICE-JA, S1A-010)

01 Ale: it wasn't until ↑LA:ST >week I know that< (0.3) >Co- I didn't know what Condy< Rice's job was (0.2) before=**erm:**
02 (1.0)
03 Ale: >being in the cabinet<

Although this excerpt is taken from a lively interaction with five participants, none of them self-selects in the long pause of 1s within Alex's final TCU (l. 01 and 03, marked in grey). I argue that this is largely due to two factors, the syntactic incompleteness (cf. chapter 4.5.2 for a discussion) and his planner, *erm*, which projects ongoing repair and hints at something more to follow. Both resources essentially have a turn-holding effect. This does not necessarily make the turn competitive, as Tottie claims (2015: 399). In fact, it can have the opposite effect, namely invite joint productions, i.e. collaborative completions or repair suggestions which leave the authority over the turn with the current speaker. See, for instance, (4.132) below. An has just asked Zhi how she manages to keep in contact with her boyfriend in Hong Kong.

Example (4.132): Skype (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

01 Zhi: <tele[p ho ::: ne >]
02 An: [telephone every] day=
03 Zhi: =and **er:::**=
04 An: =skype

```
05 N.N.: h h hh
06 Zhi:  ↑yah, skype
```

As joint productions are the subject of another chapter (cf. chapter 6.1.1), I do not discuss them in detail here. However, the scenario shows that Zhi's lengthened *er* in the middle of her TCU (l. 03) invites a candidate solution by An (l. 04), which is accepted by Zhi in line 06. The whole excerpt is clearly not competitive; Zhi remains the turn occupant and maintains control over her turn – she is the one who has to accept An's suggestion. The planner thus invites collaboration between the interactants, while at the same time allowing Zhi to hold the floor. Thus, Tottie's assumption that turn-holding involves competition between interactants and that planners therefore do not qualify as turn-holding resources has to be refuted when looking at the data analysed for this study.[61]

Apart from that, planners can also be found at the end of TCUs in multi-unit turns, i.e. at potential TRPs. See, for instance, (4.133) below, taken from a Jamaican interaction. The speakers have been talking about Jamaican companies who collaborate with Japanese and American car manufacturers.

```
Example (4.133): American cars (ICE-JA, S1A-006)

01 Bob:  [>you don't even know what] American< cars: >I don't know< ↑erm
         [>any↑way] they're Jamai↑can<
02 War:  [I  ↑know]
03       that's a ( ) [    (     )    ] buy these ↑cars […]
04 Bob:              [joint ↑ventures]
```

In this scenario, Bob's *erm* is directly positioned between two complete TCUs (shaded in grey). Rather than marking repair, its function differs from that in the previous examples – in (4.133), the planner initiates an attempt to close the topic. *Erm* constitutes a pivot between two separate units, Bob's statement *I don't know [which American car manufacturers]* and his summary assessment, *anyway, they're Jamaican joint ventures*, which constitutes the gist of his turn. All in all, however, these situations are extremely rare in the interactions analysed.

Planners also occur in turn-final position, although these instances only constitute a marginal phenomenon, as most planners are followed either by continuation of the current speaker or by collaborative completions. This is further evidence for the turn-holding function of *er(m)* in the Southeast Asian and Caribbean conversations analysed. One example has already been discussed in another context but is reproduced as (4.134) here:

[61] Tottie is certainly right, when she emphasises that speakers do not deliberately or consciously insert planners (2015: 396f). However, as she mentions herself, this does not prevent interlocutors from interpreting them as turn-holding (2015: 403).

Example (4.134) [4.77]: Australia (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Che:  (I=mean-) when ↑I was in Australia I- (0.1) I- I studied ↑there
         hhh
02 Lan:  so-=
03 Che:  =↑er::[: m ]
04 Lan:        [you-] you WENT to Austral[ia ?]
05 Che:                                  [yeah] (0.2) for=about=
```

Chen's turn ends on a lengthened *erm* (l. 03), which is partly overlapped by Lan, who self-selects to ask a question of understanding (l. 04). Note that Lan has already uttered a false start in line 02, which ends in a cut-off. She now restarts again despite Chen's planner. Two elements facilitate her taking the floor at this place: First, Chen has completed a TCU and thus reached a TRP with *I studied there* (l. 01). He further exhales audibly and then produces a stretched planner. Both exhalation and tempo decreases are signs of "trailing off", i.e. they are typically interpreted as turn-yielding (Tottie 2015: 401; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 109). That is, Chen's behaviour allows Lan to treat his turn as complete and as a legitimate place to start up. Nevertheless, turn-final *er(m)* is extremely rare in both data groups. This is in line with their distribution in British and American interactions. Kjellmer, for instance, finds turn-yielding (i.e. turn-final) planners to be restricted to "situations where the hesitation element is very prominent" (2003: 185), and Tottie only classifies 6% of *er(m)* in her BNC/SBCSAE-study as turn-final (2015: 393). Comparing this to the high values for turn-medial planners provides further evidence for the hypothesis that *er(m)* functions as a powerful turn-holding resource in the interactions analysed. *Er(m)* rarely leads to speaker change in either of the data groups, even though it can be preceded or followed by considerable gaps.

This chapter has given an overview of the planners *er* and *erm* and their functions in Caribbean and Southeast Asian conversations. It was demonstrated that they occur in three positions in the turn: prefacing a TCU, turn-medial, and turn-final. With both data groups, two functions turned out to be dominant. Turn-initially, *er(m)* is treated as a sign of incipient speakership, i.e. as a turn-claiming device, which speakers use to test whether they can smoothly access the floor and to signal their intention to the other participants. Turn-medial, planners often mark ongoing repair processes and are treated as indicating turn-holding by interlocutors. It therefore makes sense to describe *er(m)* as a 'warning particle' – turn claimants signal their intention to speak up to both the current speaker and potential other turn claimants; turn occupants block an upcoming TRP and thus 'warn' other conversationalists that their turn is ongoing. Nevertheless, planners were not found to be employed competitively in any of the interactions. This fully corroborates Tottie's claim

that "turn-taking should be seen as a collaborative effort rather than as a competitive fight for the floor" (2015: 403). Of course, planners do not constitute the only lexical resource speakers can use to manipulate turn-taking. The following chapter therefore looks at a second strategy from this larger group, the use of address terms.

4.4.2. Address terms

When speaker use an address term to refer to an interlocutor, this is typically to select them unambiguously as a next speaker. This practice has already been discussed in chapter 4.1.1 above. However, this is not the only use of address terms in the Caribbean interactions analysed. In this chapter, I show how they can be employed as turn-holding or -claiming resources. Three types of address terms can be distinguished in this context: the personal pronoun *you*, personal names, and category terms. As they typically occur in combinations they are discussed together.

First, directly addressing other speakers can be a means of strengthening one's status as the current speaker. See, for instance, the following example, a discussion about the difference between Nigerian Pidgin English and Jamaican Patois, which has already been shown earlier but is expanded and reproduced as (4.135) here:

```
Example (4.135) [4.119]: Handed down (ICE-JA, S1A-003)

01 Wil:  =okay? (0.3) ↑Pidgin ↑English has uniformity
02       (0.5)
03 Wil:  >so if ↑you< RIGHT ACROSS thirty-two states,
04 Her:  <BECAUSE [  I T   H A]S BEEN HANDED ↑DOWN=IT WILL HAVE
05 N.N.:          [no=(that's)]
06 Her:  UNIFORMI↑TY=DON'T> YOU UNDERSTAND WHAT I'M
         SAY[ING TO YOU WILSON!]
07 Wil:     [ but  you  patois ] has no [uniformity!]
08 Her:                                 [IT'S COMING] FROM THERE ↑DOWN!
09       (0.7)
10 Her:  right? (0.3) it's coming from THERE ↑DOWN=(the men) establish
         […]
```

When Herman starts up to disagree with his interlocutor, he increases his volume and slows down to drown out any other speaker. Apart from that, he also directly addresses Wilson using both *you* and, TCU-finally, a first name: *don't you understand what I'm saying to you Wilson!* (l. 06). He thus singles out Wilson as the sole recipient of his turn – while *you* can theoretically refer to any interactant in the three-party conversation,[62] the personal name

[62] Obviously, gaze is likely to play a role here as well (cf. also Lerner 2003 for an analysis of gaze-directional addressing).

directs the utterance to one specific recipient. According to Lerner, this is "arguably the strongest form of address available, [although] that does not mean it has the widest use" (2003: 184). In fact, the use of personal names is rare in the data analysed and it hardly ever occurs in the Southeast Asian interactions. This makes the occasions where speakers choose to employ a personal name particularly interesting, especially as many address terms seem to do more than 'just' select a next speaker. Looking at the scenario above, this becomes obvious: Herman has already established recipiency using the personal pronoun and he is not addressing Wilson to yield the floor – in fact, he continues talking with loud volume and overlaps Wilson's attempts to start up (l. 08). So, if Herman does not intend to select a next speaker, why is he using a personal name? First, the name occurs in post-position, i.e. at the end of the TCU (highlighted in bold). It does not point forward to upcoming talk but rather refers back to the prior utterance (Clayman 2010: 173), i.e. Herman's complaint *don't you understand what I'm saying to you*. On the one hand, the name thus highlights Herman's own turn; on the other, it demonstrates Herman's (negative) stance towards Wilson's prior comments. That is, post-positioned personal names have a double function: They are used to conduct interpersonal work in the interaction and at the same time "underline[…] the very act of speaking expressly to the already expressed recipient" (Lerner 2003: 185; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 23 Online-Chapter F). Because names are not syntactically related to the turn, they can be added ad hoc as the turn goes along, and thus constitute a powerful tool to emphasise a speaker's utterance. This is particularly relevant in situations like the one above: Note that Wilson has already continued to disagree with Herman (l. 07), which leads to a passage of simultaneous talk. In order to protect his turn from further overlap, Herman therefore directly addresses the turn claimant. This illustrates that address terms can be used as turn-holding devices in the Caribbean interactions. More frequently, however, did they occur in turn-claiming contexts. See (4.136) below, where six interactants are discussing the correct pronunciation of the word *kudae* 'look there':

Example (4.136): Blaine (ICE-JA, S1A-004)

```
01 Bla:  it's not the soft!
02       (0.7)
03 Ron:  but-=
04 Bla:  =↑COO:[ :   o ]f a do[ve ]
05 Ron:        [Blaine!]      [Bla]ine=
06 Bla:  =the English [ ↑ c o o ]: (0.2) ↑COO::=
07 Ron:               [yes o↑kay]
08 Ron?: =(Blaine!)
09       (0.2)
10 Bla:  right?
11       (0.2)
12 Ron:  but=Blaine!=
```

```
13 Bla:  =yeah?=
14 Ron:  =the ↑POINT I'm trying to ↓make
15       (0.3)
16 N.N.: (mm)=
17 Ron:  =erm I=I don't see=↑you (0.1) you've had a couple of beers, I
         a↑gree […]
```

All in all, Ronald addresses the current speaker Blaine four times in this short excerpt (marked in bold), before he manages to make him yield the floor in line 13. The whole conversation is marked by disagreement and Blaine has been the sole floor-occupant for a considerable time prior to the sequence above. After a longer period of silence, Ronald self-selects in line 03 but is immediately cut-off by the current speaker, who adds an increment to his previous turn (l. 04). Ronald therefore addresses Blaine directly. Note that he does not interrupt the current speaker but exclusively starts up at legitimate TRPs: at the sound stretch and terminally overlapping Blaine's TCU in line 04, in latch position (l. 08), and after a short gap (l. 12). Contrary to (4.135) above, the personal name is used pre-positionally, i.e. before an action is initiated, in (4.136). This has been described as a "device to establish or verify the availability of a recipient in situations where this may be problematic" (Lerner 2003: 184), and this is exactly what is the case here: The current speaker does not yield the floor, so the turn claimant directly addresses him to indicate his willingness to take the turn.[63] Nevertheless, it takes a considerable time for Blaine to react to Ronald's summons (l. 12 and 13). When he does, however, he yields the floor and Ronald is established as the new turn occupant (l. 14).

To sum up, address terms can be used as turn-claiming resources[64] by potential next speakers, particularly in situations which are problematic in some way, e.g. because the current speaker persists in talking (as in (4.136)) or because several interactants are claiming the floor simultaneously. The address can be used as a summons in the narrow sense, i.e. it opens up an adjacency pair and makes a turn-yielding move by the summoned person relevant (cf. Lerner 2003: 189) – see, for instance, Blaine's answer in line 13 above. Apart from that, turn-claiming address terms can also be produced in passing, i.e. without opening a summons-response sequence (Lerner 2003: 187), as (4.137) below illustrates:

Example (4.137): Arrogance (ICE-JA, S1A-003)

```
01 Her:  that's >that's a kind of< bloody ARROGANCE ↑man!
02       (0.6)
```

[63] Additionally, Ronald uses a number of other turn-claiming devices, such as early starts (cf. chapter 4.2), acknowledgement tokens (cf. chapter 4.4.3), and a pre-announcement (cf. chapter 4.5.3).

[64] Again, I want to highlight that this is certainly not the only use of address terms. They obviously also serve to select a next speaker, as described in chapter 4.1.1. However, in the Caribbean interactions, this turned out to be not their only function.

```
03 Wil:  well, ↑I'm an arro[gant  person!]
04 Her:                    [that's=an imp]erialist [arro↑gance!]
05 N.N.:                                          [ ha ha ha  ]
         hah ha[  h a  ]
06 Her:        [Wilson!] that's an impe[rialist arro↑gance!]
07 Wil:                                 [ (  ) but Herman ! ] (0.3) h
         what=↑I'm sayin' to ↑you=[…]
```

Again, the situation is marked by disagreement. There are frequent speaker changes, as several interactants are claiming the floor. Two of them, Herman and Wilson, use first names to make the other drop out and listen (l. 06 and 07) However, this time no summons-answer sequence is initiated; rather, the name is a pre-positioned part of the turn as such. Nevertheless, the function remains the same – directly addressing another interactant is one way to establish speakership, i.e. it paves the way for a next speaker's turn. As Lerner describes it,

> summoning by name is the stronger form and a pre-positioned address term is the weaker form. However, both should be considered solutions to the same problem: Address terms are the solution to the addressing problem when recipiency is in doubt for an upcoming First pair-part (2003: 190).

Apart from using personal names, speakers can also employ the personal pronoun *you* to achieve the same effect. This is illustrated in (4.138) below, an excerpt taken from the same interaction as (4.137). The speakers are discussing whether a variety has to be codified to be considered a 'language'. The argument is heated, and all three interactants are claiming the floor:

Example (4.138): Written language (ICE-JA, S1A-003)

```
01 Her:  =because [it's ↑NOT] a written
         lan↑g[uage, there↑fore it's ↑not ]=
02 Wil:       [>every language is written<]
03 Rob:  =THAT is ↑true (.) five >diffe↑rent (you
         [can understand it ↑though)<]
04 Her:  [  ↑HELLO !  (.)  BACK  UP  ] (.) ( )!
05       (0.1)
06 N.N.: [( )]
07 Her:  [>(BOTH OF ↑YO]U)<
08 N.N.: (↑we-)=
09 Her:  =YOU=YOU! (.) <BACK UP ONE [SECOND!>]
10 N.N.:                            [ (    ) ] hha haha
         [      ( (  chuckling   ) )      ]=
11 Her:  [↑YOU BACK UP (0.2) <ONE SECOND!>]=
```

This time, Herman addresses both of his two other interactants. He does not use their names to do that but repeatedly uses the pronoun *you* – which he even specifies to *both of you* (l. 07) – and directly asks them to stop talking (l. 04, 07, 09, and 11). The latter strategy, producing a direct request, is discussed in greater detail in chapter 6.2.3. In (4.138),

Herman's technique turns out to be successful – both Wilson and Robert abandon their turn-claiming and resort to laughter instead (l. 10).

In this chapter, I have shown that speakers in the Caribbean data group can employ personal names or pronouns to hold or claim their turn. That is, rather than selecting a next speaker – which is the function typically associated with address terms – potential next speakers are either prevented from starting up, as in (4.135) or the addressed speaker(s) are prompted to yield their turn (as in examples (4.136) to (4.138)). Additionally, address terms act as stance or relationship markers, emphasising the speaker's turn and displaying disagreement or asking for alignment. It is therefore not surprising that they typically occur in contexts where speakers discuss controversial issues. In the ASEAN interactions, personal names and pronouns are exclusively used to select next speakers. This could be due to an avoidance of directly addressing other interactants. However, as the Southeast Asian interactions do not involve heated arguments, i.e. situations which trigger this turn-taking device in the Caribbean conversations, this has to remain speculative.

4.4.3. Particles

Furthermore, interactants can employ a number of particles to prevent their interlocutors from starting up or to claim a turn themselves. In this chapter, three types are discussed, minimal response tokens, turn-initial and turn-final particles, and a number of variety-specific particles which are unique to the ASEAN speaker group.

In this study, the term 'minimal response token' is used as a cover term which includes (amongst others) acknowledgement tokens, confirmation markers, and displays of agreement or affiliation (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 506). Typically, these particles are treated as signs of encouragement, i.e. as turn-yielding markers, in the literature (cf. the overview in chapter 3.2.2.4 and chapter 4.1.3, where I discuss this function with respect to current speaker continuation). However, they are also used to claim the floor in the interactions analysed. This is illustrated by (4.139) below, an excerpt from a Southeast Asian conversation in which the speakers are comparing different postal services:

Example (4.139): The price is okay (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Sam:  [↑I say V] [↑POST] (.) they ↑sa[y : ]
02 Che:             [(mh) ]             [yeah]
03       (0.2)
04 Sam:  the price is >okay but it's< super l- long!
05       (0.1)
06 Che:  yeah a:nd [  some↑times  ]
```

```
07 Sam:             [(the=duration)]
08 Che:  ↓they::: (0.3)/?=?/ (0.2) misplace stuff!
```

When the current speaker, Sam, ends his turn in line 04, Chen produces an acknowledgement token, *yeah* (l. 06). Acknowledgement tokens are defined as indicating "I understand what you said" (Jefferson 2002: 1345), and this is exactly what Chen is doing here. However, rather than dropping out afterwards, he continues talking, even though Sam overlaps him. In this scenario, *yeah* therefore seems to be used by a turn-claimant as an entry point onto the floor. This becomes particularly obvious when comparing Chen's *yeah*s in lines 02 and 06. In line 02, he encourages the current speaker but does not start up himself. In this situation, *yeah* is used like the continuer *mh* before, i.e. as a marker of passive recipiency (Jefferson 1983a: 4). In line 06, however, the same token is used to initiate a turn, i.e. its function is clearly different. Similar situations can be observed for the Caribbean interactions. See, for instance, (4.140) below:

```
Example (4.140): Little qualities (ICE-JA, S1A-013)

01 Deb:  […] I=↑mean those >are little qualities that the-< Catholic
         (0.1) pass on [to ↑you::] R:EALLY pass
02 Joa:                [  y e s  ]
03 Deb:  [ o n   t o   y o u ]
04 Joa:  [> we had to go to S]aint Monica's we had to ↑carry: […]
```

As before, a next speaker – Joanne – first utters a minimal acknowledgment token, this time in transitional overlap with the current speaker's turn (l. 02). She then goes on to claim the floor herself (l. 04) and is successful: Debby drops out and yields the floor to Joanne as the next speaker. Similar cases have been observed for other varieties and languages: With respect to American English, Jefferson describes *yeah* and *yes* as resources for the "recipient-so-far […] [to] mov[e] into speakership" (1983a: 10). Looking at data from ICE-Australia, Peters & Wong conclude that backchannels – they do not distinguish continuers from minimal response tokens – "provide not just passive support for the speaker […], but can actively support the speaker as well as signal the need for an exchange of turns, and maneuver the speaker out of the speaker role" (2015: 426). Clancy et al. (1996) report similar findings for American English, Japanese, and Mandarin Chinese.[65] The Caribbean and Southeast Asian data analysed for the present study provide evidence that minimal response tokens are also employed systematically as markers of incipient speakership in these varieties. Even though *yes* and *yeah* make up the vast majority of cases, other tokens are used in these contexts as well. These can be found predominantly in the Caribbean

[65] Clancy et al. use the term "resumptive openers" to describe turn-claiming minimal response tokens (1996: 363).

interactions and include *okay, alright, mh,* and the change-of-state marker *oh*. See examples (4.141) to (4.144) (response tokens marked in bold):

Example (4.141): Really nice (ICE-T&T, S1A-067)

01 Eri: […] ↑so: >it was really nice<
02 (0.4)
03 Bar: **o↑kay-** (0.1) how >long you was< up there for?

Example (4.142): Alright (ICE-JA, S1A-004)

01 Bla: ((spells)) d e ↑H ((/spells))
02 (0.2)
03 Ron: **alright** (.) at ↑least we have […]

Example (4.143): Trinity Hall (ICE-T&T, S1A-034)

01 Jod: >but Trinity Hall is the best!<
02 (0.9)
03 Cla: ↑**mh**: (0.1) of=course you would say ↑THAT until you go across to Milner

Example (4.144): Looks like this (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

01 Wan: […] ↑I- I-, my friend's one is BLACK (0.3) mine is (.) this colour
02 (0.5)
03 An: **oh**, so, so it looks like this- (0.2) (it will) expand over time, […]

Overall, minimal response tokens are used as turn-claiming resources by both speaker groups. They constitute an efficient and at the same time highly collaborative entry into speakership: By starting with a response token, the conversationalist can display attentiveness, acknowledgement, and/or affiliation to the current speaker's turn, while at the same time claiming the floor themselves.

While minimal response tokens can be classified as freestanding particles – i.e. as prosodically independent from the previous or following TCU – speakers from both data groups also employ a number of particles which are complementarily distributed and constitute a part of the TCU they are referring to (cf. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 514). Two types can be distinguished: turn-initial and turn-final particles. Each of them is briefly discussed below.

Turn-initial particles connect a TCU to its predecessor – although 'connect' does not necessarily imply that the two parts exhibit the same trajectory. Just like minimal response tokens, turn-initial particles can be employed by turn-claiming speakers as an entry-point onto the floor. See, for instance, (4.145), an example in which two women are talking about a mutual acquaintance.

Example (4.145): Saint Charles Church (ICE-T&T, S1A-050)

```
01 Sar:  I ↑SEE her >wh- if (I) go to ↑Sain:t< (0.4) CHARLES ↑church
02       (0.2)
03 Moi:  >oh she goes< to church here?
```

Moira's self-selection starts with the particle *oh* (l. 03), but contrary to (4.144) above the *oh* in (4.145) is prosodically incorporated into the TCU. *Oh* has already been introduced as a change-of-state token (cf. above), i.e. it typically marks an epistemic change (Heritage 1984: 304). This also seems to be the case here – Moira indicates that the information provided in Sarah's previous turn (l. 01) is new to her, and she uses the particle as a pivot[66] between her turn and that of the prior speaker. While *oh* is a particle which can only be used by turn-claiming participants – i.e. speakers who can react to the current speaker – other turn-initial particles can be employed by both. In the data analysed, two of them stand out, *so* and *well*. See (4.146) for an instance of turn-claiming *so*:

Example (4.146): What else (ICE-T&T, S1A-008)

```
01 Mic:  […] >but ↑Jack you duckin' CLASSES and you THIEVIN' people
         ↑phone and you thievin' people MO↑NEY what else shall I tell
         your parents?<=
02 N.N.: =↑mh↓hm=
03 Tin:  =s:o you're explainin' to him ↑like
04       (0.9)
05 Tin:  (like he had ↑br[ain)]
```

Using *so* to preface her TCU (l. 03), Tina links her utterance thematically to Michelle's turn in line 01. She produces a summary of Michelle's narrative, with *so* indicating a relationship of continuity between the two turns. As before, the particle allows the turn-claimant to enter the floor 'with good reason', while at the same time displaying attentiveness to the prior speaker's talk. Apart from that, *so* can also be used by current speakers to hold their turn, particularly in story-telling. This is illustrated in (4.147), an example in which An is describing the education system in Singapore:

Example (4.147): Streamed (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:    yah, they have a choice (.) ba[sed on ↑thei]r
02 Wan:                               [ ↑uh - ↓huh ]
03 An:   ((alveolar click))
04       (0.5)
05 An:   their streaming re↑SULts wh[en they are in secondary] two,
06 Wan:                           [ o  k  a  y,  o k a y  ]
07 An:   so everything is kind of streamed […]
```

[66] Please note that I am not relating to pivots as syntactic constructions here. These will be discussed in chapter 4.5.2.

Again, the *so*-prefaced TCU in line 07 is in a relationship of connectivity with the previous utterance; it provides an upshot of An's prior talk. This time, however, the summary is provided by the current speaker herself: By using the turn-initial particle, she announces that something more is to follow and that she is going to produce another – topically related – TCU. This is further strengthened by the turn-final prosody of the directly preceding element, which ends on slightly rising intonation, thus also indicating continuation. Note, however, that turn-initial *so* can also signal turn-yielding, namely in turns which are directly addressing the interlocutor, as in (4.148) below:

Example (4.148): Whole different (ICE-T&T, S1A-067)

```
01 Bar:  […] >but compared to th/i/ WORKIN' WORLD I mean< i(t)'s a:
02       (0.8)
03 Bar:  whole different
04       (2.9)
05 Bar:  >so which ↑part in the airport d'you work?<
06       (1.0)
07 Eri:  ↑ERM: (0.2) corporate ex↑change
```

In this excerpt, the speakers have just been talking about their time at university. Barney provides a summary assessment: *but compared to the workin' world […] it's a whole different* (l. 01-03). The situation is marked by extremely long periods of silence (l. 02 and 04). In line 01, Barney ends by trailing off; he stretches the last sound and then leaves the TCU unfinished (cf. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 109). However, despite the long period of silence, Eric[67] does not self-select, and Barney retrospectively completes his turn in line 03. Again, a TRP has been reached, and, again, Eric does not start up. This results in a long lapse of almost 3s (l. 04), before Barney continues talking. His next TCU – a question – is prefaced by *so* and it is directly addressed at his interlocutor (l. 05). Contrary to (4.147) above, it does not continue the topic of the prior turn but opens up a new theme – Eric's work at the airport. However, by using *so* in turn-initial position, Barney presents his questions as "emerging from incipiency", i.e. as having been pending for a while and being now brought to the conversational surface (Bolden 2009: 974). He thus creates an impression of continuity, despite changing the topic. Apart from that, Barney also displays other-attentiveness by directing his turn towards his interlocutor and emphatically – by opening up an adjacency pair first part – yielding the floor to Eric. This second function of *so*-prefaced TCUs has already been described for Inner Circle Englishes (Bolden 2006: 668) but similar cases can also be observed in other languages, e.g. Estonian (Keevallik 2013: 280). For the present study, turn-initial *so* can be identified in three types of use: turn-

[67] At this time in the interaction, only Eric and Barney are present.

claiming, as an entry point onto the floor (cf. Sacks et al. 1974: 719f), turn-holding, to indicate continuation, and turn-yielding, to introduce a topic shift. What all of them have in common is that *so* is employed to establish – or at least construe – a relationship of continuity between prior and prefaced TCU. Thus, the particle can be regarded as a resource to perform close co-attentiveness in the interactions. Bolden therefore describes it as a "discursive practice[…] via which interlocutors enact their involvement with their conversational partners and which reflect[s] interlocutors' orientation to doing other-attentiveness" (2006: 681). At the same time, turn-initial particles – or "appositional beginnings" as Sacks et al. call them (1974: 719) – have two further advantages when it comes to turn-taking: First, they are relatively flexible and do not "reveal[…] too much about the constructional features of the sentence thus begun" (Sacks et al. 1974: 719). This makes them ideal candidates for being positioned near TRPs, i.e. at places where overlap is likely but where prospective next speakers have to start early in order to claim the floor (Sacks et al. 1974: 719). In some respects, turn-initial particles can therefore be compared to planners as discussed in chapter 4.4.1 above. Nevertheless, the present study shows that simply regarding particles as variants of the planners *er* and *erm* does not do justice to their function in interaction (cf. also Fischer 2000).

This also holds for the second most frequent turn-initial particle used to claim or hold a turn in the interactions analysed for this study. *Well* is a multifunctional particle and has been described as a marker of dispreference, planning, mitigation, or digression from the topic (cf. Heritage 2015 for an overview; cf. also Schiffrin 1987: 127; Aijmer 2011: 236, 246). Because of that, I will not be able to cover its specific interactional functions in detail. However, as my focus is on the role of turn-initial particles for turn-taking, selected examples suffice to illustrate the principle. An instance of turn-initial *well* in turn-claiming position is shown in (4.149) below. The speakers have just been talking about an acquaintance, Louise, who is popular with her neighbours because she always listens to their problems:

Example (4.149): People need people (ICE-T&T, S1A-050)

```
01 Bee:  […] hhh PEOPLE need [people ↑to:]
02 N.N.:                      [  (    )   ]
03 Bee:  LISTEN to >↑THEM: let me tell you
         [(about)  l][ife< (↑it's)]
04 Eil:  [you're all][(  people ) ]
05 Sar:              [ well  T H A]T'S WHY I
         [↑SAID (you)]
06 Bee:  [  good  lis][tenin'!]
07 Sar:               [(ought)]
08 N.N.:              [ an  ↑E][A : R !]
```

09 Sar: [(to >ha]ve) a professional ↑E[A:R!]

In lines 01 and 03, Bee draws a conclusion from the previous conversation: *people need people to listen to them*. She then continues talking but is overlapped by Eileen and Sarah. While Eileen disagrees with Bee, stating that there is no reason why the neighbours should prefer talking to Louise rather than to Bee, because *you're all people* (l. 04), Sarah does not disagree. However, she refers back to her own statement from earlier in the conversation: *well that's why I said you ought to have a professional ear!* (l. 05-09). That is, she shifts the focus back to her own contribution and uses *well* to mark this change and to authorise her turn-claiming. As Heritage puts it, "*well*-prefacing may be most concisely understood as a generalized alert that in the subsequent turn the current speaker's perspective or project will be privileged over that of the interlocutors" (2015: 101). I would argue that this 'alert' can be viewed as a turn-claiming move in the Caribbean interactions analysed for this study. Next speakers can employ the particle to make their co-interactionalists aware of their intention to take the floor. This view is already expressed in Schegloff's essay on recycled turn-beginnings, where he states that the

> 'turn-initial position' […] is a central place for a variety of sequential markers in conversation – little objects that do a piece of sequential work. For example, 'interruption markers', of the form 'Wait a minute!' or 'Oh!' can, when used while someone else is talking, operate to announce that an interruption is thereby started (1987 [1973]: 72).[68]

I would argue that the examples given above provide evidence that this warning function is not necessarily restricted to passages in overlap – if speakers self-select and start with a turn-initial particle, this functions as a turn-claiming move irrespective of overlap. Of course, this is not their only function in interaction. *Well*, for instance, can also indicate that the speaker is going to produce a multi-unit turn, e.g. a longer narrative or explanation (cf. Heritage 2015: 101). When produced by the turn holder, however, *well* is typically used to mark topic shifts or closures. These are usually relatively short, as in (4.150), a situation in which Claire is telling her interlocutors about an evening with her friends:

Example (4.150): It come so (ICE-T&T, S1A-034)

01 Cla: ((chuckling)) hhh she say it come so ((/chuckling))
02 N.N.: ha
03 N.N.: (↑tape that!)
04 (0.2)
05 Cla: hh ↑so: **well**=I've Violet ↑bag=and
06 N.N.: (alright)
07 Cla: I was like, I hope Violet don't think >I run away< with her
↑BA:G

[68] Please note that Schegloff does not distinguish between overlap and interruption here. That is, 'interruption' can also refer to overlaps starting at a legitimate TRP.

Claire is already established as the current speaker and she is in the process of telling a longer story. In this context, the use of *well* indicates a digression from the narrative – Claire gives background information which allow her co-participants to follow the story (l. 05). The particle thus alerts the other speakers that Claire's turn will require several TCUs.[69] Interestingly, in both turn-claiming and turn-holding situations, the turn-initial particle *well* is exclusively used by Caribbean speakers; no instance could be detected in the ASEAN data group. This might be related to language proficiency – in her analysis of advanced French English learners' use of hesitation phenomena, Gilquin (2008) also finds an underuse of "smallwords", including *well*. Similar results are provided by Huang (2018), who investigates Chinese-speaking learners of English. However, as other studies on non-native speakers' use of *well* have found them overusing the particle (e.g. Aijmer 2011), this hypothesis requires further research in order to be answered.

Apart from occurring turn-initially, particles can also be found at the end of TCUs. These typically have a turn-yielding function in the interactions analysed. See, for instance, (4.151) below:

Example (4.151): Getting married (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 Wan:  =[when=when] are YOU getting married?
02       (0.5)
03 An:   a:h next year december (0.2) like (0.2) END of the of the year
04       (0.2)
05 Zhi:  a:h
06       (0.2)
07 An:   yah: so
08       (0.2)
09 Wan:  have you bought a FLAT already? […]
```

After An has provided an SPP to Wan's question (l. 03), she abandons her turn, which results in a small gap (l. 04). When another speaker utters a minimal response (l. 05), An resumes her turn but does not provide more 'content'. Rather, she retrospectively adds two particles, *yah so* (l. 07), and then drops out again. Furthermore, An produces these items with trail off prosody, i.e. with a decrease in tempo and loudness (as defined above). Both prosody and the TCU's lexical content can therefore be regarded as turn-yielding; and, in fact, this is also how the interlocutors (here: Wan) interpret it (cf. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 52). Nevertheless, this is not the particle's only function – just like its turn-initial counterpart, turn-final *so* implies a relationship between two TCUs. The only difference is that, with turn-final *so*, the second element is either left unstated or provided by the

[69] On a more encompassing level, this effect is further consolidated by Claire's pre-announcement in line 01 (cf. chapter 4.5.3 for a discussion of this strategy).

interlocutor (which then results in collaborative completions as described in chapter 6.1.1) (Raymond 2004: 190). All in all, turn-final conjunctionals (typically *so*) rarely occur in the interactions analysed. Almost all instances were detected in the ASEAN conversations. As the number of turn-yielding moves is considerably lower in the Caribbean data, this finding is not surprising. For this data group, tag questions seem to fulfil a similar role (cf. chapter 4.5.3 for a discussion).

So far, it could be shown that freestanding and TCU-related particles in both the Caribbean and Southeast Asian conversations are multifunctional and have to be examined in their respective interactional context, if any statement regarding their role in turn-taking is to be made. This is line with Fischer's (2000) model of polysemous discourse particles, which distinguishes between an "invariant but underspecified schematic meaning", a context-dependent meaning, and the respective communicative frame and task speakers are attending to. That is, discourse particles – be they free-standing or complementarily distributed – must not be regarded as turn-taking signals in the sense of Duncan (1972), i.e. as an isomorphic relationship between a particle and its function. Rather, "[t]he role of discourse particles in the speaker-shift mechanisms is […] to provide an account of taking, holding, or yielding the turn" (Fischer 2000). In other words, particles are used to claim, hold, or yield a turn by doing something else, e.g. by giving an account or showing acknowledgment. As I have shown in this chapter, this also holds for the use of discourse particles in Outer and Expanding Circle Englishes, even though varieties seem to differ in how frequent individual particles are employed. Overall, the Southeast Asian interactions do not show as much variation as their Caribbean counterparts. While the minimal response token *ye(a)h* is the preferred choice in the ASEAN data group and occurs considerably more often in this context, basically all other particles discussed proved to be more frequent in the Caribbean conversations.

However, Southeast Asian speakers use a number of variety-specific particles instead. All in all, four distinct particles could be identified: *lah, ah, hor,* and the interjection *aiyoh* 'oh no'. All of them occur only in interactions with speakers from Singapore, Malaysia, and China (SG_ED_con_4, SG_ED_con_6), which is not surprising as the particles are known to be part of the linguistic repertoire of these speakers' varieties or first languages (cf. Lim 2007; Gupta 1992). While some of them primarily have emphatic functions, e.g. *lah*, which is typically associated with solidarity and accommodation (Lim 2007: 460), others have to do with the trajectory of the turn. *Hor*, for instance, has been defined as specifying the trajectory of an answer to be "agreement" or affiliation (Lim 2007: 461). However, variety-

specific particles can also be used as turn-taking resources. See, for example, (4.152) below, a situation in which Wan, a Malaysian speaker, uses *aiyoh* to yield her turn and encourage the current speaker, An. An has just told her about a trip to Korea which was problematic because she could not find anybody who spoke English:

Example (4.152): Taxi (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:   […]=they had a English counter in the airport ((alveolar
         click)) [ so] I decided to ask for a CAB hh ((alveolar click))
02 N.N.:         [( )]
03 An:   and the lady really didn't understand >me and I went<
         ta↑XI (0.4) ↑CAB (0.1) she took out a dictiona↑ry
04 Wan:  a:i[↑yo:h]
05 Zhi:     [ o:h ] [ha ha ha ]
06 An:      [ h a ] [hahaha hh] I was like hh forget it=
```

Wan's *aiyoh* in line 04 fulfils the same function as the freestanding particles discussed above. That is, it displays affiliation with the current speaker's turn and can thus be seen as a responsive action (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 497). Other than continuers (like *mh*), *aiyoh* is always produced at legitimate TRPs in the conversation, and it always has a turn-yielding effect – as in the example above, where Wan relinquishes her chance to speak up at the TRP and supports An's position as the story-teller instead.

Ah is described as turn-holding or turn-yielding marker in the literature, the exact meaning depends on tone or prosody (Lim 2007: 460). In the ASEAN speaker group, it can be found as a turn-final particle in questions. In (4.153) below, Lan has just been talking about her experiences in Singapore, stating that she was shocked to see children leave for school at five o'clock. Chen, who is from Singapore, confirms her observations:

Example (4.153): So early? (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Lan:  FI[VE O]'CLOCK!=
02 Che:  =yup
03       (0.7)
04 Sam:  >so early [ah?<]
05 Lan:            [ ↑FI]↓VE!=
06 Che:  =↑SOME (may)- (0.1) >SOME may have to< go early […]
```

Sam, a Malay speaker, addresses his question in line 04 to Chen, the epistemic authority in this context. The particle *ah* is used turn-finally in this example and functions as an interrogative marker – as such it can be said to make speaker change immediately relevant.[70] However, the instances of *ah* found in the data do not allow to draw any general conclusions about this particle's role within the turn-taking system. I did not manage to find any

[70] Obviously, the prosodic makeup of the complete TCU marks this turn as a question. However, I would argue that the particle is used as an additional turn-yielding marker.

conclusive patterns with respect to turn-holding or -claiming strategies. Furthermore, particle-usage seems to be highly idiosyncratic – almost all occurrences of *ah* can be traced back to one single speaker (Sam in SG_ED_con_6), which is in line with reports of an overuse of this particle in Malay, Sam's first language (Daw Khin Khin Aye 2005, qtd. in Lim 2007: 462). More data is needed to investigate the role of variety-specific particles for turn-taking ASEAN English.

In chapter 4.4, I have demonstrated that speakers in both Caribbean and Southeast Asian interactions employ particles to hold or claim the floor, or to invite speaker change. Three larger groups were discussed: minimal response tokens, turn-initial or -final particles, and variety-specific particles. The data show that all of them have to be regarded as multifunctional and highly context-dependent. Apart from that, speakers use particles as turn-taking resources in addition to other interactional moves, such as acknowledging the prior speaker's utterance, showing affiliation, etc. In doing so, they exhibit close other-attentiveness and present themselves as collaborative interactants (cf. chapter 6.1.3 for further discussion). The next main chapter looks into turn-taking strategies above the lexical level, i.e. resources which exploit grammar and syntax.

4.5. Syntactic turn-holding and turn-claiming

So far, three larger groups of interactional resources to claim or hold a turn have been investigated: early starts leading to latches or overlaps, phonetic devices, and lexical resources. However, interactants can also employ a variety of syntactic strategies to prevent others from starting up or to establish themselves as turn occupants. In fact, some scholars have claimed syntax to be an overriding factor in turn-taking. When comparing the role of grammar and prosody in interaction, Lerner, for instance, states that "[t]he intonation contour of an utterance can certify various syntactic constituents as complete; however, it is the syntax (informed by its sequential location) that will show if the completion of an intonation unit is a preliminary component completion or a TCU completion" (1996: 243). In chapter 3.2.1, I have already shown that this view has been criticised by other scholars, e.g. Ford et al. (1996) or Selting (1999), who argue for a more holistic view of the TCU, and emphasise the interplay of prosodic, syntactic, and pragmatic resources. Nevertheless, syntax is a central factor and speakers draw on it when projecting upcoming TRPs, at least in languages which allow for early projection, such as English. This becomes most apparent when looking at cases of transitional overlap, which are often due to next speakers starting

up at places of potential syntactic completion (cf. chapter 4.2 for a discussion). Please note that syntactic projection does not contradict the fact that turns are interactionally shaped, i.e. that current speakers can modify a turn's morphosyntactic makeup while talking, thus postponing or even closing upcoming TRPs. Syntax in interaction must therefore be regarded as an online phenomenon, as emerging in real time, and as being essentially dialogical (Auer 2007: 96). In the following, I analyse how speakers in the Caribbean and ASEAN interactions modulate syntactic patterns in order to claim or hold a turn. In doing so, I take into account variety-specific grammatical constructions and compare them to research on British and American interactions. While chapter 4.5.1 focuses on the role of recycles, chapter 4.5.2 provides an analysis of turn expansions via grammatical control. Furthermore, macro-level resources are considered as well, e.g. pre-announcements or requests for the floor (chapter 4.5.3). A last sub-chapter looks into the use of topic placement in the ASEAN conversations (4.5.4).

4.5.1. Recycles

Recycles (i.e. repetitions) are typically associated with self-repair in interaction. Schegloff (2013) includes them in his list of same-TCU repair operations, i.e. he describes them as a means to provide repair before the TRP is reached. 'Repair' is a cover term for a variety of practices which interactants employ to point at trouble in the conversation and – ideally – to remedy it (Sidnell 2010: 110). A number of aspects can be considered as 'trouble' by conversationalists, including problems of hearing (i.e. acoustic decoding), unclear reference, problems of understanding, and problems of expectation (cf. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 146ff for a detailed overview). All of them can potentially compromise the progress of the interaction, which is why speakers or interlocutors require mechanisms to 'repair' the trouble and thus re-establish mutual understanding (Sidnell 2010: 136; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 112). Depending on who initiates the repair, scholars typically distinguish between self-initiated repair (i.e. the current speaker themselves locates a problem) and other-initiated repair (i.e. another speaker identifies the repairable item). Furthermore, the trouble source can be repaired by either the speaker or another interlocutor. All in all, this results in four possible combinations, which are listed below and illustrated in table 4.3 (Schegloff et al. 1977: 364f; cf. also Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 113f):

- self-initiated self-repair (i.e. the speaker spots the problem and also provides repair),

- self-initiated other-repair (the speaker spots the problem but another interactant provides the repair, e.g. when searching for a word),
- other-initiated self-repair (the interlocutor spots a problem and the speaker provides the repair), and
- other-initiated other-repair (the interlocutor both spots the problem and also provides the repair).

Table 4.3: Repair combinations – overview

		Repair initiation by	
		Speaker	*Interlocutor*
Repair provided by	*Speaker*	Self-initiated self-repair	Other-initiated self-repair
	Interlocutor	Self-initiated other-repair	Other-initiated other-repair

For the present study, I only focus on the first combination, i.e. self-initiated self-repair, and on one particular repair operation, namely recycles, because this resource showed to be relevant for turn-taking in my data. Recycles can be defined as "the consecutive usage of the same quasi-lexical or lexical item or items" (Rieger 2003: 51). I show that speakers can exploit this practice to do more than 'just' repair in an interaction.

See, for instance, (4.154), a situation in which three Southeast Asian speakers are discussing the advantages of the "Kindle Fire tablet computer":

```
Example (4.154): Very worth it (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

01 Che:  ↑yeah yeah [ it's ] (.) very [worth (it)- it's]
02 Sam:             [↑it's-]          [ much  cheaper  ]
03 Che:  VERY [worth  it]
04 Sam:       [it's=like] HALF the: price=of ipad!=
05 Che:  =very WORTH it!
06       (0.3)
07 Lan:  so- hh […]
```

Two speakers, Chen and Sam, are overlapping each other in this scenario. Chen starts up first and is the turn occupant when Sam self-selects in line 03. Sam starts at a legitimate TRP, after Chen has produced a minimal response token (*yeah*). However, as Chen continues talking, this results in a passage of simultaneous talk. At first, Sam drops out immediately (*it's*-), but then he resumes his talk (*much cheaper*). This persistence constitutes a problem for the current speaker's turn, as Chen cannot be sure that his

evaluation of the tablet as *it's very worth it* (l. 01) has been heard by the other interactants. He thus repeats his TCU immediately (l. 01 and 03) and even increases his volume to do so. Nevertheless, Sam continues talking, also raising his volume (l. 04) in the process. This leads to Sam finally taking over the floor and establishing himself as the turn occupant. Chen's assessment has now been overlapped twice, i.e. it is "possibly hearing-understanding impaired" (Jefferson 2004: 50). As soon as Sam has reached a TRP, Chen starts in latch position, retrieves his utterance, and repeats it again (l. 05). This time, it remains free of overlap and the repair process is completed – after a brief gap, another interactant self-selects and the conversation continues. Formally, Chen is conducting self-initiated self-repair in this sequence: He recycles the potentially problematic TCU until the trouble source, i.e. the overlap, is removed. In fact, research on British and American interactions has identified recycles as an overlap resolution device. Schegloff regards repetitions as "a form registering overlap as an event", i.e. as a reaction to a possible impairment by simultaneous talk (2000: 34). However, even though Chen is clearly conducting repair in the scenario shown above, he is also 'defending' his status as the current speaker in doing so. That is, recycles can be used to hold a turn, particularly in overlap situations where two (or more) interactants are claiming the floor. (4.155) below shows a similar instance, this time in the Caribbean data group. Blaine is the current speaker and he has just made an argument in favour of treating Jamaican Patois as a language:

Example (4.155): Don't tell me (ICE-JA, S1A-004)

```
01 Bla:  [it's not been] forma↑lised=
02 N.N.: =good
03       (0.4)
04 Bla:  yeah?=
05 N.N.: =(Blaine!)
06       (0.1)
07 N.N.: [   of   course  ]
08 Bla:  [but >don't don't] don't don't< tell me it's not a ↑LANGUAGE=
```

Again, the current speaker uses repetition as a means to bridge the overlap and make his utterance appear in the clear (l. 08). This time, only part of the overlapped TCU is recycled, i.e. the repair starts before a TRP has been reached. The effect, however, is the same as in (4.154): Blaine remains the turn occupant and prevents the unidentified speaker in line 07 from producing further talk.[71]

Both examples, (4.154) and (4.155), show how recycles can be used by current speakers to hold their turn in overlap situations. However, the vast majority of recycles in the data

[71] In fact, it is likely that N.N. wants to claim the floor at this point, as he directly addresses Blaine in line 05.

are used by turn-claiming speakers. Most repetitions remain rather short, as in (4.156) below in which three ASEAN speakers are talking about their hobbies, which include baking:

```
Example (4.156): Singaporean guys (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

01 Wan:  =hh ((chuckling)) it never go wrong, (and)
         [it's SO ↑GOOD ((/chuckling))]
02 An:   [   o h , b u t - , b u t -  ] Singaporean guys I realise they
         like to bake al↓so, you ↓know
```

Wan has just told her interlocutors about her preference for baking, because – unlike cooking – *it never go wrong* (l. 01). When she adds another TCU, she is overlapped by An, who self-selects at the TRP (l. 02).[72] An starts with a news receipt, *oh*, displaying that she has registered Wan's information and that it has made her realise something else in addition – namely that Singaporeans seem to be fond of baking. However, as Wan is still talking and even raises her volume and pitch, An's utterance is potentially drowned out by the current speaker. She therefore does not continue to provide further content but recycles her turn beginning until the overlap is resolved. As soon as Wan finishes her turn and drops out, An goes on with her utterance. Examples like this show that repetition is used systematically in the interactions and that is often has a double-function: On the one hand, it is a repair operation in the narrow sense, i.e. it ensures understanding and thus contributes to the progressivity of the conversation. On the other hand, speakers can exploit this repair strategy to claim a turn without producing too large parts of their utterance in overlap. See also (4.157), an example from the Caribbean data group. The speakers are talking about the shipping costs to Jamaica. Luke is telling his co-conversationalists about the price he has to pay for ordering books from abroad:

```
Example (4.157): Shipping out (ICE-JA, S1A-006)

01 Luk:  fourteen hundred (0.1) Jamaican (er)
02       (5.2)
03 Luk:  >but=[y'know some BOOKS=it-< (it work out ↑on)]
04 Bob:       [ ↑you- >you  you  you< you have  to  be ] careful [with]
05 Luk:                                                          [but-]
06 Bob:  shipping >↑out [(those things)!<]
07 Luk:                 [ books  isn't-  ]=BUT=↑WHAT (0.4) >if you- if
         you- you can do it (0.4 the LONG term […]
```

After Luke has completed his TCU in line 01, a lapse of more than 5s arises (l. 02) – which is unusually long for both data groups. As none of the other interactants self-selects, Luke finally continues talking and adds that the high costs might be justified for *some books* (l.

[72] This is a case of blind-spot onset (cf. chapter 4.2). An's start is slightly delayed, which is why she begins talking in overlap after Wan has continued with *and.*

03). He is overlapped by Bob, who self-selects almost simultaneously – in blind spot onset – and does not abandon his utterance. In fact, Bob recycles the beginning of his turn five times in total and does not drop out even then (l. 04). This overlap is extremely long – the usual duration of simultaneous talk is about two to three syllables (or 'beats') (cf. chapter 4.2). Following Schegloff (2000), I therefore look at this scenario in greater detail, using a model which looks at the overlapped passage beat by beat (i.e. syllable by syllable).

Table 4.4: Recycles as turn-claiming resources #1

		1
Luke	*(but)*	*y'know*
Bob		↑***you***

As table 4.4 shows, both Luke and Bob overlap each other at the beginning of their respective TCUs. Bob starts up slightly delayed, i.e. in blind spot. As described above (chapter 4.2), this happens when a speaker is already about to produce talk and cannot react anymore when another speaker starts up slightly earlier. Note that Bob already starts up with an upstep in pitch, i.e. he indicates a willingness to claim the turn – this is why his syllable is marked in bold in the table. At this stage, each of the interactants could react to the other's talk and abandon his turn – this would then result in either a period of silence (if both Bob and Luke stopped talking) or in overlap resolution (if either Bob or Luke stopped talking) (Schegloff 2000: 20). However, this is not what happens; rather, both participants continue as table 4.5 illustrates.

Table 4.5: Recycles as turn-claiming resources #2

		1	2
Luke	*(but)*	*y'know*	*some*
Bob		↑***you***	***you***

In producing their second beat, Luke and Bob signal their intention to hold and claim the floor, respectively. While Luke simply goes on with his turn, Bob does not provide further content at this stage. He recycles his turn beginning and thus displays his refusal to abandon his utterance. After this second syllable, both participants can again decide to drop out and

yield the floor. As they do not choose to do so, the overlap moves into the third beat (see table 4.6).

Table 4.6: Recycles as turn-claiming resources #3

		1	2	3
Luke	*(but)*	*y'know*	*some*	***BOOKS***
Bob		***↑you***	***you***	***you***

Note that at this stage, Luke continues talking despite Bob's obvious turn-claiming. He even increases his volume to produce his third element. That is, Luke can now be regarded as actively holding his turn, as defending his status as the current speaker (or turn occupant). Similarly, Bob also persists in claiming the floor – he utters a third recycle. Both interactants have now announced their intention to occupy the turn space – Jefferson describes this as "Marked Competition", as opposed to "Unmarked Competition", i.e. overlap resolution without the use of turn-claiming or -holding resources (2004: 50). Theoretically, both Luke and Bob can react to this by dropping out.

Table 4.7: Recycles as turn-claiming resources #4

		1	2	3	4
Luke	*(but)*	*y'know*	*some*	***BOOKS***	*it-*
Bob		***↑you***	***you***	***you***	***you***

When Luke and Bob produce their fourth beat of talk (see table 4.7), the overlap can be classified as being longer than the vast majority of overlaps in British and American conversations – these are typically "resolved to a single speaker by the third beat" (Schegloff 2000: 24). Luke has moved back to 'normal production' at this stage, i.e. he has returned to his normal speech volume after his shift to explicit turn-holding. Bob, however, still repeats his turn-beginning.

Table 4.8: Recycles as turn-claiming resources #5

		1	2	3	4	5
Luke	*(but)*	*y'know*	*some*	***BOOKS***	*it-*	***it***
Bob		***↑you***	***you***	***you***	***you***	***you***

At the fifth beat of overlap, Luke therefore upgrades his turn back to turn-holding (see table 4.8). This time, he recycles the last part of his utterance. Bob, on the other hand, provides a fifth recycle. That is, at the fifth syllable into the overlap, Bob's TCU still entirely consists of one recycled element. He has not produced any content yet but persistently signals his intention to claim the floor. Jefferson describes similar examples by explaining that "we might consider each recycle by Turn Claimant [i.e. Bob] as a request that Occupant [i.e. Luke] relinquish the turn space, and each 'continuation' by Turn Occupant as a declination to relinquish" (2004: 49).

Table 4.9: Recycles as turn-claiming resources #6 and 7

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Luke	*(but)*	*y'know*	*some*	***BOOKS***	*it-*	***it***	*work*	*out*
Bob		*↑**you***	***you***	***you***	***you***	***you***	*have*	*to*

This changes at the sixth and seventh syllables (illustrated in table 4.9). Both speakers move on with their TCUs without employing any specific turn-claiming or turn-holding resources except continuing to talk through the overlap. Rather than further upgrading their 'competition', Bob and Luke thus seem to downgrade it to 'overlap only'. This clearly does not correspond to the idea of a "floor fight", which might arise out of an "extended overlap situation" (Schegloff 2000: 21).

Table 4.10: Recycles as turn-claiming resources #8 and 9

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Luke	*(but)*	*y'know*	*some*	***BOOKS***	*it-*	***it***	*work*	*out*	*↑**on***	
Bob		*↑**you***	***you***	***you***	***you***	***you***	*have*	*to*	*be*	*careful*

In fact, the overlap is not resolved until the ninth beat of talk (see table 4.10). Luke completes his TCU and then abandons the floor, leaving Bob as the remaining speaker. Note, however, that Bob's status as the new turn occupant does not last long, as the extended excerpt (4.157) above shows: As soon as he reaches the next TRP, Luke restarts again, produces a false start with a cut-off, *but-* (l. 05), drops out again, and makes another attempt in latch position at the next TRP, this time successfully reclaiming the floor in overlap (l. 07).

These examples have shown that interactants in both data groups do not only use recycles in their classic sense, i.e. as a means to conduct self-repair. Rather, they exploit this practice to hold or claim a turn in overlap. That is, recycles used as overlap resolution devices can also be regarded as an effective turn-taking resource (cf. also Jefferson 2004: 58), which is employed by both Caribbean and Southeast Asian speakers in the corpus. Furthermore, this function does not seem to be restricted to passages of simultaneous talk. See, for instance, (4.158):

```
Example (4.158): Make a sale (ICE-T&T, S1A-050)

01 Bee:  =hh and ↑ALL the fellas who >pass and I ↑ain't make a-< (.) I
         ↑ain't make a sale they pa↑ssin'
```

In this extract from ICE-T&T, Bee is recycling a passage of her turn: She stops before the TRP is reached and then repeats the prior element: *I ain't make a*. As Bee is already established as the current speaker and as none of the other interactants attempt to self-select throughout her utterance, the recycle clearly does not function as an overlap resolution device in this context. Nor does Bee conduct repair – her repeat is identical to the abandoned TCU in both wording and prosody. In fact, Bee seems to use the recycle to gain more time to plan her turn, without allowing for a period of silence which might result in her being superseded by another speaker. Similar situations have already been discussed in chapter 4.4.1, where the analysis focused on planners as a turn-holding strategy. Obviously, the same principle is also at work here – not only when looking at how turn occupants hold the floor but also in turn-claiming situations. See for instance the following situation, this time taken from the ASEAN corpus:

```
Example (4.159): Chinese pupils (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

01 Lan:  MU:↑SI:C hh ↑DA::NCE:
02       (0.2)
03 Che:  that's ↑why > I- I- I< think I (heard a=a) (0.1) American
         (that) once asked my Chine- Chinese pupils
04       (0.7)
05 Che:  ((imitating)) do you=all PLAY:? ((/imitating))
```

In (4.159), the speakers are talking about the immense workload Chinese pupils have to carry on. In line 03, Chen self-selects after a small gap. The situation is clearly not competitive: None of the other two interactants overlap him or otherwise hinder his attempt to claim the floor. Nevertheless, Chen produces a series of stutters in quick succession: *I- I- I.* Stutters have been described as another means of overlap resolution (Jefferson 2004:

48) and, following Rieger (2003), I treat them as a variant of recycles in this study.[73] Just like repetition in overlap, recycles in the clear – i.e. without overlap – have a turn-holding or turn-claiming effect: They enable the speaker to produce talk over a certain stretch of time and thus function as signals of ongoing (or incipient) speakership. At the same time, they prevent other interactants from starting up, either because the TRP has not been reached yet or because the recycles are produced in quick succession (as in (4.159) above), and thus do not leave others any space to start up.

Both speaker groups employ recycles to hold or claim a turn at talk. However, Caribbean interactants use them much more frequently in turn-claiming situations, and they also use them over longer stretches of talk, as (4.157) illustrates. Furthermore, they often combine repetitions with phonetic upgrades, usually raised volume. This could not be detected in the ASEAN interactions. See (4.160) below, a situation in which two Jamaican speakers are arguing about their knowledge of Jamaican Patois. At the beginning of the excerpt, none of the interactants is established as the current speaker.

Example (4.160): You understand Patois (ICE-JA, S1A-003)

```
01 Wil:  (whe[re's your problem) ( )?]
02 Her:      [  you can understand pa]tois [though]
03 Wil:                                    [ where] is you
         pro[b l e m ?]
04 Her:     [YOU UNDER]STAND PATOIS ↑THOUGH
05 Wil   listen to >me now ↑man<=
06 Her:  =<YOU UNDERSTAND SPOKEN PATOIS?>
07      (1.6)
08 Her:  DO YOU UNDERSTAND [  spoken  pa]tois?
09 Wil:                    [>some of it<]
10 Wil?: >some ↑of ↑it<
11       (0.2)
12 Her:  but- (0.1) can you […]
```

Wilson and Herman start up almost simultaneously and none of them is relinquishing the floor to the other. Note that Herman is repeating the same TCU – with small variations – four times in total (marked in bold), first increasing its volume (l. 04), then additionally slowing down (l. 06), and finally, after a gap of 1.6s, by explicitly formulating it as a question addressed to Wilson, his competitor (l. 08). He ignores each of Wilson's attempts to start up, even when Wilson directly asks him to *listen to me now man* (l. 05). It is only

[73] Jefferson distinguishes "pronunciational adjustments", which work within the word, from "segmental adjustments", which include recycles of words or phrases. She speculates that "while the pronunciational adjustments are perhaps addressed to preserving talk across an overlap, the segmental adjustments appear to be explicit attempts by one party to claim a turn space occupied by another" (2004: 47f). However, I would argue that any overlap resolution device can theoretically be employed as a turn-holding or -claiming strategy, depending on the speaker's persistence and the respective interactional situation.

when Wilson abandons his own turn and provides a response (l. 09) that Herman stops recycling his turn and the conversational progress is re-established (l. 12).

In the interactions from both ICE-JA and ICE-&T, instances like that are frequent in situations with heavy turn-claiming. They always involve a series of recycles, typically addressed at one or several other interactants, and are uttered in close proximity to each other, leaving little space for other speakers to start up. Furthermore, they often – but not always – include an upstep in pitch or volume and are produced or kept up despite being overlapped by other interactants. In that, they resemble what Tannen has described as "machine-gun questions", which constitute "one of the most salient characteristics of the high-involvement strategy" (1984: 71). The term 'high involvement' is used by Tannen to describe a speaking style which is marked by a "rapid rate of speech, overlap, and latching of utterances" (1984: 77). In the interactions analysed for my study, repetitions with *staccato*-like rhythm were not restricted to questions, which is why I will use the term 'machine-gun-utterances' instead of referring to 'machine-gun-questions'. However, otherwise, these elements are remarkably similar to Tannen's findings (e.g. 1984: 75). For another example, see (4.161), which occurs later in the interaction described in (4.160) above and involves two speakers overlapping each other with machine-gun utterances.

Example (4.161): Why is it (ICE-JA, S1A-003)

```
01 Her:  hhh (0.4) our patois is ↑FA:::R more well-developed!
02       (0.6)
03 Wil:  [↑WHY-] ↑WHY is it [then that-]
04 N.N:: [ ( ) ]
05 Her:                      [IS THERE A] LAN↑GUAGE=
06 Wil:  =↑WHY [is it then-]
07 Her:        [ IS THERE A] LANGUAGE that des- cr- >is as descriptive<=
08 N.N.: =( )=
09 Her:  =as our [patois?]
10 Wil:          [  ↑WHY ] is=it- you=[(can't)]
11 Her:                               [ is  th]ere ANY↑THING (0.3) that
         […]
```

In this extract, both Herman and Wilson are using recycles to establish themselves as turn occupants. Herman repeats the beginning of his question *is there a language […]* twice (l. 05 and 07/09). Both recycles overlap Wilson's turn and are produced with loud volume. Wilson, on the other hand, also persists on repeating his question, although he never manages to finish it (l. 03, 06, and 10). He employs both volume and pitch to claim the floor. Note that Herman and Wilson are alternating with one another in upgrading their turns, as the adapted excerpt (4.162) below highlights.

Example (4.162) [4.161]: Why is it [adapted] (ICE-JA, S1A-003)

```
03 Wil:  [↑WHY-] ↑WHY is it [then that-]
05 Her:                     [IS THERE A] LAN↑GUAGE=
06 Wil:  =↑WHY [is it then-]
07 Her:        [ IS THERE A] LANGUAGE that des- cr- >is as descriptive<=
09 Her:  =as our [patois?]
10 Wil:          [  ↑WHY ] is=it- you=[(can't)]
11 Her:                               [ is  th]ere ANY↑THING
```

This extract is an adapted version of (4.161) and only shows Wilson's and Herman's contributions, i.e. pauses and turns by other speakers have been deleted. It illustrates that even though machine-gun utterances might seem chaotic or interruptive at first glance, they are highly systematic and can even be regarded as collaborative. By overlapping each other alternately and by taking turns at upgrading pitch and volume, Wilson and Herman establish a *staccato*-like rhythm in the interaction. I argue that this behaviour should be regarded as a display of "showing interest and enthusiasm through pace" (Tannen 1984: 75), as a joint performance of a captivating and successful conversation. This also explains why many of the machine-gun utterances in the data can be found in places where speakers are trying to tell a story and thus have to gain the floor "IN THIS TURN POSITION, and not later" (Schegloff 2000: 28; emphasis in original). This also shows in (4.163), a conversation between four Jamaican women. After Anne, one of the interactants, has mentioned that she would marry again if her husband died, Debby vigorously disagrees. She then goes on to pre-announce a longer turn:

Example (4.163): You know what (ICE-JA, S1A-013)

```
01 Deb:  (YEAH=BUT-) >YOU KNOW WHAT [I'VE been (doing)?<]
02 Ann:                             [there-  there's  ↑a]
03 Deb:  [CAN ↑I >TELL YOU WHAT] I HAVE BEEN DOING?<
04 Ann:  [   greater   ↑poss-  ]
05 Deb:  [>CAN I TELL] YOU HOW SERI↑OUS I TAKE this ↑ME: 'n him< […]
06 Ann:  [(↑uh-↓huh) ]
```

All in all, Debby repeats her pre-announcement[74] three times (l. 01, 03, and 05) – allowing for small alterations – before moving inter her story proper. She uses loud volume, upsteps in pitch, and fast pace to do so and ignores Anne's talk in overlap. Note that the recycles are not merely due to the overlapping passages – Debby neither abandons her repetitions when Ann drops out in lines 04 and 06 nor does she shift back to her normal volume. That is, her behaviour cannot be attributed to overlap resolution only. Rather, Debby's machine-

[74] Pre-announcements function as story prefaces (cf. Schegloff 2007: 41) and are discussed in greater detail in chapter 4.5.3.

gun utterances clearly resemble the examples given above. She uses recycles, volume, and a change in tempo to display enthusiasm and active participation in the conversation.

This chapter has illustrated how speakers use repetition to hold or claim a turn in interaction. I have shown that recycles are used by conversationalists from both data groups; however, Caribbean speakers employ them to a considerably greater extent. Furthermore, I have highlighted one particular variant of this strategy, which was exclusively found in the Caribbean data – machine-gun utterances. Even though this particular resource seems extremely competitive at first glance, a closer analysis has revealed that it is typically employed to perform enthusiasm and show the liveliness of the interactions. That is, it appears to be a feature of collaboration rather than competition, a question which is also discussed in chapter 6. In the following section, I look into a different but related syntactic resource – the use of grammatical structures to close TRPs or to enter the floor.

4.5.2. Exploiting syntax: manipulation within the TCU and at the TRP

Just like phonetic and lexical planners, which are used to signal continuation, speakers can also manipulate[75] syntax to hold their turn. In this chapter, I look at exactly this type of "extra work" (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 88) and also take into account resources which potential next speakers employ to claim the floor. Two aspects turned out to be particularly relevant for this study, and they are the focus of the next pages: syntactic manipulation within the TCU, i.e. before the TRP has been reached, and syntactic strategies at the TRP.

First, current speakers can influence the projectability of TRPs by "reducing the extent and recognizability of that point of possible completion" (Sidnell 2016). As grammar is an important – some scholars even claim the central – aspect potential next speakers rely on when looking for completed TCUs (Sacks et al. 1974: 721), one way in which a current speaker can prevent others from starting up is using incomplete syntax: "When a TCU is aborted before it is brought to completion, this is not usually treated as a locus for turn transition. Aborted TCUs tend to be initially followed, not by talk from a different speaker, but by further talk from the same speaker […], or by silence" (Clayman 2013: 152). In other words, speakers who abandon their TCU before a logical unit is completed avoid opening a TRP for potential next speakers. In the conversations analysed for this study, two variants

[75] Please note that I am using the term 'manipulate' without implying that this is necessarily a conscious decision by the speakers.

of this turn-holding strategy can be distinguished: exploiting "points of maximum grammatical control" (Schegloff 1996: 93) and cut-offs.

Speakers who exploit points of maximum grammatical control to hold their turn stop or pause within a TCU, typically shortly after its start (cf. Schegloff 1996: 93f). That is, the TCU is still grammatically incomplete and a TRP has not been reached yet. See, for instance, the following examples, taken from both the Caribbean and the ASEAN corpus:

Scenario 1: exploiting point of maximum grammatical control with unmarked continuation

Example (4.164): One kid (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 Wan:  yah <my brother is (.) married and has:>
02       (0.8)
03 Wan:  one kid (.) and one on the way
```

Example (4.165): Beautiful beach (ACE, VN_LE_con_pho restaurant)

```
01 Tem:  [>(do) you have<] (0.2) a LOT OF (0.2) beautiful ↑beach (0.3)
         in jakarta:?
```

Example (4.166): I heard (ICE-T&T, S1A-008)

```
01 Mic:  I heard you got (0.4) trouble yester↑day
```

Example (4.167): American cars (ICE-JA, S1A-006)

```
01 Bob:  […] in [the early] nineteen eighties=and late seven↓ties (0.2)
         when
02       (1.0)
03 Bob:  the american CARS (0.4) weren't- weren't doing well […]
```

Examples (4.164) to (4.167) depict current speakers who abandon their turn before a logical TCU has been completed (both syntactically and phonetically). They then allow for a period of silence, which can be rather short (as in (4.165) and (4.166)) but can also extend to a considerable length, e.g. in (4.164) or (4.167), where it has a duration of approximately 1s in total. After that, the current speaker resumes their turn and completes the TCU. In doing so, they simply continue where they left their turn, which is why I labelled these examples 'unmarked continuation'. Note that even in situations with extremely long gaps, none of the other conversationalists attempts to claim the floor. Exploiting points of maximum grammatical control is therefore a very powerful resource to hold a turn – and this can be observed for both the Caribbean and the Southeast Asian interactions. That is, even though the turns exhibit long periods of silence, potential next speakers do not treat it as relevant for speaker change. The syntactic (and, possibly, contextual) incompleteness of the TCUs

postpones the emergence of a TRP, so that the emerging gap is not treated as transition-relevant by the other interactants. Exploiting points of maximum grammatical control thus constitutes a means to close or hide potential TRPs which might open up during the gaps. Interestingly, this seems to be independent from intonation and also holds for cases in which the abandoned or interrupted TCU constitutes a single prosodic unit. Selting therefore concludes that "prosody turns out to package not possibly complete TCUs, but only component parts of a possibly complete unit" (2000: 502): The conversationalists orient themselves to the syntactic construction of the TCU more than to its intonational makeup. Syntax seems to work on a larger scale – this is what Schegloff refers to as "macro-projection" (2013: 42), whereas intonation plays an important role as a local contextualisation cue (Selting 2000: 503; cf. also Selting 1996).

This does not mean, however, that the halted TCU is not recognized as a unit. In fact, participants produce backchannels or false starts at the end of syntactically unfinished TCUs – however, they typically refrain from treating it as transition-relevant, as illustrated in (4.168).

Example (4.168): Live there (ICE-T&T, S1A-067)

```
01 Bar:  >but I didn't really live< there much=↑just
02       (1.3)
03 Eri:  ↑oh[: ,   (okay)  ]
04 Bar:     [like=the first] two years=we came back […]
```

Barney, the current speaker, is talking about his life in England in this scenario. He produces a first TCU, *but I didn't really live there much,* and then rushes into the next (l. 01). However, he abandons this second unit right after the start (*just*). Note that this element differs from the trail-off conjunctionals discussed in chapter 4.4.3 – Barney does not diminish loudness or tempo; rather, he even produces an upstep in pitch. His TCU remains uncompleted and, at least syntactically, transition does not become relevant at this place. Barney can even allow for 1.3s of silence (l. 02) before continuing. During this period, Eric, one of the other speakers, starts up and utters a minimal response token before relinquishing the floor again (l. 03). He thus orients to a potential TRP and actively yields his turn, demonstrating his willingness to encourage the current speaker at this position.

Scenario 2: exploiting points of maximum grammatical control with marked continuation

Apart from that, speakers can also resume their turn after pausing at a point of maximum grammatical control and produce repair or planners before they continue talking. This is

what I labelled ‘marked continuation’. A typical instance is illustrated in example (4.169) below:

```
Example (4.169): Forget easily (ACE, VN_LE_con_pho restaurant)

01 Dia:  ↑we: get (0.4) er we forget easi↑ly: and=then
02       (0.5)
03 Dia:  ↑we:
04       (0.6)
05 Dia:  we do ↑NOT (0.1) >( ) (really) LIKE to< find out our↑selves
06       (0.1) we:: more like (0.2) ↑er[  m   :   ]
07 N.N.:                               [((coughs))] ((coughs))=
08 Dia:  =>auDItory we ↑want< (0.2) to hear it
         [from other] [people ri]ght?
```

In this excerpt, Dian restarts his TCU several times (l. 01-06). Each time, he retrieves the subject of the abandoned turn: First, Dian provides self-repair on his first TCU and substitutes *we get* by *we forget* (l. 01), thus fixing an unsuitable expression in post-position. This is typical of English repair sequences, where speakers usually recycle either the problematic element only or the clause it is part of (Fox et al. 1996: 206). Dian’s second intra-TCU stop is unmarked (l. 01 to 03), but after that, he again repeats the abandoned subject pronoun: *we (0.6) we do not* (l. 03 to 05) before continuing. And finally, Dian produces a planner, *erm*, when he resumes his turn a third time (l. 06). Both planners and recycles to mark continuation after having temporarily abandoned a TCU can also be found in the Caribbean data group. Apart from that, speakers can also restart their TCU after a period of silence – this is what happens in (4.170) below:

```
Example (4.170): A lot of things (ICE-T&T, S1A-067)

01 Moi:  ↑NO: we ↑don’t HAVE::: that >in place there’s< ↑a:
02       (0.5)
03 Moi:  a LOT of things I think are still missing ↑fro[m: (0.1) the]
04 Jan:                                               [  ↓mh - ↑hm ]
05 Moi:  equa↑tion: […]
```

The extract begins with Moira being the current speaker. She uses a number of strategies to prevent her co-participants from starting up in this situation, including upgrades in volume and pitch as well as speeding up to close an upcoming TRP (marked by the angled brackets in the transcript): *we don’t have that >in place there’s<* (l. 01). As soon as she has started the following TCU, however, Moira stops talking. Both the incomplete syntax and the final upstep in pitch in an otherwise unmarked function word (*a*) indicate that she has not finished her turn yet – and, in fact, none of the other interactants self-selects during the 0.5s of silence which follow. When Moira begins talking again, she repeats the determiner *a* but uses it to restart her TCU: *a lot of things I think are still missing* (l. 03). That is, other than the speaker

in (4.169) above, Moira does not repair or retrieve part of her abandoned TCU but starts a completely different turn upon continuing. Instances like that show that interactants orient themselves to points of maximum grammatical control to actively hold a turn, and that they do not simply stop mid-TCU to provide repair only. Schegloff therefore describes what he calls "pre-possible completion" as "strategic place[s]" in a conversation, which turn occupants can exploit to expand their TCU, for instance – but not exclusively – to initiate self-repair (1996: 86). When comparing data from both corpora, however, ASEAN speakers use this resource to a much greater extent than interactants in ICE-JA or ICE-T&T. This is not to say that Caribbean conversationalists do not exploit syntax to hold their turns; in fact, the examples above illustrate that they certainly do so. However, while the ASEAN interactions involve frequent instances in which speakers stop at points of maximum grammatical control, Caribbean speakers typically complete the TCU and then use various strategies to block the upcoming TRP. This is also why TCUs are cut off more frequently in the ASEAN interactions.

In this study, cut-offs are treated as one way of exploiting points of maximum grammatical control, albeit one that is phonetically distinct. Schegloff lists them as one of the "hitches and perturbations" in conversation, because they involve a sudden stop before the TCU has been completed and the TRP opens up (2000: 12). This sudden stop noticeable to other interactants by its phonetic makeup, which typically involves that "the stream of air that passes through the vocal tract is interrupted or blocked by a closure articulation […] [, most commonly] a glottal stop, an oral stop […] or both" (Jasperson 2002: 261; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 109). It is important to differentiate cut-offs from syntactically incomplete turns which signal a readiness to relinquish the floor. Whereas the former block the TRP by keeping the TCU incomplete and, so to speak, 'in limbo', the latter typically exhibit characteristics of 'trailing off', which include "(i) audible exhalation, (ii) diminishing loudness, (iii) diminishing tempo, or (iv) creaky phonation" (Clayman 2013: 153). That is, in contrast to trail-offs, cut-offs do not indicate turn-yielding but actively hold the turn – both phonetically and syntactically. As they are often used to initiate self-repair, Schegloff describes them as "self-interruptions" (1996: 81; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 109). In fact, cut-offs typically mark repair sequences in both the Caribbean and the ASEAN conversations. See, for instance, (4.171) in which An, a Southeast Asian speaker, is talking about a trip to Korea:

Example (4.171): Restaurants (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

01 An: […] and there's no h- erm, restaurants within: like the hotel

```
it↑self hh so[…]
```

In this excerpt from a longer passage of story-telling, the narrator, An, prematurely stops her TCU with a cut-off (indicated by the hyphen): *and there's no h-*. She then produces a planner, *erm*, and continues with her turn, substituting the abandoned item with the word *restaurants.* The cut-off is therefore used to indicate that the turn as it has been produced so far is defective in some way and that the speaker is about to remedy this (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 123). This, of course, implies that cut-offs have a turn-holding function – they are used to initiate self-repair, i.e. they signal that speaker change has not become relevant because the trouble source is being attended to.

In the previous section (chapter 4.5.1), I have demonstrated that self-initiated self-repair is multi-functional and can be exploited for turn-taking practices. This also shows when looking at how cut-offs are being employed by the speakers. While some instances, such as (4.171) above, clearly focus on repairing an item, other functions seem to be dominant elsewhere. See, for example, (4.172) below, taken from a Jamaican interaction:

```
Example (4.172): At home phone (ICE-JA, S1A-010)

01 Mar:  ↑GO: ↑TEL: Go: ↑Tel is providing these packages where you have
         a-
02       (1.0)
03 Mar:  a AT HOME (0.2) ↑PHONE:=
04 Geo:  =right=it's like […]
```

In this excerpt, the current speaker, Marie, is talking about telecommunication companies in Jamaica. She is about to inform her interlocutors that one operator – *GoTel* – sells special packages. However, instead of completing her TCU, Marie ends prematurely with a cut-off: *where you have a-* (l. 01). She then allows for 1s of silence before continuing her turn with a recycle: *a at home phone* (l. 03). This extract is interesting in a number of aspects: Marie is not providing repair on an item which has already been produced. Rather, she is searching for the right word, and she indicates this by holding her TCU in limbo. Note that she does not employ any other turn-holding devices to protect her status as the turn-occupant – the cut-off is the only sign marking the long pause as non-transition-relevant. In fact, this long period of silence is highly unusual for the interaction. The average length of gaps or pauses is 0.5s for this particular conversation – that none of the other interactants self-selects in this scenario indicates that the current speaker must have somehow blocked the pause for them. As soon as Marie has completed her turn – in latch position – one of the other conversationalists self-selects and claims the floor (l. 04).

(4.172) shows that, like recycles (cf. chapter 4.5.1), cut-offs are repair operations with a double function. They bring the conversational progress to a halt and thus allow the current speaker to fix problems in their turn while blocking emerging pauses for potential self-selecting participants. This makes them a powerful turn-holding resource for ASEAN and Caribbean interactants. On the other hand, cut-offs can also be used as turn-claiming devices. See, for instance, (4.173) in which the speakers are talking about holiday destinations in Malaysia:

```
Example (4.173): KL (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

01 Sam:  =there's [ a : :  (COCONUT)  i]sland
02 Che:           [it's very beautiful!]
03 N.N.: hh
04       (0.2)
05 Che:  ↑yeah=
06 Sam:  =↑but- to=↑me (0.1) K L >nothing (much be↑cause)<- (.) k L is
         quite=like Singa↑pore=
```

Both Sam and Chen are alternating as turn occupants in this scenario, and there are passages in which they overlap. At first, the conversation centres on Malaysian islands, which both speakers describe as *very beautiful* (l. 02). In line 06, however, Sam starts to produce a restriction by assessing Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia's capital, as *nothing much*. He begins his turn with a cut-off, *but- to me KL […]*, which fulfils two functions: First, Sam makes his co-participants aware that he is about to speak – cutting off the first item of his turn thus acts as a warning signal. The upstep in pitch further intensifies this effect. At the same time, Sam also indicates the action he is about to do, i.e. qualifying the previous turns. The *but*-prefacing thus establishes a connection to the prior talk while simultaneously foreshadowing "not only that the turn will continue but also how it will continue" (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 431). Examples like this show that cut-offs are also employed as turn-claiming resources. In these contexts, their function as repair indicators is backgrounded; rather, conversationalists use cut-offs to announce their intention to become the next turn occupant. To amplify this effect, this can be combined with other turn-claiming resources, such as changes in volume or pitch, or recycles.

```
Example (4.174): Good deed (ICE-T&T, S1A-050)

01 Flo:  [↑she (.) gi]ve them (.) ↑CLOTHES, she
         [ g i v e   t h e m   ↑F O O : D, ]
02 Eil:  [.hh >she- you ↑know she has (a)-<] she (like)=a (0.1)
         ((claps)) GOOD DEED >of every little ↑thing<=
```

In (4.174) above, Eileen starts up while Florence, the current speaker, is still talking. She produces an audible inbreath, utters the first word of her turn, and then interrupts herself

with a cut-off, only to restart again immediately with a slightly modified version: *she- you know* (l. 02). This time, she moves further into her TCU but, again, she does not complete it: *she has a-*. It is only at the third recycle that Eileen completes her TCU. Note that this also correlates with the end of the passage in overlap – the turn occupant, Florence, stops talking at Eileen's second cut-off, and Eileen produces her last repetition as soon as she is established as the sole speaker.

That is, cut-offs do not only momentarily halt the conversation but can also lead to the TCU being restarted – as a completely new TCU, as a slightly modified but "recognizably same" version with new elements being inserted (Schegloff 1996: 80), or as an identical re-beginning of the same turn. Each variant has different consequences for the turn-taking process, as the examples below illustrate:

```
Example (4.175): Accepted (ICE-JA, S1A-004)

01 Ron:  [the=Bri]tish will ↑say (0.2) h o n o U r=
02 Bla:  =alright=
03 Ron:  =that's accepted!
04       (0.2)
05 Bla:  ↑WHY is it accep- you've- [you have- (now)] YOU [>said […]]
06 Ron:                           [    ↑  n  o    ]
```

When Blaine starts up in (4.175) to object to Ronald's statement in line 05, he utters a series of cut-offs. First, he begins to formulate a question but then abandons it mid-word: *WHY is it accep-*. When he restarts again, he produces a completely new TCU, this time a statement, which he slightly modifies in several restarts: *you've- you have- now you said…*. In the interactions analysed for this study, cut-offs which are followed by a total restart, i.e. a completely new TCU, typically occur in turn-claiming situations. This is also the case here: Blaine establishes himself as the new speaker, then immediately drops out and reformulates his actual TCU. The first part of his turn therefore remains a fragment, whose function can be compared to that of planners as discussed in chapter 4.4.1 – it is used to lay a claim to the floor while giving the speaker time to plan their turn. More frequently, however, speakers in both data groups use the cut-off to restart a slightly modified version of their TCU, as illustrated by (4.176):

```
Example (4.176): Teaching (ICE-T&T, S1A-008)

01 N.N.: =( ) [ (    )  ]
02 Mic:       [↑NO becau]se I have-
03       (0.8)
04 Mic:  I >won't be teaching today I< will be (0.1) putting >work on
         the ↑board< (0.1) and they will have to ↑do
```

Just after she has claimed the floor in overlap, Michelle utters a cut-off and drops out again (l. 02). When she continues after a longer pause, she exchanges the auxiliary verb and thus produces a modified version of her prior TCU fragment (l. 04). What makes this excerpt particularly interesting is that it displays that cut-offs can also be used as a turn-claiming resource. Note that other than in the previous examples Michelle is not yet established as the turn-occupant in (4.176). She self-selects in overlap to comment on an earlier statement by one of her interlocutors, Lucy,[76] and starts up to do so as soon as possible, while another (unidentified) interactant is still talking. Moreover, Michelle enters the stage with an upstep in both pitch and volume, which emphasises the action she is about to do – an objection. For Michelle, it is important to self-select at this particular place in the interaction, because she has to utter her disagreement as closely as possible to the turn it is related to (Schegloff 2000: 28). She therefore starts up in overlap, highlights that she is about to object, and then self-interrupts her TCU. The cut-off functions as a turn-claiming resource in this context: Michelle claims the floor in line 02 and abandons the TCU as soon as the other interactants have accepted her as the new turn occupant. She then restarts again with slight modifications. These modified restarts constitute the majority of cut-offs. Depending on whether they are produced by the current or by a potential next speaker, they function more as repair indicators or as turn-taking devices; however, both aspects cannot be separated from each other. Rather, they have to regarded as endpoints on a continuum. While example (4.176) above illustrates a scenario in which the turn-claiming function of the device is central, (4.177) depicts a situation where repair seems to be dominant:

Example (4.177): Other people (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Sam:  [other] peo[ple:] here ↑al↓so (0.1) they::-
02 Che?:            [(m) ]
03 Sam:  I=↑think- (0.2) (th-) (0.4) ↑some- I heard >some of my< (0.1)
         [>friends here they<] SH[OP on]↑line
04 Che:  [ m h – h m : : : ? ]   [yeah?]
```

The speakers are discussing the advantages of shopping online in this scenario. As the turn occupant, Sam starts with a left-dislocation,[77] *other people here also they*-, but stops prematurely. When he restarts again, he produces a series of cut-offs to modify his TCU, self-repairing to *I think* (l. 03) and, eventually, to *I heard some of my friends*. In the process, Sam downgrades his epistemic authority from asserting a fact (l. 01) to stating a personal belief and, finally, to hearsay. That is, the cut-offs indicate that something in Sam's turn

[76] For the sake of brevity, Lucy's longer turn is not shown in this excerpt.
[77] For a more in-depth discussion of left-dislocations and topic placement and their role for turn-taking see chapter 4.5.3.

needs fixing and that he is about to provide self-repair. However, although this function is clearly dominant in this situation, Sam is nevertheless also efficiently holding his turn – even though he allows for two gaps, none of his co-conversationalists self-selects and claims the floor.

Apart from that, cut-offs can also lead to a restart of the original TCU without modifications, as in (4.178) below:

```
Example (4.178): Watch shows (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

01 Wan:  [I don't] do ↑stuff, [  I   j u s t   w a t c h  ]
02 An:                        [how- >how do you you watch<] ↑shows, you
         (.) put it in your dropbox, is it?
```

When An self-selects in line 02, she overlaps the current speaker, Wan, who continues talking at the TRP. However, An does not yield the floor; instead, she produces a cut-off and then restarts again with increased tempo. She manages to talk through the overlap and finally emerges as the sole turn occupant. Cut-offs with restarts which do not result in verbal or prosodic modifications of the prior fragment primarily function as turn-claiming or -holding resources. As they do not involve repair, their main effect is to give the speaker time for further planning their turn and to make other interactants aware that the producer of the fragment remains in a state of speakership. Furthermore, this type of cut-off can also be used as an overlap resolution device, as illustrated by (4.179) below – this is what Jefferson describes as "marked self-retrieval" (cf. Jefferson 2004: 50f). The excerpt is taken from a Jamaican interaction in which the speakers are talking about the dangers of drugs which American soldiers might be tempted to use when stationed in Afghanistan:

```
Example (4.179): Soldiers (ICE-JA, S1A-010)

01 Sue:  =but=why [wouldn't you?]
02 Tes:           [     (    )  ] ( )
03       (0.2)
04 N.N.: be[↑cause  ]
05 Geo:    [and=↑the]::- and=the soldiers who are ↑THERE (0.2) >are
         PROBABLY gonna get< HOOKED
```

When George claims the floor in line 05, he starts in overlap with an unidentified speaker. Note that George abandons his TCU with a cut-off when the second interactant drops out, only to restart again in the clear, making sure that his turn can be heard by his four co-conversationalists.

The previous paragraphs have shown that cut-offs can be employed as both turn-holding and turn-claiming devices, depending on the specific situation. Typically – though not always – they are combined with other devices. Potential next speakers, for example, can

use a combination of cut-off and restart to claim a turn and secure the floor, either by making the current speaker drop out or by discouraging other interactants from starting up. In doing so, they can even allow for pauses which can amount to considerable lengths, as examples like (4.176) illustrate. As the TCU is left incomplete, transition does not become relevant and the current speaker can afford a period of silence without having to fear another participant starting up (cf. also Schegloff 1996: 89). My study therefore corroborates Clayman's finding that "in the environment of an aborted TCU the current speaker is still ordinarily treated as having primary rights to the floor" (Clayman 2013: 153).

However, interactants do not only manipulate syntax to postpose or hide an upcoming TRP. In fact, they also use strategies which are positioned at the TRP itself. In the conversations analysed, three resources were identified: exploiting pivots to hold one's turn, using compound TCU to secure multi-unit utterances, and adding increments. All of them have a turn-holding effect, i.e. they are used by current speakers to expand their turns. They are discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

Turn-constructional pivots can be used as a means to bridge an upcoming TRP and thus obscure it for other interactants. Pivots (or *apokoinou* constructions) are items which belong to both the end of the first and the beginning of the second TCU (Clayman 2013: 162; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 381). See, for instance, (4.180), an excerpt taken from a Jamaican interaction. The conversationalists are talking about American soldiers who smuggled drugs from Vietnam:

Example (4.180): Vietnam (ICE-JA, S1A-010)

```
01 Sue:  [that's what they ↑di:d]
02       (0.2)
03 Geo:  and=[   t h e n  -  ]
04 Sue:      [>that's what ha]ppened in Viet↑nam a whole band of them!<
         got
05 N.N.: (↑HI:[ : : : )  ] ((side conversation))
06 Sue:       [got hooked] on [heroine]
```

Sue's turn in lines 04 and 05 stretches over two TCUs. They are linked by a pivot (marked in bold) which is phonetically linked to both the preceding and the following unit. That is, the first TCU (*that's what happened in Vietnam*) is not marked as prosodically complete, and the second TCU (*in Vietnam a whole band of them got got hooked on heroine*) follows without delay (Walker 2007: 2236). For the other interactants, it is therefore impossible to identify a TRP between the two. As Sacks puts it:

> You end up having in effect done two sentences but there's never been a chance for a hearer to find a possible completion of the first. […] While I wouldn't dream of saying that this stands as a technique that one could use from the outset to produce two sentences without it having occurred

> that there was a possible completion between them, what it means is that having begun a sentence and having discovered in the course that you need two, you have a means for getting to do two without possible completion having occurred (Sacks 1992 [1969]: 146).

That is, pivots allow speakers to expand their TCUs as their turn proceeds, without requiring prior planning. They are an effective turn-holding device, which is not only used by speakers in the Caribbean data group but can also be found in the ASEAN interactions. See, for instance, (4.181) below, which is part of a longer sequence that has already been discussed in chapter 4.3.3:

Example (4.181) [4.110]: Craigslist (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

01 Sam: [a >lot of peo↑p]le:< (.) expat (0.1) (the:re are-) people they are >↑moving **a LOT** of people< COME and >↑go

In this excerpt, Sam produces a multi-unit turn, using a number of strategies to prevent his co-conversationalists from starting up, such as upgrades in volume or pitch, and changes in tempo. Apart from that, he links two of his TCUs through a pivot: Sam starts with a left-dislocation structure (*people they are moving a lot*) and uses its end to start another TCU: *a lot of people come and go*. Note that he also speeds up before and after the pivot, thus additionally hiding or even blocking the TRP for the other interactants.

Even though pivots have been investigated in a number of languages, including British and American English (e.g. Walker 2007); German (Scheutz 2005), and French (Horlacher & Pekarek Doeler 2014), accounts of pivot structures in other varieties of English are, to the best of my knowledge, still missing. The data analysed for this study clearly show that pivots are used by ASEAN and Caribbean speakers of English, and that they are employed as powerful turn-holding resources – typically no other speakers start up at a TRP bridged by a pivot. In fact, pivots are not infrequent in the interactions. Special cases include the so-called 'modular pivots', such as address terms, interrogative formulations (e.g. *don't you think*), quotatives (e.g. *he said*), and the phrase *you know*. These phrases are less context-bound than 'regular' pivots and can therefore be applied more frequently (Clayman 2013: 162-3). Nevertheless, more research has to be done to account for the huge variety of possible structures. In particular, my findings highlight the need to treat spoken corpora as language-in-interaction, with grammatical structures being shaped by their interactional context. As Couper-Kuhlen & Selting put it, "[p]ivot constructions […] provide powerful evidence for the fundamental flexibility and adaptability of syntax to the exigencies of interaction" (2018: 385). For research in World Englishes, this means that non-canonical syntax has to be analysed with respect to the conversational structures it is embedded in. In his description of South African Indian English (basilectal) speech, for instance, Mesthrie

comments on the speakers' tendency to start with canonical SVO structures which then shift to topicalization (1991: 115). As Leuckert (2019: 152ff) shows, however, these constructions are by no means limited to this particular variety of English or to informal settings or basilectal registers. My data confirm this and suggest that treating these patterns as turn-holding pivot structures might explain their prevalence in certain contexts: Varieties which exhibit high frequencies of topicalisation[78] in spoken language might do so because their speakers prefer pivot structures to hold their turn at talk, which, in turn, lead to more topicalised of left-dislocated clauses. That is, the preference for a certain turn-taking strategy might reinforce a pattern which is already part of a variety's linguistic repertoire. However, answering this question would require a greater corpus, so for the moment this has to remain pure speculation.

While pivots hide an upcoming TRP, 'compound TCUs' are constituted by one or more individual TCUs which are linked syntactically, e.g. via correlatives. They allow current speakers to hold their turn over more than one TCU by projecting continuation and thus closing the TRP in-between for potential next speakers – even if the entire utterance consists of more than one prosodic unit (Selting 2000: 489f, 498ff; cf. also Lerner 1996). Compound TCUs are defined as having "a preliminary component that projects roughly what it will take to bring that component to possible completion and projects a possible form for the final component of the TCU as well, and thereby a shape for the TCU as a whole" (Lerner 1996: 240). In other words, compound TCUs are composed of at least two constituents, a preliminary and a final component, both of which are needed for completion of a single TCU. *If-then-* or *either-or-*clauses are a prime example. In (4.182) below, a discussion about the illegal burning of CDs, the speaker Dian is producing a compound TCU:

Example (4.182): Penalty (ACE, VN_LE_con_pho restaurant)

```
01 Dia:  [if you get ↑caught]
02 Thu:  [     (       )    ](about) fif[↑tee:n  or  twenty ]
03 Dia:                                 [the penalty is VERY]
04 Thu:  [(dong)]
05 Dia:  [HIGH! ]
```

The preliminary component *if you get caught* in line 01 already projects the form of the final component *[then] the penalty is very high* (l. 03 and 05); syntactically, the turn remains incomplete until the second component has been produced. Lerner therefore claims that only the "possible completion of the final component […] constitutes a transition-relevance

[78] Topicalisation refers to non-canonical syntactic structures in which a constituent other than the subject is moved to the beginning of the sentence (cf. chapter 4.5.4).

place" (1996: 240). However, Lerner (1996) also shows that compound TCUs are particularly vulnerable to intra-turn speaker change, as their syntactic gestalt allows for transition between the preliminary and final component of the TCU. I would therefore argue that compound TCUs actually include a TRP between their single components, albeit one that is hidden or blocked by syntactic turn-holding. Compound TCUs are certainly special in that their preliminary component determines or at least restricts the shape of the final component, i.e. they remain noticeably incomplete if the latter is missing. This is also why I continue to refer to this kind of constructions as compound TCUs. Nevertheless, turn-taking is a multimodal action and syntax is not the only relevant factor when it comes to TCU construction (cf. Ford et al. 1996; Selting 2000). That is, even though an utterance might be syntactically incomplete, other resources might trigger speaker change. With respect to compound TCUs, Lerner speaks of "semipermeable points" inviting talk by other speakers (1996: 268), and, in fact, many compound TCUs in my data are realised as joint completions, i.e. they do not threaten the current speaker's position as the turn occupant (cf. chapter 6.1.1 for a discussion). However, other instances clearly show that this is not necessarily the case or, at least, that current speakers are orienting to the possibility of losing the floor within compound TCUs. Rather than merely relying on syntactic incompleteness, they typically employ additional strategies to prevent other speakers from starting up at the juncture, as the examples below show:

Example (4.183): Driving fast (ICE-T&T, S1A-057)

01 Tre: it's >↑fi:ne like **if I were to do it again now, it('ll) be fine**<

Example (4.184): Surprise (ICE-JA, S1A-006)

01 Bob: I go- I'd like to go Germany and VISIT the ↑place (0.1) and buy my stuff
02 (1.1)
03 Bob >and I ↑think< if you're- **if you're that >enterprising then this is a< sur↑prise** you know
04 (0.5)
05 Bob: and you can get ↑through

Example (4.185): Moral studies (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

01 An: yah:, but I- I guess the arGUment is that, **because it's not examina↑ble, some teachers (.) erm might POSTpone the teaching of it**

In all of these examples, the current speakers are producing compound TCUs (marked in bold). In (4.183) and (4.184) the preliminary component is a conditional clause; in (4.185) the compound TCU consists of clauses describing cause and effect *(because it's not*

examinable, …). What the extracts have in common is that the speakers employ strategies which prevent other interactants from producing an anticipatory completion. In (4.183) and (4.184), they speed up and thus rush from the preliminary into the final component; in (4.184) the change in pace actually occurs directly before the juncture. In (4.185), An uses prosodic markers to indicate that she is going to continue. That is, the interactants obviously orient themselves to junctures in compound TCUs as potential TRPs and sometimes try to protect their position as the turn occupant by 'defending' these places. I would therefore argue that it makes sense to regard them as TRPs in their own right.

Compound TCUs can be identified in both data groups, and they often – though not exclusively – occur in story-telling situations. In these contexts, they are naturally protected from self-selections by other speakers, because usually the turn occupant is the only participant who has the background knowledge necessary to tell the story.[79] See, for instance, the following situation:

Example (4.186): Offensive (ICE-T&T, S1A-057)

01 Jea: ONCE ↑I- I drove with my friend's ↑mom (and) (0.1) **>as soon as we< jumped >in the ↑car< she apolo↑gised for usin' (o↑ffensive-)** (hh) >she was ↑like ((imitating)) ↑listen< (0.3) I'm ↑SO: ↑SORRY, […]

Jeanne, the current speaker in (4.186), is talking about an experience she had when being in a car with her friend's mother, who started to use a lot of swearwords while driving. As Jeanne is the only participant who was present during this incident, she is also the only speaker who is able to tell the story. That is, when she produces the preliminary part of a compound TCU, *as soon as we jumped in the car*, none of her co-conversationalists has the epistemic authority to complete the turn. Situations like this occur regularly in the interactions analysed, and they constitute very robust turn-holding devices. In fact, speakers can even leave long gaps between the two constituents without losing the floor. While the preliminary and final part are linked without delay in (4.186) above, the narrator in (4.187) allows for a gap longer than the average period of silence in the respective interaction:

Example (4.187): Report (ICE-T&T, S1A-008)

01 Mic: he- he never writes the re↑port (0.1) so **>when I ↑com:e< to talk to him ↑now**
02 (0.8)
03 Mic: **he is ↑like (0.4) he (starts) to get ↑ON:: (in) this kind=of ↑WAY[::** and=what]ever,

[79] With the exception of co-tellings, i.e. two or more interactants telling a story together (e.g. in the case of spouse talk) (cf. Sidnell 2010: 191ff).

Even though Michelle leaves a gap of 0.8s before completing the compound TCU, none of her co-conversationalists self-selects at this place. Silences within compound TCUs are not unusual – as Lerner claims, "[c]omponent completion furnishes a socially organized site for possible silence – the slight pause that can precede the final component" (1996: 242). However, this gap is unusually long for the conversation: All in all, this particular interaction is marked by frequent speaker change and the average length of silences is 0.5s. That is, it is remarkable that this TRP is not treated as available for speaker change by the participants. One of the reasons which allow the current speaker to hold the floor in this situation might be the fact that the turn is part of a larger interactional sequence. As in (4.186), the current speaker is telling a story and is talking about an event none of her co-conversationalists witnessed. Michelle's story-telling is therefore marked by epistemic asymmetry – she is the only interactant with the relevant knowledge to complete the turn. I argue that in situations like that, compound TCUs prove an extremely powerful turn-holding resource and allow current speakers to expand their turns over several units. Note that this does not necessarily imply that other speakers do not start up at all. In chapter 6.1.1, I discuss cases in which interactants jointly construct compound TCUs and show that even in those cases the final authority over the turn still remains with the current speaker.

Finally, current speakers can also expand their TCUs by adding "increments" (cf. Schegloff 1996: 90ff), i.e. grammatically dependent units (as opposed to grammatically independent and syntactically 'complete' TCUs). Increments 'belong' to the preceding TCU, the "host or base component" (Sidnell 2012: 314). See, for instance, the scenario in (4.188) below:

Example (4.188): Spring and autumn (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Che:  […] I ↑think↑ (0.4) the Australi↑ans they LIKE (0.2) .h (0.2)
         the IN-between seasons like s::p- (0.4) ↑pring and autumn!
         >they say these two are the [best< ]
02 Lan:                              [spring] and [ autumn  ]=
03 Sam:                                           [↑oh- okay]=
04 Che:  =be[cause=it's]
05 Lan:     [ ( yeah ) ]
06       (0.5)
07 Che:  not too HOT not to cold?
08       (0.4)
09 Che:  [just-] (0.1) just nice
10 Lan:  [okay ]
```

After Chen has completed his TCU in line 01, his co-participants Lan and Sam react by turn-yielding: Lan acknowledges understanding by repeating part of Chen's utterance (l. 02) and Sam produces a minimal response (l. 03). Chen therefore continues talking, and he does so by adding an increment in the form of a finite subordinate clause: *because it's not*

too hot not too cold? (l. 04 and 07). This expansion constitutes its own prosodic unit – it starts after a short pause – but is "grammatically fitted to the end of the host" (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007: 515). Couper-Kuhlen & Ono therefore introduce the term "glue-on" to refer to this type of increment (2007: 515). When this addition does not yield any verbal reaction by his co-conversationalists, Chen adds a second increment (l. 09), overlapping Lan's late acknowledgment (l. 10). Again, the expansion is prosodically separated from the host – Chen's turn in line 07 has ended on rising 'question-like' intonation and he allows for a gap before continuing. However, he still does not start a new TCU but produces an adjective phrase which acts as a subject complement to the prior element: *it's not to hot not to cold* ***just- just nice.***

Increments are a typical device current speakers use to expand their turns. They can be found in both data groups, and often occur in contexts where other interactants either do not choose to self-select at a TRP or actively yield the floor to the current speaker (as in (4.188) above). Expanding the TCU with glue-ons functions as a means to resume speakership and establishing continuity in these situations. As Couper-Kuhlen & Ono show, the syntactic structure of English facilitates this process: It allows for (a theoretically unlimited amount of) optional sentence elements to be added as the turn progresses – while other languages (e.g. Japanese) favour these constitutes earlier in the turn, which naturally limits the amount of expansion (2007: 547). On the other hand, current speakers can also use increments to gather support for their position as turn occupants or to check their interlocutors' understanding. This is illustrated by (4.189), an excerpt from a Jamaican interaction:

Example (4.189): Ten cents (ICE-JA, S1A-013)

```
01 Deb:  [>and- and th]en ↑we had >what was known as< ten cent fund?
02        (0.3)
03 Joa:  ↑m↓hm
04        (0.3)
05 Deb:  >weh was ↑for l-< for the students who were part >of the school
         who didn't have< lunch money
```

After she has completed her first TCU in line 01, Debby waits for her co-conversationalists to react. Note that she ends on a strongly rising (question-like) intonation contour, which invites some form of uptake by her interlocutors – for instance a token of recognition or acknowledgement. This results in Joanne producing a continuer, *mhm* (l. 03), thus inviting the current speaker to go on while at the same time yielding her chance to speak up herself. After a short period of silence in which none of her three co-participants self-selects or addresses a potential problem of understanding, Debby resumes her role as the current

speaker. She does not begin a new, independent TCU, however, but extends her previous unit by starting up with a relative pronoun, Jamaican Patois *weh* 'that' (l. 05).

As the examples above have shown, increments allow current speakers to expand their turns *a posteriori*, for instance, in situations where none of their interlocutors self-select at the TRP and speaker change rule (1c), continuation, is invoked. Apart from that, turn occupants can also invite their co-conversationalists to confirm their understanding of the base TCU, before the turn progresses (as shown in (4.189)). As both base TCU and glue-on still form a coherent syntactic gestalt – albeit one that is prosodically separated (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007: 521) –, increments can be regarded as a form of turn-holding. Nevertheless, in some situations increments can also be provided by other speakers who jointly produce a turn – these cases are discussed in chapter 6.1.1.

In this chapter, I have analysed how current speakers can exploit syntax as a resource to hold or claim a turn. Two larger groups of strategies were distinguished: those which are employed within the TCU, i.e. before a TRP has been reached, and those which are implemented at the TRP itself. The first group includes various forms of self-interruptions, i.e. premature stops and cut-offs. Typically, these can be described as having a double-function, namely providing self-initiated self-repair while at the same time holding or claiming the floor. The second group consists of strategies which allow a current speaker to expand their turn without delaying the interactional progress: pivots, which bridge a TRP, compound TCUs, which project further talk, and increments, which retrospectively add elements to a base TCU. In the next section, I take a closer look at how speakers manage to produce multi-unit constructions over an even longer period of time, e.g. in story-telling.

4.5.3. Pre-announcements, requests, and tag questions

Stories pose a special problem for speakers in everyday conversation: As they necessarily involve speaking over several TCUs, i.e. producing multi-unit turns of sometimes considerable length, narrators have to take precautions to make sure that their status as turn occupant will not be threatened during the telling. However, as story-telling is also an activity which is familiar to conversationalists, current speakers can count on their recipients' background knowledge. That is, potential next speakers will typically notice completed TCUs but will be prevented from treating them as final, even in cases where no further turn-holding devices are used (Selting 2000: 508). In order to block TRPs while telling a story, narrators therefore have to make their interlocutors aware of their intention.

One way to do so is by means of a pre-announcement sequence. See, for instance, the following example:

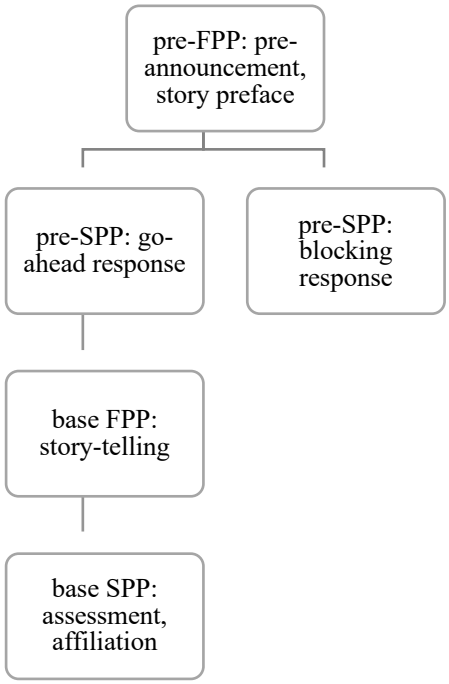
Example (4.190): You know something (ICE-JA, S1A-006)

01 Bob: FPP_{pre} >but you know something?<
02 (0.1)
03 N.N.:SPP_{pre} (huh)?
04 Bob: FPP_{base} (you-=you-) (0.2) you=pro[b a b l y] have to [↑t h i n k]
05 N.N.: [((coughs))] [((coughs))]
06 (0.2)
07 Bob: as a THIRD world ↓country […]

In (4.190), an extract from a Jamaican interaction, the speaker (Bob) starts his turn by addressing his interlocutors with a story preface: *you know something?* (l. 01). In doing so, Bob informs his co-participants of his intention to tell a story – *you know (something)* is a typical and recurrent format to initiate a telling (Schegloff 2007: 38), and Bob can therefore expect his interlocutors to recognize it as such. For the other conversationalists, Bob's turn opens up a preliminary adjacency pair first part (a pre-FPP), which requires a response (a pre-SPP), before the actual story (the base FPP) can be launched. In line 03, an unidentified speaker provides the relevant SPP in the form of a counter-question, *huh?* This serves as a "go-ahead response", which signals that the story-teller's request for the floor is accepted and that he may proceed with the story (Schegloff 2007: 40).

Story prefaces (or pre-announcements) are a very effective means to ensure that recipients do not treat upcoming TRPs as transition-relevant (Sidnell 2010: 176; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 51). They can thus be regarded as turn-holding resources which prevent other speakers from starting up until the story-telling is completed. If interlocutors reject a pre-announcement, this is likely to result in the story not being launched. Figure 4.3 illustrates the basic elements involved in this process.

Figure 4.3: Pre-announcements as turn-holding resources (based on Schegloff 2007; Sidnell 2010; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018 Online-Chapter D)



Pre-announcements are used extensively by speakers in the Caribbean data group, and they are usually met with a 'go-ahead' response or with silent acceptance (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 5 Online-Chapter D). See the following examples:

```
Example (4.191): Not so isolated (ICE-JA, S1A-003)

01 Wil:  but they's so [ isol]ated, those term[s! ]
02 Her:                [↑from]               [↑no] (.) they are NOT
         ↑SO: isolated (0.4) in- (0.4) ↑I ↑tell you some↑thing
03       (0.5)
04 Her:  <EVEN the MANNER in WHICH the SENTENCE is CON↑STRUCTED […]


Example (4.192): Bus route (ICE-T&T, S1A-057)

01 Kat:  => though you ↑NEVER heard the STORY about her on th/i/< BUS
         ROUTE:?
02 Tre:  ↑no=
03 Kat:  =((steups)) >some day she was drivin' on th/i/ bus route and<
         she get ↑STOPPED! .hhh ↑A:ND […]
```

Both (4.191) and (4.192) show speakers who initiate their stories by requesting their interlocutors' permission to do so. However, while in (4.192) Trevor accepts the story-teller's pre-announcement by declaring that the story-to-be-told is in fact newsworthy, the recipient in (4.191) reacts non-verbally. That is, he refrains from speaking up after the pre-

announcement, although the speaker, Herman, leaves time for him to do so. This move[80] is interpreted as a 'go-ahead' response by the story-teller, who then moves into the story proper. Nevertheless, sometimes story prefaces are met with non-acceptance, as in (4.193): The four female participants have been talking about how they would feel if their husbands died before them. Joanne has just claimed that she would probably marry again, which is met by strong protest by another speaker, Debby:

Example (4.193): Long time ago (ICE-JA, S1A-013)

```
01 Joa:  I'll have to think that I have (0.2) two:
         [small children ]
02 Deb:  [you say yeah ca]sually, man! ((imitating Joanne)) ↑ye:ah
         ((/imitating Joanne))
03 Joa:  ↑no=but [↑that- ↑NO:]=
04 N.N.:         [  (   )    ]=
05 Deb:  =no, >let [me tell you] something'!<=
06 Joa:            [ ↑  n  o   ]
07       =↑no, [↑Debby,] I have a choice a LONG time a↑go:
08 Deb:        [let=me-]
09       (0.4)
10 Joa:  that DEATH wasn't going to throw me off […]
```

Debby's reaction to Joanne's statement is a critical one – she criticises her of being too unemotional (l. 02). Joanne disagrees decidedly (l. 03) but before she can move further into her turn, Debby self-selects again and produces a pre-announcement: *no, let me tell you something!* (l. 05). Her request is immediately blocked by Joanne, who starts in latch position and even addresses Debby directly: *no, Debby* (l. 07). Debby's story thus remains untold and she abandons her turn-claiming (l. 08); instead, it is Joanne who goes on to produce a multi-unit turn (l. 07 and 10).

Apart from using pre-announcements to initiate longer turns, turn-claimants can also request the floor more directly, e.g. by asking their co-conversationalists to yield and refrain from speaking up at the next TRP(s). This technique was exclusively found in the Caribbean corpus, where it is often combined with other turn-claiming techniques, as illustrated in the excerpts below (direct requests are marked in bold):

Example (4.194): Listen (ICE-JA, S1A-004)

```
01 Bla:  but then you're just saying that there's ONE way,
02 Ron:  ↑NO: (.) NO, LIS↑TEN, in THIS university […]
```

Example (4.195): Back up (ICE-JA, S1A-003)

```
01 Rob:  =THAT is ↑true (.) five >diffe↑rent (you
         [can understand it ↑though)<]
```

[80] It is very likely that there are non-verbal cues which serve as go-ahead signals as well, e.g. head nods, etc.

```
02 Her:  [ ↑H E L L O!  (.)  BACK UP ] (.) ( )!
03       (0.1)
04 N.N.: [   (    )   ]
05 Her:  [>BOTH OF ↑YO]U<
06 N.N.: (↑we-)=
07 Her:  =YOU=YOU! (.) <BACK UP ONE [SECOND!>]
08 N.N.:                            [  (  )  ] hhh haha
         [    ((    chuckling     ))      ]=
09 Her:  [↑YOU BACK UP (0.2) <ONE SECOND!>]=
10 N.N.: =[((chuckling))]
11 N.N.: =[  (     )    ] [ ( ) ]
12 Her:                  [YOU B]ACK UP [    < O N E     S E ]COND!>=
13 N.N.:                               [>(you're goin' to)-<]
14 N.N.: =>you're going to get< (.) [f i ]ve dif[ferent ]=
15 Her:                             [the-]      [↑tribes]=
```

Both examples depict situations with heavy turn-claiming. In (4.194), the second speaker, Ronald, starts up despite Blaine's turn-final rising intonation which clearly indicates continuation (l. 01). Ronald self-selects nevertheless and claims the floor by using loud volume and pitch upsteps to do so. Apart from that, he also directly addresses the current speaker (as well any potential other turn-claimant) and requests them to *listen* (l. 02). He then goes on to produce a longer story without being challenged in his role as the new turn-occupant. 'Listen' has been described as an action-launching turn preface (Sidnell 2007a: 405), and my findings corroborate this for the Caribbean interactions, with the action launched typically being a story or a disagreement sequence. In (4.195), the situation is quite similar: A second speaker self-selects in blind spot and overlaps the turn-occupant (l.02). Instead of dropping out again, the turn-claimant, Herman, goes on to resolutely establish himself as the new speaker. He directly addresses both of his co-conversationalists (*hello!* (l. 02), *both of you* (l. 05), *you=you!* (l. 07)) and asks them to yield the floor: *back up one second!* (l. 07). Note that Herman's turn-claiming corresponds to the machine-gun repetitions described in chapter 4.5.1 – he recycles his TCUs several times and uses loud volume and changes in pace to emphasise their effect. In the Caribbean corpus, direct requests like this constitute a very efficient means to secure the floor for multi-unit turns – particularly for story-telling – and they are used extensively. This strategy was not identified in the ASEAN group, however. Similarly, pre-announcements are also used less frequently by the Southeast Asian interactants in the corpus. Stories are typically elicited in this context, i.e. speakers do not launch them on their own initiative but react to a question or prompt given by their interlocutors (Schegloff 2007: 37). See, for instance, (4.196) below, where Zhi's story is elicited by Wan's question in line 01:

Example (4.196): Weekends (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 Wan:  so what do you ↑do:: erm: (0.2) ((alveolar click)) on weekends?
02       (0.6)
```

```
03 Zhi:  weekend ah?
04 Wan:  uh-huh?
05       (0.3)
06 Zhi:  ((alveolar click)) (0.2) very ↑boring hh=[…]
```

Even though the speaker groups differ in how they launch multi-unit turns or stories proper, Caribbean and ASEAN interactants who have been established as story-tellers can afford longer silences without losing the floor to their interlocutors. See the story in (4.197):

Example (4.197): Cesspool (ICE-JA, S1A-010)

```
01 Sue:  you read that story?
02       (0.4)
03 Ale:  >when somebody [(was fell)] in a cesspool and< died?
04 N.N.:                [   h  h   ]
05       (0.3)
06 Sue:  ↑no=
07 Ale:  =>(and then they-)<
08       (0.3)
09 Sue:  no ↑Alex
10       (0.7)
11 N.N.: they either (↑had)
12       (0.4)
13 Sue:  u-tech students,
14       (1.6)
15 Sue:  stoned the man in the cesspool,
16       (0.8)
17 Sue:  so he had to go UNDER the water to escape the stoning,
18       (0.8)
19 Sue:  they waited till he CAME UP, stoned a↑gain, so he had to go
         BACK under the water and after several times he drowned!
20       (1.0)
21 Ale:  these are U-TECH STUDENTS?=
```

Sue begins her story with a pre-announcement in which she tries to find out whether her interlocutors already know about the event she is about to tell (l. 01). She does not specify which story she is referring to but implies that people are likely to have heard about it (*that story*). In fact, another speaker, Alex, reacts by showing that he already knows the news; he provides a "pre-empting response" in which he denies the newsworthiness of the story-in-question and starts to offer a brief telling himself (l. 03 and 07) (Schegloff 2007: 41). For Sue, this is problematic – telling a story which is already known to the interlocutors does not meet the requirement of recipient design, i.e. the "multitude of respects in which the talk by a party in conversation is constructed or designed in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants" (Sacks et al. 1974: 727). However, Sue reacts by disagreeing with Alex's account of the events (l. 06 and 09). Having now justified the newsworthiness of her report, Sue goes on to tell the story (l. 13-30). Note that she is not (verbally) overlapped or interrupted by any of the four other interactants, although she allows for extremely long periods of silence between her TCUs

and hardly uses any other resources to hold her turn. That is, her status as the story-teller is not questioned until she has completed the narrative. Story-prefaces constitute the most efficient device to produce multi-unit turns in both data groups. This is not surprising, because pre-announcements only lead to stories being launched if interlocutors produce a 'go-ahead' SPP of some kind in the preliminary sequence, i.e. they have to actively give the current speaker permission to continue. Both story-prefaces and requests for the floor therefore constitute highly orderly and systematic resources to organise turn allocation. My findings thus clearly contradict descriptions of Caribbean conversations as "contrapuntual" and "chaotic" – as interactions where speakers can start up anywhere (cf. Reisman 1974).

Finally, turn occupants can also prompt other participants to yield their chance to speak up. This enables them to secure the floor and continue talking with a 'quasi-blessing' from their co-conversationalists. One way to secure uptake and trigger acknowledgement or confirmation is the use of tag questions (Biber et al. 1999: 1089). Tag questions typically occur in "post-completion position", i.e. they are extensions of a turn without constituting a new, independent TCU (i.e. they resemble increments) (Schegloff 1996: 91f). According to Sacks et al., tag questions can be used to signal turn completion (1974: 718; cf. chapter 4.1.1 for a discussion); however, this is not their only function in interaction. In fact, when they are employed primarily as "asking for confirmation" devices (Tottie & Hoffmann 2009: 142), tag questions prompt turn-yielding utterances.[81] That is, rather than ending the current speaker's turn at talk, they can be a means to secure further turns.

Almost all question tags identified in the corpora are invariant, i.e. have a fixed form irrespective of the TCU they are attached to (Biber et al. 1999: 1089). This corresponds to Wilson et al.'s (2017) study on question tags in Trinidadian English as well as other analyses of question tags in varieties of English (cf. Platt et al. 1984: 129). Both ASEAN and Caribbean speakers almost exclusively use *right?* and *you know?* to trigger turn-yielding moves, as in (4.198) below:

Example (4.198): Basketball club (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Che:  [you ha]ve to go and HANDLE the ↑kids you=know? they=have
         bas[ketball ↑CLUB]
02 Lan:     [ oh:  ↑o:kay ]
03       (0.3)
04 Sam:  ↑o:[kay!]
05 Che:     [deba]ting club
06 Lan?: uh-↑hu::↓:
07 N.N.: .hhh
```

[81] Please note that tag questions are typically multi-functional (cf. Coates 1996). I want to emphasise that I am only looking at tag questions which are used as turn-holding devices in this chapter. I cannot give an overview of the multitude of functions which tag questions can fulfil in this study.

```
08        (0.4)
09 Che:   but- (0.2) when- >normally when I< go […]
```

Chen's *you know?* in line 01 can be classified as a primarily confirmatory question tag, inviting his interlocutors to contribute to the conversation. However, other than in the examples shown above (see chapter 4.1.1), Chen does not select a next speaker in this situation. Rather, he continues talking without delay. I would argue that instances like this show that current speakers can use question tags to include their co-interactants in the talk without yielding the floor. This is in line with an observation by Stenström who also states that turn-medial question tags have "a socializing function by involving the listener in the narrative" (2005: 284). In the extract given above, Chen's interlocutors react by showing their acknowledgement. At the same time, they relinquish their chance to produce a fully-fledged TCU at this place in the interaction. That is, asking for confirmation can be regarded as a means to strengthen the role of the current speaker. Similar instances can be found in the Caribbean conversations, as illustrated by (4.199):

```
Example (4.199): The same (ICE-JA, S1A-004)

01 Bla:  the D E H remains the ↑SAME (0.2) right?
02 N.N.: that's k- oh=[ okay  ] o↓kay
03 Bla?:              [(yeah)?]
04 Bla:  d e ↑h the D E H remains CONSTANT […]
```

As before, the current speaker addresses his interlocutors with a tag question, this time *right?* in line 01. He thus opens up the FPP of an adjacency pair which requires his co-conversationalists to provide a corresponding response. In line 02, an unidentified participant reacts by confirming Blaine's statement, thus showing his co-attentiveness and cooperation, while also yielding his change to claim a turn himself at the TRP. Note that the SPP does not necessarily have to be verbal, it can also consist of gestures, head nods, etc. As my data consist of audio files only, these cases could not be taken into account though.

This chapter has illustrated three possibilities to hold or claim multi-unit turns. First, I have shown that speakers can use pre-announcements to assess the newsworthiness of a story and ask for their interlocutors' permission to hold the floor for several TCUs. If met with a 'go-ahead' response, this suspends transition at upcoming TRPs until the story is completed. That is, pre-announcements are turn-holding strategies which work on a macro-level of the conversation. They require co-operation between speaker and interlocutors, who have to jointly decide on 'telling the story now', and this is also what makes the resource so effective. It was shown that story prefaces can also be met with blocking, which then

results in the story being postponed or abandoned completely. While speakers in the Caribbean interactions often use pre-announcements to autonomously launch a story, stories in the ASEAN corpus are typically elicited. Apart from that, Southeast Asian speakers seem to refrain from using direct requests to claim a turn – a strategy which is not unusual in the Caribbean data group. Irrespective of how a speaker is established as the story-teller, both speaker groups treat stories as non-transition-relevant, even if they involve longer gaps. That is, interlocutors typically yield their chance to speak up after a TCU has been completed, either by producing minimal responses or continuers, or by remaining silent. This is sometimes exploited by current speakers who back up their turn-holding by using tag questions to trigger turn-yielding moves. The data show that tags which request recipients to confirm the current speaker's utterances have a stabilising function for multi-unit turns, as they allow interlocutors to contribute to the interaction without necessarily leading to speaker change.

In the next chapter, I look into another syntactic resource; this time one which is predominantly used by the ASEAN speaker group.

4.5.4. Topic placement

In this study, the notion of topicalisation is understood as the fronting of syntactic constituents to a non-canonical and therefore marked position in the TCU (cf. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 379, ftn. 20; Leuckert 2019: 32). Many Asian varieties of English use topicalised structures to a much greater extent than British or American speakers. In a recent study, Leuckert (2019) shows that this is likely due to intense contact between English and the speakers' first languages as well as processes of replication and identity constructions. Unsurprisingly, topicalised TCUs can also be found in the interactions analysed for this study, particularly with Singaporean speakers. See, for instance, the following example:

Example (4.200): Ginger pill (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

01 An: […] you just get distracted >most of the time< (0.2) ((alveolar click)) but **the ginger >pill** you have to I think ↑eat< (0.4) like an hour- (0.3) like th- >thirty minutes before↑hand< […]

In (4.200), the current speaker, An, is producing a multi-unit turn – she is talking about how to cope with motion sickness. First, she suggests getting *distracted*, then – after a short gap – she adds *but the ginger pill you have to […] eat […] beforehand*. This second TCU

features a topicalised object (marked in bold), *the ginger pill*, which is moved to the front of the clause. Object fronting has been described as a means to create emphasis and contrast (Biber et al. 1999: 904), and this also seems to play a role here: An is comparing different ways to avoid getting sick on the bus. Note that An is already established as the current speaker in this situation – she is telling a story about her experiences as a commuter. This is different in the next situation:

Example (4.201): Pulau Redang (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Lan:  [↑you- ↑YOU have been] to ma[laysia:!   ]
02 Che:                              [(↑mh) o↑kay]
03       (0.3)
04 Sam:  because=(the) [  (    )   ]
05 Che:                [(but)=pulau] RE↑dang I haven't [been to]
```

In (4.201), the speaker, Chen, self-selects using a topicalised structure in line 05. Again, this has a contrasting effect – Chen has been to Malaysia but not to the island *Pulau Redang*. Nevertheless, the fronting has also consequences for turn-taking. As Couper-Kuhlen & Selting put it, "[a]ll pre-positioned elements have in common that they are incomplete syntactically and cannot constitute TCUs in and of themselves. Consequently, they project more to come" (2018: 401). Topicalisation can therefore be regarded as a resource to prevent other speakers from starting up: The turn is markedly incomplete, and projection of an upcoming TRP is delayed. As has been described above (cf. chapter 3.2.2.5), languages with verb-final syntax typically are 'late projection' languages, i.e. interactants are less able to rely on "syntactic macro-projection" to recognise TCU completion (cf. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 46). By using topicalised structures, speakers can deliberately create this condition, which allows them to hold and expand their turn. Similar findings have been reported for Mandarin conversations, where speakers also shift between early and late projection structures, and where this also influences the onset of recipients' turns (Li 2014: 37, 241f). As object fronting is an established feature in Singapore English (cf. Leuckert 2019: 187) – all of the speakers who used topicalised structures were Singaporean –, it constitutes an efficient resource available to the interactants.

This section has explored the notion of topicalised TCUs and examined their turn-holding effect in conversational interaction. Larger collections of data would be needed to tackle this question and to analyse the systematicity of this resource. However, I hope to have shown that topicalisation can be employed as a turn-holding strategy, particularly in varieties of English where fronted structures are already part of the linguistic repertoire.

Chapter 4 has explored and discussed the results from the qualitative analysis of the data. First, three general types of speaker change were introduced and examined in greater detail (chapter 4.1). It could be shown that turn-taking in Southeast Asian and Caribbean English conversations is an orderly and rule-governed process which corresponds to that of other languages. Nine scenarios of speaker change at the TRP were identified and discussed – revealing many similarities but also some differences between the data groups. Chapters 4.2 to 4.5 focused on two of those scenarios, self-selection with active turn-claiming and continuation with active turn-holding. Four major groups of strategies were introduced: latches and overlaps, phonetic strategies, lexical strategies, and syntactic strategies. Each group was closely analysed, which yielded a number of similar tendencies across speaker groups but also revealed different preferences when it comes to how the individual strategies are realised. Furthermore, some features seem to be variety- or culture-specific, e.g. topicalised structures (which predominantly occur in the ASEAN interactions) or machine-gun utterances (which exclusively occur in the Caribbean corpora). In the next chapter, these findings are complemented by a quantitative analysis of the types, scenarios, and strategies of speaker change.

5. Quantitative analysis – results

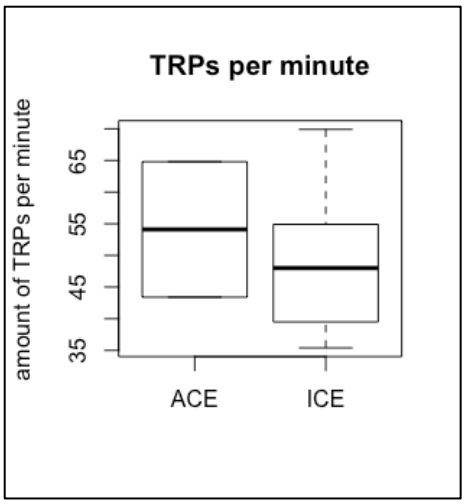
Chapter 5 quantifies the results from the previous chapter using the formal coding system which was devised during the qualitative analysis (see also chapter 3.3 for an overview).[82] The first section (chapter 5.1) focuses on the three general types of speaker change (i.e. next speaker-selection, self-selection, and continuation). It explores how these types are distributed across the TRPs and investigates whether their frequencies differ across the speaker groups. Chapter 5.2 provides a quantitative analysis of how transition at the TRP is realised in the interactions, i.e. it examines the frequencies of the specific turn-taking scenarios. Finally, the last section (chapter 5.3) investigates whether speakers differ in their tolerance of silences, i.e. periods of non-talk.

5.1. Types of speaker change

In this section, I provide an overview and a discussion of the general makeup of the conversations with respect to the types of speaker change and the conversational tempo, which includes the amount of speaker changes and TRPs per minute.[83] As I first step, the number of TRPs for each conversation was identified. To that end, the coded interactions were uploaded in AntConc (Anthony 2018) and a regular expression[84] was used to extract the amount of TRPs. The results are reported in figure 5.1 below:[85]

[82] As explained in chapter 3.3, the conversation VN_LE_con_pho restaurant (ACE) had to be excluded from the quantitative analysis. That is, the corpus used for the quantitative analysis consists of approximately four hours of interaction (≈ 2 hours from each speaker group).
[83] The results were normalised to minutes of interaction rather than to number of words, because the category 'word' is problematic when analysing interaction. As CA transcripts include many utterances which are typically not classified as words (e.g. laughter, inbreaths, etc.), time was considered a more reliable factor. Of course, some interactants might speak faster than others, which would then lead to a higher number of TRPs per minute. In order to avoid distortion by extreme values, I focus on the median rather than mean and will also compare my findings to the number of TRPs in total (cf. Desagulier 2017).
[84] The regular expression used to do that was (?i)\([1-3][a-c]\)*.
[85] All graphs in chapter 5 were created using RStudio (R Core Team 2017).

Figure 5.1: Number of TRPs per minute



While interactions in the Southeast Asian data group reach approximately 54 TRPs per minute, the number of places for potential speaker change is lower in the Caribbean conversations. Here, only 48 TRPs emerge in the same time frame. Statistically, this difference is not significant. An independent two-tailed *W*-test yielded a *W*-statistic of 1 and a *p*-value of 1 ($df = 1$), i.e. the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. In order to explain the greater amount of TRPs per minute in the Southeast Asian conversations, two aspects have to be taken into account: First, ASEAN speakers might speak faster on average, allow for less gaps, and thus complete their TCUs sooner than their Caribbean counterparts. And second, TCUs in ACE might be shorter, for instance because speakers use simpler clause structures – this is in line with other descriptions of Southeast Asian interactions (Clyne 1994: 157). Note, however, that both boxplots show that the picture is not that clear-cut – the individual conversations vary a lot,[86] so that much of the difference seems to be due to speaker preferences or idiosyncrasies. When looking at the maximum values, for instance, it is the Caribbean interactants who reach more TRPs per minute (e.g. conversation S1A-050 in ICE-T&T with approximately 70 TRPs/min). That is, the mere amount of TRPs per minute does not allow drawing conclusions on the interactional tempo as such. Furthermore, the amount of TRPs does not specify what actually happens in the interaction. ASEAN speakers might, for instance, continue talking, while Caribbean conversationalists might self-select more often, which would also influence how the tempo of the conversation is perceived. In order to find out more about the speakers' actions at the TRP, I therefore look at how the different types of speaker change are distributed across the TRPs.

[86] The standard deviation (sd) is 15.13 for ACE and 10.49 for the ICE-corpora.

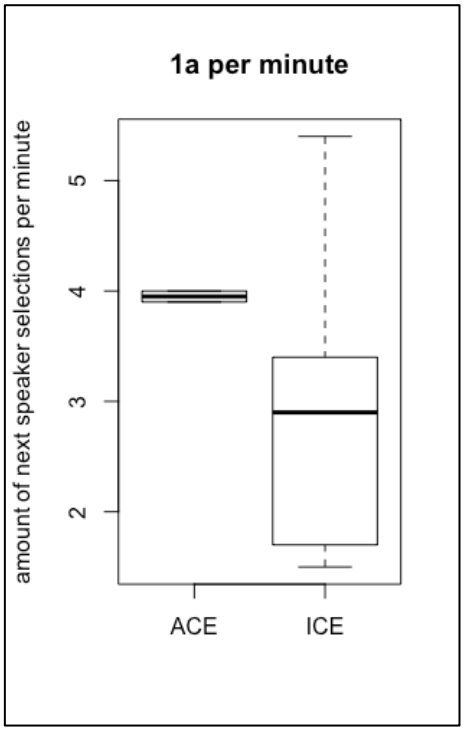
As discussed in chapter 4.1 above, all three types of speaker change as described by Sacks et al. (1974) can be identified in the data. Type (1a), current speaker selects next, shows to be the least, type (1c), continuation by current speaker, the most frequent one, as table 5.1 illustrates.

Table 5.1 Types of speaker change relative to total amount of TRPs

	Type of speaker change		
Corpus	Current selects next (1a)	Self-selection (1b)	Continuation (1c)
ACE (n=6,731)	7.3% (n=492)	27.1% (n=1,827)	65.5% (n=4,408)
ICE-JA, ICE-T&T (n=5,164)	5.6% (n=291)	36.7% (n=1,897)	57.7% (n=2,979)

As the table shows, these general tendencies can be observed for both data groups. That is, more than half of all TRPs lead to a continuation by the current speaker. Multi-unit turns are therefore not unusual for the interactions, although their number seems to be higher in the ASEAN data group. Next speakers' self-selections are also relatively frequent, particularly in the Caribbean interactions, where they constitute about 37% of all transitions at the end of a TCU. That is, on average, these conversations seem to involve more speaker changes than the Southeast Asian interactions. Cases in which the current speaker selects another interactant to speak next are rare in both corpora. However, they can be found more often in the ASEAN conversations. This impression is confirmed when looking at this type of speaker change in greater detail.

Figure 5.2: Speaker change type (1a) per minute



As figure 5.2 illustrates, next speakers are selected approximately four times per minute in Southeast Asian interactions. This number is extremely robust, with little variation between the different conversations.[87] Caribbean interactions, on the other hand, show more internal variation, although – on average – they seem to use next speaker-selections to a lesser extent than their ASEAN counterparts. However, the difference between the varieties is not statistically significant, as an independent two-tailed *W*-test revealed (*W*=1, *df*=1, *p*-value=1). Overall, speaker change type (1a) only accounts for a minimal number of TRPs in both corpora. Instead, speakers self-select after the current speaker has completed their TCU (type (1b)), or the current speaker expands their turn and continues talking (type (1c)) at the TRP.

[87] The sd is minimal (0.07).

Figure 5.3: Speaker change type (1b) per minute

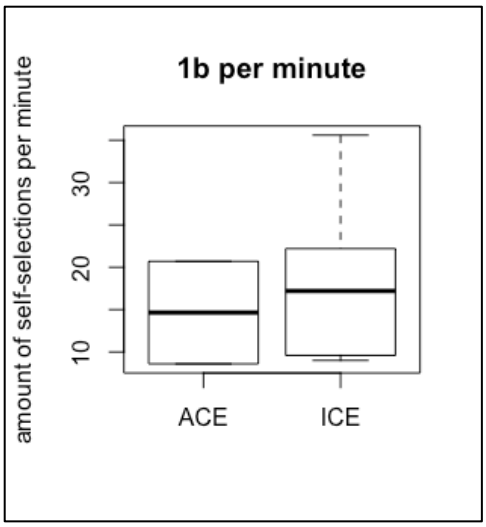


Figure 5.4: Speaker change type (1c) per minute

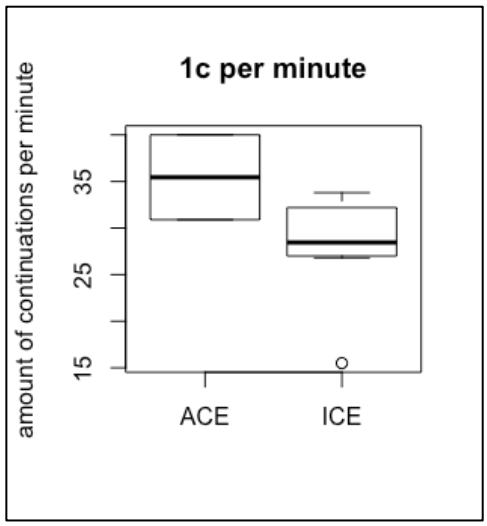


Figure 5.3 shows that, on average, interactants self-select 16 times per minute – but they do so more often in the Caribbean data group than in the ASEAN interactions. The difference becomes even more obvious when taking into account that Caribbean interactants reach less places of possible speaker change per minute (cf. figure 5.1 above). To investigate this finding more closely, an independent two-tailed *W*-test was conducted to examine whether the medians for speaker change type (1b) differ significantly between the corpora. The test did not yield significant results (W=0, df=1, p-value=1). Due to the small sample size, this is certainly not surprising. Furthermore, the boxplots reported in figure 5.3 illustrate that the individual conversations show considerable variation with respect to self-selections. This could be due to idiosyncratic behavior of the speakers – some speakers might be more dominant than others – or to the interactional context, for instance the topic being discussed or the relationship between the individual speakers: Even though I only chose to investigate conversations between interactants of equal status, I obviously cannot control for aspects such as shared experiences, background (expert) knowledge, etc. – all of which might influence turn-taking. Gender, however, does not seem to play a role, although it was not the focus of this analysis.

Most TRPs in both data groups lead to continuations of the current speaker (cf. figure 5.4). In the ASEAN group, this accounts for approximately 35 TRPs per minute; in the Caribbean corpus the numbers are lower (they amount to 28 TRPs per minute).[88] On average, the Southeast Asian interactions analysed therefore involve less speaker changes and more multi-unit turns than the Caribbean conversations. Applying an independent two-tailed *W*-test showed that this difference is not statistically significant (W=1, df=1, p-

[88] With an sd of 6.43 (ACE) and 5.13 (ICE) the corpora do not show much internal variation.

value=1). However, in terms of interactional tempo, the greater number of continuations probably counterbalances the higher amount of TRPs per minute in the ASEAN group: Although speaker change becomes relevant more often in the ASEAN conversations, TRPs typically do not lead to transition in this context. This is an interesting finding, as continuation has been described as a marked case in interaction and thus typically involves effort from the current speaker (cf. chapter 3.2.2). That is, turn occupants will often use strategies to prevent others from starting up at the TRP. However, not all continuations involve active turn-holding, just as not all self-selections are competitive. In the next chapter, I therefore take a closer look at the individual turn-taking scenarios and investigate how the types of speaker change reported above are realised in the interactions.

5.2. Turn-taking scenarios

This chapter delves deeper into the different turn-taking scenarios realised by the two data groups. I give an overview of how the individual scenarios are distributed relative to their respective type of speaker change and discuss my findings.

With respect to TRPs which involve the selection of a next speaker by the turn occupant, three scenarios were identified and discussed in chapter 4.1.1. Table 5.2 below shows how these are distributed relative to the amount of all instances of 'current selects next' in the two corpora.

Table 5.2: Scenarios of next speaker-selection relative to amount of all TRPs marked as (1a)

	Type of speaker change: Current selects next		
Corpus	Speaker change without gap (1a:1)	Speaker change with gap (1a:2)	Other (1a:3)
ACE (n=492)	21.5% (n=106)	21.5% (n=106)	56.9% (n=280)
ICE-JA, ICE-T&T (n=291)	22.3% (n=65)	38.5% (n=112)	39.2% (n=114)

Of all TRPs at which a next speaker has been selected directly or indirectly, almost a quarter lead to transition without gap or overlap (1a:1) in both ASEAN and Caribbean interactions. That is, if this is to be regarded as an 'ideal type of speaker change', the amount of TRPs which show this scenario is relatively high – at least in situations where a next speaker has been selected. For this context, Heldner & Edlund's finding that "cases with neither gap nor

overlap are very rare" (2010: 563) cannot be verified. When looking at transition which involves a short gap (1a:2), the numbers are similar for the Southeast Asian interactions and even higher in the Caribbean conversations. After having been selected as a next speaker, interactants from ICE-JA or ICE-T&T thus tend to allow for a brief period of silence more often than their ASEAN counterparts. For both speaker groups, however, the majority of next speaker-selections leads to overlaps, insert expansions, or to transition which is delayed for more than 0.5s. The number is higher in the Southeast Asian corpus, where over half of all (1a) speaker changes fall into the category 'other'. This is not surprising: As discussed in chapter 4.1.1, ASEAN interactants often initiate repair after having been selected as next speakers and they also often use overlap-vulnerable tag questions to reinforce speaker change.

If no next speaker has been selected, any conversationalist can self-select at the TRP. Again, three scenarios were identified and discussed in the previous chapter (cf. chapter 4.1.2). Table 5.3 below illustrates how they are distributed across the amount of all self-selections in the corpora.

Table 5.3: Scenarios of self-selection relative to amount of all TRPs marked as (1b)

	Type of speaker change: Self-selection		
Corpus	Speaker change without gap (1b:1)	Speaker change with gap (1b:2)	Turn-claiming (1b:3)
ACE (n=1,827)	7.1% (n=130)	7.7% (n=140)	85.3% (n=1,558)
ICE-JA, ICE-T&T (n=1,897)[89]	4.2% (n=79)	11.1% (n=210)	84.3% (n=1,599)

The quantitative analysis of self-selections at the TRP confirms the findings of the qualitative investigation – the vast majority of self-selections involve the use of turn-claiming strategies (1b:3). That is, starting up at a TRP without having been asked to do so typically involves effort. Simply beginning early, i.e. without gap and overlap (1b:1), is not enough, particularly in the Caribbean conversations. For these situations, Heldner & Edlund's claim as cited above therefore seems to hold. Apart from that, in the Caribbean interactions slightly more self-selections take place after a gap of 0.2 to 0.5s (1b:2). This

[89] Please note that numbers do not always add up precisely as there might be combinations of scenarios (e.g. 1b:2 + 1b:3). This means that the number of hits for a specific speaker change scenario might be higher than the number of TRPs labelled as the respective type of speaker change.

might be due to the 'testing the water'-situations described in chapter 4.1.2, which could be detected exclusively in this data group.

Finally, if no speaker has been selected and none of the interactants chooses to self-select, current speakers might decide to continue at the TRP. The scenarios identified for this type of speaker change include continuation after a lapse, continuation with active turn-holding, and continuation after turn-yielding by another participant (cf. chapter 4.1.3 for a discussion). Table 5.4 gives an overview of how they are distributed.

Table 5.4: Scenarios of continuation relative to amount of all TRPs marked as (1c)

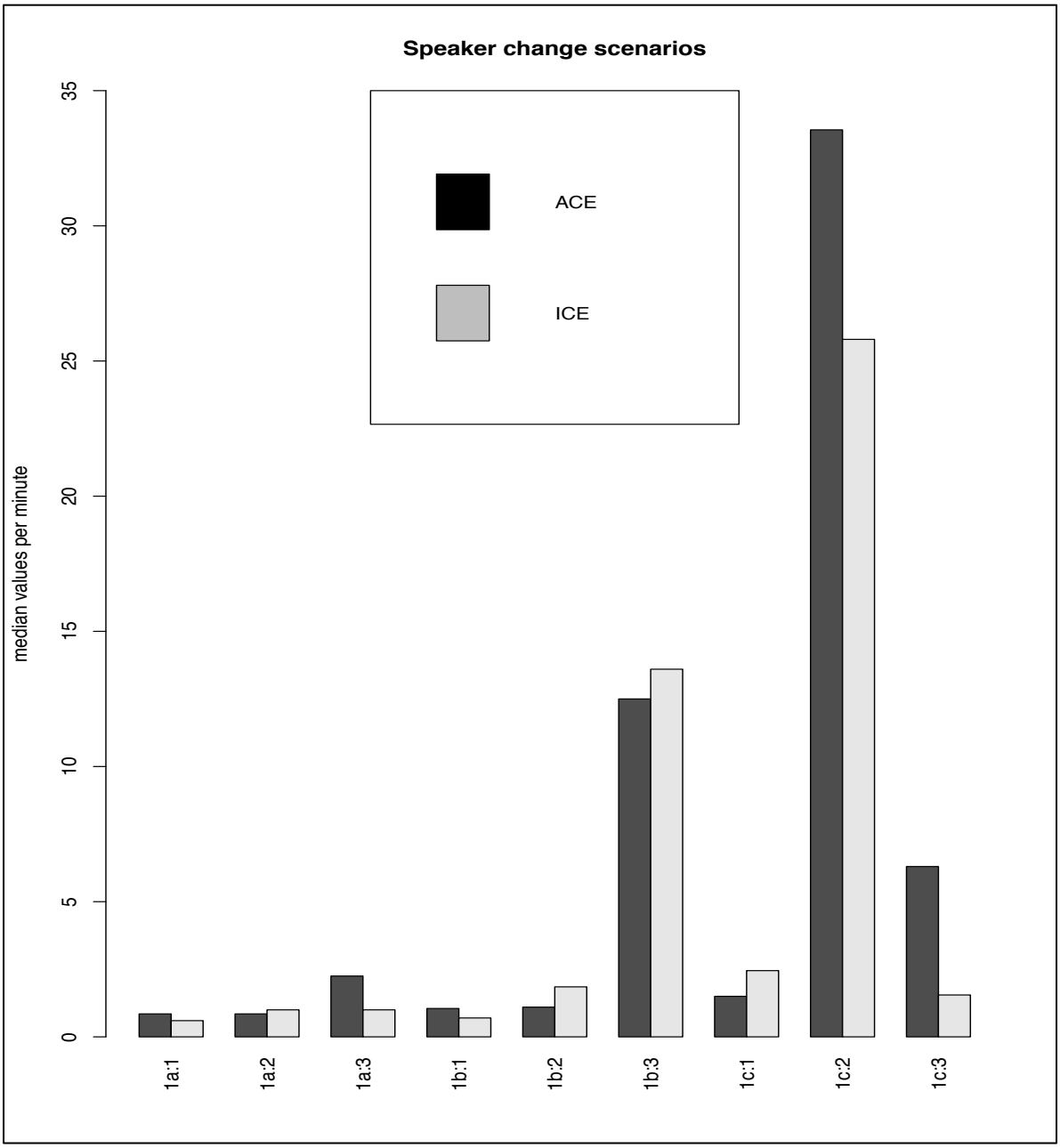
	Type of speaker change: Current speaker continues		
Corpus	Continuation after lapse (1c:1)	Turn-holding (1c:2)	Continuation after turn-yielding (1c:3)
ACE (n=4,408)	4.2% (n=187)	94.6% (n=4,168)	17.9% (n=787)
ICE-JA, ICE-T&T (n=2,979)[90]	12.8% (n=382)	92.5% (n=2,756)	6.7% (n=200)

Again, the picture is clear-cut: Producing more than one TCU is almost always marked and involves effort on the part of the speaker. That is, continuations are accompanied by turn-holding strategies in the vast majority of cases (1c:2). This finding thus corroborates Selting's (2000) analysis of German interactions, and also highlights that speakers orient themselves to TRPs and try to prevent their interlocutors from starting up if they want to utter a multi-unit turn. When looking at the two other scenarios of current speaker continuation, speaker groups differ, however. Caribbean interactions involve considerably more continuations after lapses, i.e. gaps of more than 0.5s which typically result from a withdrawal from speakership (1c:1). Southeast Asian interactants, on the other hand, are more willing to yield their turn to the current speaker (1c:3). Both results are probably linked: ASEAN conversationalists might encourage the turn occupant before lapses emerge, while Caribbean speakers seem to refrain from doing so.

Figure 5.5 illustrates how the individual scenarios of speaker change are distributed across both corpora.

[90] Cf. previous footnote.

Figure 5.5: Scenarios of speaker change in ACE and ICE



This overview shows the median values of how often the individual speaker change scenarios occur per minute. Other than tables 5.2 to 5.4, which look at the scenarios in relation to the corresponding type of speaker change within each corpus, figure 5.5 allows for comparing the Southeast Asian and Caribbean interactions directly with each other. It roughly confirms the tendencies observed above: Next speaker-selections (1a) occur more frequently in the ASEAN conversations, particularly those classified as 'other' (1a:3). Furthermore, Southeast Asian interactants also produce more self-selections without gap or overlap (1b:1) and Caribbean speakers often allow for a small gap before starting up (1b:2).

However, even though these differences clearly show in the barplots (see figure 5.5) they are not statistically significant: An independent two-tailed Wilcoxon test was performed and yielded a *W*-statistic of 1 and a *p*-value of 1 for scenarios (1a:3) and (1b:1); for scenario (1b:2), *W* is 0 and the *p*-value is 1 (with *df*=1 for all scenarios). That is, although the speaker groups seem to exhibit different preferences with respect to how often they realise the scenarios reported above, the null hypothesis of no differences cannot be rejected. This also holds for other variations in the descriptive statistics: While interlocutors in ACE often yield their turn to the current speaker (1c:3), this scenario is extremely rare in the Caribbean conversations analysed for this study. As before, this difference is not significant as an independent two-tailed *W*-test revealed (*W*=1, *df*=1, *p*-value=1), i.e. the hypothesis that the amount of turn-yieldings is directly linked to the speaker group can neither be confirmed nor rejected. More data is needed to explore this aspect in greater detail – the descriptive statistics clearly illustrate that active turn-yieldings predominantly occur in the ASEAN corpus. Furthermore, the diagram also shows some additional findings: Comparing the amount of transitions which involve turn-holding (1c:2) or turn-claiming (1b:3) techniques within the corpora did not reveal any larger differences between the speaker groups: Both Caribbean and Southeast Asian interactants employ additional resources in a similar percentage of their self-selections (cf. table 5.3) and continuations (cf. table 5.4). However, comparing the groups directly with each other reveals that Caribbean speakers tend to produce more turn-claiming utterances per minute – about 14 of their turn onsets per minute are backed up by additional turn-claiming resources. For ASEAN conversationalists the number is only slightly lower; however, when taking into account that Southeast Asian speakers, on average, reach more TRPs in the same time, the difference becomes more apparent. Apart from that, the speaker groups clearly vary when it comes to how often they employ turn-holding devices: About 34 TRPs per minute involve a current speaker actively holding their turn in the ASEAN group, while this figure is considerably lower in the Caribbean interactions. Please note that, again, the differences between the corpora are not statistically significant: For scenario (1b:3), the independent two-tailed Wilcoxon test yielded a *W*-statistic of 0 and a *p*-value of 1 (*df*=1). For scenario (1c:2), the results are similar: *W*=1, *df*=1, *p*-value=1.

To sum up, these findings indicate that turns are treated as valuable in both data groups. Verbal next speaker-selections are rare, although speakers might, of course, use gaze to select other interactants – this question can only be answered by using video recordings of natural interactions. This means that in order to get to floor, Caribbean and Southeast Asian

speakers typically have to self-select at the TRP. Potential next speakers have to invest effort to do this and current speakers have to use strategies if they want to extend their turn over more than one TCU. Situations in which participants actively yield the floor to the current speaker are relatively rare, particularly in the ICE-corpora analysed. However, this does not mean that the interactions can be classified as competitive *per se*. As Schegloff puts it, "[i]t is not the case that 'who says overlap says fight for the floor'" (2000: 29). That is, in order to get a more holistic picture of the conversations, additional factors have to be taken into account as well. In the next chapter, I therefore examine the strategies speakers use to claim or hold a turn.

5.3. Turn-holding and turn-claiming – a macro-analysis

While chapters 4.2 to 4.5 have provided a detailed micro-analysis of the resources speakers employ to back up their turn-holding or turn-claiming, the present chapter looks at how these resources are distributed across the data groups. To that end, an AntConc search was conducted to ascertain the frequency of different strategy clusters. The coding system used to represent the individual strategies has already been introduced above (cf. chapter 3.3). Table 5.5 gives an overview of the ten most frequent clusters of turn-claiming resources in the two data groups.

Table 5.5: 10 most frequent strategy clusters to claim a turn

ACE (n=1,558)		**ICE-JA, ICE-T&T (n=1,599)**	
Cluster	**Frequency**	**Cluster**	**Frequency**
OP	358 (23.0%)	OP	484 (30.3%)
O	278 (17.8%)	O	188 (11.8%)
OPS	109 (7.0%)	P	169 (10.6%)
LOP	105 (6.7%)	OPS	155 (9.7%)
P	98 (6.3%)	LaP	74 (4.6%)
La	74 (4.7%)	LaOP	72 (4.5%)
LaOP	59 (3.8%)	LOP	59 (3.7%)
LaP	53 (3.4%)	PS	56 (3.5%)
LP	49 (3.1%)	La	51 (3.2%)
PS	48 (3.1%)	LP	39 (2.4%)

Both data groups predominantly use two strategy clusters to claim a turn: They begin speaking while the current speaker is still talking (O) and they use phonetic resources (P) to back up their start. Southeast Asian and Caribbean interactants therefore draw on the 'first starter gets the turn'-rule – they self-select in overlap to make sure that they are the first one to speak at the TRP and that the current speaker does not apply rule (1c), i.e. continues talking. In the ASEAN corpus, early starts are part of the four main turn-claiming clusters; in combination with phonetic strategies, overlaps are part of almost a quarter of all turn-claimings. In the Caribbean data group, this cluster is even more frequent and accompanies 30% of all self-selections with turn-claiming. Note, however, that these overlaps are never interruptive – they all occur at legitimate TRPs, as described in chapter 4.2. Other strategy clusters are considerably less common. In the Southeast Asian interactions, speakers rely on further overlap combinations, for instance with phonetic and syntactic (OPS) or with lexical and phonetic techniques (LOP). That is, interactants will, for instance use cut-offs, clicks, or the planner *er(m)* as 'warning signals' while the current speaker is still completing their TCU. Phonetic strategies also occur on their own (P), particularly as turn-initial clicks (cf. chapter 4.3). Any other combination does not exceed the 5%-mark in the ASEAN corpus. In the conversations in Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, phonetic devices play a more important role as single techniques – they account for 10% of the turn-claiming strategies. Typically, this refers to upsteps in volume and pitch. The only other noteworthy cluster in the Caribbean corpus is the combination of overlap plus phonetic and syntactic strategies (OPS), which often is realised as 'machine-gun' utterances or recycles in these interactions. Nevertheless, looking at the ten most frequent turn-claiming clusters reveals that both data groups essentially use the same set of resources and differ only in the combinations they prefer. This also seems to hold for turn-holding devices, as table 5.6 illustrates.

Table 5.6: 10 most frequent strategy clusters to hold a turn

ACE (n=4,168)		ICE-JA, ICE-T&T (n=2,756)	
Cluster	**Frequency**	**Cluster**	**Frequency**
P	894 (21.4%)	P	977 (35.4%)
PS	703 (16.9%)	PS	622 (22.6%)
OP	461 (11.1%)	OP	362 (13.1%)
S	255 (6.1%)	S	154 (5.6%)
O	235 (5.6%)	OPS	122 (4.4%)
LPS	226 (5.4%)	O	93 (3.4%)
OPS	224 (5.4%)	LPS	69 (2.5%)
LP	204 (4.9%)	LP	55 (2.0%)
LOP	128 (3.1%)	OS	25 (0.9%)
LOPS	79 (1.9%)	LaP	22 (0.8%)

When it comes to back up their continuation over more than one TCU, speakers from both groups predominantly favour the same strategy clusters: They use phonetic techniques (P), a combination of phonetic and syntactic devices (PS), talk through overlap and employ phonetic resources (OP), or use syntactic planning strategies (S). However, as described in chapter 4 above, how these techniques are realised differs. That is, while phonetic strategies in ACE often involve changes in tempo, Caribbean speakers use more volume shifts to hold their turn and drown out potential turn-claimants. Similarly, syntactic strategies in the ICE-corpora often consist of direct requests for the floor or recycles, while ASEAN interactants typically exploit points of maximum grammatical control to avoid self-selections. Looking beyond the four preferred clusters also reveals that turn occupants in the Southeast Asian conversations vary more in their choice of strategy. They talk through overlap (O) or use combinations of syntactic and phonetic strategies with lexical planners (LPS) or overlap (OPS). In the Caribbean group, no other combination accounts for more than 5% of the turn-holding strategies. Lexical planners, e.g. *er(m)*, hardly play a role when speakers expand their turn in this corpus while they occur in various cluster in ACE.

Nevertheless, tables 5.5 and 5.6 reveal that Southeast Asian and Caribbean interactants employ the same general set of strategies when it comes to claim or hold a turn. This obviously raises the question, why Caribbean conversations have been described as chaotic and interruptive, while Southeast Asian interactions are said to involve little turn-holding

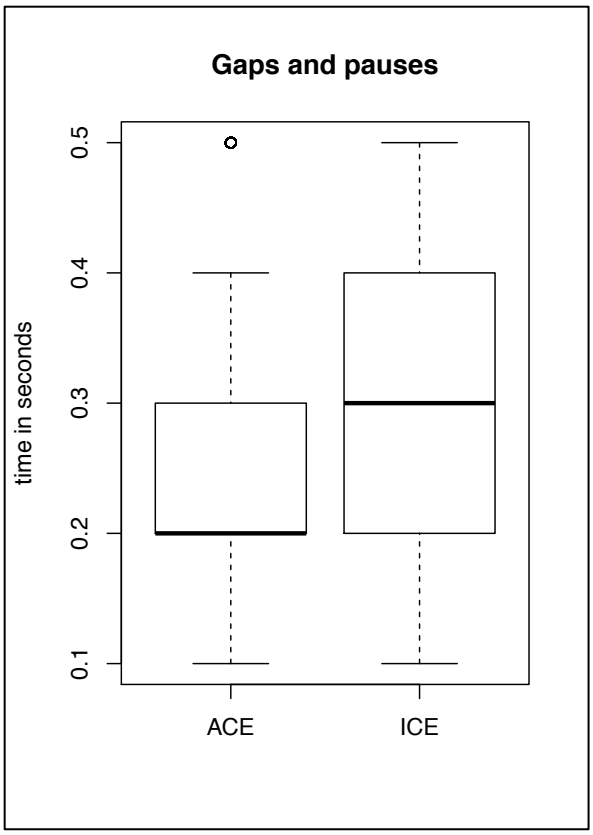
and a general lack of overlap (cf. Clyne 1994: 157; FitzGerald 2003: 133). From a purely quantitative perspective, these claims clearly have to be refuted as the last two chapters have shown. One possible explanation for the differences in perception might be that ASEAN speakers allow for longer periods of silence, which makes their conversations seem smoother. In the next chapter, I therefore examine how silences are tolerated in the two data groups.

5.4. Silences in conversation

Different tolerances of non-talk periods have often been the subject of ethnographic reports. Some speaker groups have been described as allowing for long silences in their conversations, e.g. Aboriginal Australians (Eades 2007), Finns (Carbaugh 2005), or Native Americans (Philips 1976). With respect to Caribbean and Asian interactions, many authors seem to agree that there are noticeable differences when it comes to pauses or gaps in talk. Tannen, for instance, classifies Caribbean speakers as "high involvement" conversationalists, i.e. as avoiding intra-turn silences (1994: 73), while many Asian cultures are often associated with valuing long (silent) pauses (cf. Yamada 1997 on Japanese). However, even smaller differences may influence an outsider's perception of one conversation as involving long pauses and the other as lacking periods of silence – according to Stivers et al., "the regimentation of tempo within a culture is tight, and […] [s]peakers become hypersensitive to perturbations in timing of responses measured in 100 ms or less" (2009: 10591). That is, one reason why Caribbean interactions have been labelled 'interruptive' might be that speakers tend to avoid non-talk and will therefore speak up when gaps tend to become 'too long'. In order to investigate how speakers in my corpora deal with periods of silence, all pauses and gaps were extracted via a regular expression.[91] Lapses were excluded from the analysis, because they sometimes have to do with external factors, e.g. traffic situations (when driving a car) or moving furniture. As I do not have video data to separate these task-based silences from those which have to do with turn allocation processes, I have to ignore these situations. That is, only silences which do not exceed 0.5s were considered. I also did not distinguish between gaps, i.e. silences at the TRP, and pauses, i.e. silences within one speaker's TCU. Figure 5.6 shows the average length of pauses and gaps in both corpora.

[91] The regular expression used to do that was \([0-9].[0-9]\). Micropauses, i.e. pauses smaller than a tenth of a second, were not considered.

Figure 5.6: Average length of gaps and pauses



Interestingly, the results show that, on average, gaps and pauses in the Caribbean interactions are slightly longer than in the ASEAN conversations.[92] Typically, Southeast Asian interactants allow for 0.2s of silence before continuing or conducting speaker change. Gaps or pauses which are longer than 0.3s are relatively rare. In conversations with speakers from Jamaica, Trinidad, and Tobago most silences are longer – the median value is 0.3s for this corpus and gaps or pauses of up to 0.4s are not infrequent. Apart from that, Caribbean speakers seem to allow for more periods of non-talk in their TCUs: Lapses included, speakers in ACE encounter approximately 20 silences of 0.1s or longer per minute, for Caribbean interactants the number is 26. How can these differences be accounted for?

First of all, the median of 0.2s (and a mean of 0.3s) in ASEAN interactions is not surprising but in line with previous studies. Looking at Swedish, Dutch, and Scottish conversations, Heldner & Edlund find that "[t]he most common between-speaker interval […] is a gap of about 200ms" and the authors go on to claim that this accounts for 55-59% of their findings (2010: 563, 566). Levinson & Torreira (2015) confirm this observation for American English data. Furthermore, my results coincide with Stivers et al. (2009), who

[92] This does not change when lapses are taken into account as well.

find a mean response offset time of 0.2s and a median of 0.1s across the ten languages they analysed but also emphasise that "the language-specific means fall within ≈250 ms either side of this cross-language mean" (2009: 10588). That is, on average, ASEAN interactants allow for slightly longer gaps than the speakers in Stivers et al.'s corpora; however, they still correspond to the general pattern observed. With a mean and median of 0.3s the same is true for silences in the Caribbean interactions. Unsurprisingly, the difference between the speaker groups is not statistically significant, as an independent two-tailed *W*-test confirms (*W*=0, *df*=1, *p*-value=1).

My results therefore show that both data groups neither allow for unusually long periods of silence nor avoid them altogether. When looking at gaps and pauses from a purely quantitative perspective, Southeast Asian and Caribbean conversations seem to exhibit patterns similar to those of other languages or cultures. In fact, the assumption that Caribbean interactions are characterised by a "pervasive pattern of making what we can call *counternoise*" (Reisman 1974: 114; emphasis in original) has to be refuted – on average, speakers in ICE-JA and ICE-T&T even tend to leave slightly longer gaps than their ASEAN counterparts. Nevertheless, two aspects have to be considered when interpreting this difference: First, my coding system does not differentiate between pauses and gaps. That is, there might be longer pauses within the current speaker's turn and shorter gaps at the TRPs in the Caribbean data group, which would show as a greater average length of silences. Some findings suggest this hypothesis, e.g. the fact that story-tellers in the Caribbean interactions can allow for long pauses after they have received a 'go-ahead' response by their interlocutors. (cf. chapter 4.5.3). More research is needed to explore these observations – for instance, by comparing the amount and length of story-tellings in the individual conversations and by differentiating between gaps and pauses.

Apart from that, silences might be shorter in ACE because speakers tend to provide more continuers and response tokens, thus overlapping the current speaker. I therefore examined the number of turn-holdings which involved overlap in both data groups. In the Caribbean interactions, continuing speakers are overlapped at 646 TRPs, which constitutes about a quarter (23.4%) of all turn-holdings (1c:2). Southeast Asian conversationalists overlap the turn occupant at 1,316 TRPs, i.e. at 31.6% of all turn-holding continuations. These results suggest that ASEAN speakers might in fact use gaps or pauses to verbally display acknowledgement and affiliation and to encourage the current speaker – which would then lead to overlap with a continuing speaker and could account for the shorter average length of silences in these interactions. The fact that Southeast Asian interactants

also show a greater tendency to yield their chance to speak at a TRP supports this explanation. Please note that this does not necessarily imply that Caribbean conversationalists use less continuers – they might do so in overlap or use non-verbal responses, such as head nods etc.

To sum up, my investigation showed that both speaker groups allow for gaps and pauses with a length between 0.2 and 0.3s, which corresponds to findings on other languages as well as Inner Circle varieties of English. The assumption that an avoidance of silences might make Caribbean interactions appear more interruptive or that Southeast Asian conversationalists wait longer before speaking up is therefore not supported by the data. In fact, both the qualitative and the quantitative analysis revealed that ASEAN and Caribbean conversations exhibit remarkable similarities when it comes to patterns of turn-taking. In the next chapter, I explore these similarities as well as the differences which became apparent during the investigation. I look at them from two perspectives – first, I discuss aspects which show cooperation between the interactants, then I consider features which might be classified as competitive or interruptive.

6. Cooperation and competition

So far, my main focus has been on what conversationalists do to claim or hold the floor. I showed that turns at talk are treated as valuable items in Caribbean and Southeast Asian interactions, i.e. speakers use strategies to make sure that their self-selection is successful or that other participants are prevented from starting up (cf. Sacks et al. 1974: 696), and silences and overlaps are minimised. However, as I discuss in the following chapters, this does not automatically make conversations 'fights for the floor'. I first illustrate why the interactions essentially can be characterised as deeply cooperative enterprises (chapter 6.1). In a second step, I analyse why outsiders – and participants – might label them 'interruptive' nevertheless and I discuss whether cooperation and competition really constitute mutually exclusive notions (chapter 6.2).

6.1. Features of cooperativeness

In the course of this study, I have shown repeatedly that conversational interaction is essentially marked by close collaboration and that speakers orient themselves towards their co-conversationalists – for instance, when it comes to jointly negotiating understanding via repair sequences or when turn holders actively involve their interlocutors in their turn (e.g. via tag questions). This chapter is designed to take stock and extend the previous analysis by exploring the notion of cooperativeness from three perspectives: First, I examine how Southeast Asian and Caribbean interactants co-construct turns at talk, i.e. how they collaborate within the turn (or TCU) itself (chapter 6.1.1). After that, I discuss how speakers finetune their utterances, i.e. how they coordinate their turns as the conversation proceeds (chapter 6.1.2). Finally, I look into the resources interlocutors employ to support the current speaker – i.e. how they perform 'being cooperative listeners' (chapter 6.1.3).

6.1.1. Joint productions

As described above (cf. chapter 3.2.1) turns at talk are interactionally shared entities. This becomes directly visible when two or more speakers jointly produce a TCU. Formally, joint productions (also called co-constructions) can be defined as "conversational event[s] where a second speaker jointly creates a formal artefact (e.g. a word, phrase, clause or sentence) or a functional artefact (e.g. a proposition, a speech act, a narrative, a trope) across turn-

boundaries, in collaboration with a previous speaker or speakers" (Clancy & McCarthy 2015: 431). In this chapter, I show how co-constructions are realised by Southeast Asian and Caribbean interactants and illustrate why they constitute highly cooperative and supportive elements of talk-in-interaction even though they might seem competitive at first glance. I focus on three types of joint productions,[93] which are particularly frequent in both corpora: prompting or collaborative completions, compound TCUs and collaborative sequences, and co-tellings.

'Prompting' has already been defined by Schegloff as adding a TCU which "neither [has] a beginning nor an ending in the usual syntactic sense" (1996: 76). (5.1) is a prototypical instance:

Example (5.1): Siri (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Sam:  (th-) there ↑IS some software=but [it's ↑NOT] as
02 Che:                                    [ (okay)  ]
03       (0.3)
04 Sam:  st- (.) e[r:: er-]
05 Che:          [not  as] GOOD!
06 Sam:  ↑N:OT as good as siri
```

In this extract, Sam is talking about software for his mobile phone. He is searching for the right words to complete the TCU *it's not as Ø* (l. 01), which leads to a gap of 0.3s. Finally, another speaker, Chen, offers a possible completion: *not as GOOD!* (l. 05), which Sam accepts by repeating it (l. 06). The collaborative completion is employed as a repair strategy in this context: The current speaker, Sam, initiates a word search by producing a cut-off and hesitation markers (two planners and a sound stretch) (l. 04). This leads to Chen providing a candidate solution. Instances like this are classic cases of "helpful utterance completions" as described by Ferrara (1992). However, they are clearly not the only joint completions found in the data.

A similar but nevertheless different example can be seen below. In (5.2), two speakers overlap while jointly completing a TCU.

Example (5.2): Cookies (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 Wan:  =I don't bake [s:avoury] ↑stuff (.) it's more of ↑the:
02 Zhi:                [hahahaha]
03 An:   h ↓sweet=
04 Wan:  =you know, (yah) [brow↑n]ie::s, h[cookie:]s
05 An:                    [cookie]
```

[93] I use the term 'joint production' (or 'co-construction') as a cover-term in this study (cf. also Clancy & McCarthy 2015).

There are two joint productions in this excerpt. In line 03, An adds to Wan's unfinished TCU *it's more of the:* (l. 01). She suggests *sweet* when Wan appears to be searching for a fitting expression by stretching the last sound of *the*. This clearly resembles (5.1) above. After Wan accepts the contribution with *yah* (l. 04), An offers a concrete example (*cookie*, l. 05), which overlaps with Wan's continuation. This time, the current speaker has not indicated trouble in her talk. Nevertheless, Wan reacts to An's turn and incorporates it retrospectively into her own continuation by repeating it. Collaborative completions as shown in (5.1) and (5.2) occur in both data groups, i.e. they are not unique to the Southeast Asian conversations. Furthermore, they can be quite complex, as (5.3), an extract from a Jamaican conversation, displays:

Example (5.3): Email (ICE-Ja, S1A-010)

```
01 Sue: [you got Betsy's email, by the w]ay?
02      (0.5)
03 N.N.:[okay]
04 Geo: [I-  ] I forwarded it ↑to:
05      (0.3)
06 Sue: Janelle and=
07 Geo: =Janelle=
08 Sue: =and=
09 Geo: =↑an[d]
10 Sue:     [S]imon?
11      (0.2)
12 Geo: yeah
```

This sequence involves a series of joint productions. George has been selected as the next speaker through Sue's question in line 01. He remains the turn holder throughout the passage, but his utterance becomes dysfluent in lines 04 to 05 – note the sound stretch in *the* and the gap of 0.3s. Sue therefore offers a number of candidate solutions (l. 06, 08, and 10), which George incorporates into his own turn through repetition and which he finally accepts with *yeah* (l. 12). Sue and George interactively share the syntactic structure of the turn and collaboratively complete it – and they do so not only with single lexical or phrasal elements but over a longer sequence. Furthermore, they finetune their contributions: Apart from a minimal overlap in lines 09 and 10, both Sue and George latch their utterances to each other's talk, thus avoiding gaps and collaboratively advancing the conversation.

This illustrates that interactants can encourage the current speaker to continue talking – they initiate a chance for them to expand a previous turn. It is important to note that conversationalists who offer 'prompts' do not claim a turn for themselves: They do not seize the floor and do not establish themselves as new turn occupants. Rather, they yield their chance to speak up at the TRP by animating the *previous* turn occupant to continue. This shows in a number of aspects: First, second speakers' contributions are usually minimal,

i.e. limited to single words or phrases (cf. examples (5.1), (5.2), and (5.3) above). Interactants can also suggest clauses or phrases, but these are rare and typically occur as consequences of compound TCUs, which will be explained in greater detail later in this section. Lerner (2004b) therefore uses the term "affiliating utterances" to describe this phenomenon. He emphasises that rather than claiming the floor, joint productions constitute "bid[s] for conditional access to [an] […] ongoing turn (for pre-emptive completion" (Lerner 2004b: 226).[94] Apart from that, second speakers usually do not persist in talking when the current speaker continues. They typically abandon their utterance as soon as the dysfluency is resolved or the current speaker resumes their turn. This could be seen in all the examples above. If overlaps occur, they are the product of two or more interactants projecting potential places of speaker change, for instance, in order to re-establish conversational progress, as in (5.1). Furthermore, turn occupants typically react to other speakers' suggestions, either by directly accepting them (e.g. with *yeah*), which George does at the end of the collaborative sequence in (5.3), by repeating them (cf. (5.1)), or by doing both, as in (5.4) below:

Example (5.4): Guided tour (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 Wan:  […] whereas when you go with tour they will TAKE you ↑to: erm
         (0.3) good (0.3) for sure=
02 An:   =good ↑places
03 Wan:  good places, yah [and then] you get the MOST out of it
```

Again, the current speaker, Wan, is searching for the right word, which is finally provided by another interactant (l. 02). Without any gap or overlap, Wan first repeats An's contribution, then reinforces it with *yah*, and finally continues with her turn (l. 03).

Apart from that, speakers can also react to collaborative completions by ignoring them in their ongoing turn, as in (5.5):

Example (5.5): Campus accommodation (ICE-T&T, S1A-034)

```
01 Cla:  [>this is no]t< a ↑HALL, this is- this is an- >this is ↑a:
         this [is       ↑like-<]
02 Tes:       [>↑(it's) like a<] BUNGA↑LOW
03       (0.3)
04 Cla:  [this is (↑HELL!  this is a gated] communi↑ty:,
05 Jod:  [it's ↑nice though! ↑I like this!]
06 Cla:  >this is (not)-<
```

The participants of this conversation are discussing the accommodation situation on campus when Claire is searching for a fitting expression to describe the hall she is living in (l. 01).

[94] This difference is the reason why joint completions were not coded as self-selections (1b) but as continuations with turn-yieldings (1c:3) in the present study.

Tess offers a possible description: *it's like a bungalow* (l. 02). The current speaker, Claire, does not directly accept or repeat this suggestion, but she more or less ignores it and continues with her own turn, substituting *bungalow* with *hell* (l. 04). Note that Tess never tries to claim the floor for herself – she provides a potential candidate for the current speaker's word search, but then abandons her turn even though the interaction would allow her to continue – there is even a short gap after she stops talking.

Compound TCUs constitute a special case of collaborative completion and also clearly show how attentively interactants follow each other's turns and how closely they co-operate. They have been discussed as a turn-holding technique in chapter 4.5.2, because they allow the current speakers to expand their TCU over more than one unit – e.g. in the case of *if… then…*-constructions. However, compound TCUs also allow for an "*anticipatory completion* of the TCU by another speaker" (Lerner 1996: 240; emphasis in original), i.e. they can trigger joint productions which involve intra-turn speaker change (Lerner 1996: 244). Lerner uses the term "conditional entry" to describe how compound TCUs on the one hand allow interactants to start up even though a syntactic TCU has not been completed yet but on the other hand also restrict them in what they are able to do at this place of onset – namely complete or continue the action underway (1996: 239, 245; 2004b: 227). See, for instance, (5.6), an excerpt taken from the Caribbean data group:

Example (5.6): Five different people (ICE-JA, S1A-003)

```
01 Wil:  here's my [pro↑blem]
02 Her:            [ right? ]
03       (1.3)
04 Wil:  produce five senten↑ces: >and give it to Edward< ↑BAUGH:
         >give[it to<] Carolyn Coo:- >give it to< FIVE different
05 N.N.:      [(↑erm)]
06 Wil:   peo↓ple
07       (0.2)
08 Her:  and they [will  ] ↑WRITE in [five different] [(ways)]
09 Wil:           [(and-)]           [>you get< <↑FI] [:VE > ]
10 Rob:                                               [↑five ]
11 Wil:  [ different ways ]
12 Rob:  [↑different- ↑yes], that is true=
```

In lines 04 and 06, the current speaker, Wilson, provides the preliminary component of a compound turn, a conditional clause without subordinator: *[if you] give it to five different people*. After a short gap of 0.2s (l. 07), another interactant, Herman, finishes the TCU, following the trajectory of the first component: *and they will write in five different ways* (l. 08). His candidate completion is accepted and emphasised by Wilson's and the third participant Robert's repetition in overlap (l. 09-12). The men have thus collaboratively completed the compound TCU, displaying agreement and cooperation. This is particularly

interesting in the overall context of the interaction, which is otherwise marked by disagreement and heated discussion: The conversationalists are arguing about the status of Jamaican Patois as a language – nevertheless, they are simultaneously exhibiting collaboration on an interactional level.

Example (5.7) is also taken from ICE-JA, this time from a mixed conversation with three female and two male speakers.

```
Example (5.7): War (ICE-JA, S1A-010)

01 Sue:  =↑I:'m >not even w- I'm not even worried so much about the
         ↑WA:R I ↑mean<=
02 Mar:  =>it's [what< ( ) AF][TER ! ]
03 Geo:         [   (    )   ]
04 Sue:         [( ) to   ↑me][to >me] the< ↑war: (.) >you know ( )
         ↑weeks so [it is< O][V↑ER:!]
05 N.N.:           [ mh-hm  ]
06 N.N.:                     [ ( )  ] ( )!=
07 Geo:  =↑yeah=
08 Sue:  =>AFTERwards it's going to [be< a MESS!]
```

The interactants are talking about the war in Iraq and Sue is proffering a first component: *I'm not even worried so much about the WAR I mean* (l. 01). Another speaker, Marie, starts up in latch position and provides an anticipatory completion: *it's what ( ) after* (l. 02). Latches constitute the earliest points for other speakers to provide final components in the clear (Lerner 1996: 244); however, Marie's TCU is overlapped by the onset of Sue's continuation (l. 04). Yet, Sue acknowledges Marie's contribution by partly repeating it later in her turn: *AFTERwards it's going to be a MESS!* (l. 08). In other words, the interactants are cooperatively producing a collaborative turn sequence, consisting of three elements: (1) preliminary TCU component, (2) anticipatory completion by a second speaker (here in overlap with the final component of the compound TCU by the current speaker), and (3) acceptance of the anticipatory completion by the current speaker (cf. Lerner 1996: 241; 2004b: 232). The final authority over the joint completion therefore still lies with the current speaker. In that respect, co-constructed utterances strongly resemble repair sequences – the "speaker who begins the turn maintains […] control over what the completion will look like even in the face of a second participant making a bid for speakership within their turn space" (Lerner 2004b: 232).

This becomes particularly obvious in examples where current speakers do not accept other participants' suggestions in collaborative completions. In fact, they sometimes reject them quite openly, as in (5.8):

Example (5.8): Pronunciation (ICE-JA, S1A-004)

```
01 Bla:  however, the ONE who starts with a ↑/ku:/
02       (0.6)
03 Bla:  [>with a ↑c:<]
04 Ron:  [>is a-  is a]n Englishman<!
05       (0.3)
06 Bla:  > no ↑no<
07       (0.5)
08 Bla:  that was- that's a COUNTRY↓MAN
```

The speakers in this excerpt are discussing the pronunciation of Jamaican Creole words. Blaine, the current speaker, provides the preliminary part of a compound TCU (l. 01) and then stops talking. There is a long period of silence (0.6s), a lapse, in which none of the interactants speaks and the TCU remains incomplete. Finally, Ronald proffers a potential final component: *is an Englishman!* (l. 04), which is, however, first rejected and then repaired by the current speaker: *no no that was- that's a COUNTRYMAN* (l. 06-08). Again, the current speaker's position as the turn occupant is never threatened in this scenario: Ronald does not attempt to grasp the floor but drops out as soon as he has completed Blaine's TCU, passing the turn back to Blaine for whom "the acceptance or rejection of the proffered completion [now] becomes a specially relevant responsive action" (Lerner 1996: 241). The combination of preliminary component, final component and acceptance/rejection, i.e. the collaborative turn sequence, constitutes by far the most frequent type of compound TCUs in the data analysed.

Interestingly, even though preliminary components can trigger completion by second speakers and they sometimes even actively encourage this (Lerner 1996: 242) – as in (5.6), where Wilson ends on falling intonation and allows for a short period of silence – Southeast Asian speakers seem to be more reluctant to produce anticipatory completions of compound TCUs. They avoid speaking up even in situations where long gaps or pauses would favour joint completions, as in (5.9):

Example (5.9): Strengths and weaknesses (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Che:  ↑and ((alveolar click))=I ↑think
         (1.1)
02 Che:  if you ↑WORK on your weaknesses:
         (0.7)
03 Che:  ((alveolar click)) (0.2) er:m:
         (1.3)
04 Che:  but ALWAYS remember your strengths?
         (0.4)
05 Che:  [you should-]
06 Lan:  [   ↑ y e   ]↓ah=
07 Che:  =↑you should be doing (.) °ok[ay lah!°]
```

In line 02, Chen provides the preliminary component of an *if-then*-clause; however, none of the other interactants, Sam and Lan, self-selects to continue his turn. Chen allows for a considerable gap before he produces a click and the filler *erm*, but, again, this triggers neither a joint production nor any other sign of verbal acknowledgement. After a silence of 1.3s, Chen adds an increment (l. 04), and, finally, after another gap, he provides the final component and completes the unit himself (l. 07). The interlocutors' reluctance to speak up is certainly unexpected in this context: Even though Chen is holding the turn by leaving the *if*-clause hanging and by ending on rising intonation (l. 04), he is not aggressively doing so. In line 06, when Lan speaks up simultaneously, he immediately abandons his turn (l. 05) and only resumes it when it is clear that she only utters a minimal response token and is not likely to continue talking.

A scenario which seems to be similar at first can be observed in (5.10), an excerpt taken from a lively Southeast Asian conversation with seven participants:

Example (5.10): Malay (ACE, VN_LE_con_pho restaurant)

```
01 Dia:  =>when I was ↑in-< in Malay↑sia?
02       (1.1)
03 Dia:  ((alveolar click))=I came ↑in, >I ↑thought it's ↑in-< (.) it in
         Ma↑lay:, because (if) (.) >it ↑in:< (0.2) er MALAY LAN↑GUAGE
04 N.N.: ( ) [    ( )?   ]
05 Dia:      [(it's) simi]lar ↑to[:  (0.2)  In-]=Bahasa Indonesia
06 N.N.:                        [(Indonesian)!]
07        (0.3)
08 N.N.:  ( )
09 Dia:   but >when I< CAME ↑THERE (0.2) it was ↑IN: (0.4) TAMIL!
10        (0.2)
11        ((several speakers are laughing for 2.3s))
```

The current speaker, Dian, provides several preliminary TCUs in this excerpt (marked in bold); however, none of them leads to completion by another speaker (except, maybe, the unidentified speaker's short contribution in lines 04 and 06, which is largely unintelligible). Nevertheless, this example differs from (5.9) above: In line 01, Dian produces an announcement in the form of a preliminary TCU: *when I was in- in Malaysia*. To the other speakers, this indicates that further TCUs are going to follow – Dian has created an entry into a larger conversational sequence, a story. Rather than encouraging the other participants to complete the utterance, Dian actually prevents them from starting up at the TRP: On the one hand, the other interactants lack the knowledge to continue the narrative; on the other hand, both syntax and rising intonation indicate that a multi-unit turn is going to follow. The 1.1s period of silence in which none of the other six conversationalists speaks up indicates that Dian has succeeded in securing the floor and that he can allow for the next part of the story to appear in the clear. In line 03, a second compound TCU is initiated, a

zero copula *if*-clause: *because if it [were] in er MALAY LANGUAGE*. The TCU ends with a rise in intonation and volume and is completed by Dian in line 05 (in overlap with the unidentified speaker in lines 04 and 05). Finally, Dian provides a third compound construction, this time with a short gap at the juncture (l. 09).

As shown in chapter 4.5.2, story-telling proved to be a strong factor when it comes to determining how vulnerable compound TCUs are to intra-turn speaker change – be it in the form of collaborative completion or as a springboard into a turn-claiming sequence. Narratives typically involve some form of expert knowledge which might not be accessible to all of the other interactants. That is, current speakers can afford leaving compound TCUs unprotected in story-telling, because none of the other speakers will be able to complete them anyway. However, this does not hold for all cases of story-telling, as can be seen in instances of so-called 'co-tellings' or 'spouse talk' (Sacks 1992 [1971] vol. 2: 437-443; Lerner 1996: 244). Co-tellings typically involve two or more speakers telling a story together, i.e. they share at least part of the relevant background knowledge or of the experiences to be told. These instances therefore do not only constitute a prime locus for compound TCUs but also for other joint productions. See, for instance, (5.11) below, an excerpt taken from a Caribbean interaction. The speakers are driving together in a car. Trevor is the driver and has just been reprimanded by Katherine for driving too fast. Katherine goes on to complain about earlier situations where Trevor ignored the speed limit:

Example (5.11): Speed up (ICE-T&T, S1A-057)

```
01 Kat:  NO MATTER ↑HOW: MUCH ↑ER:M (0.1) Julian and I ↑BEG Trevor=
02 Tre:  =((steups)) >NO NO ↑NO:-< ↑I SLOWED DOWN for a V:ERY LONG
         TI:ME!
03       (0.1)
04 Kat:  and ↑then (he) speeded back up!
05       (0.3)
06 Tre:  ↑NO, WE HAVE TO […]
```

Trevor disagrees with Katherine's depiction of their earlier drive together by claiming that he *slowed down for a very long time* (l. 02). After a minimal gap, Katherine adds an increment to his turn, thus expanding it and continuing the story: *and then he speeded back up!* (l. 04). Both speakers have collaborated in reporting the events to their interlocutor, Jeanne: They alternate in telling the story and each deliver their own point of view in the process, (jokingly) disagreeing with previous statements they consider wanting (Lerner 1992: 261). Overall, however, co-tellings are extremely rare in the interactions – in the ASEAN corpus they do not occur at all. The reason for that is likely to be found in the relationship between the speakers: Co-tellings or spouse talk typically occur when couples

participate in a conversation or, at least, when two interactants tell a story they have both experienced. Hence, the context in which these collaborations occur is restricted to very specific situations and topics, and their absence is not indicative of a lack of co-operation between conversationalists – in fact, it is not surprising that few instances could be detected in the data.

Findings like this confirm that the "entry into another speaker's turn-space is not always competitive or intrusive" (Hayashi 2013: 182f) but can serve to jointly advance the interaction. This becomes most apparent in anticipatory completions – be they collaborative completions or compound TCUs –, which are used by speakers from both data groups and which realise a variety of actions, such as showing affiliation or agreement with the current speaker or making sure that the progressivity of the turn is maintained or restored (cf. Lerner 1996: 244; Hayashi 2013: 185). Special cases are progressional or recognitional overlaps, which arise when a second speaker produces a co-construction while the current speaker continues talking (cf. chapter 4.2 for a discussion). Joint productions are never treated as interruptive in the data analysed. They are indicative of interlocutors closely monitoring the current speaker's turn – next speakers always start up at legitimate TRPs, i.e. when a TCU has been completed or when the progressivity of the ongoing turn is impaired. That is, joint productions in Southeast Asian and Caribbean conversations have to be considered a highly systematic set of practices. These findings thus supplement the relatively small amount of research on turn sharing in languages or varieties other than British and American English (e.g. Tanaka 1999 on Japanese; Clancy & McCarthy 2015 on Irish English; for an overview cf. Hayashi 2013). Most notably, however, jointly produced turns always constitute a collaborative achievement by two or more speakers who finetune their turns and thus display their readiness to engage in a common interactional project. Co-tellings constitute a prime example of this – even though, of course, a 'common interactional project' does not necessarily have to be a concrete sequence – e.g. a story – but can also be the success of the conversation itself (Hayashi 2013: 189). In that respect, joint productions illustrate that regarding turns as valuable entities does not have to result in fights for the floor. Even in lively interactions with many self-selections and frequent speaker change, anticipatory completions never threaten the turn occupant's position; rather the original speaker always remains the final authority to accept or reject candidate completions offered by other interactants. In that respect, the conversations investigated do not differ from what has been observed for British or American interactions (cf. Lerner 2004b: 228). However, the data also reveal that Southeast Asian speakers seem to avoid joint completions in compound

TCUs, i.e. in situations where speaking up is not licensed by trouble or dysfluency in the current speaker's talk. In the interactions analysed, ASEAN participants obviously do not regard the junction between preliminary and final component of the compound TCU as a legitimate place to self-select. This might be due to a stronger turn-holding function of syntactic projections in this data group, i.e. the TRP might be closed or blocked more efficiently and interlocutors exhibit their cooperativeness by not starting to speak at these places (cf. also chapter 4.5.2). More data is needed to determine whether this practice is due to variety- or culture-specific preferences. In the Caribbean speaker group, by contrast, co-constructed compound TCUs are frequent and often involve overlaps with a continuing current speaker or another self-selecting conversationalist. This might explain why these interactions can be perceived as "contrapuntual" in the sense of Reisman (1974). Yet, as demonstrated in this chapter, a closer look at the data reveals that joint productions do not threaten the current speaker's position but on the contrary offer support and encouragement.

6.1.2. Finetuning

Apart from directly producing co-constructed utterances, the interactants' cooperativeness also shows indirectly – in their monitoring of each other's behaviour and in their closely coordinated turn-taking. Throughout this study, this has become visible in various aspects, some of which arew briefly reconsidered in this chapter:

1. Speakers orient themselves to TRPs.

Rather than starting up anywhere in the current speaker's turn, next speakers were shown to orient themselves to legitimate TRPs in both data groups. Turn occupants will therefore employ turn-holding strategies if they want to produce multi-unit turns and want to prevent their co-conversationalists from starting up. In fact, the analysis illustrated that these strategies predominantly cluster around TRPs – as is, for instance, the case with volume changes or planners – or that they serve to hide or block the TRPs altogether, e.g. when current speakers use latches, tempo changes, pivots, or cut-offs. Some of these resources seem to be distributed unequally and might indicate cultural or variety-specific preferences, e.g. topicalised TCUs, which are used as turn-holding devices by Southeast Asian speakers but hardly occur in the Caribbean data group. For potential next speakers, orientation to the TRP means projecting upcoming places of legitimate speaker change rather than interrupting the current speaker. Interruptions are extremely rare in both data groups (see

also chapter 6.2.1 for a discussion) and turns are allocated according to the principles presented by Sacks et al. (1974). This particularly shows in situations where several interactants apply the turn-taking rules and start up at the same time, as in (5.12) below, an example taken from ACE:

Example (5.12): Pagoda (ACE, VN_LE_con_pho restaurant)

```
01 Git:  […] ↑you:: er (0.3) can >↑see it's look like a< ↑PA:RK, a very
         big park!
02 N.N.: mh-↑hm=
03 Jal:  =↑mh-↓hm [ (with)  a  big] [↑park ]
04 Tem:           [   ↑ a h ↓ :   ]
05 Thu:           [(there's=a) big] [pago↑d]a::
```

This excerpt depicts three speakers (Jalak, Tembam, and Thuy) self-selecting simultaneously after Jalak's continuer in line 03. The turn beginnings are precisely placed at the TRP, which demonstrates that all of the interactants share the same idea of what constitutes a legitimate place to start up in an interaction. The overlap then occurs because the conversationalists orient themselves to the speaker-change rules and not because they ignore them. Overall, it was shown that transitions in both Caribbean and Southeast Asian English interactions are orderly phenomena. They are organised with respect to TRPs (and TCUs) which, in most respects, seem to be equivalent to those established for conversations involving Inner Circle English speakers. This finding corroborates studies such as Sidnell's (2001) on English in Guyana and provides further evidence for the robustness of the turn-taking system as described by Sacks et al. (1974). Compound TCUs might be an exception, as they do not seem to be treated as transition-relevant in the ASEAN corpus, whereas Caribbean (as well as British and American) speakers often produce joint productions in these contexts.

2. Speakers orient themselves to a one-party-at-a-time-rule.

Furthermore, it was shown that both data groups predominantly draw on the principle of 'one speaker at a time'. If overlaps occur, they are typically quickly resolved with one or both speakers dropping out, as in (5.13) below:

Example (5.13): So what's (ICE-JA, S1A-006)

```
01 Bob:  if=something needs to be FIXED >they can't help me<
02       (0.3)
03 Luk:  mhm
04       (0.8)
05 Bob:  [so=what's-]
06 Luk:  [ it ' s - ] it was a ( )?
```

In this example, the current speaker, Bob, decides to continue talking after a long lapse (l. 05), but he is overlapped by another interactant, Luke, who self-selects at the same time (l. 06). Note that both speakers immediately react with cut-offs – Bob abandons his turn altogether and Luke reacts by restarting his question as soon as the overlap is resolved. Overall, my analysis illustrated that both speaker groups employ various overlap resolution devices to re-establish a status of 'one party at a time'. These devices are locally controlled and correspond to those used by British and American interactants (cf. Schegloff 2000; Jefferson 2004): Speakers decrease tempo and use sound stretches to make parts of their turn appear in the clear, they use restarts and recycles, or they increase volume or pitch to make their interlocutors drop out. If overlaps are not resolved within the first two beats – as in the case of false starts –, employing these strategies typically leads to one or more speakers relinquishing their turn. However, when comparing the two corpora, Caribbean interactants seem to exhibit a greater tolerance for longer overlaps, particularly when they are combined with recycles or 'machine-gun' utterances. These situations appear to be interruptive or competitive at first glance; yet, it could be demonstrated that they typically display enthusiasm and involvement (cf. chapter 4.5.1). That is, they indicate collaboration rather than competition – and, in that respect, closely resemble Tannen's (1984) description of high involvement speaking styles. Furthermore, even though overlaps tend to be longer in the Caribbean speaker group, conversationalists still orient themselves towards overlap resolution. Consequently, the depiction of Caribbean interactions as lacking a "regular requirement for two or more voices not to be going at the same time" (Reisman 1974: 113) has to be refuted. In fact, I did not find evidence that the one-party-at-a-time-rule is restricted to Inner Circle varieties of English (Kachru & Smith 2008: 121) or Western cultures (Mey 2007: 139). The fact that both Southeast Asian and Caribbean speakers draw on this rule adds further weight to the assumption that the organisation of turn-taking might be a generic mechanism underlying all languages and cultures (cf. Sidnell 2001).

3. Speakers orient themselves to minimal gaps by finetuning their turns at talk.

This generic mechanism is not only visible in the minimalisation of overlaps but also in the speakers' attempts to finetune their utterances and thus avoid silences in the interaction. The quantitative analysis (cf. chapter 5) revealed that the duration of gaps and pauses in both data groups corresponds to that in other languages, and, on average, amounts to 0.2 or 0.3s. Descriptions of South East Asian conversations as marked by a subdued speaking style in which "[t]alk and verbal skills are not highly valued […] [and] people are comfortable

with silences" (FitzGerald 2003: 169) cannot be confirmed. Interactants in both Caribbean and ASEAN conversations draw on a 'first speaker gets the turn'-rule, i.e. overwhelmingly start up in latch or overlap position to make sure they are the first starter at the TRP. This finding was first discussed from a qualitative perspective and could then be substantiated by analysing the most frequent turn-claiming strategies in the corpora.

4. Speakers closely monitor each other's talk.

Speakers can only finetune their utterances because they constantly monitor each other's talk. This allows them to detect upcoming TRPs and to start their own turn as soon as possible. Interjacent onsets and particularly recognitional overlaps, which were identified in both corpora (cf. chapter 4.2), constitute prime examples of how precisely speakers parse each other's turns to project upcoming TRPs or to identify potential trouble sources. Co-attentiveness also becomes visible when speakers are able to start up in latch position. This phenomenon has been already discussed with respect to its turn-claiming (or -holding) qualities (cf. chapter 4.2); however, it also provides evidence for intense collaboration between interactants. See, for instance, (5.14):

Example (5.14): My master's (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

```
01 An:   h [so you did-] it- with a: corresponding university or a:
         (0.3) malaysian university?=
02 Wan:  =((alveolar click)) my master's?=
03 An:   =yah
04 Wan:  ((alveolar click?)) ↑a:h
05       (0.8)
06 Wan:  malaysian university
```

This excerpt shows a closely coordinated adjacency pair sequence in a Southeast Asian interaction. An produces a question FPP in line 01 and – through the choice of the topic – selects Wan as the next speaker. However, instead of providing the corresponding response SPP, Wan initiates repair – she proffers a candidate understanding, *my master's?* (l. 02), and thus opens an insert expansion repair sequence. Note that Wan's turn starts in latch position, i.e. at the last sounds of An's utterance. Timing a turn as precisely as that is an interactional achievement, particularly when recalling that planning and launching an utterance typically requires about 0.6s. The smooth flow observable in the encounter above – base FPP (l. 01) > latched insert expansion FPP (l. 02) > latched insert expansion SPP (l. 03) > base SPP (l. 04-06) – can thus only be possible if the interactants closely monitor each other.

Contrary to Reisman's assumption that Caribbean English conversations lack exactly this type of close monitoring, because turn-claiming speakers simply produce "counternoise" rather than listening to the current speaker's talk (1974: 113f), speakers from ICE-JA and ICE-T&T clearly exhibit an orientation to their interlocutors. They show the same finetuning and co-attentiveness as their ASEAN counterparts, e.g. by latching their utterances to a previous turn or by remodelling their ongoing TCU to attend to talk in overlap, as in (5.15) below:

```
Example (5.15): I never knew (ICE-T&T, S1A-067)

01 Nat:  >I never knew< FELLAS play hockey!
02       (1.6)
03 Eri:  (r[eally?)]
04 Nat:    [>but ↑I] (no-) I never knew fellas< who played hockey in
         Trinidad!
```

Nathalie's statement in line 01 is met with a long period of silence (l. 02). When she continues talking, she is overlapped by another speaker, Eric, who self-selects almost simultaneously and displays his incredulousness: *really?* (l. 03). As soon as he has completed his question, Nathalie abandons her own turn (*but I*) to provide a response – she clarifies that her statement was only relating to Trinidad: *no- I never knew fellas who played hockey in Trinidad!* (l. 04). Nathalie's reaction illustrates that speakers can monitor their interlocutor's talk even if it is produced in overlap with their own turn, and that they are willing to abandon their own TCU-in-progress to attend to problems of understanding: In other words, even if interactants are talking in overlap, they are displaying highly cooperative behaviour. My analysis thus confirms Shields-Bodber's study of Jamaican interactions, which highlights that "some speakers are able to continue the articulation of their own point of view while at the same time responding to what the other speaker is saying simultaneously" (1992: 503). However, this phenomenon is not unique to Caribbean conversations – it can also be found in the ASEAN corpus as well as in American English interactions (cf. Schegloff 2000: 36).

6.1.3. Continuers and supportive elements

Finally, all the conversations analysed are far from being fierce fights for the floor. Interlocutors in both data groups use a variety of verbal (and probably also non-verbal) tokens to support the current speaker. Some of them have been discussed in chapter 4.1.3, where I showed that continuers and minimal response tokens, such as *uh-huh* or *yeah*, are

typically employed by potential next speakers to "show their intention to pass the opportunity to take a turn-at-talk that they might otherwise initiate at that point" (Schegloff 1982: 81, cf. also Peters & Wong 2015: 410).[95] At the same time, continuers signal understanding – as turn-yielding also means yielding a chance to other-initiate repair, current speakers are led to infer that their contribution is unproblematic or accepted by the other participants (Schegloff 1982: 88). In any case, interlocutors employ continuers and other supportive elements to encourage the current speaker's turn in progress – they constitute one way of performing 'being cooperative'. Conversations thus become "a collaborative effort where the listeners take part without interrupting the speakers" (Kjellmer 2009: 82); they can be seen as a joint achievement (Schegloff 1982: 89). The quantitative analysis revealed that, compared to their Caribbean counterparts, ASEAN interactants seem to be more willing to actively yield their turn. See, for instance, the excerpt below, which is part of a longer story in ACE:

Example (5.16): Free stuff (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

```
01 Sam:  […] I ↑KNOW I can get- (0.2) I >KNOW WHERE TO GET< free stuff
         lah (.) [↑books- (.) all this >kind] of thing ah<
02 Che:          [    ↑ m h : :  -  ↓ h m   ]
03       (0.1)
04 Che:  [↑yeah] [↓yeah]=
05 Sam:  [↑so- ]
06 Lan:  [↑mh: ] [↓mh: ]=
07 Sam:  =the main reason=↑I: (w-=I) just want=to transfer files
         o[ver >to] the kindle [↑a:nd-]
08 Che:   [ yeah? ]
09 Lan:                       [(↑oh) ] (o[kay)]
```

In (5.16), Sam, the current speaker and story-teller, is actively supported by his interlocutors who produce a number of response particles and continuers (marked in bold). Note that all of them are produced at legitimate TRPs, even though they may be overlapping Sam's continuation: In line 02, Chen utters a continuer after Sam's TCU *I know where to get free stuff lah*, which ends in a micropause, before Sam moves on to expand his turn (l. 01). In lines 04 and 06 both Chen and Lan show their acknowledgment after Sam's additional clarification *books- all this kind of thing ah*, which also ends in a pause and a variety-specific final particle. In line 08, Chen encourages Sam to continue after the TCU *I just*

[95] However, as I illustrated in chapter 4.4.3, response particles are sometimes used to claim or launch a turn, particularly – but not exclusively – in the Caribbean interactions. This function is not mentioned in other reports (e.g. Kjellmer 2009 who deliberately excludes these cases) but is in line with Andersen's claim that "pragmatic markers […] hav[e] multidimensional meanings/functions, and […] assigning a particular function to a marker on a particular occasion is a matter for pragmatic inference" (2001: 65).

want to transfer files, and in line 09, Lan displays understanding after Sam re-completes his TCU by adding the increment *over to the kindle* (l. 07). In other words, each of these response particles is uttered at a place where the interlocutors could have taken the chance to start a turn of their own – but they deliberately refrain from doing so and decide to support the current speaker instead. Again, this displays the orderliness of the interactions and the close finetuning of the speakers' turns. Apart from that, the fact that ASEAN speakers yield their turns to a much greater extent than Caribbean interactants also shows that there might be differing expectations when it comes to the frequency and usage of continuers or response tokens. This has also been observed by other studies, e.g. by Kita & Ide (2007), who illustrate that Japanese continuers – so-called *aizuchis* – as well as head nods are used to a much greater extent than their English counterparts and can also be positioned at non-TRPs. The authors conclude that this might be due to different cultural understandings of how cooperation and co-attentiveness are to be displayed in conversation. My analysis shows that continuers do not just accompany the current speaker's talk – as in Japanese – but that they seem to be deliberately positioned at TRPs to demonstrate active turn-yielding in both ASEAN and Caribbean interactions. However, there is no doubt that Southeast Asian speakers produce more turn-yielding continuers than conversationalists from Jamaica, Trinidad, or Tobago. On average, current speakers in ACE encounter approximately 6.3 turn-yieldings, whereas the number is considerably lower in the Caribbean data group (≈1.8/min). This might in fact be due to a more collectivist orientation in the Southeast Asian interactions – speakers tend to provide encouragement earlier (which would account for the lower number of lapses in this data group) and are more willing to withdraw from speakership if the floor is already occupied.

Laughter and giggling can fulfil similar functions, although – other than response particles – they are not necessarily restricted to TRPs. In fact, Schegloff describes laughter as a "systematically produced acoustic component" of conversational interaction, influencing not only the understanding of an utterance but also turn construction – in other words, it is a "fully fledged candidate[…] for inclusion in a grammar" of interaction (1996: 102f). In the conversations analysed, laughter typically functions as a marker of affiliation. See, for instance, (5.17), a longer excerpt taken from a Caribbean interaction:

Example (5.17): Me (ICE-T&T, S1A-050)

```
01 Bee:  […] […  ↑Lou]ise (>she'll see [about me<)]
02 Sar:                                 [ (I=like) ] [how Bee bawl]
03 Jul:                                 [  (     ) ] [   (     )  ] ( )
04 Sar:  ↑M:E[   :   :    ?    ]
05 Eil:      [((chuckling)) ↑M:][   E   :   ?     ((/chuckling))   ]
```

```
06 N.N.:                        [((chuckling)) ↑M:E? ((/chuckling))]
07       ((all speakers are laughing))
```

This extract is part of a relatively long sequence in which five female speakers participate in joyful banter. The conversation has centred around a mutual acquaintance, Louise, who engages in social work. When Bee resolutely announces that Louise will be her caretaker when she is older (l. 01), her co-conversationalists react with amusement: Sarah starts to imitate Bee (*I like how Bee bawl 'me'?* (l. 02 and 04), which is laughingly repeated by two other interactants (l. 05 and 06) and finally results in choral laughter by all participants. Recipient laughter, i.e. laughter that is not produced by the current speaker but by interlocutors, typically refers back to the immediately preceding utterance (Sacks 1974: 348). It therefore fulfils a function very similar to that of response particles – it displays an understanding of some prior element as 'laughable' (Glenn 1989: 128). Note that Eileen's chuckling repetition of Sarah's imitation (l. 05) starts precisely at the TRP, i.e. as soon as Sarah has completed her TCU.[96] She does not claim the floor but shows her affiliation with the current speaker. This also holds for the third speaker's repeat, which starts as soon as Sarah abandons her turn (l. 06). Both Eileen's and N.N.'s utterances serve as laugh invitations (Glenn 1989: 132), which finally result in an extended period of laughter by all interactants, including Bee herself (l. 07). For multi-party interactions, like (5.17) above, laughter provides an opportunity to show affiliation with the current speaker on a larger scale. In that respect, it can be compared to applause, because it "provides a means by which multiple hearers can respond at the same time […] without orienting to this overlapping as problematic" (Glenn 1989: 146). In doing so, sequences of joint laughter clearly display that conversations constitute collaborative enterprises. This is particularly relevant in situations which involve delicate topics, as in (5.18) below:

```
Example (5.18)[4.71]: Kids (ACE, SG_ED_con_4)

01 An:   how many kids do you ↑wa:nt?
02       (0.3)
03 An:   >do you ↑want<=
04 Wan:  =oh my god no hh=
05       =((all are laughing))=
```

This excerpt is part of a longer sequence which has already been discussed before (cf. chapter 4.2). An wants to know about Wan's plans for the future, particularly how many children she wants to have. When Wan does not respond immediately, An initiates repair and reformulates her question: *do you want [children at all?]* (l. 03). Wan now provides an

[96] The fact that Sarah and Eileen overlap is due to the sound stretch in Sarah's utterance (l. 04), which prolongs the TCU and thus leads to terminal overlap.

answer, she pretends to be shocked and produces audible outbreath (l. 04). This is interpreted as a laugh invitation by her interlocutors, who join Wan and produce a shared laughter sequence (cf. Jefferson 1979: 80). Other than in (5.17) above, laughter does not primarily function as an affiliation marker in this extract. Rather, it resolves the potentially sensitive situation – Wan invites her co-conversationalists to join her laughter and thus indicates that she does not treat An's utterance as problematic.

As my analysis shows, continuers, laughter, and other supportive elements are used by speakers in both data groups to display affiliation and understanding or – in the case of laughter – as mitigating devices in situations with delicate topics. They constitute one way of openly performing 'being cooperative' in the interactions, because they provide an opportunity for interlocutors to actively yield the floor to the current speaker. Nevertheless, it was demonstrated that speaker groups differ in how often they provide continuers. This might be due to different cultural expectations: While Southeast Asian interactants seem to prefer a marked withdrawal from speakership in order to show their cooperation, Caribbean conversationalists seem to focus on other methods (such as precise finetuning and overlap monitoring) to display co-attentiveness.

6.2. Features of competition

However, even though the interactions analysed predominantly follow the cooperative turn-taking patterns discussed above, they also contain episodes which can be described as competitive. In this chapter, I focus on three of those "deviations from the orderly organization of turn taking" (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 103) and discuss if, and how, they can shed light on why anthropological reports label some speaker groups as 'interruptive' while others are referred to as 'subdued'. I first analyse those scenarios in the corpora which can be classified as interruptions in the narrow sense (chapter 6.2.1). After that, I investigate how interactants themselves react to behaviour they consider as competitive (chapter 6.2.2). In the last section, I discuss when conversations constitute fights for the floor rather than cooperative enterprises and ponder the ostensible dichotomy between these two concepts (chapter 6.2.3).

6.2.1. Interruptions

As described in chapter 3.2.2.2, the notion of interruption is defined from a purely conversation analytic perspective in this study. A clear definition of interruption is essential in the context – it is no coincidence that Schegloff refers to the concept as "beset by serious problems" (2000: 3). First and foremost, the term is negatively connoted, and the vernacular use might differ considerably from how interruptions are understood in conversation analytic research (Tannen 1994: 58). Second, authors use different (and sometimes contrasting) definitions when analysing interruption in conversation (see chapter 3.2.2.2 for a discussion), sometimes without even specifying which definition they apply. This is why the main parameters of how the notion is understood in this study are briefly recapitulated and expanded here:

- Speakers who interrupt start up at non-TRPs, i.e. before a logically complete TCU gestalt has been produced.
- Interruptions are local phenomena, i.e. they have to be identified turn-by-turn.
- The notion of interruption is independent from a speaker's feelings or intentions – neither the analyst nor the interlocutors have access to them. Rather, whether a turn constitutes an interruption has to be established with respect to its procedural consequentiality for the conversational exchange.
- Interruptions do not necessarily have to be addressed by interlocutors. In fact, this can even have counter-productive effects for the conversational project they want to engage in.
- Interruptions typically involve "competing trajectories of action" (Sidnell 2010: 54) and thus often occur in situations of disagreement. In that respect, they can be regarded as the polar opposites to continuers and supportive elements (cf. chapter 6.1.3) – while the latter openly display co-attentiveness and collaboration, interruptions constitute "public display[s] of 'not attending to the talk in progress'" (Sidnell 2001: 1280).
- Interruptions are often accompanied by phonetic turn-claiming markers, but this is not essential for an incoming to be categorised as interruptive. My definition thus differs from that of French & Local (1983) and Couper-Kuhlen & Selting (2018: 105). These authors distinguish between interruptions of the talk trajectory and interruptions which are prosodically designed as competitive, e.g. "through an escalation of loudness/volume or pitch" (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 105). This is not always the case though, and phonetic turn-claiming (and particularly volume

and pitch upsteps) can also be found at legitimate TRPs (cf. Kurtić et al. 2013: 737 as well as my analysis in chapters 4.3 and 6.2.3).

So, how interruptive are the interactions analysed? As it turns out, interruptions are exceedingly rare in both data groups. In the Caribbean conversations, only two instances out of 1,599 turn-claimings turned out to constitute clear cases of interruption. See, for instance, (5.19) below. The interactants have just been talking about telecommunication companies:

Example (5.19): DSL experience (ICE-JA, S1A-010)

```
01 Mar:  >well I guess you're ↑still< suspicious of- (0.1) of the:- the
         [  t h e   d  s  l  experi↑ence ]
02 Sue:  [you got Betsy's email, by the w]ay?
03       (0.5)
04 N.N.: [okay]
05 Geo:  [ I- ] I forwarded it […]
```

Marie's turn in line 01 is addressed to her interlocutor, George, who has just emphasised his preference for landline telephone connections. Before she is able to complete her TCU, however, she is overlapped by another speaker, Sue (l. 02). Sue's turn fulfils all the relevant criteria to be classified as an interruption: She starts up at a non-TRP, even though Marie clearly has not produced a coherent unit: *you're still suspicious of- of the- the* (l. 01). Note that Marie's turn is dysfluent – she is searching for the right expression – which constitutes a regular entry point for interlocutors to provide repair. However, this is not what Sue is doing – on the contrary, her turn exhibits a completely different trajectory of action, namely an abrupt topic change, which she marks with *by the way?* Sue does not raise her volume or pitch to interrupt, i.e. her utterance does not display French & Local's competitive markers. Nevertheless, Sue disrupts the action underway and causes a perturbation in the flow of talk: By opening up an adjacency pair first part, she requires George to provide a relevant response SPP (l. 05), which results in a new direction of the talk. In (5.19), the interruption is not combined with disagreement (although it might, of course, be perceived as disaffiliative by the interrupted participant). Example (5.20), by contrast, shows an interruption used to 'do disagreement':

Example (5.20): Factual person (ICE-JA, S1A-004)

```
01 Ron:  ↑I'm >going to ad-< [I ↑won]'t [pretend that ↑I:]=
02 N.N.:                     [  ↑I: ]
03 N.N.:                                [    (       )   ]=
04 Bla:  =it's not ↑C[ O O : ! ]
05 Ron:              [I'm a fac]tual person
```

In this extract, Blaine interrupts the current speaker Ronald in line 04 to disagree with a statement made previously in the conversation. As before, Ronald is nowhere near a TRP – he has just started to explain that *I won't pretend that I* (l. 01), when Blaine self-selects. Note that Blaine's disagreement is not attached to the turn it is referring – it actually refers to an earlier sequence in the talk which centred around the pronunciation of Jamaican Patois expressions. The interruption therefore clearly constitutes a change in the trajectory of the talk underway. Nevertheless, although Blaine upgrades his turn via an upstep in pitch and volume, the interruption remains brief: The current speaker does not address the intrusion into his turn but simply continues talking through the overlap (l. 01 and 05). Other than in (5.19) above, the interrupting speaker's attempt to change the topic is therefore not successful in this situation. These rare cases show that, in the Caribbean corpus, interruptions hardly ever occur. This is not to say that the conversations do not involve competitive elements, as I show in chapter 6.2.3; however, it clearly illustrates that the interactions in ICE-JA and ICE-T&T follow organised conversational patterns: Speakers start up at TRPs rather than anywhere within a TCU – exceptions (such as continuers or questions of clarification) to that have been discussed in chapter 3.2.2.2 and were also shown to be rule-governed. This also holds for cases which Tannen has labelled "procedural metacomments" (1994: 59), i.e. turns which are uttered at non-TRPs but which are immediately interactionally relevant and typically restricted to brief utterances that do not change the talk's trajectory (such as warnings, side requests to third parties, e.g. waiters in the restaurant, etc.).

A similar picture emerges for the Southeast Asian speaker group, where four interruptions were identified. As in the Caribbean conversations, they are typically short, as in (5.21) below, an excerpt from a discussion about the advantages of working as a teacher:

```
Example (5.21): Teaching (ACE, SG_ED_con_6)

01 Lan:  so I like=ah ↑my[↓: ]
02 Che:                  [↑ye]ah (0.1) Sam=should try teaching!
03 N.N.: hhh hh
```

Before Lan is able to complete her TCU in line 01, Chen overlaps her with a minimal response particle, *yeah* (l. 02). In chapter 4.4.3, I demonstrated that these particles can be used as warning signals to claim a turn, and this is also what happens in the example above: Chen interrupts Lan to change the trajectory and focus of the talk from Lan's experiences as a teacher to the third participant: *Sam should try teaching!* Lan does not attempt to hold her turn but drops out as soon as Chen starts up – the situation is therefore not necessarily marked as competitive. However, it clearly fulfils the criteria established for interruptions:

Chen does not allow Lan "to produce one possibly complete turn constructional unit […] [i.e. he is] acting in violation of the normative conventions for turn-taking" (Sidnell 2001: 1279). As in (5.19), Chen is not disagreeing with Lan, but he is clearly displaying disaffiliation and inattentiveness.

These findings demonstrate that Caribbean and Southeast Asian English everyday conversations are intricate and exceedingly orderly phenomena. Speakers from both data groups draw on a turn-taking model which corresponds to that developed for British and American interactions. Deviations from this pattern are extremely rare and typically restricted to disaffiliative or disagreeing contexts; a finding which is in line with other studies (cf. Sidnell 2001: 1279f) and refutes Bilmes's assumption that "normal conversation is shot through with overlaps, and […] perhaps most utterances could be made out to be interruptive" (1997: 527). The assumption that Caribbean communities lack a "norm against interruption" and are marked by "unruly, disruptive, stubborn, and disorderly" patterns of conversation (Reisman 1974: 113f, 123) therefore cannot be supported. In fact, the small number of disorderly or violative turns provide evidence for an underlying strong conversational norm (Do not start up at a non-TRP!) which interactants rely on (cf. also Heritage 1987: 240; Sidnell 2001: 1279, annot. 21). Hence, interruptions constitute the exception rather than the rule – and they do so in both Caribbean and Southeast Asian conversations. Consequently, this study can only partially corroborate Shields-Brodber's claim that "turn-taking in Jamaica accommodates rather than outlaws interruption and simultaneous speech" (1992: 492).[97]

6.2.2. Addressing competition

However, the lack of interruptions revealed through closer analysis contrasts not only with the ethnographic reports described above but also with participants' own metalinguistic perceptions. In fact, Caribbean interactants regularly address competition and inattentiveness, as (5.22) and (5.23) illustrate:

[97] Unfortunately, Shields-Brodber's definition of interruption is a bit unclear. On the one hand, she describes interruptions as "violations of turn-taking", i.e. as talk at a non-TRP. On the other hand, she also uses a quantitative definition of interruption, claiming that overlap constitutes "less than 5% of the speech stream" (1992: 490), while interruptions involve "a deeper intrusion" into the turn (1992: 490, quoting West & Zimmerman 1977). In fact, some of the examples she categorises as interruptions would not be classified as such according to the parameters used for this study – they constitute longer overlaps starting at legitimate TRPs (e.g. example 3, Shields-Brodber 1992: 490).

Example (5.22): You don't listen (ICE-JA, S1A-003)

01 Wil: […] you can tra↑vel
02 (0.5)
03 Wil: the BREADTH of that country,=
04 Her: =you ↑are missing [↑point]
05 Wil: [no (.) **you]=don't listen [to me** ( )]

Example (5.23): You guys (ICE-JA, S1A-004)

01 Ron: […] strai[ghta↑way=so you got three different] straightaway!=
02 Bla: [kudae it's a harsher ↑sou:nd]
03 N.N.: =>yes it [↑yeah<]
04 Bla: [↑no:] [>(but you're not-)< just no]=**because**
05 N.N.: [( )]
06 Bla: **you guys are not ↑LISTENING!**

Furthermore, conversationalists also seem to perceive their own speaker group as interruptive or disorderly. (5.24) below is taken from a Trinidadian interaction with five female participants, one of them – Sarah – being the researcher who did the recording:

Example (5.24): At the same time (ICE-T&T, S1A-050)

01 Eil: [↑HOW:] IT ↑IS ALL=YOU WANT TO RE[↑CORD] PEOPLE SPEAKIN'
02 N.N.: [h h]
03 Eil: >ALL OVER THE ↑WORLD AND THEN WANT-< **Y[OU ↑COME TO**]
04 N.N.: [hhahaha]
05 Eil: **TRINI↑DAD WHERE WE ↑ALL >SPEAK AT THE SAME TIME**
[AND WE< (.) ↑HEAR EACH OTHER AT THE ↑SAME-]
06 Bee: [it's >↑TRUE you know- and I does GET ↑VE]X about ↑that (you know [what I mean)<]
07 Eil: [AND=WE ↑HE]AR EACH OTHER >AT THE SAME TIME AND YOU WANT TO TELL ME ONE AT A TIME!
08 N.N.: haha
09 Bee: [↑I (get) mad with=(↑them) when I come ↑here!]
10 Sar: [because that makes it easier for me to tra]nscribe it!
11 (0.4)
12 N.N.: [( )]
13 Bee: [↑I (get)] [mad with them!]
14 Jul: [t r a n s c ri]be it!=
15 Bee: =↑when they ↑come, >when they talk!< (0.3) a- >all in the ↑SAME ↑TIME I get ↑mad about it!< ( ) [but ↑( )]
16 Sar: [but ↑aunty] Be[e ↑YOU: ↑TALK]=
17 Flo: [YOU ↑SPEAK?]=
18 Sar: =[((chuckling)) ( ) ((/chuckling)) ((chuckles))]
19 Bee: =[> I KNOW I DO ↑IT < , YES , I ↑KNOW],
I'M AWARE OF ↑IT!

In lines 03 and 05, one of the interactants, Eileen, directly addresses Sarah, claiming that Trinidadian conversations are problematic to record, because *we all speak at the same time*. She even questions the applicability of the one-at-a-time-rule for the Trinidadian context: *and you want to tell me one at a time!* (l. 07). Eileen is overlapped by another speaker, Bee, who confirms her statement (*its true you know* (l. 06)) and complains that this behaviour makes her angry: *I does get vex about that*. Both women therefore describe their

community's conversational conduct in line with the claims discussed in earlier chapters (e.g. 6.1.2 and 6.2.1): Caribbean/Trinidadian interactions are depicted as chaotic and contrapuntual, i.e. as not following orderly principles; and this is portrayed as annoying (cf. l. 06, 09, 13, 15) but inevitable (cf. l. 16-19). If speakers themselves regard their conversations as interruptive, it is no wonder that this is also reflected in outsiders' reports. However, conversational enthusiasm must not be equated with chaos or a lack of orderliness. This clearly shows when taking a closer look at (5.24): None of the overlaps constitutes an interruption, i.e. starts at a non-TRP. In line 06, Bee begins to talk after Eileen's extended TCU *(you come to Trinidad where we all speak at the same time* (l. 05)); in line 07, Eileen re-claims the floor by self-selecting after Bee's *I does get vex about that you know*. Later on, Sarah and Bee self-select at the same time (l. 09 and 10), which again leads to a passage of simultaneous talk. Apart from that, interactants overlap each other when a new speaker claims a turn, but the turn occupant moves on to produce another TCU (cf. l. 15-19). In each case, the overlaps occur because speakers start up at legitimate places to do so – they do orient themselves to rule-governed places and practices of speaker change rather than interrupting anywhere in the talk-in-progress. Furthermore, even though the overlap might be longer than just two beats (cf. chapter 4.2 for a discussion), interactants always try to re-establish the state of one-at-a-time and they use a number of overlap resolution devices to do so: In line 06, Bee abandons her turn relatively fast; in line 05, Eileen drops out later but then resumes her turn as soon as possible, recycling the overlapped passage to make sure it is being heard by her interlocutors – a strategy which can also be found in Bee's later turns (cf. l. 09, 13, 15, and 19). This obviously is far from "lacking a sense for interruption" but displays an orientation to an underlying default setting which corresponds to that of American and British English interactions – one-speaker-at-a-time. Moreover, note that the speakers also address their ability to monitor each other's turns even when talking simultaneously (*and we hear each other at the same time* (l. 07)) – and they are actually demonstrating this in the extract, e.g. when Bee responds to Sarah's and Florence's turns in overlap (l. 19).

Examples like this highlight the pitfalls when using members' own assessments or descriptive labels for an analysis without clearly defining the concepts in question. Overlap is not 'disorderliness' or 'interruption', and speakers' perceptions of an interaction as interruptive might be based on other factors (e.g. length of overlap, volume, etc.). Looking at (neo-)colonial writings about Caribbean conversations, Sidnell brings this to the point:

> Colonials characterized creole conversations as unruly, formless and took this as a reflection of the collective character of the speakers (i.e. their 'culture'). In this way, the colonials made the common mistake of assuming that the orderliness of (European) conversation was the result of conscious human intervention […] – that it was the norms of politeness that made conversation orderly. And of course contemporary speakers of CEC [Caribbean English Creole], and other languages, often commit the same error. Excited conversations are […] referred to as 'noise' and such behaviour is sometimes opposed to that which is considered 'orderly' (2001: 1285f).

The data analysed for this study corroborate this finding. Even though both Caribbean and Southeast Asian interactants produce interruptions, only speakers in the Caribbean data group describe their conversations as disorderly. ASEAN conversationalists do not address this aspect at all. While this might partly be due to differing conventions of how to deal with potential problems (e.g. is it socially accepted to address non-conformity to norms or are digressions/deviations ignored?), the confusion of animated but rule-governed interaction and chaotic interruptive behaviour certainly plays a central role in this context. As I showed in chapter 5, Caribbean speakers tend to self-select more often than their Southeast Asian counterparts and they are also less likely to yield the floor to another interactant – both aspects might be mistaken for disorderliness. And although both speaker groups use the same larger set of strategies to claim or hold a turn, they seem to exhibit different preferences when it comes to how these strategies are realised. In the next chapter, I focus on these preferences and discuss why they might be perceived as 'fighting for the floor' in some contexts.

6.2.3. Fighting for the floor?

When does turn-claiming or -holding stop being cooperative and becomes a 'fight for the floor'? This question is certainly not an easy one to answer, as became apparent throughout this study: Many features which seem to be interruptive and competitive at first glance turned out to be orderly – and often also highly cooperative – turn-taking strategies. This chapter is therefore designed as a stocktaking report. First, I look into turn-taking techniques which have often been described as competitive. After that, I give an overview of which strategies seem to be preferred by the individual speaker groups. Finally, the apparent dichotomy of 'collaboration and competition' is put into question.

When looking at the turn-claiming and turn-holding resources discussed above, two – very general – groups become apparent: Speakers can use direct cues to manipulate the interaction or they can employ more indirect strategies to prevent others from starting up or to establish themselves as the next speaker. The boundary between these two groups is, of

course, fuzzy, and they might best be considered as endpoints on a scale. In the following, both groups are briefly characterised:

1. Speakers use direct turn-claiming/turn-holding strategies.

Speakers who directly claim or hold a turn do so by using resources which – at least temporarily – disrupt the flow of talk, unambiguously address interlocutors, or force co-conversationalists to abandon their turn. This includes interrupting a current speaker at a non-TRP and changing the trajectory of the talk. As the analysis revealed that interruptions are extremely rare in the conversations analysed (cf. chapter 6.2.1), they do not seem to be a strategy which ASEAN and Caribbean speakers regularly use to claim turns in everyday interactions. Other resources, however, are considerably more frequent.

Upgrades in volume, for instance, can have the effect of drowning out other interactants, which makes them a very efficient turn-claiming or turn-holding technique (cf. chapter 4.3.2). Loudness has often been linked to competitiveness (e.g. by French & Local 1983), particularly in situations where speakers increase their volume more and more over a longer stretch of simultaneous talk until their co-conversationalists abandon the floor. Both upgrades in volume and extended passages of overlap (cf. chapter 4.2) can impede the understanding of the overlapped speaker's turn, which is why they are classified as direct turn-taking strategies in this study. Apart from that, interactants can also directly and unambiguously address their interlocutors and ask them to yield the floor. To that end, they can either use address terms, such as personal names (cf. chapter 4.4.2) or direct requests, such as *Listen!* or *Wait!* (cf. chapter 4.5.3) And finally, speakers sometimes temporarily halt the progress of their ongoing TCU and employ recycles or cut-offs and restarts to establish themselves as turn occupants (cf. chapters 4.5.1 and 4.5.2). This becomes particularly obvious in the case of 'machine-gun' utterances, which were identified as a turn-taking strategy in Caribbean interactions.

2. Speakers use indirect turn-claiming/turn-holding strategies.

However, many other turn-claiming or turn-holding resources showed to be more indirect, i.e. they neither change the makeup of the TCU in progress – as, e.g., in the case of restarts – nor constitute direct claims for the floor. Next speakers can, for instance, exploit the 'first starter gets the turn'-rule and latch their TCU to the last sounds of the current speaker's utterance or start up in terminal or recognitional overlap (cf. chapter 4.2). Furthermore, interactants use a number of signals or cues to make their co-conversationalists aware of

their intention to claim the floor or to continue talking. Typically, speakers systematically produce planners, such as *er* or *erm*, as 'warning cues' to indicate that their utterance is not completed yet (cf. chapter 4.4.1). In the Southeast Asian speaker group, this role can also be taken over by click sounds (cf. chapter 4.3.1). Apart from that, conversationalists also employ planners as pre-turn elements, i.e. to test whether their interlocutors are willing to yield the floor and transition to speakership is likely to be successful. Turn-initial particles and minimal response tokens are used to a similar effect (cf. chapter 4.4.3). Further indirect turn-taking strategies include changes in pace, e.g. speeding up to hide or close an upcoming TRP or decreasing tempo to resolve overlap (cf. chapter 4.3.3), as well as rising intonation, which was found to have a turn-holding function, particularly in the context of story-telling (cf. chapter 4.3.4). And finally, turn occupants can exploit or manipulate syntax to delay or block transition, for instance, by pausing at points of maximum grammatical control or at juncture points in compound TCUs (cf. chapter 4.5.2), and by using pivots or topicalised structures to expand TCUs (cf. chapter 4.5.4). Tag questions can also have a turn-holding effect, because they often trigger turn-yielding moves by interlocutors (cf. chapter 4.5.3).

Nevertheless, as mentioned before, the distinction between direct and indirect strategies is a fluid one. Any strategy can be more or less direct, and, of course, classifications are always context-dependent to some extent – particularly, if different resources are combined. For instance, next speakers can self-select in latch position but at the same time increase their volume or directly request turn occupancy. Classifying strategies into direct and indirect ones therefore – necessarily – has to be regarded as an abstraction. Still, some techniques to claim or hold a turn seem to constitute a greater (or maybe more obvious) intrusion into the turn-taking process than others which manipulate turn allocation more indirectly. Table 6.1 provides an overview of how the individual turn-taking resources can be classified.

Table 6.1: Classifying turn-claiming and turn-holding strategies (*predominantly in ACE*, predominantly in ICE-JA, ICE-T&T, no preference**)**

Turn-claiming and turn-holding strategies in ACE and ICE-JA, ICE-T&T	
Direct ◄——————————►	**Indirect**
Upgrade in volume (and pitch)	Early starts (latches and overlaps)
Long passages of overlap (three or more beats)	'Warning cues', e.g. *clicks*, planners, or particles
Direct addresses	Changes in pace: speeding up, *slowing down*
Direct requests	Turn-holding intonation
Recycles and machine-gun utterances	*Compound TCUs, points of maximum grammatical control, and topicalisation*
Cut-offs and restarts	Tag questions

When comparing the literature on turn-taking with this classification, it becomes obvious that it is predominantly the direct strategies which have been labelled 'interruptive' or 'competitive'. This shows not only in French & Local's (1983) description of "competitive incomings", which are characterised by an upstep in loudness and – frequently – in pitch, but also in the terminology used to describe multi-beat overlaps – which includes expressions such as "extended floor fights" or "extended overlap competition" (Schegloff 2000: 21; cf. also Shields-Brodber 1992: 490).[98] Similarly, direct addresses and requests have been interpreted as markers of dominance, as an "attempt to engineer a halt in the proceedings and/or forcibly effect a coup on the turn" (Shields-Brodber 1992: 491). Thus, the set of 'direct strategies' to claim or hold a turn at talk seems to be associated with competition or even interruptiveness by many authors. As Kurtić et al. put it: "The broad notion of 'turn-competition' appears to be robust, widely accepted by researchers and explicitly oriented to by conversational participants" (2013: 21).

The consequence seems to be that interactional styles which use more direct strategies to claim or hold turns at talk tend to be characterised as rather competitive. As table 6.1 illustrates, both Caribbean and Southeast Asian speakers employ indirect strategies – with

[98] Schegloff also addresses this terminological problem but treats it as one of frequency. He highlights that "[e]xtended competitive overlaps […] are […] by no means common. Interest in them is engendered more by their drama and by the symbolic weight which may be attached to them than by their relative recurrence" (2000: 29). However, this certainly does not hold for the Caribbean conversations analysed for my study. Longer passages of overlap are not unusual in this context, but they are not necessarily competitive (cf. chapter 4.2). The question of how to describe these sequences is therefore immediately relevant for the present study.

some of them being more dominant in the ASEAN context. Direct strategies, by contrast, are predominantly and sometimes even exclusively used by interactants in the Caribbean data group. That is, conversationalists from ICE-JA and ICE-T&T realise the general set of turn-taking resources slightly differently than their Southeast Asian counterparts. Overall, they choose more strategies which are classified as 'direct' – and this might be why their speaking style is perceived as more competitive by outsiders and speakers themselves. In fact, interactants in the Caribbean corpus analysed for this study exhibit exactly this kind of metalinguistic awareness: They comment on sequences with extended overlaps and also describe their own speaker group as always *speak[ing] at the same time* (5.24). Nevertheless, as the qualitative and quantitative analysis revealed, both Southeast Asian and Caribbean speakers behave highly cooperative in conversational interactions. Even in passages with long overlaps, interactants constantly monitor each other's turns and adapt their own utterances as the talk proceeds. Extended overlap, upsteps in volume, as well as recycles were shown to be an expression of animation and a means of performing co-attentiveness in the Caribbean interactions. Early starts in overlap or latch position display an orientation to an underlying 'first come, first served'-principle but are only possible if conversationalists closely watch each other and precisely finetune their utterances to seize their change to speak up. In the words of Moerman: "At various points in the course of an utterance, various others may be required, proposed, invited or allowed to speak next, or discouraged or enjoined from doing so. And 'next' can be 'right now'" (1988: 181). Precise finetuning also shows in situations where interactants manipulate syntax to hold their turn. 'Warning cues' as well as direct addresses, requests, or pre-announcements do, of course, have a turn-claiming function; however, they do not necessarily constitute competitive moves. Rather than claiming the floor with a full TCU, turn-claimants use these resources to first check whether the current speaker actually stops talking. On the one hand, this is a safe method to indicate one's willingness to speak while minimising the risk of uttering a fully-fledged turn in overlap – if the current speaker continues, the turn claimant can simply drop out again and no content is lost by talking simultaneously. On the other hand, this strategy also displays close collaboration: By using 'warning cues' and other turn prefaces, speakers can ask their interlocutors for a *quasi*-blessing to continue talking. At the same time, they are showing affiliation with or acknowledgement of a prior turn – e.g. when minimal response tokens are used as a springboard into a longer turn. For current speakers, rising intonation at the end of a TCU as well as the use of question tags can have a turn-

holding effect while simultaneously encouraging interlocutors to contribute to the interaction.

Which consequences are to be drawn from these observations? Essentially, turn-claiming and turn-holding is not competitive or cooperative – it is both at the same time. In their paper on turn competition in talk-in-overlap, Kurtić et al. ponder the observation that many of the overlaps they observe do not seem to be competitive but rather have affiliating functions. They finally state that "[t]o 'not compete' for a turn yet to do so by talking in overlap is paradoxical: if a participant does not want the floor, then there is no *prima facie* reason to speak at all" (2013: 21). Looking at the interactions analysed for this study, each of the resources used to claim or hold a turn displays aspects of both cooperativeness and competition. These aspects can be more or less marked in specific situations and contexts, but they are always co-existing. In that sense, the relation between cooperation and competition is not a dichotomous but a dynamic one (cf. also Fang 2011, who uses a YinYang metaphor to describe this paradox).

7. Conclusion and outlook

The aim of this study was to exemplarily investigate patterns of conversational interaction in varieties of English and to analyse whether Caribbean and Southeast Asian speaker groups employ variety- and/or culture-sensitive strategies to organise turn-taking in everyday conversation. In the introduction, this general aim was made concrete in four research questions:

(1) Is turn-taking in Southeast Asian and Caribbean English face-to-face conversations an orderly process and does it follow the turn-taking framework described for other languages and cultures?

(2) What are the different forms, contexts, and frequencies of turn allocation in Southeast Asian and Caribbean English conversations?

(3) Which strategies do speakers have at their disposal when it comes to claim or hold a turn in interaction? Do speaker groups differ?

(4) Which factors can explain ethnographic reports that characterise Caribbean interactions as 'interruptive', 'anarchic', or 'competitive' (e.g. Reisman 1974)?

A combination of qualitative and quantitative methods was used to approach these questions. First, I created detailed CA transcripts of five hours of unscripted face-to-face conversations taken from ACE, ICE-JA, and ICE-T&T. Then, I identified all the TRPs in the interactions and analysed them according to three criteria: the type of speaker change which took place, the exact transition scenario which was triggered, and the strategies speakers used to claim or hold the floor.

With respect to the first research question, the close analysis has shown that turn-taking is a systematic and orderly process in Southeast Asian and Caribbean interactions and that it follows the canonical model described by Sacks et al. (1974). Speaker change overwhelmingly takes place at legitimate TRPs, i.e. after a syntactic, phonetic, or pragmatic gestalt – a TCU – has been completed. I illustrated that both current and aspiring next speakers orient themselves to these places: Current speakers invest extra effort to produce more than one TCU, e.g. by blocking the TRP for their interlocutors or by using pre-announcements or requests to prepare longer turns in advance. Potential next speakers project upcoming TRPs in order to make sure they are the first starters. If overlaps occur, they are a consequence rather than a violation of the turn-taking system – they emerge when two or more speakers simultaneously apply the turn allocation rules at a TRP. An in-depth investigation revealed that overlaps are highly orderly phenomena in both speaker groups and can be classified according to their structure, i.e. as transitional, interjacent, and blind-

spot overlaps. Furthermore, passages of simultaneous talk are usually short, and speakers use a set of strategies to resolve overlaps and re-establish the status of 'one-party-at-a-time'. In these respects, they follow the same pattern as described for American and British English conversations (e.g. Jefferson 1984a, 1986, 2004) as well as for everyday interactions in other linguistic and cultural contexts (e.g. Moerman's 1988 analysis of the Lue in Thailand; Tanaka 1999 on Japanese; Gardner & Mushin's 2007 study of Australian Aboriginal speakers). This finding supports claims of a universal, context-free infrastructure underlying informal conversations (e.g. Schegloff 2006; Stivers et al. 2009; Enfield & Sidnell 2014). That is, my analysis confirms Sidnell's conclusion that "the organization of turn-taking […] reflects, in this respect at least, not the particular history, culture, or social experience of the speakers but rather fundamental and generic contingencies of interaction between (human) social actors" (2001: 1270f).

In order to answer the second research question, I had a closer look at how turn allocation is realised in the interactions. The qualitative analysis showed that the three general types of speaker change – next speaker-selection, self-selection, and continuation – could be further differentiated into a total of nine individual scenarios. To systematise and quantify my findings, I devised a formal coding system, which allowed me to search for underlying patterns and compare the different data groups. The study revealed that Southeast Asian and Caribbean interactions contain all nine forms of turn allocation as described in chapter 3. On the one hand, the analysis therefore clearly showed a number of similarities between the speaker groups: When turn occupants select a next speaker, they use a similar set of devices, including adjacency pair first parts, other-initiated repair, tag questions, or tacit addressing. Almost a quarter of all next speaker-selections correspond to an 'ideal' speaker change scenario in the sense of Sacks et al. (1974), i.e. it involves transition without gap or overlap – and this is irrespective of the variety or cultural group analysed. Deviations from this default pattern were shown to be systematic and orderly phenomena. They are due to a number of factors, such as inserted repair sequences, dispreferred SPPs, or the simultaneous application of two or more turn-taking rules. When it comes to self-selections or continuations at the TRP, both groups typically use additional strategies to back up their turn-claiming/-holding – which clearly demonstrates that turns are regarded as valuable items in both data groups.

Nevertheless, the data also show a number of differences in how Southeast Asian and Caribbean speakers realise speaker change. Overall, both next speaker-selections and continuations are more frequent in the ASEAN corpus, while Caribbean speakers tend to

self-select at the TRP. Furthermore, some scenarios were only or predominantly identified in one data group and seem to be largely absent or dispreferred in the other. In the Southeast Asian speaker group, for instance, lapses, i.e. long gaps marked by a withdrawal from speakership, are almost non-existent, while they make up almost 13% of all continuations in the Caribbean interactions. Active verbal turn-yieldings were found to be a regular feature of ASEAN conversations but only play a minor role in the Caribbean corpus. Different preferences also showed when looking at the interactional contexts in which the individual scenarios are realised: 'Testing the water'-situations, in which self-selecting speakers explore their chances to establish themselves as floor holder before starting up, were only identified in the Caribbean data; while self-selections with abrupt topic changes were predominantly found in ASEAN interactions.

When approaching the third research question and focusing on the different strategies speakers use to claim or hold a turn at talk, the analysis has yielded similar results. On the one hand, the larger set of strategies proved to be consistent across varieties and cultures: Both data groups employ phonetic, lexical, and syntactic resources to manipulate TRPs or to ensure their success as the next speaker. Turn-claiming typically involves starting up early (i.e. in overlap or in latch position) and using phonetic resources (such as volume or pace changes). Phonetic strategies also play an important role for turn-holding, either alone or in combination with other turn-holding devices, such as syntactic resources or overlap. Yet, Caribbean and Southeast Asian speakers often differ in how they realise these strategies. I have shown that many resources are used by both data groups but vary in frequency or intensity: Overlaps, for instance, tend to be longer in Caribbean interactions but rarely exceed two syllables in the ASEAN conversations. Loudness is often used to claim or hold the floor in ICE-JA and ICE-T&T and is upheld over longer stretches of talk in these contexts – while it is typically employed to emphasise single elements in the Southeast Asian group. Tempo-related changes were shown to influence turn-taking in both corpora. They include, for instance, rushing through – and thus closing – the TRP or prolonging sounds to bridge passages of overlap, a strategy, which was almost exclusively found in ACE. Apart from that, speakers from both groups tend to mark continuation by rising intonation at the end of TCUs – a feature which often is referred to as 'uptalk' (e.g. Warren 2016) and was regularly detected in story-telling contexts. Lexical turn-taking strategies include the planners *er* and *erm*, which are predominantly used as markers of turn-holding but were also found as turn-claiming 'warning signals'. And finally, speakers

also manipulate syntax in order to hold or claim the floor, e.g. via recycles, points of maximum grammatical control, or pre-announcements.

However, some turn-taking strategies are likely to be variety- or culture-specific: I demonstrated that clicks are systematically used by ASEAN conversationalists, and that they seem to be an alternative to the more 'classic' planners *er* and *erm* in this context. Apart from that, ASEAN speakers show less variation in their use of English-based discourse particles – but their conversations include a number of variety-specific particles, which seem to function as markers of solidarity and displays of co-attentiveness. Similarly, topicalised structures, which have been reported for many Asian Englishes, (cf. Leuckert 2019) and were also detected in the Southeast Asian conversations, seem to constitute a variety-specific turn-holding resource. Caribbean speakers, on the other hand, were found to employ a strategy described as 'machine-gun' utterances and use more address terms, direct requests, and pre-announcements to influence turn-taking.

In order to answer the fourth research question, the findings from the qualitative and the quantitative analyses were brought together. It was shown that neither of the speaker groups could be classified as 'interruptive' or 'chaotic'. Essentially, all the conversations analysed exhibit close collaboration and are marked by co-attentiveness and support – they are, in Schegloff's (1982) sense, manifestations of an "interactional achievement". This is particularly obvious when looking at how speakers jointly complete turns at talk, how they finetune their utterances, and how they perform 'being cooperative' via a number of supportive elements (such as continuers or laughter). The study has illustrated that Caribbean interactions might be perceived as 'interruptive' or 'competitive' by outsiders – and even by participants themselves – because these notions are confused with a preference for more direct (but not 'chaotic'!) turn-taking strategies in these conversations.

These findings illustrate the fact that, even though its basic system might be universal, turn-taking is essentially shaped by and adapted to the cultural and linguistic context it is situated in. This study therefore further corroborates analyses which highlight the context-sensitivity and adaptability of Sacks et al.'s (1974) system, such as Tanaka (1999) or Li (2014), who emphasise the central role of a language's (or, as in this study, variety's) grammatical makeup for the projection of TRPs. Essentially, it also demonstrates that language, culture, and interaction are closely intertwined. On the one hand, descriptions of Southeast Asian conversational styles as 'subdued' or 'harmonic' (e.g. FitzGerald 2003: 169) and of Caribbean interactions as 'interruptive' and 'anarchic' (e.g. Reisman 1974) might be due to a culturally-specific conversational syntax, i.e. the different linguistic

resources speakers have at their disposal. On the other hand, cultural preferences or values might lead to one structure being favoured over the other (cf. Schneider 2018). This interdependence has already been outlined on the level of languages (e.g. when comparing Japanese to British and American English (Tanaka 1999: 224ff)). The present study provides evidence that it can also be found when looking at different varieties of one language. As Sidnell puts it:

> Interaction involves the mobilization of local resources resulting in a local inflection of essentially generic organizations of practice. These local resources are complex and highly structured semiotic systems – of grammar, social categorization, onomastics, etc. – with their own clearly distinctive properties. In addition, the generic organization of interaction is inflected by a range of local factors" (2007b: 241).

This study is a first step towards elucidating the intricate web of language, culture, and interaction. It showed that turn-taking in varieties of English is both context-free and locally inflected, and that apparent differences on the surface of a conversation might be traced back to different realisations of the same underlying action (Tanaka 1999: 226). Additional research is needed to expand the scope of this analysis. This includes taking into account other varieties of English, e.g. African Englishes or European ELF, which come with their own linguistic resources and cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, more data on Southeast Asian and Caribbean Englishes is needed. As the transcription conventions used in most World Englishes corpora (including ACE and ICE) are not detailed enough to allow CA research, the transcripts used for this study had to be created manually, which is a time-consuming process and naturally limits the scope of data which can be handled in a single project. The release of new corpora which include audio and maybe even video files and which are accompanied by CA transcripts would greatly facilitate the study of spoken everyday interactions. At the moment, existing corpora which fulfil these criteria almost exclusively focus on Inner Circle Englishes (cf., for instance, the TalkBank project which includes CA transcripts).

Essentially, this study also highlights the importance of considering interactional processes and cultural orientations when analysing varieties of English. Language and culture do not exist in a vacuum but meet in conversational interaction – and this interrelationship is a dynamic one. It should be interesting to investigate how conversational patterns in varieties evolve over time and to examine how developments in variety status are linked to the linguistic resources speakers employ to claim or hold the floor. Apart from that, some variety-specific features – such as topicalised structures – might be reinforced by interactional processes (e.g. the use of pivot structures to hold the floor). The study of

World Englishes will therefore benefit greatly from incorporating findings from conversation analytic research. CA, on the other hand, should not neglect the variation of World Englishes when investigating the local resources speakers employ to organise turn-taking. Varieties of English constitute a fascinating field of analysis, because they illustrate how conversationalists from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds creatively and cooperatively modify the English language to react to the contingencies of the interaction. It is to be hoped that more research situated at the interface of CA and World Englishes will be conducted in the future to account for this potential.

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Appendix: Transcription conventions

The transcription conventions used in the present study largely comply with the Jeffersonian transcription conventions (for an in-depth overview see Hepburn & Bolden 2017). The symbols which were used most frequently are briefly explained below. The transcripts were created using a font with fixed width – Courier New – to ensure that passages in overlap can be displayed as aligned (Hepburn & Bolden 2017: 17).

Transcript	**Meaning**
[	overlap onset
]	end of a passage in overlap
=	latching, i.e. the absence of silence between two TCUs
(0.3)	period of silence (measured in seconds)
(.)	micropause (<0.1s)
:	prolonged/stretched sound
<word>	slowing down
>word<	speeding up
-	cut-off
WORD	increased volume
°word°	reduced volume
.	falling ('final') intonation contour
,	slightly rising intonation contour
?	strongly rising intonation contour
!	exclamation
↓	sharp fall or downstep in pitch
↑	sharp rise or upstep in pitch
h	hearable aspiration (outbreath)
.h	hearable inhalation (inbreath)
( )	unintelligible part of an utterance
(word)	dubious part of an utterance
((word))	transcriber's comment
((chuckling)) word ((/chuckling))	start and end of a passage uttered with 'chuckling voice'
N.N.	speaker cannot be identified