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Structuring response: Information receipts in Greek talk-in-interaction

By

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To my parents, without whom this PhD would have never materialised. I thank them for all the support and reassurance I have received in these 4 years. I thank them for believing in me and encouraging me to pursue my dreams. I will forever be in dept!

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Abstract

This thesis investigates some of the practices by which interactants engage in responding to an informing in Greek talk-in-interaction. Using the analytical methodology of Conversation Analysis (CA), I investigate the ways in which responses to informings are typically constructed and how speakers recruit the assistance of their interlocutors in order to format their following action by examining the following particles: *entaksi* (mainly in the beginning of a turn), *ne* (=yes) with a questioning prosody, *ela* + name (sometimes incremented with the Greek particle *re*), *bravo*, *etsi den ine* (a form of tag question in Greek) and *etsi* in the final position of a turn.

The analysis focuses on the sequential and social implications of these particles in interaction and suggests that there are certain resources interactants deploy in response to an informing, especially in turn-initial position, to indicate their stance towards the prior turn. Interlocutors deploy different practices in talk that serve the avoidance of conflicts, especially in the context of interactions between friends and intimates. The tokens under investigation are deployed by recipients of an informing to position themselves towards a prior turn but at the same time indicate the degree to which they accept the informing, absolute agreement or preliminary to a disagreement.

As the first conversation analytic investigation of information receipts in Greek talk-in-interaction, this study attempts to illustrate the interactional significance of receipt tokens in the organization of talk and the accomplishment of actions in interaction.

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List of Abbreviations

CA   Conversation Analysis

TCU   Turn Constructional Unit

TRP   Transition Relevant Place

FPP   First Pair Part

SPP   Second Pair Part

NTRI   Next Turn Repair Initiator

YNI   Yes- No Interrogative

Chapter 1   **Introduction**

1.1   **Introduction**

In taking interaction as its central focus, the present thesis seeks to investigate some of the communicative and cultural constraints shaping the Greek language. Particular focus will be placed on the investigation of how particular tokens, in naturally occurring Greek conversations, are used by speakers to position themselves with respect to their co-participants in talk: that is, the stance that a speaker takes towards another. Specifically it looks at the following particles: *entaksi* (mainly in the beginning of a turn), *ne* (=yes) with a questioning prosody, *ela* + name (sometimes incremented with the Greek particle *re*), *bravo*, *etsi den ine* (a form of tag question in Greek) and *etsi* in the final position of a turn and examines how those are used in talk to demonstrate how some prior talk was receipted by the other participants in the conversation while at the same time providing evidence of their personal stance towards it.

Greek speakers are often portrayed in movies and television as speaking very loud, often shouting at each other, and arguing over everything. Men are often depicted as macho and women as mothers who are overprotective of their children. A simple search on the internet about Greek stereotypes gives the following results: "Greeks have strong views", "They stay close together", "…disagreements may arise and it may be vivid, but not violent", "Even close friends having a political conversation in a café can get quite vocal with each other", "…raising ones voice is

common", "Greeks are loud or impolite or they talk all together"[1]. Although these perceived cultural stereotypes are exaggerations, they capture a specific feature of communication style in Greek. Greek conversations appear to have an argumentative style, as we shall see in the course of this thesis. We will investigate exchanges where people will agree, disagree, complain, make announcements, tell stories, challenge. All these actions can be responded to in different ways by interlocutors with diverse consequences for interaction. Consider for example, an informing, a speaker informs another about, say, the acquisition of a new house with 'I bought a new house with my husband'. This statement can have a multitude of possible responses. One could say 'You did?', 'Did you?', 'No:::', 'Congratulations'. These can range in a spectrum from acceptance like 'Congratulations', surprise as in 'Oh really?' to skepticism, like 'You're joking'.
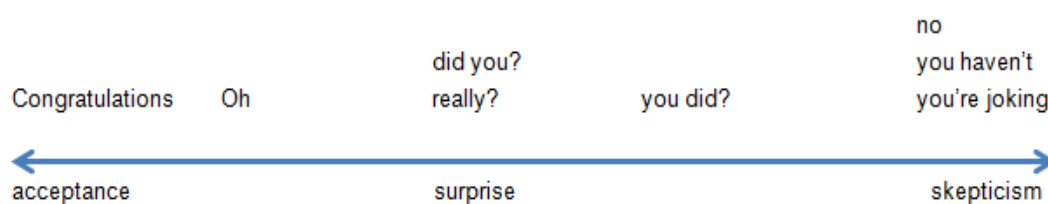
Figure 1.1 Spectrum of receipt of an informing

While these are all possible responses, they have different effects on the interaction. A recipient's response is the first indication a speaker has of how his turn was receipted, whether it is accepted or not, or whether more needs to be said. Speakers structure their next turn with reference to the prior; thus, receipt tokens can actually change the trajectory of the ongoing talk. For example, in the following extract we can see how Lesley subsequently modifies her claim at line 7 when her initial

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[1] For a mention of some of these stereotypes see: https://www.international.gc.ca/cil-cai/country_insights-apercus_pays/ci-ic_gr.aspx?lang=eng

observation at lines 3-4 "ºRebecca didn't get t' college,º' is receipted with an interrogative, 'didn't she'.

(1) Excerpt 19: [Holt:2:15:4-5] [UK] (Les=Lesley, Joy=Joyce)

```
1 Les:     Only: one is outstandingly
2          clever wuh- an:' the other-.hh
3          an:'°Rebecca didn't get
4          t'college,°
5     →    (0.4)
6 Joy:→    Didn't _she:,
7 Les:     Well she got in the end she
8          scraped into a buh- business
9          management,
```

(Drew, 2003: 930)

The example is a telephone conversation between 2 middle-aged women, Lesley and Joyce. Lesley claims that their friend's daughter 'didn't get t' college' and Joyce challenges her with the interrogative 'Didn't she'. Lesley then modifies her initial claim saying that 'she got in the end'. The same happens in excerpt 20; the speaker modifies her response 'that she has been twice' after her initial claim that she has 'never been' to one of those clubs gets receipted again with an elliptical interrogative 'You haven't'.

(2) Excerpt 20: [Drew:St:98:1] [UK]

```
1 San:     .hh I've
2          never been to one yet,
3 Bec:→    You ↑Haven't.
4 San:     No
5 Bec:     Not even t' Ziggy:s
6 San:     Nope (.) I've bin twi-
7          no ( ) a bin twi:ce at
8          home to:: a place
```

(Drew, 2003: 930)

So, we can see how recipients can influence the development of the talk by showing their stance towards the speaker's prior utterance and setting up the context for the

next one (Heritage, 1984b). A speaker's next turn, then, is dependent on and shaped
by the interlocutor's response to his/her prior turn.

One crucial aspect of the tokens under investigation, that is consequential to our
analysis, is their positional sensitivity, that is their position in the turn. As Schegloff
(1996b: 110) argues:

> *One has a range of grammatical resources, grammars if you will, whose
> relevance is positionally sensitive to organizational features and contingencies of
> the sequential and interactional moment in which the [speaker's] conduct is
> situated.*

In other words, positional sensitivity relates to the elements speakers choose to place
in the beginning of a turn (turn-initially) or before its possible completion (turn-
finally) and how these are conditionally relevant, as well as consequential, to the
sequential organisation of the talk. That is, the placement of a discourse marker in
turn-initial or turn-final position depends on the sequential environment in which it
appears and can have different consequences for the interaction itself. See, for
example, the use of 'actually' in the environment of informings; in turn-initial
position it is self-directed and functions as a change-of-mind token, whereas turn-
finally it is other-directed and assumes the characteristics of a counter-positional
informing (Clift, 2001). Similarly, in the Greek data I have encountered tokens that
are positionally sensitive. For instance, the token *entaksi* appears both turn-initially
and turn-finally with distinct functions in these two sequential positions:

   (3) [Balantani video: M2U00059: 01:28]

```
63 B:→    .hhh Afta legonte <sinekfores (0.1) epitheto mazi me
64        ousiastiko> (.) 'nta↑ksi==klinume kanonika to epitheto
65        ke kanonika↓ to ousiastiko dipla [tu
          .hhh  These  are  called  <sinekfores  (0.1)  adjective
          together  with  noun>  (.)  oka↑y==we  conjugate  normally
          the adjective and normally↓ the noun next [its
          .hhh  These  are  called  <sinekfores  (0.1)  adjective
          together  with  noun>  (.)  oka↑y==we  conjugate  normally
          the adjective and normally↓ the noun next [to it
```

```
66 :                                                     [((nod))
```

(4) [Balantani audio: VN550060: 05:19]

```
259          (0.3)
260 E:    Ki afta
          And these
          That's all
261 V:    Kala
          Good
          Fine
262 E:    Ma:[lista
          Ye[a
          Ye[a
263 V:→     [E:ntaks' lipon [dos' ke (.) filakia sti Venus
            [Okay so [give and (.) kisses to the Venus
            [Well okay [give also (.) kisses to Venus
264 E:                    [Kala re
                          [Good re
                          [Fine re
265 E:    Egin[e↑
          It is do[ne↑
          Fi[ne↑
```

We can see that *entaksi* with a questioning prosody in turn-final position in extract (3) functions as an understanding check of the prior utterance, thus being responsive to the prior action. In contrast, in extract (4), it appears turn-initially and the speaker is initiating a new action, the closing of the phone-call.

The tokens that we are looking at, in this thesis, are mainly in turn-initial position, with the exception of the last chapter in which the token appears in turn-final position. They receive news and will hereafter be referred to as receipt tokens. Although these tokens are recurrent in Greek talk-in-interaction, little work has been undertaken to study their use in the context of everyday conversations. Therefore, the aim of this study is to provide an overview of the linguistic resources Greek interlocutors employ when managing informings. One question that can be asked at this point is what counts as an informing; are announcements, tellings, assertions all considered informings? Every utterance that we produce carries some kind of information. However, only certain action types are dedicated solely to the transfer of information or knowledge from one party to another. For instance, questions pursue

information import from the recipient to the one who poses the question. By the same token, informings transfer information from the speaker, a knowing party in the conversation, to the recipient, an unknowing participant (Gardner & Mushin, 2013). In the current work, I will approach informings with the latter definition in mind.

The examination of receipt tokens undertaken in this study has been informed by the methodological principles of conversation analysis. Conversation analysis (CA henceforth) is the domain which examines social interactions, that is the coordination of actions between individuals. The word interaction itself means reciprocal action, the influence that the actions of two individuals (or objects) have on each other (Oxford English Dictionary Online, 2016) [2]. Thus, in order to interact with each other and achieve a meaningful conversation, humans monitor each other's talk and coordinate their actions. Hence, talk is a collaboratively achieved activity; actions, such as accepting or rejecting offers, inviting, complaining, complimenting, agreeing, disagreeing, even informing, which might look like a discrete action, are jointly achieved activities. What this first chapter tries to deliver, then, is an understanding of the two fundamental concepts in CA, namely action and sequence. Actions get done in a sequence; one cannot make an invitation without expecting an appropriate response from his/her interlocutor, whether that is an acceptance or a declination, if a question is in course an answer is in order, and so forth. In short, every course of action is implemented by means of a sequence (Clift, 2016). As a consequence, what is of interest to conversation analysts is the sequential context in which these actions are implemented, what we call the sequential organisation of talk-in-interaction, but I will examine this in more detail in the following chapter.

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[2] Accessed 16/02/2016, 11:18, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/97519?redirectedFrom=interaction#eid

The first section of this introductory chapter is addressed to the issue of why response tokens are significant. Section two presents an overview of Greek. In section three, I discuss existing relevant studies on Greek and in the final section, I provide a summary overview of each chapter.

1.1.1   Why study response tokens?

A conversation is like a game of chess. Each move from one player creates the relevance for a move from the other player. Similarly, in conversation when you say something you create an obligation for someone to respond to what you just said. So, in the end of your turn you create a space for the other speaker to begin his/her own turn in response to yours. What is particularly striking about turn beginnings, and specifically response tokens, is the speed with which they are produced. Levinson (2013) observed that while it takes over 600ms to plan and deliver the shortest turn-at-talk (Levelt, 1989), the gaps between the turns are on average 200 ms (de Ruiter et. al., 2006; Stivers, et. al., 2009).
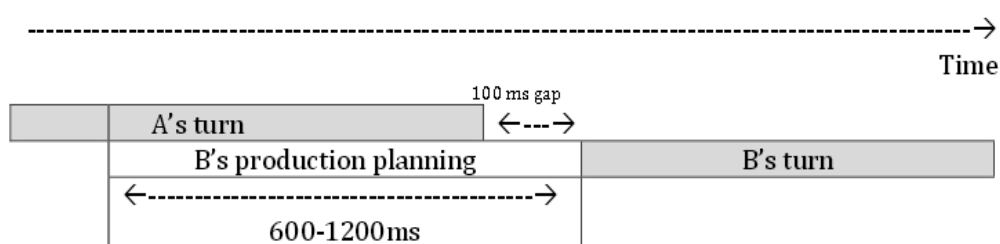
Figure 1.2 Overlap of comprehension and production processes in conversation
 (Levinson, 2013: 104)

That means that B's response to A's turn must be planned before A's turn has come to completion. What is more, because actions are organised in sequences (as mentioned in 1.1), B's turn must be linked to the action that A's turn is projecting. In

other words, if A's turn is a question, B's turn is anticipated to be an answer; if it is an invitation, a declination or acceptance is expected, and so forth. Thus, B must have ascribed an action to A's turn before A has delivered it fully yet. By action ascription we mean "…the assignment of an action to a turn as revealed by the response of a next speaker" (Levinson, 2013: 104). So we can see the importance of the recipient's role in a conversation, as depending on his/her understanding of the prior action, the conversation will take a specific direction. And, although the action projected by A's turn, constrains the recipient to respond in a specific way that complies with A's action, there are a set of practices that recipients have in their disposal to divert the trajectory of the talk and launch an independent action. What is of interest then to us, as conversation analysts, is to uncover the practices interlocutors implement in order to depart from the projection of the prior turn.

The study of turn-initial objects in everyday conversation has been of interest to researchers for many years (e.g. Heritage, 1984b on 'oh'; Pomerantz, 1984, Schegloff & Lerner, 2009 on 'well'; Clayman, 2012 on address terms; Bolden, 2009 on 'so'; Hayashi, 2009 on 'eh-prefaced turns' in Japanese; Keevalik, 2012 on 'no-prefacing in Estonian; Kim, 2013 on 'ani-prefaced responses' to wh-question in Korean; Mazeland & Huiskes, 2001 on 'but' as a sequential conjunction in Dutch; Hayashi & Kushida, 2013 on 'iya' in Japanese) and has received important significance lately, as the abundance of publications on these topics in recent years suggests. Researchers have been investigating turn-initial objects in an attempt to provide insights on the functional significance of these objects, with the focus of some of the investigation being on whether those are responsive to the prior turn or initiating a new action (Heritage, 2013). Turn-initial position is a place in turn construction that is the first evidence we have of how a recipient analysed the prior turn. According to Schegloff's

(2007a: 15) concept of "nextness" in interaction "Next turns […] display their speaker's understanding of the just-prior turn and […] embody an action responsive to the just-prior turn…". Hence, participants in talk orient to the prior turn and organise their sequences with a focus on understanding its action and responding to it in an intelligible way in their subsequent turns. Turn beginnings, then, play a crucial role in the "progressivity" of the talk (Schegloff, 2007a) because they can be both responsive to the action implemented in the prior turn and/or make relevant a move to next-positioned matters.

The literature on turn-initial objects in Greek is very scarce. To my knowledge there are only two reports that examine linguistic resources that Greek interlocutors use in turn-initial position when positioning themselves with respect to their co-participants in talk. Pavlidou (2002) looks at the role of discourse markers, such as *entaksi, egine, telos panton, ante, lipon, afta*, in the environment of telephone closings and Menti (2014) examines the use of *entaksi* from a pragmatics perspective. It has never been looked at specifically with respect to positional sensitivity from a sequential point of view. The present research will investigate the use of the linguistic resources available to Greek interlocutors in responding to an informing, thus, filling in the gap in the literature with respect to the Greek language.

1.1.2   The Greek language

This part of the chapter provides a background of the language in which the tokens under investigation appear, starting with a brief history of Greek and moving on to the specific dialect spoken in the region where the data comes from.

Nowadays, Greek is an official language in Greece and Cyprus and since 1981 it has been one of the 24 official languages of the European Union. It is also spoken in

many countries around the world in which a considerable population of Greek expatriates exists, as in North America, Australia, the United Kingdom and Germany (Mackridge, 1985). What is more, Greek is recognized as an official minority language in Albania and parts of Italy and is also spoken in Turkey, Egypt and the Ukraine (Lewis, 2009).

As **Figure 1.3** shows, the Greek language belongs to the Indo-European language group and is a direct descendant of the Ancient Language, the so-called Hellenic branch in the Indo-European language tree.
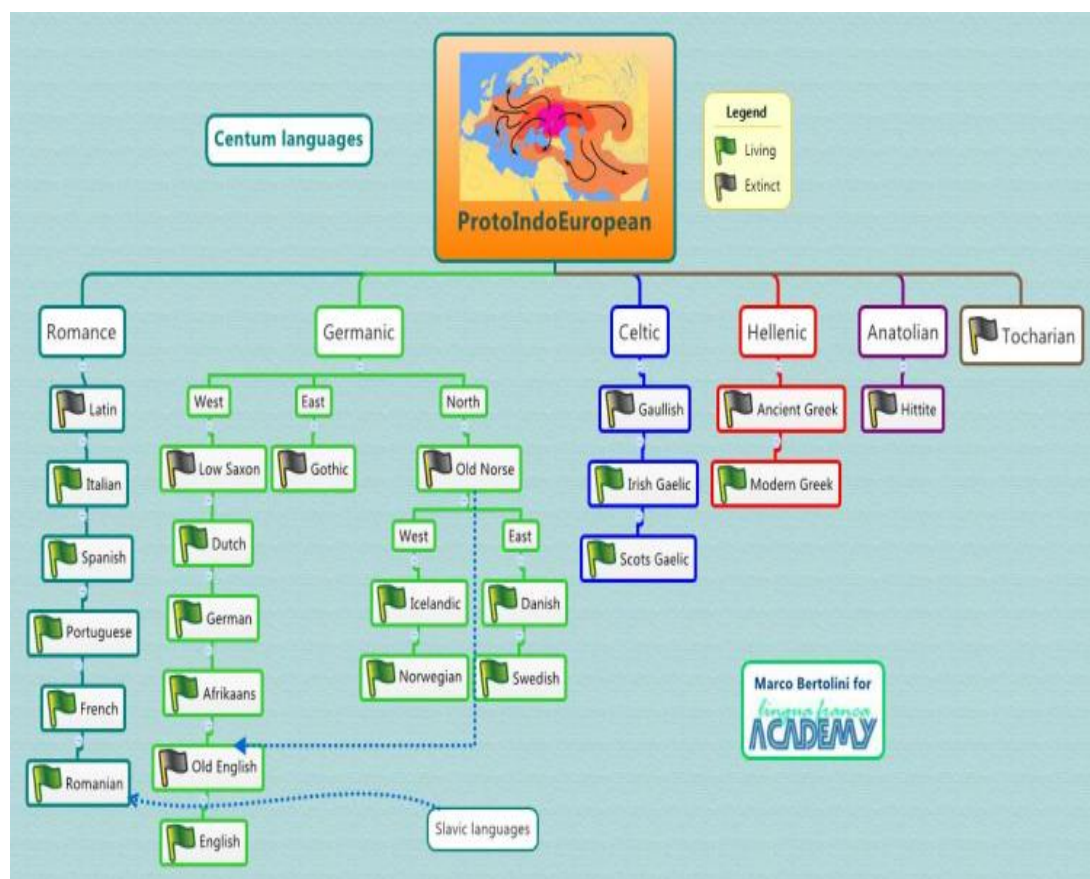
Figure 1.3 Map of Indo-European languages (Bertolini, 2012)

The earliest dialect of Greek and the oldest recorded dialect in the history of the Indo-European languages is 'Mycenaean', the dialect that emerged from the ancient civilization of Mycenae in the Peloponnese, today's mainland Greece. 'Mycenaean' is

known as Linear B and started developing after the destruction of the 'Minoan' civilization by fire at ca. 12th century BC. The 'Minoan' culture of Greece was writing in Linear A, a language that still has not been decoded until today. During the Classical period four main dialects emerged, the Ionic, the Aeolic, the Doric and the Attic, the latter of which expanded along the Mediterranean and to the East until the borders of India with the conquers of Alexander the Great. His conquers facilitated the mixing of Greek with different languages which ultimately led to the 'Common Greek', the so-called 'Hellenistic koine', the dialect that survived until the Byzantine period. In the 19th and 20th century, there was a struggle in Greece to establish a Modern Greek language. The "language debate" was whether spoken Greek could act as the foundation for a written language used in law, administration and education (Horrocks, 1997). 'Demotic' was the oral language that was adopted in Greece but the lack of a written form of that variety resulted in the formation of a High variety, called 'katharevousa', which was used in administration (Newton, et. al, n.d.)[3]. This diglossic situation in Greece continued until 1974 when 'katharevousa' finally lost its official status and 'demotic' was declared the official language of Greece (Horrocks, 1997). Hence, the development of a Standard Modern Greek (SMG) the speakers of which nowadays comprise the dominant speech community in Greece (Mackridge, 1985).

The dialects that we encounter in Modern Greek are considerably different from the ones in Ancient Greek and developed mainly during the Ottoman period (1453-1821)[4]. Based on certain phonological features[5] of the language that were discussed

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[3] (http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/244595/Greek-language/74663/Standard-Modern-Greek, accessed on 26/02/2015, 18:21)
[4] 1453 marks the fall of Constantinople and 1821 is the beginning of the revolution (Horrocks, 1997).
[5] These include high vowel loss, palatalization of velars, final /n/ retention, geminates, tsitakism and ypsilon > /u/ (Trudgill, 2003).

by Newton (1972) and Kontosopoulos (1994), Trudgill (2003) classified the Modern Greek dialects as follows: 1. Central, 2. Northern, 2a. Samos, 3. Mani, 4. Tsakonian, 5. Old Athenian, 6. Kimi, 7. Arvanitika, 8. Southern, 9. Southeastern, 10. Eastern, 11. Smyrna, 12. Central Cyclades, 13. Western Cyclades, 14. Mykonos and 15. Northern Cyclades. **Figure 1.4** below shows the division of these areas on the map.
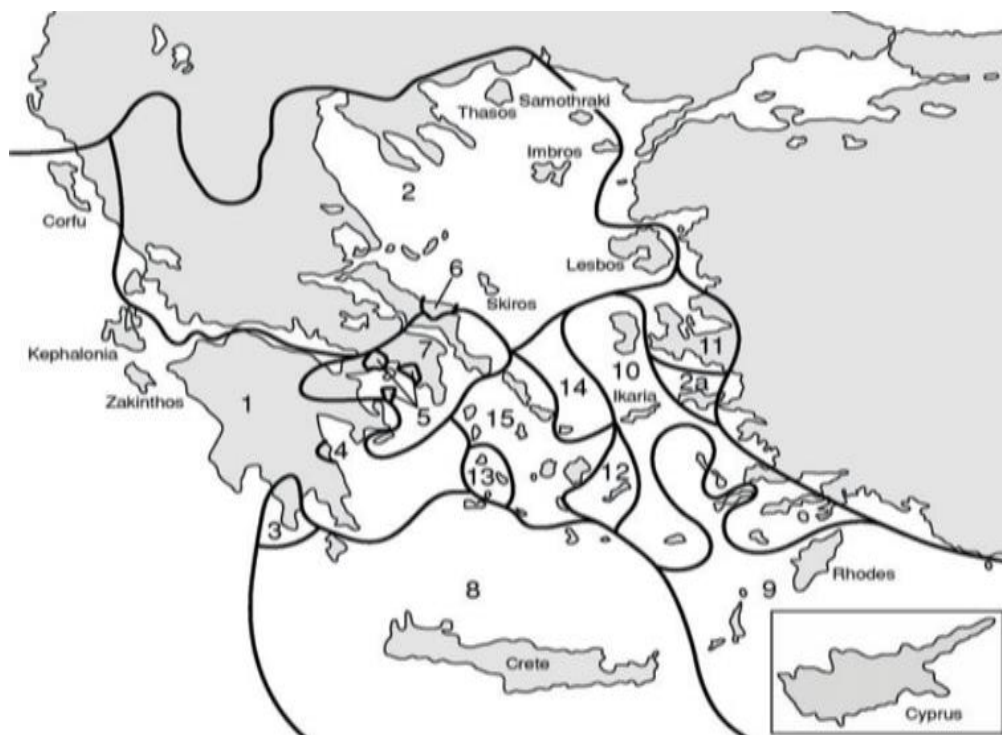
Figure 1.4 Map of dialects in contemporary Greece

(Trudgill, 2003: 61)

The speakers of the current study come from Epirus, northwest of Greece, hence, the variety of Greek that is studied in the present research is the northern dialect, which is characterised by high vowel loss (Trudgill, 2003). This is perhaps one of the most notable features of the data of this study, as is obvious from the following extract:

(5) [Balantani audio: VN550060: 02:00]

```
105 V:     Ihe fai lei fetes me galotir' [ke tetia
           He had eaten he says slices with galotyri [and such
```

He had eaten he says slices with galotyri[6] **[and such (stuff)**

```
106 E:                              [Kap' tha m' klis'
107      emena tora giati tu 'han oli mera ektos ke kse's k-m-
108      den m'kratai bataria ke m' kan' ena >ntu ntu ntu ntu
109      ntut< den ksero an t'akus esi: [ego t'akuo
                                        [Somewhere will me it
```
closes me now because it they had all day out and you
know a-m- not me it holds battery and me it makes one
>ntu ntu ntu ntu ntut< not I know if it you hear you:
[I it I hear

[At some point it[7] **will
close now because they had it all day out and you know
a-m- the battery dies and it makes a >ntu ntu ntu ntu
ntut< (sound) I don't know if you (can) hear it: [I
(can) hear it**

```
110 V:                    [Oh' katholu
                          [No not in the least
```
[No not in the least
```
111 E:   [A
112 V:   [Oh' den t' akuo
         [No not it I hear
```
[No I don't hear it[8]

As we can see, in just a few lines both speakers drop the final vowel in some words, for instance *kap'* instead of *kapu* or *oh'* instead of *ohi*. However, this characteristic of the dialect, the high vowel loss, does not appear to have interactional consequences as this concerns pronunciation.

---

[6] 'Galotyri' is a Greek side dish, similar to tzatziki.
[7] 'It' refers to the phone.
[8] This is how the extract would look if there was no vowel loss:
```
    105 V:   [Ihe fai lei fetes me galotiri [ke tetia
             [He had eaten he says slices with galotyri [and such
```
[He had eaten he says slices with galotyri [and such (stuff)
```
    106 E:                         [Kapu tha mu klisi emena
    107      tora giati tu ihan oli mera ektos ke kseris k-m- den mu
    108      kratai bataria ke mu kani ena >ntu ntu ntu ntu ntut< den
    109      ksero an to akus esi: [ego to akuo
                                   [Somewhere will me it closes me now
```
because it they had all day out and you know a-m- not me it holds
battery and me it makes one >ntu ntu ntu ntu ntut< not I know if it
you hear you: [I it I hear

**[Sometime it will close now because they
had it all day out and you know a-m- the battery dies and it makes a
>ntu ntu ntu ntu ntut< (sound) I don't know if you hear it: [I hear
it**
```
    110 V:                    [Ohi katholu
                              [No not in the least
```
[No not in the least
```
    111 E:   [A
    112 V:   [Ohi den to akuo
             [No not it I hear
```
[No I don't hear it

In what follows, I present previous research that has been conducted on Greek interactions that is relevant to this study.

1.1.3   Previous studies

Research on Greek everyday interaction does not focus on information receipts but on disagreements as a perceived stereotype of Greek talk. These perceptions of Greek are grounded in a number of observations on the structure of the language that is depicted in conversations, as for instance the frequent occurrence of overlaps. Chalari (2012) suggests that the early occurrence of overlaps in Greek is grounded in the grammatical and syntactic structure of the language. She claims that the phenomenon of overlaps in Greek is related to the fact that it has a freer word order with a lot of the information contained in the verb of the sentence, thus leading to early projectability and, hence early appearance of overlaps. Georgakopoulou (2001) in her study of Greek conversations between young people argues that disagreements are indirectly expressed, through turn-initial markers, analogies and questions, and this indirectness in the expression of disagreement is neither an indication of sociability nor does it have to do with increased politeness. On the contrary, she claims that disagreements are shaped by contextual factors such as the participants' relationship, their shared background information, the type of activity they are involved in and the norms of argumentation. In certain contexts, disagreement has also been shown to enhance relationships as it is perceived as a form of sociability (Angouri & Tseliga, 2010; Georgakopoulou, 2001; Kakava, 2002). According to Kakava (2002) disagreement is a 'preferred' social practice because it is expected by participants in conversation. In the Greek context, disagreement is seen as a resource for promoting solidarity as interlocutors agree to disagree (Kakava, 2002; Tannen & Kakava, 1992).

Although the aforementioned relevant studies focus on Greek interaction from a discourse analytic point of view, they fail to address the importance of a systematic approach to the study of language that looks at the sequence by sequence organisation of talk. As a result, while focusing on the grammatical and semantic coherence of utterances and on the speaker's intentions, they do not address the importance of actions and activities that are accomplished in everyday talk, what interlocutors *do* rather than what they *mean* in interaction. The importance of *action* rather than *meaning* in interaction is evident even in the most trivial everyday encounters. Take for instance the French word 'merci' and its English equivalent 'thank you'. Semantically these two words have the same meaning. Nevertheless, in the context of offers, while in English 'thank you' is doing acceptance, in French 'merci' actually rejects the offer. So, although the semantic meaning of the two words appears to be the same, the action that speakers accomplish is quite the opposite. Similarly, if we were to ask any Greek speaker what is the meaning of *ne* in Greek the answer would be 'yes'. However, as we will see in chapter four of this thesis, *ne* in the context of information receipts does not necessarily accept an informing but can be implemented in talk to accomplish different actions. We can conclude that the semantic meaning of a word per se does not capture the range of interactional uses speakers can accomplish unless seen in context. Given these points, my study will be devoted to overlooked Greek particles in the context of informings whose semantic meaning has been bleached over the years. Ultimately, it is hoped that this study will lay the foundations for conversation analytic research in spoken Greek by determining the interactional significance of turn-initial particles. Furthermore, I hope to illustrate some of the culture specific features of the language by systematic observation of the actions these tokens perform in the organisation of talk.

In the last section of this introductory chapter, I will explain the general framework of this thesis and the rationale behind choosing the tokens that I have analysed.

1.1.4   The organisation of the study

While discourse analysis, as we have seen in the previous section, focuses on the most salient features of a spoken or written discourse, for instance on disagreements, CA looks at the mechanics of talk, how actions get accomplished. Take but one simple utterance 'Is that your coat on the floor?'. From a pragmatic point of view this utterance is a 'yes-no' question. However, if we look at the same utterance in the context of, say mother-daughter interaction, we can clearly see that the action it performs is not a request for information but a directive to pick up the coat from the floor. It is evident, then, that an interrogative does not necessarily introduce a question but can be used as a vehicle to do other actions. In recognising such actions in a sequence, the most obvious place to look at is the beginning and end of a turn. So, by looking at the spaces between turns, I realised that the tokens under investigation recurrently appeared in these positions.

The following chapters, therefore, are organised so that each chapter presents the conversation-analytic view of a distinct receipt token in Greek talk-in-interaction. The introduction, in the present chapter, and the theoretical background of the field, in chapter two, lay out a foundation for subsequent chapters, which then eventually lead up to a description and a summary of how the receipt tokens in question are understood and approached in this work. The tokens examined are: *entaksi* in turn-initial position in chapter three, chapter four is the analysis of turn-initial *ne* with a questioning prosody, chapter five corresponds to the analysis of *ela* in conjunction with a name and often incremented by the particle *re*, the particle *bravo* is analysed in

chapter six and chapter seven is dedicated to the analysis of *etsi* and *etsi den ine*. Then, in the conclusion in chapter eight, I pull the strings together and provide a general understanding of receipt tokens in Greek and discuss the role of turn-initial objects in our understanding of the perceived stereotypes of Greek in talk-in-interaction. Throughout all chapters I report previous work on English on the phenomena analysed and provide evidence for the importance of receipt tokens as an interactional practice.

Chapter 2   **Methodology**

In what follows, I describe the methodology used to conduct this study and provide a general description of some basic conversation analytic concepts. The chapter will conclude with a description of the data utilised for the current study.

2.1   **Conversation Analysis**

Conversation analysis is an approach to social interaction initiated by Harvey Sacks in the 1960s. His work was inspired by the work of the sociologist Erving Goffman and the ethnomethodologist Harold Garfinkel, whose focus was on face-to-face behaviour and social order respectively (Silverman, 1998). His central claim, which is also important to our understanding of the role of response tokens in interaction, is that individuals construct their experiences intersubjectively; members of a society construct shared meanings through their interactions, which they then use as a resource to interpret their cultural and social world. This shared social world is jointly constructed through practical reasonings that function as a basis for understanding actions, but also as resources for the production of actions (Heritage, 1995). As Atkinson & Heritage (1984) propose, the objective of conversation analytic research is to describe how interactants produce their own behaviour and understand and cope with the behaviour of others. Based on naturally-occurring empirical data, the analysis is grounded in what the researcher can observe in his/her data; his/her research cannot be based on what his/her participants could have hypothetically understood but must be the result of the observation of the participant's behaviour. Nothing in conversation happens by accident; every utterance is formed in response to its prior and projects a selection of "nexts" (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984).

Conversation analysts must be in a position to analyse these sequences in as much detail as possible, in order to understand the participant's actions. To do this CA researchers usually use tape recordings as a method for the collection of their data. Tape recordings enhance the precision of their observations, since one can repeatedly hear the recording and pay special attention to specific time slots in the tape, where he/she believes are the most important action sequences (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; ten Have, 2007; Liddicoat, 2007).

But how do we decide which action is actually worth looking at? The first step in this process is to make an observation of something that we encountered more than once in the data. At this point I should mention that it is important that the researcher looks at the data without any hypotheses or preconceptions about the data in advance. The data itself should lead us to a phenomenon that is significant to analyse. Once we have established something noteworthy in our data we start collecting similar instances. CA follows the method of "analytic induction", that is the "…systematic examination of similarities that seeks to develop concepts or ideas" (Ragin, 1994, cited in ten Have, 2007: 37). So a core collection with excerpts that exhibit similar characteristics is gathered. The first collection will be quite generously selected including cases which might not look that similar to each other. This will help us later in the process to specify what exactly is going on in the fragments we collected, by explaining why the ones we excluded are different from our instances, which will, eventually, provide us with a clearer picture of our phenomenon (Schegloff, 1997). A central procedure to do this is deviant case analysis (Schegloff, 1968) where the analyst examines cases that seem to depart from the previously described pattern. Departures from already established patterns are not viewed as exceptions but as reinforcements of the general rule. Deviant cases help us check the validity and

generality of the phenomena we are describing. By showing participants' orientation to the deviant case as a departure from the norm, analysts can confirm that the orderliness of their observations in their earlier analysis has a normative character. Deviant cases were evidenced in the data analysed in two of the chapters of this thesis and an analysis of them will be provided.

However, this is just the initial stage of our examination of naturally occurring interaction. Before moving on to the analysis of the data we need to set out the rules that govern our methodological approach. In what follows, I will explore some of the basic principles of CA as described by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson in their study on the organisation of the turn taking system in conversation in 1974. This is the foundational CA paper on "turntaking", the paper that outlines the systematics that interlocutors orient to when organising their turns-at-talk and is a prerequisite for the understanding of CA research.

2.2 Basic Principles of CA

This subsection will describe the structural logic behind the organisation of actions in interaction and will be divided into three thematic subsections, turn-taking, sequence organisation and repair.

2.2.1 Turn-taking organisation

Everyday informal interaction lies at the centre of human sociality. In informal conversational settings is where most of the social life is conducted and language is learned. A remarkable feature of any conversation is that speaker change is coordinated smoothly. The type of organisation in conversation that explains how interaction is coordinated is the system of turn-taking, the system that regulates who

is to speak and when (Sacks et al., 1974). Turn-taking is an important part of social organisation. Apart from ordering who is talking in debates, interviews and informal conversations, in other words organising the speech exchange systems, it also regulates other activities, such as moves in a chess game, the traffic in intersections and so forth. The importance of the turn-taking system is highlighted in the fact that there is strong support for its universality (Stivers et al., 2009); research in ten languages, ranging from languages spoken in traditional indigenous communities to some of the major world languages[9], has shown that there is a general pattern followed in all languages in terms of response latency in conversation, meaning the duration between the delivery of a turn and its response. The results exhibit an overall tendency to avoid overlaps in talk and minimize gaps between turns in all ten languages, a strong indicator of universality for the turn-taking system. In what follows, I will sketch the systematics of the turn-taking system for conversation in English as described by Sacks et. al. (1974), while providing instances from my data where applicable.

2.2.1.1   The turn-taking system

Through empirical investigations of ordinary interaction we are led to the conclusion that one party speaks at a time, speakers change recurrently and, where there is more than one speaker talking at a time, overlaps are brief. What is more, there is transition between the speakers generally without a gap and generally without overlap, and the turn order and length are variable. It is not specified in advance who will speak and at what time, how many speakers will be involved or what will be talked about. However, there are techniques that are employed by speakers for allocating turns and people employ repair mechanisms to deal with violations of the turn-taking system

---

[9] The languages tested for this study are: Danish, ǂAkhoe Haiǁom, Lao, Italian, English, Korean, Dutch, Yélî Dnye, Tzeltal and Japanese.

(Sacks et al., 1974). It should be noted as well that the size of turns varies with the basic unit-types being sentential, clausal, phrasal, and lexical constructions, called turn constructional units (hereafter TCUs). TCUs are the components with which speakers construct their turns at talk. One TCU on its own can constitute an action and after its possible completion transition to a next speaker can become relevant. The primary determinants of possible completion (1974: 721) are grammar, syntax and prosody; in other words, a TCU constitutes a complete turn only if it is grammatically, pragmatically and prosodically complete. For instance, the following turn *E:ntaks' lipon dos' ke (.) filakia sti Venus (=*Well okay give also (.) kisses to Venus) consists of two TCUs, the first one ending in *lipon*, having come to grammatic, prosodic and pragmatic completion at that point, and the other in the end of the turn, for the same reasons. With respect to English, a TCU has come to prosodic possible completion when it has a rising or falling terminal intonation. Grammatic completion is achieved by its syntactic completeness and pragmatic completion ascribes to the turn having completed the action that the prior turn is projecting, for instance the utterance 'It is indeed' is a pragmatic completion of an agreement to the assessment 'It is really hot today!'. The following extract is an example of a single-word turn; L's turn at line 89 is composed of a single word that makes the transition to the next speaker relevant.

(1) [Balantani video: M2U00050: 01:06]

```
83 K:      To himona ti thes >na vgalo< radikia¿
           The winter what you want >to get out< radishes¿
           In winter what do you want me >to pull out< radishes¿
84         (0.3)
85 F:      £Ki afta eki pan' hamen'£=
           £And these there they go lost£=
           £These there are also wasted£=
86 L:      =Ki om[os
           =And ye[t
           =And ye[t
87 F:            [Alithia ta tro↓te¿
                 [Really them you ea↓t¿
```

```
                    [Really do you ea↓t them¿
88          (0.3)
89 L:→      Pia¿
            Which¿
            Which¿
90 F:       Radi↓kia ine anti↓dia ine [( ) hihi[hihi [((coughs))
            Ra↓dishes they are enti↓ves they are [( ) hihi[hih
            [((coughs))
            Ra↓dishes enti↓ves who knows [( ) hihi[hih [((coughs))
```

The point at which the transition to a new speaker may occur is called transition relevant place (hereafter TRP). If a speaker continues his/her turn after the first TRP, then the transition to next speaker becomes relevant at the following TRP (Schegloff, 1996b). For instance, in extract (2) line 170 is composed of two TCUs: the first TCU, *O Ma↑rcos ti e'i* (=Ma↑rcos what does he have), and the second TCU *den e'i gidia provata o Marcos* (=doesn't he have goats sheep Marcos). That means, there are two TRPs in which L could come in, namely after the completion of F's first TCU, and in the end of her turn, where L actually comes in.

(2) [Balantani video: M2U00051: 02:01]

```
170 F:      O Ma↑rcos ti e'i den e'i gidia provata o Marcos
            The Ma↑rcos what he has not he has goats sheep the
            Marcos
            Ma↑rcos what[10] does he have doesn't he have goats sheep
            Marcos
171 L:      O'i ageladia [°eh'°
            No cows [°he has°
            No he has [°cows°
```

There is, however, a type of post-possible completion in conversation when a TCU is extended through the inclusion of features that grammatically specify it. These so-called increments are in fact different from a new TCU in that they are extensions of the prior turn and not grammatically independent, like new TCUs. In extract (3), for instance, line 53 is an increment to E's prior turn at line 50; it cannot stand on its own grammatically, but merely extends the prior turn by adding the time referent.

---

[10] They are talking about livestock.

(3) [Balantani video: M2U00056: 00:44]

```
50 E:      Den >itan< ipohromeni n' a[niksune
           Not >they were< obliged to they o[pen
           >They¹¹ were< not obliged to o[pen
51 J:                                     [Ala↑
                                          [Bu↑t
                                          [Bu↑t
52         (0.5)
53 E:      simera
           today
           today
54         (0.5)
```

Turn allocation in every day interaction is not random but locally managed on a turn-by-turn basis and can be accounted for by the application of two basic rules proposed by Sacks et al. (1974).

Rule 1: at the initial TRP of a TCU

If the speaker who is currently speaking uses a technique that selects a next speaker, then the next speaker becomes relevant at the TRP. Such techniques include, for instance, gaze and address terms or explicit selection by name. See, for example, extract (4):

(4) [Balantani audio: VN550051: 00:50]

```
47 R:→    Giati Leandro ti dieta ksekina ti [metha↑vrio fa↑e
48        simera ena
          Why Leandro the diet start her [the day after tomo↑rrow
          e↑at today one
          Why Leandro start the diet [the day after tomo↑rrow
          e↑at one today
49 M:                                         [Po↑ po milame ()
                                              [Po↑ po we talk ()
                                              [Wo↑w I mean ( )
50 L:     Oh' oh'
          No no
          No no
```

In this multi-party conversation, Rita, at line 47, directs her talk to a particular recipient, Leandro, who responds to her turn as it comes to completion.

---

[11] 'They' refers to the shop-owners.

If no such technique has been involved, then the other speaker can self-select him/herself at the next TRP.

And if none of the above occurs, then the speaker is free to continue his/her turn until someone self-selects.

Rule 2: If the first two points have not been applied at the first TRP, then Rule 1 is re-applied at every TRP until we have a transition to next speaker.

All in all, what this model makes clear is that any conversation is "…locally managed, party-administered, interactionally controlled, and sensitive to recipient design." (Sacks et al., 1974: 696).

2.2.2   Sequence organisation

2.2.2.1   Adjacency pairs

As mentioned before, turns-at-talk are organised in TCUs with each TCU constituting one or more actions. The minimal unit of coordinated action in conversation is an adjacency pair, which comes in pairs of actions, for instance, greeting-greeting, question-answer, invitation-acceptance/refusal. In other words, an action from an interlocutor makes relevant a response from the other speaker. Adjacency pairs always consist of two parts; the "…forms which initiate actions are called *first pair parts* (henceforth FPP), while those that flow from such initiations are called *second pair parts* (henceforth SPP)" (Liddicoat, 2007: 106). The FPP is uttered so as to invite the other speaker to produce a relevant next action. So, actions are not occurring in isolation, they are occurring in sequences. For instance, a relevant next action to an offer would be an acceptance or a declination. According to Schegloff (2007a), adjacency pairs embody certain features: they consist of two different turns

produced by different interlocutors; one interlocutor produces the FPP and the other interlocutor produces the SPP adjacently placed after the FPP. Both FPP and SPP must be of the same type, which means that if a speaker produces an offer as a FPP, his/her interlocutor makes it "conditionally relevant" for him/her to reply with an acceptance/declination as a SPP and not a greeting, for example. Hence, interactants hold one another normatively accountable for the adjacency pair group, for an answer to a question or a greeting in response to a "hello". A SPP is expectable; so when it occurs it is understood as the second item to the FPP. If the production of a SPP to a FPP does not occur, it is seen as "officially absent" which is sequentially important to the talk and accountable; interlocutors are expected to produce a SPP after a FPP and if they don't, they have to justify its absence. Take for instance 'I don't know' as a response to 'Who won in the world cup?'. 'I don't know' provides an account for why I can't give you the information you are requesting from me. Nevertheless, I am orienting to the fact that I should; I am holding myself accountable to giving you the information you are asking for but since I am not able to do that I am going to have to account for why I am deviating from what should expectedly happen. The following example is representative of how a SPP is expectable:

(5) [Heritage & Clayman, 2010: 24]

```
01 Child:      Have to cut the:se Mummy.
02             (1.3)
03             Won't we Mummy
04             (1.5)
05             Won't we
06 Mom:        Yes.
```

We can see how the child is pushing for an answer from its mother by repeating its question in a contracted form twice until it gets a response. The questioner has created a slot in line 01 and there is a normative expectation for the recipient to fill this slot.

Nevertheless, expansions of this basic, minimal adjacency pairs are not uncommon in
talk-in-interaction; these expansions can come up before the FPP, between the FPP
and the SPP or after the SPP and are called pre-expansion, insert expansion and post-
expansion respectively. The figure below shows this schematically:

```
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│            ←Pre-expansion        │
│  A: FPP                          │
│            ←Insert expansion      │
│  B: SPP                          │
│            ←Post-expansion        │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
```
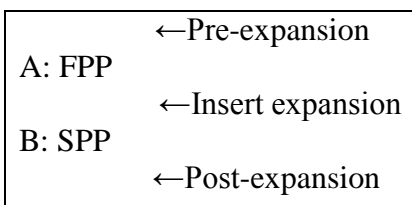
(Schegloff, 2007a: 26)

Pre-expansions are, as the term itself indicates, sequences that are preliminary to the
FPP; that means that they project a FPP that is about to come. See, for example, the
following excerpt:

(6) [Balantani audio: VN550047: 00:07]

```
14 V:      Ti kanis?
           What you do?
           How are you?
15         (.)
16 M:      Kala esi↑?
           Good you↑?
           Fine you↑?
17 V:      Kala: pu i↑se?                          <= FPPpre
           Goo:d where are you?
           Fine: where are you?
18         (0.2)
19 M:      Pu i↑me? Sto dromo ime pigeno (gam)     <= SPPpre
           Where I a↑m? In the street I go (gam)
           Where I a↑m? In the street I am going (gam)
20 V:      Pi↑ges mesa eki↑ gia to stavro↑?        <= FPPb
           You go↑ inside the↑re for the cro↑ss?
           Did you go↑ inside there for the cro↑ss?
21         (.)
22 M:      Ne?
           Yes?
           Yes?
23 V:      [Piges gia t-
           [You go f-
           [Did you go f-
24 M:      [(Piga)
           [(I went)
           [(I went)
25         (.)
26 M:      Piga kato gia tu stavro ( )             <= SPPb
           I went down for the cross ( )
           I went down for the cross ( )
```

Here we have line 17 as a pre-expansion turn that prepares the ground for the FPP. V

is asking for M's location, thus, preparing the ground for her question whether M

'went to town for the cross'.

Insert-expansions are basically used to repair the understanding of the FPP. See, for

instance, the following excerpt:

```
(7) Balantani audio: VN550057: 02:02]

88 E:      [Wie ist das We↑tter bei euch¿]          <=FPPb
           [How is the wea↑ther at you¿]
           [How is the wea↑ther there¿]
89 L:      [(                          )]
90 L:      E?                                       <=FPPins
91 E:      Wie ist das We↑tter bei euch¿            <=SPPins
           How is the wea↑ther at you¿
           How is the wea↑ther there¿
92         (0.3)
93 L:      Regen regen re↑gen,                      <=SPPb
           Rain rain rai↑n,
           Rain rain rai↑n,
```

E's turn at line 88 *[Wie ist das We↑tter bei euch ¿]* (=[How is the wea↑ther there¿])

that forms the base FPP is a request for information so we would expect a response as

a SPP at line 89 that would close the adjacency pair. Instead L at line 90 initiates

repair 'E?' indicating that some part of the prior turn was not clear. E's repair at line

91 is a repetition of her prior turn, repairing what she perceived to be a problem in

hearing, following which L responds to the base request for information about the

weather at line 93 *Regen regen re↑gen,* (=Rain rain rai↑n,).

Post expansion turns may be sequence closing implicative or may suggest that the

closure proposed by the SPP is not adequate, as the following excerpt suggests:

```
(8) [Balantani audio: VN550050: 01:46]

81 R:      Me to magazi pos pate?                   <= FPPb
           With the shop how you go?
           How is it going with the shop?
82         (0.1)
83 L:      Tipota nekra                             <= SPPb
```

```
            Nothing death
            Not much
84 R:       Ne e?                                    <= FPPpost
            Yes e?
            Yes e?
85 L:       Afu egine ki o dromos tora eki           <= SPPpost
            Since it is done and the street now there
            Since the street is being built there now
```

R does not treat L's proposal for closure as adequate enough so she initiates a post expansion at line 84.

What we can conclude from the above discussion on adjacency pairs is that position in sequence is highly important; as Atkinson and Heritage (1984: 5) remark: "...utterances are in the first place contextually understood by reference to their placement and participation within sequences of actions". It is within their sequential position that actions are constructed and understood by participants in talk. The production of a FPP by a speaker determines the range of possible responses that the recipient in the conversation can give, as each FPP projects a specific SPP as a response. So, each turn is shaped by the production of the prior turn and, respectively, shapes the next one. Receipt tokens, as the turn beginnings of a SPP to an informing then, and this is where adjacency pairs become relevant to our study, can basically change the trajectory of the ongoing talk as they are the first indications of how an informing was receipted. The speakers, upon receipt of their informing, structure their next turn with reference to how their initial informing was received.

2.2.2.2   Preference organisation

Our examination of adjacency pairs in the prior section showed us that talk is a collaborative achievement; speakers collaboratively build courses of action through sequences. In this section, I will explore how these actions are achieved through sequences by examining the relationship between the parts of adjacency pairs and

some of the interactional constraints imposed on them that are known as preference organization. Through preference organization we can see how social phenomena, such as affiliation and solidarity, are pursued through linguistic means and how cultural norms may crosscut preferences.

The term "preference" refers to structural preferences for certain types of actions over others; in other words, there are certain actions that are preferred over others in specific situations and preference indicates how interlocutors are able to display the kind of action they are doing or make inferences from the actions of the other interlocutors. With respect to offers, for instance, accepting and rejecting an offer are two different types of responses, the former aligning with the action that the FPP projects, whereas the latter disaligning with it. An offer then, makes two alternative responses relevant that are asymmetrical to each other (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Since the accomplishment of activities is done in sequences, the response that favors the accomplishment of the activity that the FPP embodies, is termed preferred and its alternative dispreferred (Schegloff, 2007a). So, in the following excerpt:

```
(9) (SBL:1:1:10)

1 A    Why don't you come and see me some[times
2 B→                                      [I would like to
3 A    I would like you to
```
(Clift, 2016: 143)

B's acceptance at line 2 'I would like to' is the preferred action in that it aligns with the action, that A's invitation at line 1 'Why don't you come and see me some[times' embodies.

It is important to emphasize, at this point, that the concept of preference in CA does not refer to an individual's personal preferences but to the preference for social

structures in talk, preference towards an agreement with our interlocutor (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Levinson, 1983; Schegloff, 2007a; Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Yule, 1996). As Schegloff (2007a: 61) notes ""Preferred" and "dispreferred" rather refer to a structural relationship of sequence parts". People cooperate in conversation and each turn is structured in such a way, so that it is a structurally preferred response to the prior one. To illustrate this, let us consider an example in which someone might be invited to a social event out of courtesy. The person that sends the invitation might not want the other one to come and, vice versa, the person being invited might rather prefer not to go to the event. However, invitation sequences prefer acceptances over declinations, irrespective of the personal preferences of the participants; thus, the person being invited, although his/her personal preference would be to decline the invitation, accepts it in order to align with the stance displayed in the FPP. Preference, then, has to do with social solidarity, what practices participants can employ in order to show cooperation in a conversation.

Nevertheless, it is not always the case that agreement or acceptance is the preferred response and disagreement or refusal the dispreferred one, rather preference depends on the action that is projected by the FPP. For example, in a self-deprecation "I look so fat in this dress", an agreement would be a dispreferred response, whereas a disagreement "No, you look stunning!" would be the conventionally preferred one (Pomerantz, 1984). Furthermore, although an acceptance is considered to be the preferred response to an offer, if someone offers you the last piece of a pie, a refusal might be the preferred response according to social conventions. So, there are actions for which the expected preference for agreement comes into conflict with that of social cohesion and affiliation.

Preferred and dispreferred turns are not only distinguished by the responsive actions that they make relevant but also by the format of the turns themselves, namely which practices speakers use to produce a preferred or dispreferred SPP. Preferred responses are usually short and come early in the next turn with no, or minimal, delays. On the contrary, dispreferred responses tend to be more elaborated and are usually followed by accounts or excuses. Moreover, they do not follow the prior turn immediately but, in most cases, are delayed or mitigated and there are also cases in which the dispreferred turn is actually not expressed at all (Schegloff, 2007a). See, for example the difference between (10) and (11):

```
(10)        (Davidson, 1984: 113)

1 A:        .hhhhh Uh will you call 'im tuhnight for me,=
2 B: →      =eYea:h,
3           (.)
4 A:        Plea::se,

(11)        NBIII: 3 (Sacks, 1987: 58)
1 A: →      Yuh coming down early?
2 B:        Well, I got a lot of things to do before getting
3           cleared up tomorrow. I don't know. I w- probably
4           won't be too early.
```

In example (10), B's answer to A's question is short and followed immediately after A's question finishes, as is indicated by the equals. Contrary to (10), in example (11), there is a long gap of 0.8 seconds and B's dispreferred response occurs in the end of the turn and is accompanied by a turn-initial marker 'well', a so-called hedge 'I don't know' and an account 'I got a lot of things to do'. So, although a straightforward 'no' is never articulated, by the production of 'Well' turn-initially, we already know that we are in dispreferred territory.

Nevertheless, research on preference in other languages is in its infancy. Thus, any generalisations concerning the preference for agreement over disagreement or acceptance over declinations, known from the English literature, would be risky. For

instance, recent work on offers in Arabic (Abu Abah, 2015, cited in Clift, 2016) and invitations in Persian (Taleghani-Nikazm, 1998; Asdjodi, 2001; Menasan, 2004, cited in Clift, 2016) demonstrate that there is a preference for initial declinations following the offer, or invitation respectively, before it gets accepted subsequently. In the following example, we can see how the initial offer from Sultan to carry the suitcase gets resisted by his elder Ghali, *ʔstery:ḥ¿ ʔstery:ḥ¿* (=Relax, relax), but upon insistence gets accepted *Jazzakallah* (=God reward you).

```
(12)      [Abu Abah, 2015] (S=Sultan;  G=Ghali)

1 S:     ʔšy:l ʕannek?
         (I) carry for you?
         (shall I) carry (it) for you?
2 G:→    ʔstery:ḥ¿ ʔstery:ḥ¿
         [Relax¿relax¿
3        [((S continues to point tothe case))
4 G:     Jazzakallah xer
         Rewards you god good
         God reward you
5 G:     Barakellah fy:k¿ šukran, ʔllah yeʕṭy:kelʕafyah
6        yeʕṭy:kelʕafyah
         Bless god in you¿ thank, god give you wellness give you
         wellness
         God bless you¿ thank you, god give you health give you
         health
7        ((S takes the bag and invites Gto walk in front of him
8        and out of the room))
9 G:     Jazzakumullah xer
         Rewards you god good
         God reward you
```

(Clift, 2016: 166)

Hence, although there is a general preference in conversation for agreements over disagreements and acceptance over declination of offers and invitations, this may not always hold in all contexts and all cultures but is variable. The above examples in Arabic and Persian indicate that there is a preference for affiliation as interlocutors do accept the offer or invitation in the end but the preference structure differs; in Arabic initial refusals are preferred over immediate acceptances.

2.2.3   Repair

Having laid out the basic structures of turn-taking and sequence organisation, I will now move on to examine the organisation of repair in interaction. "Repair" in talk–in–interaction refers to the resources speakers use in order to handle problems that appear in conversations, namely problems in speaking, hearing and understanding talk (Schegloff, 2000). These can range from someone correcting him-/herself when he/she said the wrong name or repeating what one just said when his/her interlocutor didn't hear. Repair is a valuable resource for maintaining intersubjectivity in talk, a mutual understanding between the participants. Repair episodes consist of two parts, the repair initiation and the repair outcome; the first refers to marking the problem in the preceding talk and the latter to fixing the problem. What is equally important in an episode of repair is who initiates repair. There are four types of repair depending on whether repair was initiated by the speaker of the problematic turn, or by the recipient of the talk:

Self-initiated self-repair: This type of repair is initiated and resolved by the speaker of the repairable. See, for instance, in excerpt (13) how A cuts off the production of what is hearable as *kinito* (=cellphone) and replaces it with the word *tilefono* (=telephone).

(13)   [Balantani audio: VN550050: 10:08]

```
451 A:                         [Ego de tha 'ho- de tha 'ho kin-
452        e tilefono
                               [I not will I have- not will I
           have cell- e telephone
                               [I will not have- I won't have

           cell- e telephone
```

Other-initiated self-repair: repair is initiated by the recipient of the talk but is resolved by the producer of the trouble source, what Schegloff et. al. (1977) termed a next turn repair initiator (henceforth NTRI). In excerpt (14) G initiates repair at line 14 indicating that some part of the prior turn was not clear, which V then repairs at line 15.

```
(14)        [Balantani audio: VN550049: 00:12]

13 V:       Ti::- I thia pige pire to stavro
            What::- The aunt went took the cross
            What::- Aunt went to take the cross
14 G:→      Pio↑s?
            Who↑?
            Who↑?
15 V:       I thia pige ki ekane parapono eki gia: to stavro
            The aunt went to complain about the cross
            Aunt went to complain about the cross
```

Self-initiated other-repair: the speaker of the trouble source initiates the repair but the repair is brought out by the recipient of the talk, as we can notice in excerpt (15):

```
(15)        [Balantani video: 00006: 12:48]

11 C:       Pigame kato:: s[to:[::
            We went down:: to [the:[::
            We went down:: to [the:[::
12 C:                       [((turns to S))
13 L:                          [Kli:[nun
                               [They clo:[se
                               [Do they clo:[se
14 S:→                            [Si:rio
                                  [Si:rio
                                  [Si:rio¹²
15 C:       S'o Sir°io° [ohto i o-]
            In the Sir°io° [eight the h-]
            In Sir°io° [eight o' c-]
```

C is struggling with remembering a name of a restaurant and S is repairing the talk by providing the name.

---

¹² 'Sirio' is the name of a restaurant.

Other-initiated other-repair: the recipient is the one who initiates the repair and also the one who resolves it. For instance, in excerpt (16) at line 109 V initiates repair and corrects the name Vera used by M which caused the trouble at line 107.

```
(16)        [Balantani audio: VN550058: 05:33]

107 M:     Me t'n Vera to:- ta Hristugena pot' itan
           With the Vera the:- the Christmas when it was
           With Vera on:- on Christmas when was it
108        (0.5)
109 V:→    T':: Ma↓rtha
           The:: Ma↓rtha
           The:: Ma↓rtha
110 M:     T' Martha pos to len' ne
           The Martha how it they say yes
           Martha I mean yes
```

Repair, together with turntaking and sequence organization, is the means by which interlocutors maintain intersubjectivity, as it provides participants with the resources that help them organise their social life (Hayashi & Kushida, 2013). The concept of repair will be a recurrent issue in the current research; it surfaces in many exchanges throughout my data and is the central focus of two chapters. I will investigate the use of *ne* with questioning prosody as a NTRI to an informing and the function of *bravo* in the environment of NTRIs.

I have presented the analytic method that I utilise in this study and I have provided the notions that are relevant for the study of social interaction. Before proceeding with the description of the data, a few words on the definition of response tokens, namely how this investigation defines response tokens, is in order. Furthermore, I will describe some key topics in CA that are relevant to the present research.

2.3   Response tokens and their action

In this subsection, I am going to discuss how response tokens operate at the level of the turn but also in the construction of social action; in other words, their interactional functions in terms of sequential organization, epistemicity and the display of stance.

2.3.1   Response/receipt tokens

"Response tokens are little conversational objects produced by a listener, [that] do not of themselves add in any direct way to the topical development of the talk, but together with other short responses such as assessments, they reveal much about the development of intersubjectivity in talk" (Gardner, 2007: 320). These tokens are rich in information about the stance a recipient takes with respect to the sequentially unfolding interaction. Conversation analysis' central assumption is that talk is both context-shaped and context-renewing (Heritage, 1984a). Contributions to talk are context-shaped in the sense that they are shaped by a sequence of prior actions and are produced to be responsive to them. At the same time they are context-renewing in that, in doing an action, participants project a next action or a possible range of next actions (Schegloff, 1992), and so they create a new context for the next person's talk. By producing these response tokens a listener takes a stance towards the prior turn while at the same time establishes the framework within which the following actions will be understood to be responsive to.

As the research in recent years indicates (Beach, 1993; Jefferson, 1993; Hakulinen & Sorjonen, 2011; Bublitz, 1989; Drummond & Hopper, 1993), response tokens are an invaluable source of insight into the unfolding interactional sequence, as they are the connection between the current talk and the incipient one, our only source on how a

listener perceives the talk (Gardner, 2001, 2007; Heritage, 2013). They can stand alone in a turn, comprising the smallest turns of talk, or be part of a multi-unit turn occupying a variety of positions in a sequence which can range from first position, initiating a new turn, second position, being responsive to a prior turn, to third position, taking up the role of a sequence closing turn (Heritage, 2013). Their meaning is determined by their sequential position in interaction, making their inherent semantics less valuable to our study of them. For example, the Greek particle *entaksi* can occur in all three positions and its meaning will depend on its sequential position:

```
(17)          [Balantani audio: VN550060: 05:21]

262 E:      Ma:[lista
            Ye[a
            Ye[a
263 V:→        [E:ntaks' lipon [dos' ke (.) filakia sti Venus
               [Okay so [give and (.) kisses to the Venus
               [Well okay [give also (.) kisses to Venus

(18)          [Balantani audio: VN550050: 05:03]

207 R:      to mina petre↑leo ekaton deka ekaton i↓kosi to mi↓na
            the month oi↑l hundred ten twe↓nty a mo↓nth
            a month oi↑l a hundred and ten twenty a mo↓nth
208 L:      Itan
            It was
            It was
209 R:      Ne
            Yes
            Yes
210 L:→     Entaks' kalutsika
            Okay lttle goods
            Okay quite good

(19)          [Balantani audio: VN550049: 02:53]

124 V:      To vazum apo kat' ap' to trapezi as pume ama [toso
125         poli thelume na ine diavasmeno
            It we put from down from the table let we say if [so
            much we want to it is read
            We put it[13] under the table let's say if we want it [so
            much to be read
126 G:                                                  [Ne
                                                        [Yes
                                                        [Yes
```

---

[13] 'It' refers to a snack that is a costum in Greece to prepare for the dead.

```
127 V:→    Hm .hhh entaksi
           Hm .hhh okay
           Hm .hhh fine
```

As will be apparent, the functional significance of *entaksi* varies across these three sequential positions; its meaning derives from its 'positional sensitivity' (Schegloff, 1996b), and so its general semantics (Heritage, 1984b, 1998, 2002b) is less important.

What is more, since response tokens are very short and simple in their grammar, phonology and morphology, they are often studied for their prosodic features as well. These studies have demonstrated that their functions vary according to the prosodic features they entail (Gardner, 2004). The token *bravo*, for instance, typically has a rising intonation contour when it is used to mark surprise towards a prior turn:

```
(20)        [Balantani audio: VN550051: 03:57]

245 L:     De thimame an iham'- ihame pai ke sto nisa↓k' mu
246        fenete (0.1) ihame tot' [oli mera ne
           Not I remember if we had- we had gone and to the
           little isla↓nd me it seems (0.1) we had then [all day
           yes
           I don't remember if we had- we had also gone to the
           little isla↓nd I think (0.1) we had then [all day yes
247 R:→                                  [Bra↑vo
                                         [Bra↑vo
                                         [Ho↑w about that
```

Ne is another token that differs from one another according to their prosodic features:

```
(21)        [Balantani audio: VN550051: 27:44]

16 L:      Den evriska lires aglias p'thena tipote
           Not I was founding pounds of England anywhere nothing
           I couldn't find English pounds anywhere nothing
17 S:→     Ne?
           Yes?
           Yes?
18 L:      Ne
           Yes
           Yes
19 M:      Vrikes (   [ )
           You found (   [ )
           Did you find (   [ )
20 S:              [De vrikes kato sto Kurmanio? puthena? se
21         kan'an mavragori↓ti tetia?
```

```
                     [Not you found down in the Kurmanio? nowhere?
          in some black marke↓ter such?
                     [You didn't find down there in Kurmanio?
          nowhere? in some black marke↓ter or so?
```

(22)   [Balantani video: M2U00056: 00:48]

```
  55 J:      Den itan apofasismeno apo ton eboriko silogo=
             Not it was decided from the commercial association=
             Wasn't it decided by the chamber of commerce=
  56 E:      =Itane elefthero stin krisi tus
             =It was free in the judgement their
             =They¹⁴ were free to choose
  57         (0.1)
  58 J:→     A ne:[:¿
             A yes:[:¿
             A yes:[:¿
  59 E:           [M::
```

As we can see in extract (21), *ne* with rising intonation at line 17 registers S's disbelief to the prior informing and is preliminary to further questioning at lines 20-21, whereas in extract (22) with a low rising prosody on the *ne* at line 58 J marks her acceptance of E's informing.

In general, previous studies on response tokens have focused on their use from a discourse analytic point of view, regarding them "…as a homogenous, undifferentiated group" (Gardner, 2001: 4). On the contrary, CA's approach is to consider their use in sequential context; what is of interest to a CA analyst is to examine their use in the context in which they occur, namely their timing and placement within a sequence of talk, and if they appear on their own in a turn or accompanied by other talk, for instance an assessment. Response tokens can illustrate how talk is collaboratively constructed by participants and how meaning is reconstructed utterance by utterance; as Heritage (1984b) mentions, acknowledgment tokens, for example, are "…used to achieve a systematically differentiated range of objectives which, in turn, are specifically consequential for the onward development

---

[14] 'They' refers to the shop- owners.

of the sequences in which they are employed" (Heritage, 1984b, cited in Gardner, 2001: 8).

Since CA studies of response tokens in Greek are, to my knowledge, non-existent, the present research is influenced by studies on the analysis of response tokens in English and other languages. CA distinguishes those items into different categories, some of which are: "acknowledgment tokens", for example 'Yeah' (Drummond & Hopper, 1993), "newsmarkers", like 'Really' and 'Oh' (Heritage, 1984b), and "continuers", like 'Uh huh', 'Mm hm' (Sacks, 1992a, 1992b; Schegloff, 1982).

Acknowledgment tokens are used in order to claim agreement or understanding of the prior turn with 'Yeah' and 'Mm' being the most common ones. In contrast to continuers that hand the floor back to the speaker, acknowledgment tokens merely mark that the prior turn was receipted, as we can see from the following example:

```
(23)      A&BD3a

1 Bob:     °eh 'n° David w'z up to 'iz ole ↑tri:cks
2          too:↑. Hhh
3          (0.5)
4 Ann:     Iz o:ld ↑tri:cks:?=
5 Bob:     =Ga:me pla:yer¿
6 Ann:     Oh;= ga:me player.
7 Bob:→    Yea:h.
8 Ann:     [(Ris)
9 Bob:     [Nick 'n' I:;= 're both ev thee op↑inion;=
10         tha' t'da:y's v↑isit;= 'as godda hh
11         (0.2) hidden ag~enda~.
```

(Gardner, 2001: 35-6)

Bob's 'Yeah' at line 7 receipts Ann's reconfirmation of the 'game player', thus acknowledging the prior repair sequence.

With regards to newsmarkers, like 'Oh', 'Really', Right', they are used to mark the prior turn as newsworthy. The particle 'Oh', in particular, has been examined in a range of conversational sequences by Heritage (1984b) who characterises the token as

a "change-of-state". The receipt of a new information with 'Oh' suggests that the speaker has undergone some change in his current state of knowledge, moving from a state of "non-knowing to knowing" (Schegloff, 2007a). In extract (24), for instance, the informing on the arrival of some furniture is receipted with 'Oh':

```
(24)      [Rah: B:1:1:12:1]

1 I:      Ye:h. 'h uh:m (0.2) I've jis' rung tih the- eh tell
2         you (0.3) uh the things 'av arrived from Barker'n
3         Stone'ou[:se,
4 J:             [Oh:::::.
5         (.)
6 J:→     Oh c'n I c'm rou:nd, hh
```
(Heritage, 1984b: 301)

Note also that 'Oh' at line 4 here is produced at a point where the informing about the arrival of the furniture is possibly complete. However, free-standing 'Oh' receipts are quite rare; they are usually combined with an assessment, thus assessing the news delivery. See, for instance, extract (25):

```
(25)      [Rah: 1:1]

1 J:      I w'z j'st eh ringing up t'say I'll be comin' down
2         inna moment,
3         (.)
4 I:→     Ohgh goo:d,
```
(Heritage, 1984b: 302)

I's receipt of the informing is produced as an 'Oh' + assessment turn at the end of the informing, which, according to Jefferson (1993), is topic closing in character; that is, recipients treat the prior informing as complete. By contrast, an informing is treated as incomplete when it is receipted with an 'Oh' plus a question that is inviting the informant to proceed:

(26)   [JG:3C:5]

```
1 R:      I fergot t'tell y'the two best things that
2         happen'tuh me t'day.
3 C:→     Oh super.= What were they
```

(Heritage, 1984b: 303)

After C receipts the prior informing with 'Oh' + assessment at line 3, he/she then explicitly requests more information with the question that follows.

Continuers are typically used to mark the recipients' understanding of a turn as still in progress and not yet complete. Hence, interlocutors abstain from taking a substantial turn at talk and hand the floor back to the prior speaker. The following excerpt is an archetypal use of the continuer 'Mm hm':

(27)   Field: 1988 Undated: 2: 2

```
1 Les:    ↓No. So she's u-she's:: h she's dreasonably sure
2         everything's okay,
3 KEV:    Yes I think so
4         (0.7)
5 Les:→   ↓Mm hm,
6 Kev:    hh .hhhh Quite happy
7 Les:    .t Jolly ↓goo:d,h Oh ↓goo:d,h
8         (0.2)
```

(Gardner, 2001: 27)

By producing an 'Mm hm' at line 5 Les indicates that there is no problem with Kev's prior turn and merely passes the floor back to him.

Stivers (2008) analyses response tokens in the sequential context of storytellings and concludes that vocal continuers, like 'mm', 'hm', 'uh huh' 'yeah', acknowledge the information given in the storytelling and, hence, progress the talk by treating the storytelling as still in progress. Although the aforementioned response tokens align with the storytelling activity, they do not show affiliation towards the teller's stance towards the story, namely that the story will probably have a preferred uptake at

completion. Thus, whereas continuers provide structural alignment, social affiliation towards the storytelling is managed by different response tokens, such as nods.

Of particular interest to us for the current study is the continuer 'okay'. Beach (1993) examines the particle from a conversation analytic point of view in a wide variety of interactional environments, from telephone openings and pre-closings to assessments, and proposes that 'okay' can be used by both recipient and current speaker to manage both prior and next-positioned matters. Another continuer, 'Right', has been proposed to function as a device with which speakers are moving from a current activity to a new one and is located in the end of extended turns-at-talk, functioning as a pre-closing token in conversations. What is more, 'Right' is used as an acknowledgment token, with which speakers show their understanding of an utterance relative to a prior one in extended informings (Gardner, 2007). Wilkinson & Kitzinger (2006) have analysed reaction tokens that display surprise to the prior informing. Their work focuses on surprise as an interactional achievement, that is participants in talk collaborate in order to perform surprise. Surprise is not seen as an outburst of emotion but is a reaction that is performed by interlocutors and prepared several turns in advance. The display of surprise can take different forms, including facial expressions and body deployment, however, their main focus is on surprise tokens, like 'oh my god' or 'gosh'. They suggest that surprise tokens are primarily responsive to some prior talk and are produced after an interactant has produced something suprisable; prior talks designed to get surprise are, for instance, extreme case formulations or pre-announcements. Thus, surprise tokens can delay an assessment that was being expected after the initial informing.

Nevertheless, response tokens are not the only resource interlocutors have at their disposal to show their stance towards the prior talk. Epistemics is another resource for participants to position themselves towards an informing.

2.3.2   Epistemics and the role of assessments

In CA, the term epistemics is used to refer to "…the distribution of rights and responsibilities regarding what participants can accountably know, how they know it, whether they have rights to describe it and in what terms…" (Heritage & Raymond, 2005: 16). In other words, epistemics studies how interlocutors position themselves with respect to their knowledge on some state of affairs and their rights to know it. This orientation to the participants' rights and responsibilities with respect to knowledge is particularly evident in assessment sequences. By assessments I mean utterances that have an evaluative character and contain clear valence, for instance funny, far, nice (Stivers & Rossano, 2012). When making an assessment speakers claim knowledge of what they are assessing, while at the same time they provide the relevance of a second assessment by their co-participants at talk. Hence, speakers monitor each other's talk with respect to who goes first and who second when prompted to assess a referent at hand, in other words who agrees with whom. By considering first and second position assessments we determine "…whose view is the more significant or more authoritative with respect to the matter at hand" (Heritage & Raymond, 2005: 15). The response to an assessment depends on the person's access to the referent state of affairs. According to whether one has primary or secondary access to the referent under discussion, he/she can proffer a second assessment which either agrees or disagrees with the prior assessment. For instance:

(28)   [Balantani audio: VN550051: 05:30]

```
333 L:→    In' makrines aftes i ekdromes [poli makria ti u:
334        [(voria)
           They are distant these the excursions [much far what
           u: [(north)
           These excursions are far [too far what u: [(north)
335 R:→                                          [°Ne°
                                                 [°Yes°
                                                 [°Yes°
```

The assessment in first position *In' makrines aftes i ekdromes* (=These excursions are

far) is produced as a declarative statement and receives an agreement in second

position *°Ne°* (=°Yes°). According to Heritage & Raymond (2005) the above is the

default ordering; the speaker who produces the agreement claims secondary rights to

knowledge simply because he goes second. However, that does not mean that

speakers comply with that ordering; a speaker proffering an assessment first (or

second) will not necessarily claim primary (or secondary) rights to assess the referent

at hand. Consider for instance the following sequence:

(29)   [Balantani audio: VN550051: 05:56]

```
361 R:     Lefkada ihame pai emis dio fores otan imastan [sto
362        Votonosi=
           Lefkada we had gone we two times when we were [in the
           Votonosi=
           To Lefkada we had been twice when we were [in
           Votonosi15=
363 M:                                                  [Ne
                                                        [Yes
                                                        [Yes
364 R:     =Lefkada
           =Lefkada
           =Lefkada
365 L:→    E makria den i↓n'
           E far not it is↓
           E it's far isn't it↓
366 M:→    Poli makria [ontos ne
           Very far [indeed yes
           Very far [indeed yes
```

The turn is formulated as a question rather than an assessment *E makria den i↓n'* (=E

it's far isn't it↓) which gives the other interlocutor the primary right to assess the

---

15 'Votonosi' is a small village near Ioannina.

matter. Heritage & Raymond (2005) examine a range of resources through which speakers mark their epistemic primacy/subordination when producing an assessment in first or second position in English.

First position epistemic downgrading may be indexed by:
- evidential weakening (e.g.'seems', 'sounds')
- tag questions (e.g. 'aren't they')

Second position epistemic upgrading may be indexed by:
- confirmation + agreement (e.g. 'they are, yes')
- oh-prefaced second assessments (e.g. 'oh she's a beautiful girl')
- tag questions (e.g. 'it is, isn't it)
- negative interrogatives (e.g. 'isn't it beautiful')

First position epistemic upgrading may be indexed by:
- negative interrogatives (e.g. 'isn't she a doll?')

Figure 2.1 A summary of Heritage & Raymond (2005)

(Adapted from Clift, 2016: 198)

Hence, the epistemic claim implied by an assessment is associated with its sequential position; participants deploy specific grammatical practices in order to manage the relationship between their relative epistemic rights to assess and their sequential position.

Additionally to their own, interlocutors orient to the relative epistemic access of their recipients to a domain or territory of information, that is, their epistemic status. The epistemic status of a speaker depends on his involvement in the event that is being discussed. Labov and Fanshel (1977) distinguished between A-events (which are known to A, but not to B) and B-events (known to B, but not to A); if A makes a B-event statement, he/she is asking for confirmation, as it is not in his/her epistemic territory. So, a declarative statement, for instance "And you never went to her house." is understood as a request for confirmation even if it lacks questioning prosody. Of course, speakers may have access to an event to different degrees; speaker A might

have more epistemic access than speaker B, the reverse, or both may have the same access to information. So, if A is talking about the weather outside, both speaker and recipient (A and B) will have the same epistemic status.
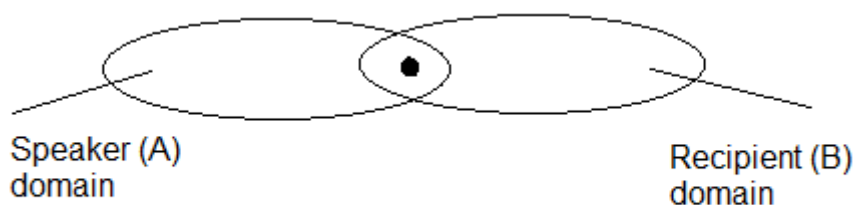
Figure 2.2 The weather outside.

(Adapted from Heritage, 2016)

Nevertheless, participants can adjust these relationships in the moment-by-moment management of turns-at-talk, expressing their epistemic stance towards the informing. Epistemic stance, meaning the epistemic position conveyed in the design of the turn, should be congruent with the speaker's epistemic status. For example, if someone told you "Colchester is a great place to live", you should say "I've heard Colchester is a great place to live". That would bring your epistemic stance in congruence with your epistemic status.

The epistemic stance of speakers can be represented in terms of gradient moving from K- (less knowledgeable position) to K+ (more knowledgeable position). A questioner, for example, is usually in a K- position, requesting from the recipient the relevant information in order to move to a K+ position. (Heritage, 2012b).

The Figure below, however, shows that these epistemic gradients can change depending on the combination of linguistic forms, both prosodic and syntactic, and the relative epistemic status of the speaker and the recipient with regards to an utterance.

Turn design feature	K+ epistemic status (*Within speaker's epistemic domain*)	K- epistemic status (*Not within speaker's epistemic domain*)
	Action Interpretation (*Given the 'known in common' epistemic status of speaker and recipient relative to the targeted state of affairs*)	
Declarative syntax	Informing	'Declarative/B-event question'
Declarative syntax with final rising intonation	Continuing	Questioning
Tag question	Mobilizing support for an assertion	Seeking confirmation
Negative interrogative syntax	Assertion	Request for information
Interrogative syntax	Pre-informing question Known answer question Rhetorical question	Request for information

Figure 2.3 Epistemics and action formation

(Adapted from Heritage, 2012b: 24)

So, we can see that, even when an utterance is formed with a declarative syntax, if the speaker is in K- position, it is designed as a B-event statement which functions as a question, rather than an informing. Stivers & Rossano (2012) have examined the various resources that English interlocutors have at their disposal for mobilizing a response from their recipients, such as interrogative morphosyntax, interrogative intonation, epistemic expertise on the topic and speaker gaze. Consider the following extract:

(30) Extract 8 HS5 [dyadic]

```
1 NIC:      How you think he'll handle tha:t.
2 SHA:      Have you ever had one there? [(before)?
3 NIC:                                   [No I haven't.
4          (.)
5 NIC:      Tha[t's what I'm sayin'. we gon't'go t'gether.
6 SHA:         [Oh my go^:d it-
7 SHA:      Go t'gether. An' you'll never w- go back t'(them)
8          again.
9 NIC: ->  So that would be cool for him hu [h.
```

```
10 SHA:                                       [That'd be gettin'
11        really coo:[l.
12 NIC: ->          [Wouldn't that be ni:ce?,
13 SHA:    ^Uh huh,/((nodding))
14         ((N gaze away from S))
```

(Stivers & Rossano, 2010: 11)

Both assessments at lines 9 and 12 are designed with various response-mobilizing features, such as speaker's gaze, interrogative morphosyntax and prosody. Nic delivers both assessment turns while gazing at her recipient. She produces line 9 as a tag question with the particle 'huh', which morphologically seeks agreement, and line 12 with rising intonation, again seeking agreement from her interlocutor. Sha responds to the first assessment with an upgraded assessment in second position, upgrading from 'cool' to 'really cool', and an agreement to the second assessment. So, there are several turn-design features that are implemented by speakers for mobilising a response, such as interrogative lexico-morphosyntax, interrogative prosody, speaker gaze and the epistemic asymmetries between the recipient and the speaker. Depending on the sequential position of the turn, the action that the speaker is implementing and a combination of the aforementioned features, recipients are held accountable for responding.

In this section, I explored the use of assessments as one way of indexing one's epistemic stance towards a state of affairs, particularly relevant to this study. Nevertheless, assessment sequences are only one of the possible interactional resources that interlocutors have at hand to claim their epistemic authority over a matter.

2.3.3   Prosody in interaction

Prosody is another resource for displaying one's epistemic stance in natural social interaction (Schegloff, 1998). Previous research on prosody in conversation has been concerned with the deployment of prosody by interactants as a resource for managing and negotiating interactive meaning (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 1996). These studies focus on particles (Local, 1996; Wu, 2004) and response tokens (Golato & Fagyal, 2008; Selting, 1996) and show that these particles and tokens function as indicators of epistemic stance when they are produced with certain prosodic features.

Local (1996) examines the phonetic realisation of the token 'oh' in response to news and concludes that the token exhibits diverse phonetic characteristics when it is a response to information provided by the speaker than when the information is elicited by the oh-speaker. Additionally, Freese & Maynard (1998: 216) in their study on the prosodic features of news deliveries examine how prosody is deployed by participants "…as a semiotic resource for converging on a shared evaluative orientation toward an item of news". They argue that the differences in the prosodic delivery of bad and good news, and their responses accordingly, are the same as the differences in how participants express their feelings of joy and sorrow. Wu (2004), in her study on final particles in Mandarin, claims that the particles 'ou' and 'a' have a different interactional function depending on whether they are produced with a marked or an unmarked prosody and are usually used to express emotive/or epistemic stance.

Furthermore, Selting (1996) looks at the prosodic marking of repair-initiation by recipients. Specifically, she examines the difference between the prosodically marked and unmarked versions of the German tokens 'ja' and 'bitte' and claims that participants orient to whether a prosodic cue was present or not. Golato and Fagyal's

(2008) study on the German double saying of 'jaja' shows that both forms are used as a response to a prior speaker's utterance that is known or obvious to the 'jaja' speaker, however, depending on how they are prosodically produced, the two forms accomplish a different interactional function. Specifically, when the pitch peak is on the first syllable of the utterance, namely 'jaˆja', then the speaker conveys that the current action should be terminated because the information of the prior utterance is already known to the recipient. In contrast, when the pitch peak is on the second syllable, 'jajaˆ', the speaker indicates that the information conveyed by the prior utterance is self-evident.

Hence, research shows that the prosodic marking of a turn or a particle, in particular sequential environments, is a resource deployed by interlocutors to accomplish actions. The different phonetic characteristics of some of the tokens analysed in this study will be examined in order to explore their interactional functions in the environment of informings. In the following section, I will describe how participants' social identities are handled in talk and can be linked to their rights to knowledge by examining the relationship between interactions and the contexts in which they occur.

2.4   Identity and institutional talk

The perspective of CA on identities is that that they are socially constructed through everyday talk. Instead of taking it that each person has a specific given identity, CA focuses on how participants move in and out of multiple categories that society has to offer. Participants in a conversation may have many identities; someone, for example, might be a woman, she may be the mother of three, a fan of wine and so on. However, in a particular conversation specific identities are invoked and made relevant.

Let us consider an example that Schegloff shared with us while he was analyzing data:

> *In data Chuck Goodwin collected on an oceanographic research vessel, someone appears on deck with a complicated piece of equipment and says, ''Where next?''. In the discussion of how to characterize the action this turn was doing – 'request for instructions' or 'offer of further help'–the issue was recurrently made to turn on who the speaker and addressee, respectively were, in hierarchical structure terms. If we could stipulate to the identity of the parties, we could get a solution to the characterization of the action. (2007b: 473)*

So, we can see that identities are an important notion for understanding and interpreting an utterance, an issue first raised by Sacks in the 1960s in his work on calls to a suicide prevention center. He developed what he called the 'membership categorization device', according to which one's linguistic behavior functions as a 'device' that puts him/her into a 'collection' of members, who in turn are bound to certain characteristics, the so-called 'category-bound features'. Each member of a category is expected to act according to the features of the category he/she is bound to at any moment in interaction. So, for instance, in the following excerpt taken from the Holt corpus, Leslie phones Marsha but in doing so she has to introduce herself using a description that will assist Marsha in understanding the reason of her call:

```
(31)        Holt:2:3

1 Mar:    one three five?
2         (.)
3 Les:    Oh hello it's um Leslie Field he:re:
4 Mar:    Oh hello.
5 Les:    Hello, .tch I hope you don't mind me getting in touch
6 →       but uh- we metchor husband little while ago
7 →       at a Liberal meeting.
```

Leslie's utterance 'we metchor husband at a liberal meeting' invokes two categories, members of a group and political affiliation. The word choice 'we' characterizes Leslie as a member of a group, presumably herself and her husband, whereas the descriptor 'at the Liberal meeting' invokes her identity as a member of a political

party. Marsha, the recipient of the call, then can identify through these descriptions that her identities as a 'wife' and as 'a member of the Liberal party' are relevant to the call. Similarly, if I was to start a story saying 'Anna, 27, who is a visiting fellow from Greece..', you would imply that her identity categories of nationality, age and occupation are somehow relevant to the story. Hence, speakers can cast themselves and people they are talking about as members of a category that will have implications on how the participants see themselves in that particular exchange (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998). Interlocutors have a predetermined view of each other due to the categories that they are part of and the characteristics of that category that they entail. Certain features that are bound to that category become relevant in the conversation and are being oriented to by the other participants.

This is particularly salient in institutional settings, where participants take part as a member of a collection. In the following excerpt from a call to an emergency service, the caller's identification with the identity 'Knight of Columbus Hall', as early as possible, is crucial:

<blockquote>

(32) (MCE 7-3.56) Categorical Self-Identification

```
1 CT:     Mid-City emergency
2         (.)
3 →C:     tch .hh u::h This is u::h Knights of Columbus
4 →       Hall at uh: twenty twenty ni:ne West Broadway
5 →       North?=
6 CT:     =Mmhm ((keyboard sounds))
7 C:      U::h we had some u::h women's purses u::h stolen
```
</blockquote>

(Zimmerman, 1998: 99)

Identifying him/herself as 'Knights of Columbus Hall' gives the caller an institutional identity and proves that he/she knows the procedure, so that the business of the call is processed as quickly as possible.

Institutional talk is quite distinguishable from ordinary conversations not only by means of the identities of the participants in the interaction. It is distinct in its turn-taking system, sequence organization, turn design, lexical choice, epistemological asymmetries of the speakers and the overall structural organization of the interaction (Drew & Heritage, 1992). For example, in news interviews, turns are pre-allocated with the interviewer posing the questions and the interviewee responding:

(33) UK BBC Radio World at One: 25 Jan 1979: Letters

```
1 IR:    .hhh The (.) price being asked for these letters
2        is (.) three thousand pou::nds.
3 IR:    Are you going to be able to raise it,
```

(Heritage & Clayman, 2010: 39)

The interviewer prefaces the question with a statement, as we can see at lines 1-2, as a practice of informing the audience.

What is more, as we can notice in the emergency call in excerpt (32), the structure of the opening of the call is different to an ordinary call; instead of the 'how-are-yous' that would follow the identification of the caller in an ordinary conversation, in institutional calls the participants go straight to the business of the call. With regards to turn design and lexical choice, participants can accomplish different actions by constructing their turns in different ways. Consider, for instance, the different design of the parents' responses to the health visitor in the following extract:

(34) [HV:4A1:1] [Heritage and Seffi 1992: 367]

```
1 HV:    He's enjoying that [isn't he.
2 F:  →                    [°Yes, he certainly is=°
3 M:  → He's not hungry 'cuz (h)he's ju(h)st (h)had
4        'iz bo:ttle .hhh
5        (0.5)
6 HV:    You're feeding him on (.) Cow and Gate Premium.=
```

(Heritage & Clayman, 2010: 46)

The health visitor's remark 'He's enjoying that' gets two quite distinct responses. The father immediately agrees with him at line 2, whereas the mother takes a more defensive stance towards the health visitor 'He's not hungry', rejecting the implication of his utterance that the baby is hungry. So, by constructing their turns in a different way, the two parents are selecting to perform different activities.

To conclude with, participants in institutional interactions, whether it be doctors and patients, sales persons and customers or teachers and students, will always have different experiences, knowledge and rights to express that knowledge. These discrepancies are pervasive in the interactions and are important in our analysis of these settings in the forthcoming chapters.

This section has aimed to provide all the analytic concepts of the methodology utilised for this thesis which are relevant for the understanding of the phenomena discussed in the following chapters. I have reviewed some of the key concepts in CA, such as the turn-taking organisation, the system that explains how interaction is coordinated, sequence organisation, where I explained how actions are coordinated in interaction, and I examined the organisation of repair, the resource that interlocutors have at their disposal to get out of trouble in conversations. I also highlighted the link between response tokens and epistemics in more detail and I concluded with an overview of how CA considers the role of identity in interaction and how this becomes particularly relevant in our analysis of institutional settings. I will now proceed with an overview of the data selected and utilized for the current study.

2.5   Data

The data corpus consists of 15:24:34 hours of video recordings of naturally occurring Greek interactions and 2:04:34 hours of audio recordings of telephone conversations

as well as naturally occurring conversations between family members. The data was collected from different family members and friends mainly in Ioannina, a city located in the north-western part of Greece in the region of Epirus. Some of the recordings are bilingual in nature (Greek-German) and the rest is Greek. I was present in most of the video-recordings, as a researcher, but with minimal participation in the conversations. I incorporated my data collection into my holiday trips to Greece in order to not take time from my studies, combining work with pleasure. Most participants are adults in the age range of 13 to 80 years old and in some of the recordings there are children involved, one of which is used as a participant in one of my chapters. All participants have agreed to sign the consent form prior to the recordings and in the case of the children being involved in the interaction, consent was taken from their parents and anonymity was ensured (see consent form in Appendix C). The pseudonyms that were used to anonymise the participants' identity were devised to fit the syllabic features of the original names.

In order to draw better and more objective conclusions from my data, I looked for participants from various age groups and backgrounds; thus, my recordings include instructional sequences (one-to-one tuitions), dinner and coffee with friends and families, as well as interaction in the car during excursions, bilingual interactions and in two of my chapters I use instances of institutional talk taken from mediated broadcast shows available on you tube. This was done in order to ensure that I have a variety of different settings and speakers because I believe that one can draw more compelling evidence when one has a variety of settings and speakers to compare his/her data with. Some of the participants are appearing recurrently in the data because I wanted to make sure I have as many combinations of speakers as possible. There were three different time periods in which the recordings took place between

2013 and 2015; the first recordings took place before coming to the UK, so I have some data to work on in the initial stage of my PhD, then a series of audio- and video recordings during my first visit to Greece in the Christmas period, two video recordings took place during a short visit to Greece in May and a last collection during the Christmas period in 2014-15. In order to ensure good quality of the telephone recordings, I used a microphone to connect my recorder to the phone and raise the volume of the participant's voice. This was a suggestion from one of my colleagues which proved very helpful.

As for the thematology of the recordings, a crucial issue shaping the discussions is the socioeconomic background of the country during the time of the recordings as well as the situation in the family recorded. During the time of the recordings, Greece was in a critical socio-economic situation. The country faced a huge debt towards the EU, with the threat of bankruptcy, the unemployment level was particularly high and the wages were becoming lower every month. All of these factors affected the participants and this was one of the main topics among them.

On a personal level, the family faced two deaths. The mother of Vanessa died a few weeks before the recordings in September and the father of Leandro was very sick during the period I did the Christmas recordings and died some weeks later. These are also factors that affected the conversations of the participants. Since all of them are family members or friends of the family this is something that they had in common and was used as a topic initiator in many instances.

2.5.1   Transcription and Translation

This research follows the Jeffersonian transcription conventions (see Appendix A). The transcription of the excerpts has been done in the Roman alphabet as the Greek

one is more difficult for the reader to read and follow. Each excerpt consists of 3 lines: the first line depicts the utterance in Greek with the Roman letters, the second line is a gloss of the literal word-by-word translation in English, mainly for the reader to understand the grammar behind each sentence, and line 3 is an idiomatic English translation, transcribed with the Jeffersonian symbols to facilitate the analysis of interactional details that would otherwise go unnoticed, for instance prosodic features of an utterance. Words that facilitate the understanding of the utterance in English but do not appear in the Greek utterance appear in brackets.

As we shall see, the translation of some of the tokens does not adequately capture the range of interactional uses to which they are put. Some of the tokens have near exact equivalents and some have not. Most of the tokens are positionally sensitive and, therefore, have a different translation depending on their position in the sequence (see *entaksi*, *bravo*, *ne*, *ela*).

The response tokens under investigation were translated as follows:

Entaksi is translated in most of the instances as 'okay', the loose equivalent in English. However, in instances such as the following:

(35)   [Balantani audio: VN550058: 06:14]

```
142 M:→   Entaks' t' amaks' e↓
          Okay the car e↓
          And the car is fine right↓
143 V:→   Ne ne entaks'
          Yes yes okay
          Yes yes fine
```

the token is utilised as an adjective; the interlocutor is asking the speaker to assess the condition of a car after an accident. In such contexts, the token is translated as 'fine'.

Ela literally means 'come'. However, in the data it is translated as 'come on', 'come' or 'hey', depending on the interactional environment it is situated in. I translate *ela* as 'hey' when it appears in the opening of a phone call, e.g. *Ela Elena* (=Hey Elena) because it functions as a greeting. In all other instances *ela* is translated as 'come on'. The only example in which I left the token untranslated is the following:

(36) Συζήτηση για τις πολιτικές εξελίξεις (Discussion of political developments)- 06.06.2013 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yujtjYkIRCc&index=55&list=WL 29/09/2014, 07:49) (13:58-14:46)

```
24 B:→   [Elate kiria Kountoura]
         [Come Mrs. Kountoura]
25 E:    [I: a-]
26 E:    ((eye gaze to B))
27       (0.2)
28 E:    >Kitakste ama ine na milane i ali apo ena tetarto ki
29       emena na mu [lete elate me to pu [aniksa to stoma mu:↑<
         >Look if the others talk for a quarter and to me [you
         say come the moment [I opened my mouth:↑<
30 B:                [((looks at his watch))
31 B:                                   [Ela↑te ohi na
32       mili↑sete leo [na mi sas diakoptume ( )
                               [Co↑me no I mean ta↑lk
         [so that we don't interrupt you ( )
33 D:            [Elate proho[riste leme de leme
34       sama[ti↓ste=
                 [Come go ah[ead we say we don't say st[o↓p=
35 E:              [°°E ne°° ((nods))
                          [°°E yes°° ((nods))
36 E:    [Afto leo e:m
         [That's what I mean e:m
37 B:    =Prohoriste ne
         =Go ahead yes
```

In this excerpt, there is a miscommunication between the speakers caused by the ambiguity of the token in Greek and in order to stress that ambiguity in the data, I left it untranslated.

Ne is left untranslated in all cases because there is no satisfactory English equivalent for that token in the particular context that I analysed it. One possible translation of this token could be the English 'really'. However, 'really' could also be translated in

Greek as *alitheia* with rising intonation, so, in order not to confuse matters, I chose to leave it untranslated.

In the case of *etsi bravo* in one context, which will be examined in section 6.2 the token appears translated as 'exactly'. The decision to translate it as 'exactly' has been made as the result of the sequential analysis which proposes that 'exactly' is the best fit. *Bravo*, on the other hand, has a different interactional function to *etsi bravo*; hence it could not be translated in the same way. The closest English equivalent translation of the token in the particular context I have analysed it is 'how about that'.

Lastly, *etsi den ine* is translated as a tag question in English. The Greek language does not exhibit the same grammatical structure in question design as English; Greek lacks auxiliary verbs, like do/did and interlocutors rely merely on prosody in order to understand a turn either as a question or a declarative. Hence, by adding *etsi den ine* in the end of the TCU, the declarative sentence is transformed into a tag question. *Etsi* in TRPs is translated as 'right'.

What is also challenging in translating oral data is the figurative expressions and terms of endearment which are very culture specific. Translating them into English they lose their original meaning but leaving them as they are is unintelligible. It is not always easy to find the English equivalent phrase/term and, even if there is one, it might express a slightly different meaning. So for the terms of endearment I mostly translated them literally, as for most of them there is no equivalent term in English, see for example *kamari mu* (=my pride), *pedaki mu* (=my little child), and so on.

Another challenge in translating the data was the difference in grammar between Greek and English. Modern Greek is a pro-drop, often called null-subject, language, which means that the pronoun of a phrase can be omitted. So, for instance, one could

say *Aftos mou psithirise ena mistiko* or (Ø) *Mou psithirise ena mistiko* (=He whispered a secret to me), without the pronoun, as the ending of the verb –e itself indicates that we are referring to the 3rd person singular. Unlike English which is a non-pro-drop language and the verb endings do not alter when one conjugates a verb, Greek verbs always agree in person and number with their subject. So, the second line of transcription, the literal one, may have two pronouns, the actual pronoun and the one that is inferred by the grammar in Greek. For instance, *den thimame tora tipot' alo* will be translated as 'not I remember now nothing other'. Although there is no pronoun *ego* (=I) in the verb *thimame*, as the ending –me shows us it is the first person singular, and in English would be 'I remember' with the pronoun 'I' present.

In the following chapters we will proceed with the analysis of the response tokens.

Chapter 3   *Entaksi*

3.1   Introduction

In this chapter, I will present the analysis of *entaksi*[16], mainly in turn-initial position, in different sequential environments. Perhaps the nearest equivalent to English is 'okay', however, it remains to be seen whether this loose translation we are starting with will ultimately prove robust. The use of *entaksi* in closing up of phone calls has been studied by Pavlidou (1997; 2002), who concludes that *entaksi* is used by interlocutors both in topic-closure as well as a pre-closing to phone calls. Menti (2014), who has analysed the Greek particle from a pragmatics perspective, suggests that *entaksi* is employed by speakers to do actions with opposing functions, such as agreement, emphasis, introduction of a new topic and disagreement.

The adverb *entaksi* etymologically derives from the ancient Greek by coupling of the preposition *en* and the noun *taksi*, namely in an orderly manner. In contemporary Greek, it is mainly used as an agreement particle, as is indicated by the definitions of the dictionaries. Specifically, according to the standard Modern Greek dictionary, Triantafyllidis (the equivalent of Chambers in the UK), it is a confirmatory adverb as a response of absolute agreement, consent of the speaker to the proposal which has been previously made or as a compromise, hence as a response to a prior speaker[17]. In excerpt (1), we see one such usage, where, Britney confirms Alexander's agreement

---

[16] Part of this chapter has been published in: Balantani, A. (2015). Η Επικοινωνιακή Λειτουργία του *εντάξει* [*Entaksi* and its interactional functions]. In Th.-S. Pavlidou (Ed.) *Ελληνική Γλώσσα & Προφορική Επικοινωνία [Greek language & spoken interaction]* (pp 43-60). Thessaloniki: Institute of Modern Greek Studies.

[17] Accessed 26/03/2015, 16:30, http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern_greek/tools/lexica/triantafyllides/search.html?lq=%CE%B5%CE%BD%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BE%CE%B5%CE%B9&dq=

with her prior proposal at lines 169-173 with *entaksi* and the closing assessment *orea*

(=nice):

(1) [Balantani video: M2U00059: 07:01]
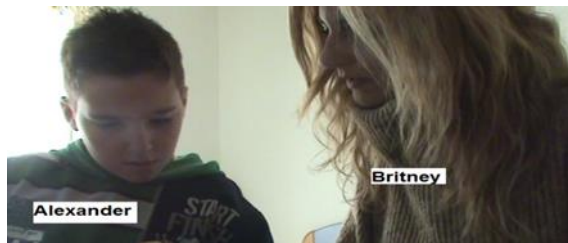
(*Britney is Alexander's private tutor in ancient Greek. This is a common practice in Greece; specialized tutors provide afternoon classes to students to prepare them better for the final exams. Here, she is tutoring him at home, sitting beside him.*)

```
167 B:      Dika[talikto e¿
            With [two endings e¿
            With [two endings e¿
168 A:          [((nods))
169 B:      >Poli orea ehi↑< <dio kataliksis> (0.2)
170         onomastiki etiatiki ke klitiki ine [idia¿=
            >Very nice it ha↑s< <two endings> (0.2) nominal
            accusative and vocative they are [same¿=
            >Very nice it ha↑s< <two endings> (0.2) nominal
            accusative and vocative are [same¿=
171 A:                                      [((nods))
172 A:      =idia
            =same
            =same
173 B:      ke diaforetiki ine i geniki tu
            and different it is the genitive its
            and different is its genitive
174 A:      [Ne
            [Yes
            [Yes
175 A:      [((nods))
176 B:→      Enta↑ksi orea
            [Oka↑y nice
            [Oka↑y nice
177         (12.1)
```

However, as we shall see in the course of this chapter, the sequential position of the

adverb, for instance in the sequential context of disagreements or assessments, shows

a rather more complex picture of what it does.

3.2   *Entaksi* as an action pivot from prior to next-positioned matters

Beach (1993) has observed the role of 'okay' as a pivot in TRPs in interaction. 'Okay' is a resource that facilitates topical progression as participants rely on it in responding to prior turns and, as well, moving to next-positioned matters. An example of this can be observed in excerpt (2); J's okay at line 3 both receipts A's answer to J's initial query 'Was he heavier than me!' and at the same time prefaces his next-positioned assessment (Jefferson, 1981: 39, cited in Beach, 1993; Pomerantz, 1984) about being 'thinner/skinn(i)er'.

(2) SDCL: HsReunion:8

```
1 J:      T Was he heavier than me!
2 A:      No- (0.2) yea he's a lot heavier than you.
3 J:→     .Okay then he's not even cl:ose. He said I'm thinner I'm
4         skinn(i)er dude
```

(Beach, 1993: 337)

In the first section of this chapter, I will address the use of *entaksi* as a resource that recipients and current speakers rely on pivotally, at or near TRPs, by responding to prior talk but also moving to next-positioned matters. This function of *entaksi* is apparent in two sequential environments, namely in topic-closings and closings of phone calls and turn-finally or free-standing with a questioning prosody. Extracts (3) and (4) below are representative examples of *entaksi* in these sequential environmments:

(3) [Balantani audio: VN550049: 02:57]

```
127 V:→   Hm .hhh entaksi
          Hm .hhh okay
          Hm .hhh fine
```

```
128 G:      Ela¹⁸
            Come
            Come
129 V:      Egin' ela ante gi[a
            It is done come ante by[e
            Okay then come ante by[e
```

(4) [Balantani video: M2U00059: 12:46]

```
291 B:      en- afta simenune fto[h:o:s
            en- these they mean p[o:o:r
            en- these mean p[o:o:r
292 A:                         [((eye gaze to B))
293 B:      ((meets eye gaze))
294 A:      ((nods))
295 B:→     'ntaksi?
            Okay?
            Okay?
```

In excerpt (3) we can see it in the closing of a phone call. *Entaksi* here marks the closing of the prior topic before the interlocutors move to the closing of the phone call introduced with *ela*. Excerpt (4) shows its use as a free-standing token with a questioning prosody. B is checking A's understanding of the prior turn before they can move to next-positioned matters.

3.2.1   *Entaksi* with a questioning prosody

The first context in which I analyse *entaksi* is in instructional sequences. In the data of private tuitions, the particle appears free-standing or in turn-final position after a turn that gives information. An information giving turn is one that gives "…more epistemic access to a domain or territory of information…" (Heritage, 2012b: 4) making a K- recipient (a recipient in a less knowledgeable position) move to K+ (a more knowledgeable position) (for further details see §2.3.2). In this context, *entaksi* functions as an understanding check of the information given in the immediate prior utterance and, as we shall see, is, at the same time, closure-relevant. In instructional talk, it is predominantly the teacher giving a new piece of information and the student

---

¹⁸ 'Ela' literally translates as come. However, it can function as a token in phone call openings and closings and as a response to a summons.

being the recipient of it. So we can see in the following example how the teacher, who is giving information about the material by defining the terms that the student reads out loud *en-afta simenune fto[h:o:s* (=en-these mean p[o:o:r), is checking the understanding of the student using the adverb *entaksi*.

(5) [Balantani video: M2U00059: 12:28]
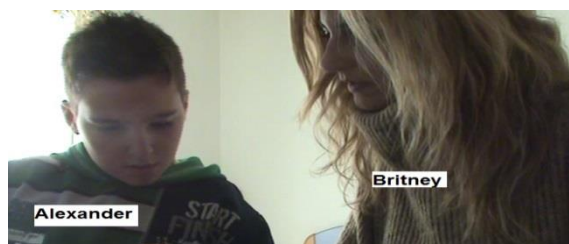
(Britney is Alexander's private tutor in modern and ancient Greek. The recording takes place at Alexander's home. In this recording they are doing the grammar exercises that Alexander has to prepare for school for the next class. Alexander is reading all the adjectives out loud before he starts conjugating them.)

```
283 A      Ftohos ksevrakotos fukaras aporos
           Poor naked wretch resourceless
           Poor naked wretch resourceless
284        (0.3)
285 A:     pinaleon astegos pa- e:m (.) pamftohos apokliros
           hungry homeless destitute outcast
           hungry homeless destitute outcast
286        (0.4)
287 A:     penis ande-
           pauper need-
           pauper need-
288 B:     [endeis
           [needy
           [needy
289 A:     [°ande-°
           [°need-°
           [°need-°
290 A:     endis
           needy
           needy
291 B:     en- afta simenune fto[h:o:s
           en- these they mean p[o:o:r
           en- these mean p[o:o:r
292 A:                         [((eye gaze to B))
293 B:     ((meets eye gaze))
294 A:     ((nods))
295 B:→    'ntaksi?
           Okay?
           Okay?
296 B:     .hhh
297 A:     distihis [eksathlio:]menos ap- e:::m apri:kistos
           Unfortunate [poverty:] stricken un- e:::m ungi:fted
           Unfortunate [poverty:] stricken un- e:::m ungi:fted
```

```
298 B:              [Orea afta diavase ta ola]
                    [Nice these read them all]
                    [Nice read all of them]
299          (0.2)
300 A:       ade- em [adekaros
             penni- em [penniless
             penni- em [penniless
```

As we can see from the transcript, the student provides an incorrect version of the adjective at lines 289 and 290 and Britney initiates repair at line 291 by pronouncing the correct version but cuts it off to provide the definition of the terms instead, stressing the last syllable of the defining term, to which the student agrees with a nod. This nod functions as a 'supportive agreement' (Hanzawa et. al, 2012) as it signals the listener's agreement with the prior turn without any explicit response solicitation from the speaker. Although the student has marked his understanding with his nod, the teacher still produces a free-standing *entaksi* with a rising intonation, which "…morphologically marks the turn as seeking response" (Stivers & Rossano, 2012). However, Alexander does not provide an answer to it but continues reading the adjective list, orienting to the *entaksi* as closure relevant. The absence of a response to her understanding check is treated as unproblematic by the teacher, as she has turned her gaze back to the book, having already received an agreement in the prior turn. Hence, we can see that both the speaker and the recipient treat the usage of *entaksi* as closure relevant before they can move on to next-positioned matters.

Extract (6) follows a similar pattern. *Entaksi* appears after an informing by the teacher and functions pivotally as an understanding check and a close down of the prior activity before moving to the next topical matter, in this case the conjugation of the defining adjectives.

(6) [Balantani video: M2U00059: 01:20]

(This extract comes from the same recording as the prior one.)

```
56 B:      Tis ihame kani aftes [tis teleftees etsi? [orea] >ta
57         vazume< stin akri.hhh pame na [ksekinisume] na klinume
58         afta:
          Them we had done these [the last so? [nice] >them we
          put< to the side.hhh we go to [we start] to conjugate
          these:
          We had done these [the last ones right? [nice] >we put
          them< aside.hhh let's [start] conjugating these:
59 A:                          [>Ne ne ne<
                               [>Yes yes yes<
                               [>Yes yes yes<
60 B:                                                  [((showing a
61 dismissal with her hand))]
62 B:                                        [((tapping twice the
63 book))]
64         (0.3)
65 B:→    .hhh Afta legonte <sinekfores¹⁹ (0.1) epitheto mazi me
66        ousiastiko> (.) 'nta↑ksi==klinume kanonika to epitheto
67        ke kanonika↓ to ousiastiko dipla [tu
          .hhh These are called <sinekfores (0.1) adjective
          together with noun> (.) oka↑y==we conjugate normally
          the adjective and normally↓ the noun next [its
          .hhh These are called <sinekfores (0.1) adjective
          together with noun> (.) oka↑y==we conjugate normally
          the adjective and normally↓ the noun next [to it
68 A:                                        [((nod))
69        (0.7)
70 B:     'pon anikse to tetra↑dio
          So open the note↑book
          So open the note↑book
71        (5.7)
```

the prior turn checking the understanding of the prior question before moving to new business. As we can see the new action is latched with the *entaksi*; the interlocutor does not wait for a response but moves to the new action immediately. Therefore, the nod that follows the second TCU is a response to both actions that are separated by the *entaksi*; it is both an answer to the understanding check and to the instructions given by the second TCU *klinume kanonika to epitheto ke kanonika↓ to ousiastiko dipla [tu* (= we conjugate normally the adjective and normally↓ the noun next [to it).

We can observe that in instructional talk, the main interactional function of *entaksi* is concerned with checking the understanding of the content of the prior turn before moving to "new business".

3.2.2 *Entaksi* in topic closings and closings of phone calls

In the following section, we will see *entaksi* employed in a topic closing environment or as a move towards the closing of a phone call. Pavlidou (1998; 2002) observes that *entaksi* appears both in the closing of the prior topic, before the interlocutors move to the closing of the phone call, as well as a pre-closing to the phone call, especially if it appears with a questioning prosody. A similar function of the English token 'okay' has been examined by Sacks & Schegloff (1973); according to the authors, 'okay' can be used as a pre-closing if it appears as an adjacency pair with another acknowledgment token, like 'okay', 'alright' etc. 'Okay' in topic closure marks that the speaker has nothing more or new to add (Sacks & Schegloff, 1973), and, thus, gives a "free" turn to his interlocutor to introduce a new topic. If the interlocutor rejects this opportunity and merely acknowledges the receipt, for instance by responding with another 'okay', then the first 'okay' functions as a pre-closing.

In the following examples, *entaksi* also appears in terminal exchanges. However, they are distinct in that *entaksi* is not necessarily treated as a FPP and therefore does not always receive a SPP. Hence, in order to distinguish them from the adjacency pairs analysed by Sacks & Schegloff (1973), I will refer to them as termination-relevant. The following extract is an example of that; before the terminal exchange of goodbyes, the interlocutors mark their move to the closing of the phone call with *entaksi*.

(7) [Balantani audio: VN550049: 02:09]

(Gail and Val are sisters. Gail lives in the village approximately 40 minutes away from Ioannina by car. Val lives in Ioannina. They are organizing a memorial for their mother which will be held in their village where she is buried. It is a custom in the orthodox church to honor the dead after 40 days that he/she has died and then again after a year. This is the first memorial and the two sisters have to provide snacks for the people who attended the memorial).

```
87 G:      >Tor' alo tip'ta< de thimami: na thelume (0.2) tha
88         'rthis avrio pano esi?
           >Now other nothing< not I remembe:r to we want (0.2)
           will  you come up tomorrow?
           >Now I don't remember anything else< that we want (0.2)
           will you come up²⁰ tomorrow?
89 V:      Avrio giati?
           Tomorrow why?
           Tomorrow why?
90 G:      A: o↓:h' (apla) entaks' [( )
           A: no↓: (just) okay [( )
           Oh: no↓: (just) okay [( )
91 V:                           [A?] giati itan avrio- itan
92         tipota avrio?
                                [A?]  why  there  was  tomorrow-
           there  was   nothing tomorow?
                                [A?]  why  was  there  tomorrow-
           was there something tomorrow?
93 G:      O↑h' oh' den itan tip'ta aplos (itan) tin proigumen'
94         fora to trisagio [°gi'afto s'° °°leo°°
           No↑  no  not  there  was  nothing  just  (there  was)  the
           previous   time the trisagio [°for this you° I say°
           No↑ no there wasn't anything it is just that last time
           there was the trisagio²¹ [°that's why° °°I'm telling
           you°°
95 V:                          [Itan trisagio ne ne [ne
                               [There was trisagio yes yes [yes
                               [There was the trisagio yes yes [yes
96 G:                                              [(°°Katalaves°°?)
```

---

[20] 'Up' refers to the village.
[21] 'Trisagio' is a custom in the orthodox church in honor of the dead.

```
                                                  [(°°You
                understand°°?)
                                          [(°°You   got   what
                I mean°°?)
 97  V:      Ne [.hhh
             Yes [.hhh
             Yes [.hhh
 98  G:→        [E:: afta ['ntaks' den thimame tora tipot' alo ama
 99          thimitho tha s' po
               [E:: these [okay not I remember now nothing other if
             I remember will you I tell
               [E:: that's it [right I don't remember anything else
             now if I remember I will tell you
 100 V:                      [Hm
                             [Hm
                             [Hm
 101 V:      Hm oke
```

In this extract, Val produces a NTRI at line 89 in the form of a partial repeat; she partially repeats the time referent from Gail's prior turn and increments it with a "why" *avrio giati?* (=Tomorrow why?) locating the trouble source in Gail's turn. Gail attempts to shut down the line of enquiry with *A: o:h' apla entaks' [( )* (=Oh: no: (just) [( )) but Val pursues it. Only after the second challenge does Val get a clear response from Gail in which she repairs her prior turn with an informing *aplos (itan) tin proigumen fora to trisagio* (= it is just that last time (there was) the trisagio) and Val agrees with a partial repeat and a triple 'yes'. After the interlocutors have sorted out the misunderstanding, Gail initiates a topic closure with *e: afta* (=e: that's it) (Pavlidou, 2002) and with *entaksi* she moves to new business *entaks' de thimame tora tipot' alo ama thimitho tha s' po* (= okay I don't remember anything else now if I remember I will tell you) to which Val agrees 'Hm okei'. *Entaksi* here functions as a 'change-of-activity' token, moving out of the current activity into a new one (Gardner, 2007), therefore being termination-relevant.

In extract (8), the speakers are moving to the closing of the telephone conversation, which is registered with the termination-relevant particle *entaksi*, before the final exchange of goodbyes that closes the phone-call.

    (8) [Balantani audio: VN550060: 04:57]

(Vanessa and Eva are sisters-in-law. Vanessa is calling Eva to congratulate her on her daughter's name day. This is the end of the telephone conversation.)

```
241 E:     Eho to lemo halia perno afta ta Depon tora ( )pali
           I have the throat bad I take these the Depon now ( )
           again
           I have a sore throat I take these Depon²² now ( ) again
242 V:     Aha
((several lines deleted))
256        (0.2)
257 E:     ((coug[hs))
258 V:          [O:po
259        (0.3)
260 E:     Ki afta
           And these
           That's all
261 V:     Kala
           Good
           Fine
262 E:     Ma:[lista
           Ye[a
           Ye[a
263 V:→       [E:ntaks' lipon [dos' ke (.) filakia sti Venus
              [Okay so [give and (.) kisses to the Venus
              [Well okay [give also (.) kisses to Venus
264 E:                       [Kala re
                             [Good re
                             [Fine re
265 E:     Egin[e↑
           It is do[ne↑
           Fi[ne↑
266 V:        [Ante ta leme e↑tsi
              [Ante them we say li↑ke
              [Ante see you ri↑ght
267 E:     Egine↑ [ne:
           It is done↑ [ye:s
           Done↑ [ye:s
268 V:           [Ela [kalini↑hta
                 [Come [goodni↑ght
                 [Okay [goodni↑ght
269 E:             [Ne ne ela [gia: gi-
                   [Yes yes come [bye: by-
                   [Yes yes come [bye: by-
```

This is the close of a telephone conversation. The topic under discussion towards the end comes with an informing at line 241 *Eho to lemo halia perno afta ta Depon tora ( ) pali* (= I have a sore throat I take the Depon now ( ) again). After several turns Eva proffers a topic closing remark *Ki afta* (=That's all)²³, which is preceded by a 0.3

---

²² Greek medicine.
²³ *Ki afta* (=That's all) is used as a discourse marker that indicates the end of a stretch of talk with a particular topic (Pavlidou, 2002).

second delay and a cough marking that the topic has come to an end. Since *Ki afta* is the turn that initiated the topic closure, *entaksi* here again follows the topic closing utterance and functions as a termination-relevant particle in the phone-call. Vanessa registers the topic closure done by Eva with *Entaks' lipon* (= Well okay) and increments it with a proposal *[dos' ke (.) filakia sti Venus* (= [give also (.) kisses to Venus). Eva agrees to her proposal and we get the exchange of goodbyes which close the phone call.

The responsive nature of *entaksi* in the following extract makes it slightly different from the prior ones. Here, *entaksi* is used in the closing of the prior topic before the interlocutors move to the closing of the phone call with *ela*. It functions as a third tiurn receipt that closes the prior topic before the speakers move to the next action, the closing of the phone call in that case.

(9) [Balantani audio: VN550049: 02:53]

(This is the closing of a telephone conversation between Gail and Val, who are sisters. They are organizing a memorial for their mother which will be held in their village where she is buried. It is a custom to provide some snacks for the people who attended the memorial. 'It' at line 124 refers to one of those snacks made of wheat that is put under a table for the priest to consecrate.)

```
124 V:    To vazum' apo kat' ap' to trapezi as pume ama [toso
125       poli thelume na ine diavasmeno
          It we put from down from the table let we say if [so
          much we want to it is read
          We put it under the table let's say if we want it [so
          much to be read
126 G:                                                  [Ne
                                                         [Yes
                                                         [Yes
127 V:→   Hm .hhh entaksi
          Hm .hhh okay
          Hm .hhh fine
128 G:    Ela
          Come
          Come
129 V:    Egin' ela ante gi[a
          It is done come ante by[e
          Okay then come ante by[e
130 G:                      [Ela gia
                            [Come bye
```

```
                                    [Come bye
131 V:          Gia
                Bye
                Bye
```

This example shows *entaksi* in a topic closing environment that is responsive to the prior action. *Entaksi* here receipts Gail's agreement to her prior observation; it functions as a "third turn receipt by current speaker" (Beach, 1993). At lines 124-25 Gail makes a suggestion *To vazume apo kat' ap' to trapezi as pume ama [toso poli thelume na ine diavasmeno* (=We put it under the table let's say if we want it [so much to be read) to which Val agrees in the next turn. So we have a FPP, a suggestion, then an agreement as a SPP and in third position the *entaksi*, which receives the agreement of the recipient. Once the speaker has received an acceptable answer from her recipient, she can then move to an approval in third slot (Gardner, 2004). Now that the interlocutor has marked her recognition of the agreement, they can move to a new business, which is the closing of the phone call in that matter, introduced with *ela*. *Entaksi* in this case is oriented towards the prior action, marking the end of it, since the interlocutors reached an agreement on the prior topic.

Thus, we conclude that in the sequential environment of topic closings and closings of phone calls *entaksi* assumes the characteristics of a pivotal item that closes the prior topic and moves to the closing of the phone call as is apparent in examples (7) and (8); the participants register the topic closure and move to the closing of the phone call with *entaksi*. *Entaksi* thus functions as a termination-relevant particle to the phone call. While the free-standing *entaksi* in excerpt (9) is deployed to close up the prior topic before the interlocutors move to the closing of the phone call with *ela*.

In short, the first section of this chapter demonstrates that *entaksi* functions as a pivotal item that marks a shift from prior topical matters to the new business, therefore assisting topic transition in TRPs.

3.3   Projecting a counter-positional

A different use of *entaksi* that preserves its retrospective feature but with the aim of introducing a counter-positional turn will be the subject of our analysis in the following section. For this reason, I will examine its use in the interactional environment of assessments and disputes.

3.3.1   *Entaksi* in assessment sequences

In the following analysis, I will show how *entaksi* functions in the sequential context of assessments. In assessment sequences, *entaksi* appears in two forms: (1) *entaksi* + assessment after an informing or (2) *entaksi* + assessment preceded by the Greek particle *e* and is responsive to a prior assessment sequence. In the case of *e entaksi* + assessment, the token plays the role of a pre-disagreement agreement token:

(10)   [Balantani audio: VN550051: 05:17]

(Leandro is the uncle of Rita and Mike. There is also Rita's son in the room who does not take part in this section of the conversation. Leandro is a teacher at a primary school and is talking about his experience in school excursions.)

```
320 L:                                      [Ihame pai me to
321      sholio edo pihame: sta Meteora (0.1) ap' to horio↓
322      (0.3) otan imun daskalos [omos
                                    [We   had  gone  with
         the school here we we:nt to the Meteora (0.1) from the
         village↓ (0.3) when I was teacher [however
                                    [We   had   gone   we
         we:nt to Meteora when we were in school (0.1) from the
         village↓ (0.3) when I was a teacher [though
323 M:                                 [Hm
324      (0.3)
325 M:   Orea
         Lovely
         Nice
```

```
326 R:        [M:
327           [(0.5)
328 M:→       'nta↑ks (.) opos ke na 'hi nai gia' den in' [ashima
              Oka↑y (.) as and to it has yes wh' not it is [bad
              Oka↑y (.) anyway yes wh' it's not [bad
329 L:                                                         [M↓::
330 M:        [gia ekdromi diladi gia ta pedia↓
              [for excursion to wit for the children↓
              [for an excursion I mean for the children↓
331 R:        [°Oh°
              [°Oh°
              [°Oh°
332           (0.1)
333 L:→       In' makrines aftes i ekdromes [poli makria ti u:
334           [(voria)
              They are distant these the excursions [much far what
              u: [(north)
              These excursions are far [too far what u: [(north)
335 R:                                        [°Nai°
                                              [°Yes°
                                              [°Yes°
336 M:→    [E 'ntaks' palia omos itan °ke alos dromos ( )°
           [E okay in  the past however it was °and another road
           ( )°
           [E okay in the past however it was °also a different
           road ( )°
337 L:     E:↓
338 R:     [Ne
           [Yes
           [Yes
339 M:     [°Gi' afto°
           [°For this°
           [°That's why°
340 R:     Me strofe[:s↓
           With bend[:s↓
           With bend[:s↓
```

In this extract, *e entaksi* appears after a sequence of assessments. The speaker in the target turn agrees with *e 'ntaks' palia* but continues his turn with 'however', which is preliminary to disagreements. The informing comes at lines 320-22 *Ihame pai me to sholio edo pihame: sta Meteora (0.1) ap'to horio↓ (0.3) otan imun daskalos [omos* (=We had gone we we:nt to Meteora when we were in school (0.1) from the village↓ (0.3) when I was a teacher [though), which gets receipted by Mike with a third-turn closing assessment *Orea* (=Nice). After 0.5 seconds of no one coming in, Mike re-initiates an assessment turn *'nta↑ks (.) opos ke na 'hi nai gia' den in' ashima (.) gia ekdromi diladi gia ta pedia↓* (=Oka↑y (.) anyway yes wh' it's not bad for an excursion I mean for the children). Mike's assessment in first position gets receipted

by Leandro with another assessment in second position. Note the format of his turn; there are three different evaluative terms used in his turn, going from weak to strong. He starts his turn with a weak evaluation *In' makrin̲e̲s aftes i ekdromes* (=These excursions are f̲a̲r) moving to a stronger one *pol̲i̲ makrines* (=t̲o̲o̲ far) and eventually he uses the token 'u:'[24] emphasizing the degree of the evaluation. By using this format, Leandro is asserting his rights from second position to assess the situation. He is the one having done that excursion and is entitled to the primary rights to assess it. Mike, on the other hand, receipts his evaluation with *e entaksi* accepting his assessment but provides a counterargument to it *palia omos itan °ke alos dromos ( )°* (= in the past however it was °also a different road ( )°).

Similarly, in excerpt (11) we can observe the function of *e entaksi* as a preliminary to a counterargument.

(11)   [Balantani audio: VN550050: 05:25]

(Leandro and Amy are father and daughter. Amy studied in Thessaloniki for her bachelor degree and lived in a private accommodation that her father paid for. She had moved to three different places in Thessaloniki in the four years period. In the lines that are deleted they are arguing whether they had gas or oil in one of the apartments.)

```
224 A:                          [ENO STO ALLO plirona tri a nta evro
225       to mi↑na
                                [HOWEVER   IN   THE   OTHER   I   paid
          th i rty euros the mo↑nth
                                [HOWEVER  IN  THE  OTHER  I  used  to
          pay th i rty euros a mo↑nth
226 R:    Ne
          Yes
          Yes
227 A:    Pu itan p a ra pola entaksi:: ohtao↑rofi: polikatikia↑
228       [( )
          That  it  was  m u ch  many  okay::  eightflo↑o:r  apartment
          blo↑ck [( )
          Which  was  a  l o t  okay::  eight  flo↑o:r  high  apartment
          blo↑ck[( )
229 L:    [Eki ti itan omos=
          [There what it was but=
```

---

[24] 'U' is a Greek token used after an evaluation to show that it is so much that it is not even possible to measure it.

```
                [What was it there though=
        ((several lines deleted))
244 L:     E ke st' ala den itan pola pali=
           E and in the others not it was many again=
           E and in the others it wasn't much either=
245 A:     =Ke sta ala ohi (0.4) ala stin Olibu itan to pio ftino
246        giati [to mirazomuna
           =And in the others no (0.4) but in the Olibu it was
           the most cheap because [it I was sharing
           =And in the others no (0.4) but in Olibu was the
           cheapest because [I was sharing it
247 L:→         [E entaks' ita-
                [E okay it wa-
                [E okay it wa-
248 A:     ke me ti dipla[ni:
           and with the ne↑[xt:
           also with the neighb[our:
249 L:               [itan mikro de::n
                     [it was small no::t
                     [it was small do::n't
250        (1.2)
251 R:     Ts apla tora an to parume apofasi na figume prepi mes'
252        'to savatokiriako na skotothume [(h)
           Ts simply now if it we take decision to we go it must
           inside in the weekend to we kill ourselves [(h)
           Ts (it's) just (that) now if we take the decision to
           leave we must kill ourselves in the weekend [(h)
253 A:                                    [M:
```

In this example, two interlocutors who had both access to the situation under discussion, are providing their assessment on the shared expenses of the housing in Thessaloniki. The *e entaksi* of the target turn at line 247 is a receipt token that has a similar function to "the ice-cream sandwich" example mentioned by Schegloff (1988), where he explains that an interlocutor can acknowledge a prior turn without explicitly agreeing with it, a practice that he called "be that as it may" (125). Here we have a similar pattern; Leandro uses *e entaksi* to acknowledge what the prior participant said but provides a counterargument to it. So we have a pattern of 'Yes but…', 'that may be the case but…'; the interlocutor acknowledges the prior informing but rejects it subsequently, thus delaying the disagreement. Coming at a TRP after Amy's assessing term 'the cheapest', Leandro accepts Amy's counterargument that was introduced with 'but' before he introduces his own counterargument in the next turn *itan mikro den* (=it was small don't). Therefore, we

can see that after an extended sequence of assessments the turn that closes the assessment sequence, before the interlocutors move to another topic, comes in the form of *e entaksi* + assessment; *e entaksi* receipts the prior assessment before the interlocutor presents his counterargument, thus, functioning as 'pre-disagreement agreement' token.

We can conclude from the analysis that *e entaksi* appears after a series of assessments and acts as the argument "Yes ... but" in which the speaker registers a truth in the prior assertion but provides a counterargument to it. The *e entaksi* has a retrospective function; interlocutors partly agree with the prior turn but provide their argument to support their view on the part that they do not agree with. This is a highly counterpositional context where *entaksi* is used; the speaker provides his/her counterargument accepting, nevertheless, the viewpoint of his/her interlocutor. The counterargument is not a full opposition to their interlocutor's proposition as it would be if the *entaksi* would be omitted. See, for example, the following extract:

(12)   Koinonia ora Mega- 29/04/2015
      (http://www.megatv.com/koinoniaoramega/default.asp?catid=36085&subid=2
      &pubid=34680488 13/05/2015, 16:24)

```
 7 O:     Tu opiu pago[se e pe- pu pagose ti::[: b-e- ti miosi o:
 8        Stratulis
          Yes of which it fro[ze e pe- that it froze the::[: b-e-
          the reduction the: Stratulis
          Yes whose fro[ze e pe- that Stratulis froze the::[: b-e-
           the reduction:

 9 G:                    [Akusa
                         [I heard
                         [I heard
10 G:                                        [Mu: epi- >Ne ne< ne
11        ne ne ne mu epit[repete?=
                                        [Me: allo- >Yes yes<
          yes yes yes yes me you al[low?=
                                        [May: I- >Yes yes<
          yes yes yes yes ma[y I?=
12 K:                    [( )
13 G:     =Et[si nomizi (0.2) etsi(h) nom(h)iz(h)ihi
          =Li[ke he thinks (0.2) like(h) he th(h)ink(h)shi
```

```
         =Tha[t's what he thinks (0.2) that's what(h) he
          th(h)ink(h)shi
14 O:        [Ne
             [Yes
             [Yes
15 O:    Ohi etsi nomi[zi
         No like he thin[ks
         Not that's what he thin[ks
16 G:               [EgO sas leo (0.2) >tha sas po giati<=
                    [I you I say (0.2) >will you I say why<=
                    [I am telling you (0.2) >I will tell you
          why<=
17 O:→   =Pantos miosi den ehi gi[ni
         =In any case reduction not it has beco[me
         =In any case there has been no reduct[ion
18 G:                             [NA TO ETIOLOGISO?
                                  [TO IT I JUSTIFY?
                                  [CAN I JUSTIFY IT?
19 O:     [Ne ala den ehi gi↓ni miosi
          Yes but not it has beco↓me reduction
          Yes but there has bee↓n no reduction
20 G:    [Paranomos (0.2) olos paranomos ke [fovame o Dimitrakis
21       pu ine ke filos mu mi vrethi katigorumenos dioti den
22       efarmozi to nomo eprepe na ferun nomo kirie Oikonomea
23       na katargis'to nomo tis e pe- ti ti: ritra tu [(kiu)
24       etsi? afu de ( )=
          Illegally (0.2) all illegally and [I am afraid the
          Dimitrakis that he is and friend mine not he is found
          charged because not he applies the law he had to to
          they bring law mister Oikonomea to abolish the law of
          the e pe- the the: clause of the [(kiu) so? since not (
          )=
                 Illegally (0.2) all illegally and [I am
          afraid Dimitrakis who is also a friend of mine (I hope)
          he will not be found charged because he does not apply
          the law he had to make a law mister Oikonomea to
          abolish the law of the e pe- the the: clause of the
          [(kiu) right? since he didn't ( )=
25 ?:                                      [((coughing))
26 O:                                        [(Ne)
                                             [(Yes)
                                             [(Yes)
27 O:    =Esis lete paranomos ego ksero oti den ehi [gini i miosi
28       stis sint[aksis
         =You you say illegally I I know that not it has [become
          the reduction in the pensions
         =You say illegally I know that there [hasn't been a
          reduction in the pensions
29 G:                                              [Ohi
                                                   [No
                                                   [No
```

The interlocutor dismisses the other speaker's assertion and the argument escalates.

So, *entaksi* actually mitigates the counterargument.

3.3.2   *Entaksi* as a concessive particle in disputes

In the larger context of counterpositionals there are a number of issues including to what extent parties to a dispute modify their assertions and concede to each other. Lindström & Londen (2014) explore a particular practice whereby participants give concessions to each other. Their analysis focuses on an interactional pattern in which a speaker makes an assertion on the matter, then concedes him/herself recognising the different viewpoints on the matter at hand and finally, reasserts his/her initial claim. Another study that looks at concessive practices is Antaki & Wetherell's (1999) examination of what they call "Show Concessions", in which a speaker dismisses the other interlocutor's assertion by conceding and then turning back to the speaker's main assertion. In contrast, in the following analysis, the concessive particle appears in the environment of disputes and is used by the recipient of an informing or argument to introduce a counterargument to it.

> (13)   [Balantani video: M2U00049: 00:48]

(Leandro and Vanessa are a couple visiting their friends Kelvin and Fiona. Leandro's father has cancer. Due to his age and the fact that the cancer has spread everywhere in his body, he can't afford to have chemotherapy sessions. Leandro is wondering what to do with the sheep in his father's farm because his father is not in a position to take care of them. Fiona is a family friend who believes his father is strong enough to overcome this.)

```
55 F:     =Ne orea tha par' himiotherapi↓a tha ksekinisete
56        himiotherapies¿
          =Yes nice will he take chemotherapy↓ will you start
          chemotherapies¿
          =Yes fine will he have chemotherapy↓ will you start
          chemotherapies¿
57 L:     Th' anteks'¿
          Will he endure¿
```

```
                    Will he survive¿
58                  (0.3)
59 F:    E eh' gero organismo gi' afto su leo na min les pote
60       tipota gia kane↓nan=
         E he has strong organism for this you I say to not you
         say never nothing for a↓nybody=
         E he has a strong constitution that's why I am saying
         never say anything about a↓nybody=
61 V:→   =Entaks'==ala den ine gia na zisi me ta [zoa:
         =Okay==but not he is for to he lives with the [animals:
         =Okay==but he can't live with the [sheep:
62 F:                                              [hhh
63                  (0.4)
64 F:→   Entaks' ta zoa to katalaveno
         Okay the animals it I understand
         Okay I understand (what you mean about) the sheep
65 L:    [E
66 V:    [E afto leme tora [den [ipame na:[: ton: thapsume prin]
         [E this we say now [not [we said to:[: him: we bury
         before]
         [E that's what we are talking about now [we [didn't say
         we:[: would bury him: earlier]
67 F:                       [Orea     [e: : : : :         ]
                            [Nice     [e: : : : :         ]
                            [Fine     [e: : : : :         ]
68 L:                           [(Emis ti leme)
                                [(We what we say)
                                [(What are we talking about)
```

In this sequence, we have two *entaksi* in turn-initial position articulated by two different interlocutors in a multi-party interaction and have a different interactional use. The first *entaksi* at line 61 is a concessive particle which prefaces counterarguments; it minimally accepts the information provided by the interlocutor in the prior turn but it doesn't mean the recipient agrees with him/her. It is not an agreement but rather an indication of the interlocutor's attention to the prior statement. Once Vanessa has marked her acceptance of Fiona's statement *E eh' gero organismo gi' afto su leo na min les pote tipota gia kane↓nan* (= E he has a strong organism that's why I am saying never say anything about a↓nybody), she can now move on to her counterargument, which she introduces with a "but", a particle that is used to oppose some prior argument. The *entaksi* at line 64 is Fiona's response to Vanessa's counterargument. Standardly, disagreements are produced fast. Here, however, it does not appear immediately after her interlocutor's turn but is delayed by

a very heavy in-breath and a 0.4 second pause. These two features, the in-breath and the pause, distinguish it from Vanessa's *entaksi*; in this case *entaksi* is an acceptance of her interlocutor's argument, which is followed by the cognitive word *katalaveno* (=I understand).

Thus, we can see that *entaksi* in a single context of disputes can have totally different interactional functions according to the action the interlocutor is implementing; it might function as a concessive particle prefacing a counterargument or it may accept the argument without providing any opposition. Further examples that illustrate the concessive nature of this particle in the environment of disputes are the following two:

(14)   [Balantani video: M2U00049: 01:03]
(The sequence comes from the same conversation just a few lines later.)

```
71 F:      Esi den tis ipes tis²⁵ manas su oti hriazete anthropo
72         sto nosokomio oti ego den boro na'rtho gia ta gidia[( )
           You not her you said the mum yours that he needs man in
           the hospital that I not I can to I come for the goats
           [( )
           You didn't tell your mum that he needs someone in the
           hospital that I can't come for the goats [( )
73 L:                                                      [Ti
74         sto nosokomio ama thel' ke gia pano sto spit' meta
75         anthropo pedaki mu²⁶ (.) [kapia stigmi
                                                           [What
           in the hospital if he wants and for up in the house
           later man child mine (.) [some moment
                                                       [What
           (do you mean) in the hospital he will also need someone
           later in the house (.) [at some point
76 F:→                           [Enta↑ks' meta tha dite=
                                 [Okay↑ later will you see=
                                 [Okay↑ later you will see=
77 F:      =Pu pai afti (oe) na psithi¿
           =Where she goes she (oe) to roast herself¿
           =Where is she going (oe) to get burned¿
78         ((laughter by Vanessa, Alexandra and Fiona))
79 F:      [Hahaha
80 K:      [Kala tin imera pu tha perni::: [pu tha 'ne edo o Lean'
81         m' pios [afti tha ta k'taks' eki apano ti les tora esi?
           [Good the day that he take::: [that will he is
           here the Leandro m' who [she will them look there up
           what you say now you?
```

---

²⁵ Genitive form of the feminine article.
²⁶ A Greek expression that cannot be translated into English.

```
          [Fine the day that he will take::: [that Leandro will be
          here m' who [she will take care of them up there what
          are you saying now?
82 K:                                            [((shows to Leandro))
83 K:          [((shows to his back meaning the grandmother))
```

In this example, Fiona's response to Leandro's informing at lines 73-75 comes in overlap with *entaksi* and an increment, with which she partially agrees with his point before incrementing it with *meta tha dite* (=later you will see). The response token here is positioned at an "opportunity space" (Lerner, 1996), at the point of partial grammatical completion of Leandro's prior turn. Therefore, it is used to show her agreement to the first part of his informing, that he will need someone 'in the hospital' but not to the second part that 'he will need someone later in the house'.

In excerpt (15), we also have a partial agreement followed by a counterargument:

(15)   [Balantani video: M2U00049: 00:24]

(Leandro's father was diagnosed with cancer. Fiona is trying to convince Leandro that he shouldn't be so pessimistic by giving the example of Vanessa's mother who survived for 4 years, although she was very sick.)

```
25 L:     Se:- Se liges meres °o pateras de tha bori ute na
26        s'kothi°,
          In few days the father not will he can not even to
          stand,
          In few days father will not be able to even stand,
27 F:     Katarha↑s den kse↑'s ti antohi ehi o kathe↓nas ta
28        idia ksana legam' me t' ma[na t's²⁷ Vanessa↑s]
29        [(ap'oti vlepis)]
          Fi↑rst not you kno↑w what endurance he has  the
          every↓one the same again we said with the mu[m the
          Vanessa↑] [(from whatever you see)]
          Fi↑rst you don't kno↑w what endurance every↓one has
          we said the same again with Vanes[sa↑'s mum] [(as
          you can see)]
30 V:→                                    [Entaksi re²⁸ 'si↓ ]
31        [afto (pu leme)-]
                                           [Okay re you↓    ] [this
          [that (we say)-]
                                           [Okay re         ]
          [what (we say)-]
```

---

²⁷ Genitive article.

²⁸ *Pε* is a particle in Greek that is not translatable to English and is usually found in conjunction with names.

```
32 V:        [((shows towards Leandro with her hand))
33 K:        As' to afto [(le↓me)
             Let it this [(we say)
             That's another issue [(we say)
   34F:                    [Ezise tesera hro[nia
                           [She lived four ye[ars
                           [She lived for four ye[ars
35 L:                      [Re-
36 L:                                        [Re Fiona:
37 F:        Ets' den ine Vanessa?
             So not it is Vanessa?
             Isn't it so Vanesa?
38 V:        [Ne re 'si,
             [Yes re you,
             [Yes re,
39 L:        [E:h' teseris pente meres tora ine (.) ine °poli
40           hirotera°
             [It ha:s four five days now he is (.) he is °much
             worse°
             [It ha:s been four five days now that he is (.) he
             is °much worse°
```

The *entaksi* here is not a response to an informing but a response to the argument that follows Fiona's observation at lines 27-29. Fiona receives Leandro's comment on his father's condition *Se liges meres °o pateras de tha bori ute na s'kothi°,* (=In few days father will not be able to even stand,), with an argument that challenges the validity of his observation *den kse↑'s ti antohi ehi o kathe↓nas* (=you don't kno↑w what endurance every↓one has) and provides an example from the past to support her argument *ta idia ksana legam' me t' ma[na t's Vanessa↑s] [(ap'oti vlepis)]* (=the same again with Vanes[sa↑'s mum] [(as you can see)]). The *entaksi* at line 30 comes in overlap with Fiona's argument at a position that Drew (2009) termed "last item onset"; that is at a place where the first speaker is completing his/her unit. Vanessa produces the *entaksi* in overlap with Fiona's argument, agreeing with it, at a point where she is anticipating what Fiona is going to say. Thus, the *entaksi* that follows this argument partially agrees with Fiona's argument, agreeing with what appears to be the first part of her argument introduced with *Katarhas*, but then she initiates a counterargument *afto (pu leme)* (= what (we say)).

In sum, we can see that *entaksi* in the environment of disagreements indicates acceptance or attention to the prior statement before the speaker provides the counterargument, acting as a concessive particle before the counterargument. Interlocutors give way to their co-participants, by registering with *entaksi* their partial agreement with some of the content of their interlocutor's argument and consequently incrementing it with a counterargument.

As we can see, in both interactional environments, the token functions as a preliminary to a counterpositional turn; interlocutors indicate their partial agreement to the prior turn with *entaksi* before they introduce their counterargument.

In this context, participants are talking about some very intimate matters, like chemotherapy and the frailty of Leandro's father. There are a lot of counterpositional turns in all of the extracts that do not, however, constitute arguments; much like disagreements with prior self-deprecations (Pomerantz, 1984), such counterpositionals can be highly affiliative. Take, for instance, the case of frailty in excerpt (13) and whether Leandro's father can live for a long time or not. They are talking about Leandro's father and it is him and his wife who are doing the self-deprecation and it is Fiona, the guest, who is doing the disagreement *E eh' gero organismo gi' afto su leo na min les pote tipota gia kane↓nan* (= E he h<u>a</u>s a strong organism that's why I am saying n<u>e</u>ver say an<u>y</u>thing about a↓nybody). So, we can see that disputes are not always antagonistic and a dispute can be hugely affiliative. What the participants are trying to do in all of the above cases is being incredibly supportive through the dispute. The formulation of the turns (raising of the voice, responses coming in overlap or very quick, and so forth) is done in a very vehement and counterpositional way but the action is supportive.

3.4   *Entaksi* in indexing epistemic stance

In a prior section of this chapter, we saw the use of *entaksi* in assessment sequences, where I specified that the token is deployed by interlocutors as a preliminary to a counter-positional. In what follows, I will examine how interlocutors deploy its use in indexing their epistemic stance towards a prior informing. In the first excerpt, *entaksi* functions as an acknowledgment token to the prior informing before the speaker provides his stance with the assessment:

(16)   [Balantani audio: VN550050: 04:53]

(Rita, Leandro and Amy are talking about Rita's decision to move to a cheaper place in the same neighbourhood.)

```
198 L:      Ine pola diamerismata?
            There are many apartments?
            Are there many apartments?
199 R:      Ine lei do↓deka
            There are he says twe↓lve
            He says there are twe↓lve
200 L:      Oh
201 R:      Ke rotisa tin proigumeni pu [simera: ( )
            And I asked the previous that [today: ( )
            And I asked the previous that [today: ( )
202 A:                                  [Oso perisotera toso
203         kalitera
                                         [As more so better
                                         [The more the better
204 L:      Ne (.) ti les?
            Yes (.) what you say?
            Yes (.) sure
205 A:      [M:
206 R:      [Ekaton i [poso ipe
            [Hundred or [how much she said
            [Hundred or [how much did she say
207 L:                 [Hm
208 R:      to mina petre↑leo ekaton deka ekaton i↓kosi to mi↓na
            the month oi↑l hundred ten twe↓nty a mo↓nth
            a month oi↑l a hundred and ten twenty a mo↓nth
209 L:      Itan
            It was
            It was
210 R:      Ne
            Yes
            Yes
211 L:→     Entaks' kalutsika
            Okay lttle goods
            Okay quite good
212 R:      Kalu[tsika ine ne
            Lit[tle goods it is yes
```

```
        It is qui[te good yes
```

In this sequence, the informing that *entaksi* is responsive to comes at line 208 to mina *petre↑leo ekaton i↓kosi to mi↓na* (=a month oi↑l a hundred and ten twenty a mo↓nth) which gets receipted by Leandro with an *entaksi* and an assessment at line 211. The *entaksi* in this case agrees with what the interlocutor said by minimally responding to the informing; Leandro agrees first and then provides his assessment towards the informing. Thus, an *entaksi* + assessment turn serves to minimally agree with the prior informing before the interlocutor provides his stance towards it. Leandro is seeking confirmation from the more epistemically superior party, in this case Rita. Rita's upgraded assessment in the next turn at line 212 comes in the form of a confirmation + agreement, a practice that has been described by Schegloff (1996a) as confirming an allusion, "The practice of agreeing with another by repeating what they have said" (161); since Rita provided the information she is the one who has primary rights to assess the situation. Thus, she confirms Leandro's assessment with *Kalutsika ine* (= It is quite good) and then agrees to it with a *ne* (=yes), consequently upgrading her epistemic access to the referent from second position (Heritage & Raymond, 2005).

Entaksi in assessment sequences may also be deployed by participants as an epistemic marker soliciting confirmation from their interlocutors, in which case it appears with questioning prosody. In a prior section, I examined *entaksi* with a questioning prosody as an understanding check that functions at the same time as a pivot to the new business. This *entaksi* is employed not as an understanding check by the recipient of the informing but as a confirmation seeking device.

(17)   [Balantani audio: VN550058: 06:05]

(This is a phone call between Vanessa and her aunt Mary. Vanessa's son had a minor car accident in Kos, where he was working in the summer as a cook. In the accident nothing happened to her son and his girlfriend but the car was slightly damaged. Several days after the accident, they had to return to Ioannina, their hometown. Mary asks about Vanessa's children and the condition of the car.)

```
135 V:      As' ta mas pire i kato volta
            Let them us it took the under walk
            Let it be it goes from bad to worse
136 M:      °Ne ne° (0.1) ta pedia s' gi↑risan [pi↑gan kala irthan
            °Yes yes° (0.1) the children your they retu↑rned [they
            we↑nt good they came
            °Yes yes° (0.1) did your children retu↑rn [did they
            go↑ well did they come
137 V:                                           [I::
                                                 [The::
                                                 [The::
138         (0.2)
139 V:      Ta pedia↓ mu
            The childre↓n mine
            My childre↓n
140 M:      E=
141 V:      =Ne↑ ne ola kala
            =Yes↑ yes all good
            =Yes↑ yes everything is fine
142 M:→     Entaks' t' amaks' e↓
            Okay the car e↓
            And the car is fine right↓
143 V:→     Ne ne entaks'
            Yes yes okay
            Yes yes fine
144 M:      °Orea°=
            °Nice°=
            °Nice°=
145 V:      =Ti 'thela na po (.) Itan ke: i Holy t' Balantan' sto
146         nosokomi↓o e
            =What I wanted to I say (.) It was and the Holy of the
            Balantani in the hospita↓l e
            =What did I want to say (.) Holy of Balantani was also
            in the hospita↓l e
147 M:      Kse'o more ematha
            I know more I learned
            I know more²⁹ I heard
148 V:      M:
```

In this sequence, *entaksi* follows a similar pattern to *And*-prefaced questions in English, in which the interlocutor links a question to a preceding one by prefacing the second one with "and"; the so-called "follow up" questions (Schegloff, 1996b; Heritage & Sorjonen, 1994). Mary's first question seeks information; the interlocutor

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[29] 'More' is a particle in Greek, just like 're', that is not translatable to English.

has no prior knowledge on the matter at hand. Once she gets the positive response from Vanessa, she can assert some knowledge on the matter so now she can ask for confirmation in her second question formulating her turn as a positive interrogative *Entaks' t' amaks' e↓* (= And the car is fine right↓). Turn final 'e' is one way of formulating a tag question in Greek. The *entaksi* in turn-initial position here both receipts the information provided by Vanessa in the prior turn and at the same time functions as a pivot to the new item, the request for confirmation. Although Vanessa has primary rights to assess the situation, since it is her car they are talking about, Mary makes her move to second position, as her question is formatted as a declarative statement in Mary's epistemic domain, so preferring confirmation of the terms of her questioning (Heritage & Raymond, 2012). Vanessa's response at line 143 *Ne ne entaks'* (=Yes yes fine) grammatically agrees with the question (Raymond, 2003), as the interlocutor responds in a preferred way that agrees with the polarity of the question, and confirms the terms of Mary's question with the partial repeat *entaks'*.

In conclusion, we can see that *entaksi* after an assessment can serve two purposes, depending on its position, as well as its composition, in the interactional sequence. With *entaksi* speakers show partial agreement with what their interlocutor said in their prior turn and with the assessment they show their stance towards the informing. In contrast, as a positive interrogative with questioning prosody in turn-initial position, the token is used as a receipt of the prior informing that solicits confirmation from the interlocutor at the same time.

3.5 *Entaksi* in institutional talk

In the final section of this chapter, we will be looking at *entaksi* in mediated broadcast talk. In a prior section, we saw the function of *entaksi* as a concessive particle in

disputes in ordinary conversations. Institutional talk, however, has a distinct interactional organization from that of an ordinary conversation, with some distinctions having to do with sequence organisation, turn-design or lexical choice. There is a special turn-taking system that organises the talk, especially in news interviews, where the roles of each participant (interviewer vs. interviewee) are pre-allocated, with, most of the time, the interviewer being the one turn-allocating and initiating a sequence of talk. What is more, "the interaction normally involves the participants in specific goal orientations that are tied to their institutional-relevant identities: doctor-patient, teacher-student etc." (Heritage, 2004: 106); each participant takes part in the conversation with a specific role or task that is made relevant in talk and to which he/she has to orient to when addressing his/her interlocutor or when being addressed (for further details see §2.4 Bearing all these characteristics of talks in institutional settings in mind, investigating *entaksi* in institutional talk can shed new light on the use of this particle in the environment of disagreements and disputes. *Entaksi* is mobilised in particular context where there is a lot of discussion and opposing viewpoints.

The data is taken from a daily news show, called *Koinonia Ora Mega*, in which the hosts dedicate part of their show to a panel discussion between representatives of different and often opposing parties. The theme of the discussion is always a current issue that the country faces at that moment and the representatives are invited by the journalists for their views on the topic. The issue under discussion in the fragments we will see is whether to negotiate with the creditors on the terms of the agreement or hold a referendum[30].

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[30] The programme took place at a time when Greece was under crisis for some years now, since 2010. It is almost 4 months with a leftist government in power and the government being in need of another

In the following fragment, Gerasimos Giakoumatos, a representative of New Democracy[31], is asking the other participants what Troika is requesting from the Greek government. Maria Xrysoveloni from Anexartitoi Ellines[32], Rania Svigkou, a press representative of Syriza and Giorgos Oikonomeas, one of the journalists, are the other participants in the talk.

(18)   Koinonia ora Mega- 29/04/2015 (Fragment 7 from Greek movies) (19:17-19:37)
(http://www.megatv.com/koinoniaoramega/default.asp?catid=36085&subid=2&pubid=34680488 accessed 25/05/2015, 20:47)

(R: Rania Svigkou (press representative of Suriza), G: Gerasimos Giakoumatos (New Democracy), N: Nikos Orfanos (Potami), X: Maria Xrysoveloni (Anexartitoi Ellines), O: Giorgos Oikonomeas (journalist), K: Dimitris Kampourakis (journalist))

(Gerasimos Giakoumatos is stating one by one what TROIKA is asking Greece to change and his party's decision towards each of them.)

```
 1 G:    Zimosi ena. Pio alo zitai? Ti alo zitai i Troika?=
         Fermentation one. Which other she asks? What other she
         asks the Troika?=
         Fermentation one. What else does it ask? What else does
         the Troika ask for?=
 2 X:    =[Omadikes apo]lisis
         =[Collective dis]missals
         =[Collective dis]missals
 3 G:     [>Ki afto tora ( )<]
          [>And this now ( )<]
          [>And this now ( )<]
 4       (0.4)
 5 G:    Omadikes apolisis im[aste ksekathari leme ohi
```

```
            Collective dismissals we [are clear we say no
            Collective dismissals we [are clear we say no
    6 X:                              [Ne
                                      [Yes
                                      [Yes
    7 X:       Ne?
               Yes?
               Yes?
    8 O:       >Ara< lete se ola ohi [ala tus lete aftonon na
    9          ipograpsun
               >So< you say to all no [but them you say them to they
               sign
               >So< you say no to everything [but you say to them to
               sign
   10 R:                              [An ginete horis psemata
                                      [If it becomes without lies
                                      [If it is possible without lies
   11 R:→     £Enta[ksi£
             £Ok[ay£
             £Ok[ay£
   12 G:        [Ipa ego na ipograpsun more¿=
               [I said I to they sign more¿=
               [Did I tell them to sign more³³¿=
   13 O:       =E ma TI NA [KANUN¿
               =E but WHAT TO [THEY DO¿
               =E but WHAT SHOULD [THEY DO¿
   14 G:                    [MA DEN 'N' AFTA ALA ZITAI I: TROIKA=
                            [BUT NOT THEY ARE THESE OTHER SHE ASKS THE:
               TROIKA=
                            [BUT THESE ARE NOT (WHAT) THE: TROIKA ASKS
               FOR (IT ASKS FOR) OTHER (STUFF)=
   15 X:       =Ti a[la?
               =What o[ther?
               =What o[ther (stuff)?
   16 O:          [(Afta) zitate
                  [(These) you ask
                  [(These) you ask
   17 G:          [( ) afti
                  [( ) they
                  [( ) they
```

Oikonomea's second half of his counter positional turn at lines 8-9 is met with

Rania's affiliative turn at line 10 and *entaksi* produced with a smile at line 11; she

first affiliates with the first TCU of his turn *[An ginete horis psemata* (=[If it is

possible without lies), as her turn comes in overlap at a TRP at the end of the first

TCU, and then with *entaksi* as a response to the second TCU of his turn. The stand-

alone *entaksi* here, produced prosodically with a smiley voice, conveys the speaker's

stance towards the prior sequence, marking its non-seriousness, namely the

---

³³ 'More' is a particle in Greek, just like 're', that is not translatable to English.

contradiction in Giakoumato's arguments that Oikonomeas highlighted in his prior turn, saying 'no to everything' but on the other hand telling 'them to sign'.

In the second instance, *entaksi* appears in turn-initial position as a multiple saying. Stiver's (2004: 260) analysis of the resaying of words, phrases and sentences, such as "Alright alright, alright" or "No no no", suggests that multiple sayings are utilised by interlocutors to "…communicate their stance that the prior speaker has persisted unnecessarily in the prior course of action and should properly holt course of action". A similar use of multiple *entaksi* in turn-initial position has been observed in our data; the following excerpt is an example of that:

(19)   Koinonia ora Mega- 29/04/2015 (Fragment 7 from Greek movies)
      (07:00-07:48)
      (http://www.megatv.com/koinoniaoramega/default.asp?catid=36085&subid=2
      &pubid=34680488 accessed 13/05/2015, 16:24)

(This fragment comes from the same panel discussion and the participants are the same as in the above fragment. Gerasimos Giakoumatos brings forward a document, what is mentioned as IDIKA in this excerpt, that includes information about the pension scheme.)

```
1 G:    Giati ine ap' to IDIKA (0.4) ine e- e- to epikero thema
2       gia tin ritra mideniku elimatos ke >gia t'[s epikurikes
3       sintAksis< pu sistinete sinehia
        Because it is from the IDIKA (0.4) it is e- e- the
        timely issue for the clause of the zero deficit and >for
        th[e supplementary pEnsions< that is recommended all the
        time
        Because it is from IDIKA (0.4) it is e- e- the timely
        issue for the zero deficit clause and >for th[e
        supplementary pEnsions< that is recommended all the time
4 K:                                            [MAl'sta
                                                [RIght
                                                [RIght
5       (0.4)
6 O:    Ne
        Yes
        Yes
7 O:    Tu opiu pago[se e pe- pu pagose ti::[: b-e- ti miosi o:
8       Stratulis
        Yes of which it fro[ze e pe- that it froze the::[: b-e-
        the reduction the: Stratulis
        Yes whose fro[ze e pe- that Stratulis froze the::[: b-e-
        the reduction:
9 G:              [Akusa
```

```
                              [I heard
                              [I heard
10 G:                                                    [Mu: epi- >Ne ne<
11      ne ne ne ne mu epit[repete?=
                                                         [Me: allo- >Yes yes<
        yes yes yes yes me you al[low?=
                                                         [May: I- >Yes yes<
        yes yes yes yes ma[y I?=
12 K:                      [( )
13 G:   =Et[si nomizi (0.2) etsi(h) nom(h)iz(h)ihi
        =Li[ke he thinks (0.2) like(h) he th(h)ink(h)shi
        =Tha[t's what he thinks (0.2) that's what(h) he
        th(h)ink(h)shi
14 O:      [Ne
           [Yes
           [Yes
15 O:   Ohi etsi nomi[zi
        No like he thin[ks
        Not that's what he thin[ks
16 G:                [EgO sas leo (0.2) >tha sas po giati<=
                     [I you I say (0.2) >will you I say why<=
                     [I am telling you (0.2) >I will tell you
        why<=
17 O:   =Pantos miosi den ehi gi[ni
        =In any case reduction not it has beco[me
        =In any case there has been no reduct[ion
18 G:                           [NA TO ETIOLOGISO?
                                [TO IT I JUSTIFY?
                                [CAN I JUSTIFY IT?
19 O:    [Ne ala den ehi gi↓ni miosi
         Yes but not it has beco↓me reduction
         Yes but there has bee↓n no reduction
20 G:   [Paranomos (0.2) olos paranomos ke [fovame o Dimitrakis
21      pu ine ke filos mu mi vrethi katigorumenos dioti den
22      efarmozi to nomo eprepe na ferun nomo kirie Oikonomea
23      na katargis' to nomo tis e pe- ti ti: ritra tu [(kiu)
24      etsi? afu de (lu)-=
        Illegally (0.2) all illegally and [I am afraid the
        Dimitrakis that he is and friend mine not he is found
        charged because not he applies the law he had to to
        they bring law mister Oikonomea to abolish the law of
        the e pe- the the: clause of the [(kiu) so? since not
        (lu)-=
        Illegally (0.2) all illegally and [I am afraid
        Dimitrakis who is also a friend of mine not that he
        will be found charged because he does not apply the law
        he had to make a law mister Oikonomea to abolish the
        law of the e pe- the the: clause of the [(kiu) right?
        since he didn't (lu)-=
25 ?:                                          [((coughing))
26 O:                                                    [(Ne)
                                                         [(Yes)
                                                         [(Yes)
27 O:   =Esis lete paranomos ego ksero oti den ehi [gini i miosi
28      stis sint[aksis
        =You you say illegally I I know that not it has [become
         the reduction in the pensions
        =You say illegally I know that there [hasn't been a
         reduction in the pensions
29 G:                                                    [Ohi
                                                         [No
```

```
                                                  [No
30  G:→           [Entaks' entaks' kirie (Pra) ki ego kano oti
31       thelo ki ego (aga) me logia dino sas leo lipon me nomo
32       (.) iparhi ritra mideniku elimatos me nomo tu kratus tu
33       eliniku kratus.hhh afu d'n to efarmoz' lipon prep' na
34       feri nomo na ton katargisi (.) ti (na po) mia tropologia
35       tora evgale to ipurgio pedias simera kati tropologies
36       mia tropologia na to katargisi gia'i den to ka↓ni?
            [Okay okay mister (Pra) and I I do anything I want
         and I (aga) with words I give you I say so with law (.)
         there is clause of zero deficit with law of the state of
         the Greek state .hhh since not it he applies so it must
         to he brings law to him he abolishes (.) what (to I say)
         one modification now it took out the ministry of
         education today some modifications one modification to it
         abolish why not it he doe↓s?
            [Okay okay mister (Pra) and I do anything I want and
         I (aga) with words I give you I say then with law (.)
         there is a zero deficit clause with law from the state
         the Greek state .hhh since he doesn't apply it then he
         must bring a law to abolish it (.) what (can I say) one
         modification now the ministry of education did a
         modification today some modifications one modification to
         abolish it why doesn't he do↓ it?
```

The double *entaksi* in turn-initial position here at line 30 marks the beginning of an

extended counter positional multi-unit turn. With the multiple *entaksi* in turn-initial

position under a single intonation contour, Giakoumatos targets the larger course of

action that the challenging turn embodies (Schegloff, 1996b), proposing to the

journalist to stop the ongoing activity, namely his repeated challenge at lines 17

=Pantos miosi den ehi gi[ni (==In any case there has been no reduct[ion), 19 *[Ne ala*

den ehi gi↓ni miosi (=[Yes but there has bee↓n no reduction) and finally at line 27

=Esis lete paranomos ego ksero oti den ehi [gini i miosi stis sint[aksis (==You say

illegally I know that there [hasn't been a reduction in the pensions). The single token

of *entaksi* acknowledges the prior talk and proposes sequence closure, as we have

seen in prior sections; with the double *entaksi* here the speaker is targeting the larger

course of action rather than just the prior turn. Note that his responses come either in

overlap or latched with the prior TCU, which suggests the speaker's interpretation of

the ongoing course of action as being unwarranted (Stivers, 2004). So, Giakoumatos

proposes that the repetition and insistence of the journalist's challenging turns was overdone; he treats it as problematic and urges to halt this course of action.

In the last example, we have a further instance of multiple *entaksi* with a single intonation contour. However, the *entaksi* in this case gets tropicalized ironically in the context of vehement disagreement and functions as a challenge to the prior speaker's use of the particle. Rania tries to shut down the line of enquiry with *entaksi* and her interlocutor tropicalizes it, in order to challenge her practice of getting off the topic.

(20)   Koinonia ora Mega- 29/04/2015 (Fragment 8 from Greek movies)
          (16:04-16:34)
          (http://www.megatv.com/koinoniaoramega/default.asp?catid=36085&subid=2&pubid=34680
          486 accessed 29/05/2015, 11:17)

(The participants in this excerpt are the same as in the two prior ones. Rania mentions the Lagard list, a scandal in which many people from Giakoumatos' party were involved, which triggers a huge debate with both representatives accusing each others' parties of involvement in scandals.)

```
20 R:    Gia ton kirio Papastav'u ehete na pite kati¿ ['fu
21       thelete na egrithi i lista [Lagar'
         For the mister Papastavru you have to you say something¿
         [since you want to be approved the list [Lagard
         About mister Papastavru do you have something to say¿
         [since you want the list Lagard to be [approved
22 G:                                              [(A) mia
23       hara
                                                   [(A) one
         joy
                                                   [(A) fine
24 G:                         [Oti eho n- E OT' EHO NA PO
25       GIA TUS DIKUS SAS PU 'HUN TA LEFTA STIS:=
                              [Whatever I have t- E
         WHATEVER I HAVE TO I SAY FOR THE YOURS YOUR THAT THEY
         HAVE THE MONEY IN THE:=
                              [The same I have t- E THE
         SAME I HAVE TO SAY FOR YOUR PEOPLE THAT HAVE THE MONEY IN
         THE:=
26 R:    =Enta:k[si kirie Giakumato oti psemata ke na [ri'nete
27       ston anemistira s' esas girnane
         =Oka:[y mister Giakumato whatever lies and to [you throw
         in the fan to you they return
         =Oka:[y mister Giakumato whatever lies [you throw in the
         fan they return to you
28 G:→        [R:: T' ENTAKSI EKI ENTAKSI EKI E[NTAKSI  EKI
29       [ENTAKSI
                [R:: WHAT OKAY THERE OKAY THERE O[KAY THERE [OKAY
```

```
                      [R:: WHAT OKAY SO NOW OKAY SO NOW O[KAY SO NOW
             [OKAY
   30 X:                                               [Kirie
   31       Giakuma:to
                                                        [Mister
            Giakuma:to

            Giakuma:to
   32 O:
            [Parakalo
            [I please
            [Please
```

The first *entaksi* we encounter in this excerpt at line 26 is a turn-initial *entaksi* that

functions as a means of "getting off troubling topics" which Beach notes in

connection with 'okay' (Beach, 1993)[34]. The fact that this *entaksi* is incremented by

an address term further adds to its quality as a token for getting off troubling topic, as

Clayman (2010) has shown that address terms are used in responsive actions that

"…resist or oppose the agenda being pursued through the previous question" (163).

So, although it is Rania who brought up the topic in the first place, namely the

question at line 20 that functions as an accusation *[Gia ton kirio Papastav'u ehete na*

pite kati¿ (=[About mister Papastavru do you have something to say¿), once she gets

the resistance from her interlocutor, she now implements a practice to get off the

topic. Her attempt to shut down the line of enquiry with *entaksi* gets receipted by

Giakoumatos with a tropicalized *entaksi* in a multiple reiteration of the prior *entaksi*

prefaced by *eki* (=there) *[R:: T' ENTAKSI EKI ENTAKSI EKI E[NTAKSI EKI*

[ENTAKSI (=[R:: WHAT OKAY SO NOW OKAY SO NOW O[KAY SO NOW

[OKAY), which is clearly built to be ironic. Note that Giakoumato's multiple *entaksi*

turn comes in overlap in the second syllable of Rania's *entaksi*; her projectable action,

namely her attempt to depart from the topic in response to Giakoumato's counter

positional argument that is left unfinished at lines 24-25, is recognised and objected

---

[34] Although unlike the 'Okays-in-a-series' description of Beach, in this case we have a single *entaksi* in
turn initial position.

to with the reiteration of *entaksi* and the referent term *eki*, specifying that what is denounced is the timing that Rania decides to use the *entaksi*, the moment something unfavourable is being mentioned. Giakoumato's objection lies in Rania's practice of just dismissing the line of enquiry that she herself has put on the table.

To sum up, we can see that in political debates *entaksi* functions as a device that can do different actions, according to the prior sequence. In most cases, it marks the beginning of an extended counter positional multi-unit turn, except for the first example where it appears free-standing, and comes fairly promptly, either in overlap or latched with the prior turn. All in all, it is a token that is used by interactants in the face of a challenge by their interlocutors and prefaces some kind of counter positional turn, thus claiming their position in an argument. In particular, we have seen that a stand-alone *entaksi*, produced prosodically with a so-called smiley voice, conveys the speaker's stance towards the prior sequence, marking its non-seriousness. With regards to multiple *entaksi*, I have shown that a speaker is proposing to his/her interlocutor to stop the persistence of the ongoing activity, in our case the challenge that is being pursued by his interlocutor in the prior sequence, targeting, in this way, the larger course of action rather than just the prior turn. Additionally, in the last extract I encountered an example of a multiple *entaksi*, which gets tropicalized ironically in the environment of vigorous disagreement and functions as a challenge to the prior speaker's attempt to abandon the line of enquiry in the face of a counterargument.

3.6   Summary

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that *entaksi* can be employed in different interactional environments with diverse consequences for the interaction itself. I have

identified its occurrence in five different environments and, based on the analysis, I have determined the various actions that interlocutors can achieve with the use of this adverb, depending on its position in an interactional sequence. I have been looking at it mainly in turn-initial position or as a free-standing particle. On the whole, the data has revealed that it is a particle that can serve both as a pivot from prior to next-positioned matters, as well as a preliminary to a counter positional turn or a token indexing the epistemic stance of an interlocutor in talk. Alternatively, in institutional settings, *entaksi* is utilised to mark a speaker's stance towards a prior turn.

In short, we have seen it as a turn-final/free-standing and turn-initial *entaksi* in the environment of questions, serving two different functions, stand-alone or preceded by the Greek token *e* in assessment sequences, as a concessive particle in disputes or after topic closing utterances, like *e afta, ki afta* in turn-initial or turn-medial position. So we can clearly see that the action is connected to the position of the particle in the turn.

I have proposed that, in questions and topic closing environments, the particle functions as a pivotal item that closes prior matters before interlocutors move to the new business and, thus, assists topic transition in TRPs. Specifically, when it is turn-final or stand-alone with a questioning prosody, it functions as an understanding check; speakers deploy *entaksi* to check the understanding of the prior turn before they move to the next action. Additionally, it has been demonstrated that after topic closing utterances, like *e afta, ki afta* in turn-initial or turn-middle position the speaker is moving to new business, whereas a stand-alone *entaksi* in pre-closings to phone-calls is responsive to the prior action.

Subsequently, I have analysed its use in the environment of assessments and disputes and have concluded that *entaksi* is deployed in these environments as a preliminary to a counter positional turn. *Entaksi* followed by the token *e* in assessment sequences indicates that the speaker minimally accepts the interlocutor's argument before giving his/her counterargument. In the environment of disputes we have seen it function as a concessive particle; the speaker accepts the informing that was given to him in the prior turn before moving on to his/her counterargument.

Furthermore, I have shown how *entaksi* can be used to mark speakers' epistemic stance towards a prior informing. One way interlocutors mark their epistemic stance is by showing their minimal agreement with *entaksi* and indicating their stance with an assessment. Additionally, when the particle is deployed with a questioning prosody in turn-initial position, it functions as a receipt of the prior informing and at the same time as a confirmation seeking device.

And, finally, I have examined its use in mediated broadcast talk and have demonstrated that *entaksi* is used in the beginning of counter positional multi-unit turns with which speakers claim their position in an argument. It functions as a challenge to the prior speaker's turn and proposes to the recipient to abandon the larger course of action he/she is pursuing.

All in all, this chapter has been an attempt to explain some of the usages of *entaksi* in Greek everyday and institutional interactions. The examples that I have presented indicate that *entaksi* is used to carry out different conversational actions; the interactive environment determines the various actions that we can achieve with the use of this adverb.

Chapter 4   **Turn-initial** *Ne*

4.1   **Introduction**

This chapter will look at the systematicity of the Greek particle *ne* in responses to informings. Work on English suggests that informings can be challenged (Drew, 2003), receipted with surprise (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006) or merely be accepted. See, for example, the recipient in excerpt (1) responding with an elliptical interrogative 'You ↑Haven't.' that challenges Sandra's claim that she has 'never been to one yet'.

(1) Excerpt 20: [Drew:St:98:1] [UK]

```
1 San:      .hh I've
2           never been to one yet,
3 Bec:→     You ↑Haven't.
4 San:      No
5 Bec:      Not even t' Ziggy:s
6 San:      Nope (.) I've bin twi-
7           no ( ) a bin twi:ce at
8           home to:: a place
```
(Drew, 2003: 930)

On the other hand, in excerpt (2) Emma's telling at lines 96-97 elicits from Lottie a surprise reaction 'Oh:: Go:d.'.

(2) [RT385:NBII:3:R:2]

```
96 Emm:    Wa:it. I thought it wa:s becuz ih wz kahna ha:zy out
97         ther-
98         =.hh 'mA:gine a hunnerd'n fifteen
99 Lot:→   Oh:: Go:d.
```
(Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006: 162)

And in excerpt (3), Chloe treats Paul's announcement as a simple news receipt:

(3) [Land: YU9: 30:48]

```
09 Pau:      So: uh four year[s.]
10 Chl:→                    [Oh] right. Not as big as I thought.
11           Yeah.
```

(Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006: 155)

The present chapter addresses the use of *ne* (=yes) in a questioning format in managing those particular actions. Preliminary observations suggest that, depending on its position in the sequence and its composition inside the turn, *ne* can indicate disbelief, rejection or acceptance.

4.2 Speakers' responses to challenges

Drew's (2003) work on precision and exaggeration in English interaction focuses on the responses to exaggerated claims; that is, he examines claims that are treated as overstated and how those are managed by the recipients. He observes that when people use exaggerated claims to strengthen their position, they commonly get some skeptical response, like pausing or questions, by their recipients and a back down in their following turn. A back down is one possible response to a challenge, the other being speakers holding firm to their position. In my data, I have encountered both possible responses but predominantly speakers are holding firm to their initial position. There are seventeen instances of *ne* with a questioning prosody, followed by subsequent questioning, as a response to a strong claim in the data, only two of which receive a back down.

In what follows, I present examples of *ne* with questioning prosody as a response to instances that are built as strong claims that seek to encourage some kind of uptake from their interlocutors.

(4) [Balantani audio: VN550051: 27:27]

(In this fragment of the audio-recording the topic is Leandro's daughter who is leaving for England and is in need of pounds sterling but the banks in Greece don't have pounds.)

```
 1 L:     Ego na su po (0.1) ithela na pio perisotera.
          I to you I say (0.1) I wanted to I drink more.
          To tell you the truth (0.1) I wanted to drink more.
 2 S:     M
 3 L:     Itan oreos o mezes ki oreo to tsipuro.
          It was nice the snacks and nice the tsipuro.
          The snacks were nice and the tsipuro³⁵ was also nice.
 4 S:     M[e kerasan ke meta tus kerasa
          M[e they invited and then them I invited
          Th[ey invited me and then I invited them
 5 L:      [Ala-
           [But-
           [But-
 6 L:     Ala viazomun na [figo
          But I was in a hurry to [I leave
          But I was in a hurry to [leave
 7 S:                     [Ki egina
                          [And I became
                          [And I became
 8 M:     Entaks' afu 'sastan::
          Okay since you were::
          Okay since you were::
 9 L:     Ohi viazomun ithela na pa- na 'rtho 'do mesa ke:: efera
10        o[:la ta-
          No I was in a hurry I wanted to I g- to I come here
          inside and:: I brought a[:ll the-
          No I was in a hurry I wanted to g- to come here inside³⁶
          and:: I went a[:ll around the-
11 R:      [A meta¿
           [A afterwards¿
           [A afterwards¿
12 L:     Ne ne [efera ola ta Gian-
          Yes yes [I brought all the Gian-
          Yes yes [I went all around Gian-
13 R:          [Meta pigate¿
               [Afterwards you went¿
               [Afterwards you went¿
14 L:     Den evriska sinalagma.
          Not I was founding exchange currency.
          I couldn't find exchange currency.
15        (1.0)
16 L:     Den evriska lires aglias p'thena tipote
          Not I was founding pounds of England anywhere nothing
          I couldn't find English pounds anywhere nothing
17 S:→    Ne?
          Yes?
          Yes?
18 L:     Ne
          Yes
          Yes
```

---

³⁵ A Greek alcoholic drink, similar to ouzo.

³⁶'Inside' here refers to the city centre. If you are living in the outskirts of a city, it is common to refer to the city centre as 'inside'.

```
19 M:    Vrikes (   [ )
         You found (   [ )
         Did you find (   [ )
20 S:              [De vrikes kato sto Kurmanio? puthena? se
21       kan'an mavragori↓ti tetia?
                   [Not you found down in the Kurmanio? nowhere?
         in some black marke↓ter such?
                      [You didn't find down there in Kurmanio?
         nowhere? in some black marke↓ter or so?
22 L:     [Giati pios eh' tetia more den ehun afti
         [Why who he has such more not they have they
         [Why who has such things more they don't have
23 M:    [( )
24 S:    Eki↑=
         There↑=
         There↑=
25 L:    =Edo stis trapezes den evriska
         =Here in the bAnks not I was finding
         =I couldn't even find in the bAnks
```

In this excerpt, *ne* appears after an informing with a questioning prosody. The informing comes at line 14 *Den evriska sinalagma.* (=I couldn't find exchange currency.), which doesn't get picked up by any of the other speakers. Leandro reformulates his informing specifying the referent term *lires aglias* (=English pounds) and with the extreme case formulations (Pomerantz, 1986) *p'thena tipote* (=nowhere nothing) he upgrades his turn. His reformulated turn with the extreme case formulations 'nowhere nothing' is particularly built to highlight the noteworthiness of his claim. Simon's response to this informing comes in the form of a *ne* with rising intonation which "…morphologically marks the turn as seeking response" (Stivers & Rossano, 2012) and occurs as a NTRI (Schegloff et. al., 1977) to the prior informing. Leandro's confirmation at line 18 is followed up by further questioning at line 20 where Simon aligns with Leandro's turn but does not show affiliation (Stivers et.al., 2011) (for further details on the distinction between alignment and affiliation see §2.3.1). His response is aligning in that he accepts the presuppositions of Leandro's proposed action with an uptake of his informing. Nevertheless, instead of accepting it, which would be the affiliative response to an informing, he challenges Leandro's turn with a negative interrogative *De vrikes kato sto Kurmanio?* (=You didn't find down

there in Kurmanio?), then a repetition of the referent term that is the focus of his disbelief *puthena?* (=nowhere?) and as a last practice an extreme case also negatively formulated *kan'an mavragori↓ti* (= any black marke↓ter), thus going from the weakest to the strongest practice. Leandro takes it to be a challenge as witnessed by his next turn, where he responds with another question, specifically an unanswerable question (on a different type of unanswerable questions see Heinemann, 2008) *Giati pios eh' tetia more den ehun afti* (=Why who has such things more they don't have). He does not back down but holds firmly to his original stance in the face of a challenge to the credibility of his claim.

In excerpt (5), below, the speakers follow the same practice; Simon is being challenged by Leandro and has to defend his claim.

(5) [Balantani audio: VN550051: 47:58]

(Leandro and Simon are both teachers and are discussing about how teachers are getting hired nowadays in Greece. In the past there was an exam called ASEP but they have suspended it after the crisis and now they are thinking of cancelling it for good.)

```
 1 S:     I e::: ehi sizitithi idi
          The e::: has discussed already
          The e::: (it) has been discussed already
 2 L:     M
 3 S:     Sta: site ton a e::: pos to len' ton ereton
          In the sites of a e::: how it called of elected
          In the sites of a e::: what is it called of the elected
 4 S:     M
 5 S:     Oti::::: apo 'do ke sto eksis de tha ksanagin' ASEP,
          That::::: from here and in the following not will it
          become again ASEP,
          That::::: from now onwards there won't be an ASEP again,
 6        (0.8)
 7 L:→    Ne?
          Yes?
          Yes?
 8 S:     N[e=
          Ye[s=
          Ye[s=
 9 L:       [Terma? [pai?
            [End? [it goes?
            [The end? [it is gone?
10 S:              [(Pernun) idikotiton [opote
                   [(They take) of specialties [so
```

```
                        [(They take) specialties [so
  11 L:                                           [Ne ke i proslipsis pos
  12       tha ginonte?
                                                  [Yes and the employments
           how will they become?
                                         [Yes and the employments
           how will they be done?
  13          (0.6)
  14 S:    E: mono anaplirotes
           E: only substitutes
           E: only substitutes
  15          (0.6)
  16 L:    [De tha ginun pote proslipsis?
           [Not will they become never employments?
           [There will never be employments?
  17 S:    [I- i- osi li-
           [The- the- those (li)-
           [The- the- those (li)-
  18 S:    Oso pai (.) ti tus niazi
           As long as it goes (.) what them it cares
           As long as it goes (.) what do they care
```

This excerpt follows the same sequential organisation; an informing that gets receipted with a NTRI but the speaker does not back down on his initial claim even after the resistance. The informing –a multiunit turn that gets continuers in its course from Leandro– is brought to a syntactic and pragmatic, but not a prosodic completion. This appears to be a recurrent practice in the context of extreme claims designed to attract resistance or surprise.[37] In this case, what is extreme is the cultural shift that would follow from the abolition of a service that had existed in Greece for twenty years. Simon claims that he read 'in the sites of the [ ] elected' that:::: from now

---

[37] See also the following excerpt, where Leandro is recounting a story from his childhood. His turn at line 219 is also syntactically and pragmatically complete but not prosodically. His announcement that 'there was also a wo↑lf' is designed to attract his interlocutor's surprise, which it does at line 221 '[A wo↑lf'.

[Balantani audio: VN550051: 03:22]
```
219 L:     Ihe ki ena li↑ko
           It had and one wo↓lf
           There was also a wo↓lf
220          (0.2)
221 R:     [Li↑ko
           [Wo↑lf
           [A wo↑lf
222 L:     [>Etsi afto mu 'hi [mini] emena<
           [>So this me it has [stayed] me<
           [>Yes that's [what I] remember<
```

onwards there w<u>o</u>n't be an ASEP[38] again,'. And in fact his informing is received with a NTRI by Leandro at line 7 *Ne?* (=Yes?) and elaboration of this at line 9, 11 and 15 *Terma? [pai?* (=The end? [it is gone?), *Ne ke i proslipsis pos tha ginonte?* (=Yes and the employment how will they be done?) and *[De tha ginun pote proslipsis?* (=There will never be employments?). He challenges his interlocutor in a very strong manner with a 'yes…but' argument at line 11 and extreme case formulation 'never' at line 15. The defence to his challenge is again an unanswerable question as in our previous example *Oso pai (.) ti tus niazi* (=As long as it goes (.) what do they care). Leandro abandons his challenge and Simon continues to elaborate on his claim. As we can see, even in the face of the challenge, Simon does not back down but holds firm to his position, holding tight to his initial claim.

In a similar way, in excerpt (6) we have a short exchange of information giving and response with a token of disbelief on the part of the recipient.

(6) [Balantani video: M2U00061:09:58]

(This is a very short sequence. Toby enters the room to pick up something and leaves quickly so the exchange of information is very quick and sudden. Anthony is Leandro's nephew and Toby's cousin. He has only finished high school and is changing jobs all the time. Vanessa and Kelvin are on the screenshot but are not actively participating in this sequence.)

```
1 T:    [Min pi kanenas den kano:
        [Not he says noone not I do:
```

---

[38] ASEP is the SUPREME COUNCIL FOR CIVIL PERSONNEL SELECTION in Greece. It "was established by Law 2190/1994 as an independent authority responsible for securing the implementation of the provisions on public sector staff selection and recruitment.." (28/01/2015, 11:37 am, http://www.asep.gr/webcenter/portal/asep/SUPREME+COUNCIL+FOR+CIVIL+PERSONNEL+SEL ECTION+%28ASEP%29).

```
          [Not that anyone says I don't do:
2 L:      [O Anthony e- o Anthony egine- tha gin' fortigatzis e?
          [The Anthony e- the Anthony he became- will he becomes
          truck driver e?
          [Anthony e- Anthony became- he will become a truck
          driver e?
3         (0.4)
4 T:→     Ne¿
          Yes¿
          Yes¿
5 L:      Ne
          Yes
          Yes
6         (0.6)
7 T:      Pos's doulies akoma th' alaks' aftos?
          How many jobs yet will he change he?
          How many jobs will he change yet?
8         (0.6)
9 L:      Ti na kan' (o) (.) opu: sterios'
          What to he does (o) (.) wherever: he settles
          What can he do (o) (.) wherever: he settles
```

The extract starts at line 1 with a complaint that is part of the prior topic and Leandro is changing the topic abruptly with a new informing at line 2 to avoid confrontation[39] *[O Anthony e- o Anthony egine- tha gin' fortigatzis e?* (=Anthony e- Anthony became- he will become a truck driver e?). His turn involves the self-repairs which are a common characteristic of abrupt topic shift (Schegloff, 1979) and gets picked up immediately by Toby with a *ne* in a questioning prosody and further questioning of the truth veracity of his claim *Pos's dulies akoma th' alaks' aftos?* (=How many jobs will he change yet?). The sequence ends as abruptly as it started with Leandro's unanswerable question (on a different type of unanswerable questions see Heinemann, 2008) *Ti na kan' (o) (.) opu: sterios'* (= What can he do (o) (.) wherever: he settles) as a response to Toby's challenge.

In this section, I have examined the practice of receiving an informing with a token of disbelief (see also Wilkinson & Kitzinger on English, 2006). Particularly, I have been looking at information receipts implemented with the Greek particle *ne* and further

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[39] Prior to the topic shift they were engaged in talk about who helps out more in the household. Since I, the researcher, would see the recording later on, Leandro is initiating a topic shift to avoid expansion of that topic.

questioning in subsequent turns. After the examination of the examples it turns out that *ne* with a questioning prosody appears after an informing that is initially constructed as dramatic and noteworthy. Participants in the talk question the veracity of the claim with *ne* and pursue the challenge with further questioning on the topic. This practice seems to support Drew's (2003) claim that speakers use exaggerated claims in order to strengthen their turns and subsequently get questioned by their interlocutors, as well as Heritage's (1984b) assertion on the fact that assertions of ritualised disbelief, like "really?", are objects that advance the sequence and may project disagreement. What is strikingly different in this set of data is that, unlike the practice that has been followed by the English speakers in Drew's paper, who back down and repair their initial turn after it has been treated as overstated, Greek interlocutors appear to be doing the exact opposite; they hold firm to their position and defend their initial claim until their interlocutor accepts it. The acceptance of the turns that are challenging is implicit in an unanswerable, or so-called rhetorical, question. The practice that has been followed in all of the 3 examples is:

1) Informing
2) *Ne* (with questioning prosody)
3) Confirmation with *ne*
4) Further questioning
5) Unanswerable question

The unanswerable question does not get a response and marks the end of the sequence. Speakers may continue to expand on their claim but without any explicit solicitation for expansion by their recipients. Unanswerable questions are a general truth that cannot be questioned and is a practice that Greek interlocutors implement in the context of disagreement.

As I mentioned in the introduction to this section, another possible way of responding to a challenge is when a speaker backs down in the following turn. In the fragments that follow, speakers use *ne* as a token of disbelief to an informing but, unlike the prior examples, in which the speakers were holding strong to their initial claim, subsequently they back down.

(7) [Balantani video: 00006: 16:31]

(Leandro and Alexandra went to Albania. They entered from the border at Sagiada but Leandro has been there in the past entering from the border at Kakavia. He is describing the condition of the roads. Carolina and Stefan are a couple, family friends of Alexandra and Leandro, who have not been to Albania.)

```
 1 S:    >Ti- ap' tin Kakavia< den- in' ekato hiliometra (.) >pu
 2       to 'da ego< sto harti
         >The- from the Kakavia< not- it is hundred kilometers
         (.) >that it I saw I< in the map
         >The- from Kakavia< it is not- it is hundred kilometers
         (.) >how I saw it in the map
 3       (.)
 4 L:    E: [entaks'
         E: [okay
         E: [okay
 5 S:       [>Ala pre' na< 'hi::=
            [>But it must to< it has::=
            [>But it must< have::=
 6 L:    =E
 7 S:    strofes poles meta
         bends many after
         many bends later
 8       [(0.2)
 9 L:    [.hhh e:go:: iha pai apo 'ki.
         [.hhh I:: I had gone from there.
         [.hhh I:: had gone from there.
10       (0.2)
11 S:    A:
12 L:    A:la:: >ihe poli steno dromo ke poli halia tOte [prin
13       apo [dekapente hronia etsi¿<
         Bu::t >it had very narrow road and very bad thEn [before
         from [fifteen years right¿<
         Bu::t >it had a very narrow road and very bad back thEn
         [fifteen years ago right¿<
14 S:                                               [((nods))
```

```
 15 C:          [((nods))
 16          (0.2)
 17 S:    E ets' tha 'nehehehe
          E so will it ishehehe
          E it will be like thathehehe
 18 L:    Em::: den kse[ro an ekanan tipota an eftiaksan==>edo ton
 19       eftiaksan ine kalos o dromos<
          Em:::  not  I  kn[ow  if  they  did  nothing  if  they
          constructed==>here him they made he is good the road<
          Em:::  I  don't  kn[ow  if  they  did  anything  if  they
          constructed==>here they constructed it the road is good<
 20 C:                 [( )
 21 S:→   Ne↓ e
          Yes↓ e
          Yes↓ e
 22 L:    M e↑ shetika kalos 'ntaks' kalos ine den:=
          M e↑ relatively good okay good not:=
          M e↑ relatively good okay it is good not:=
 23 S:    =E pai 'ntaks'
          =E it goes okay
          =E it is drivable okay
 24 A:    ( )=
 25 S:    =Giati: gia t'n Arta in' kaliteros¿
          =Why: for the Arta he is better¿
          =Why: is it any better to Arta¿
 26          (0.4)
 27 L:    Girisame meta apo::: (.) apo enan arheologiko horo.
          We came back then from::: (.) from one archeological
          place.
          We returned then passing through::: (.) through an
          archeological place.
 28          ((turns gaze to S))
 29 S:    [Ne to 'da to 'fere ( )
          [Yes it I saw it he brought ( )
          [Yes I saw it he⁴⁰ brought it ( )
 30 S:    [((turns gaze to the table))
```

In the first example, we have a description of the road in the form of an assessment at

line 19-20 >*edo ton eftiaksan ine kalos o dromos*< (=here they constructed it the road

is good) which gets receipted with a token of disbelief *Ne↓ e*. After the disbelief

token, Leandro reformulates his assessment by downgrading it from 'the road is

good' to 'e↑ relatively good'. Although Stefan shows his disbelief of Leandro's

assessment in the first place, after he downgrades his assessment to 'relatively good',

he produces an aligning turn *e pai 'ntaks'* (=e it is drivable okay) and increments it

with an unanswerable question *Giati: gia t'n Arta in' kaliteros¿* (=Why: is it any

better to Arta¿). So, we can see that after Leandro's downgraded turn, his interlocutor

---

[40] 'He' refers to his father who also joined the trip.

reformulates in his own terms, thus conceding to him, and the sequence closes with an unanswerable question, only this time it is the recipient who produces it. The unanswerable question *Giati: gia t'n Arta in' kaliteros¿* (=Why: is it any better to Arta¿) comes in the form of an assessment, which is closing implicative (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987) and Leandro continues his storytelling sequence about the excursion.

The same happens in the next example, in which Juliet confirms a series of turns that mark her interlocutor's disbelief before she backs down.

(8) [Balantani video: 00015: 37:08]

(Dominik, Alexandra and Lorenzo have studied in Thessaloniki, which is 2 hours away from home so their parents sent them sometimes packets with food. Juliet's parents, however, rarely sent her any food because she was studying in Crete, which is too far away from Ioannina. Last year Dominik was working in Crete too so they are discussing whether food is possible to last such a long journey.)

```
 1 J:     (>Epidi<) emas- emis den ihame pote pake:to i mana mu
 2        paketo mono otan katevename,
          (>Because<) us- we not we had never pa:cket the mother
          mine packet only when we were going down,
          (>Because<) us- we never had a pa:cket my mother did a
          packet only when we were going down,
 3        (0.2)
 4 J:     [Gi' afto::
          [For this::
          [That's why::
 5 D:     [Ke pa:li::=
          [And aga:in::=
          [Sti:ll::=
 6 J:     =ne an: fagita omos fa- magireme:na gia: tin proti
 7        vdomada,
          =yes if: food but fo- coo:ked for: the first week,
          =yes if: food but fo- coo:ked for: the first week,
 8        (0.2)
 9 J:     Afto↓ ala: hartia igias sa[bua::n:
          This↓ bu:t papers of health sha[m::po:
          That's all↓ bu:t toilet papers sha[m::po:
10 L:                                [Pos antehan::=
```

```
                                    [How they held out::=
                                    [How did they hold out::=
11 J:      =malaktika
           =softeners
           =fabric softeners
12 J:      °Ante↑hune°
           °They ho↑ld out°
           °They ho↑ld out°
13 L:      Toses ores¿
           So hours¿
           So many hours¿
14 J:      °Ante↑[hun ( )°
           °They ho↑[ld out ( )°
           °They ho↑[ld out ( )°
15 D:           [Kita to himona pu 'n' me kri:o: ki >emena kan'a
16         dio fores p' m' 'he stili:< as pume perisi sta Hania,=
                [Look the winter that it is with co:ld: and >me
           some two times that me she had sent:< let we say last
           year to the Hania,=
                [Look in the winter when it is co:ld: >a couple of
           times that she had sent: me also< let's say last year to
           Hania,=
17 J:      =Pagome↑na=
           =Fro↑zen=
           =Fro↑zen=
18 D:      =Ts ne antehun (.) to kalokeri (d'a'di) den in' na
19         stilis tipota
           =Ts yes they last (.) the summer (namely) not it is to
           you send nothing
            =Ts yes they hold out (.) in the summer (namely) you
           cannot send anything
20         (0.1)
21 D:      E gia' ehi to[si zesti
           E because it has s[o heat
           E because it is s[o hot
22 A:                    [( )
23 J:                    [Prep' na mu 'h' stili emena i ma[na mu ( )
                          [It must to mine she has sent me the
           mo[ther mine ( )
             [My mother must have sent [me ( )
24 D:→                                                   [Ne?
                                                         [Yes?
                                                         [Yes?
25 J:      Ne
           Yes
           Yes
26         (0.1)
27 A:→     [Ne?
           [Yes?
           [Yes?
28 J:      [((nods))  (Figure 4.1)
29 D:      [K:e himona >(ks's) mono kan'a< dio fores perisi=
           [A:nd winter >(you know) only some< two times last year=
           [A:nd in winter >(you know) only < a couple of times last
           year=
30 J:      =( )
31 J:      'pla molis ftasun entaks'
           Simply just they arrive okay
           Simply hardly have they arrived okay
32 J:      [((movement with the hand))
33         [(0.3)
```

```
34 J:    [ka[pia prep' na ta fas[:: ekini tin mera] den ehi ne
         [so[me it must to them you eat[:: that the day] not it
         has yes
         [so[me you must eat[:: that day] you cannot yes
35 J:    [((continuation of hand movement))]
36 D:      [((nods emphatically and joins the hand movement))
37 D:                          [Ne katefthian ekines tis ores:
38       prolaveno den prolaveno
                                 [Yes directly those the hours: I
         make it not I make it
                                 [Yes immediately those hours: I

         make it I don't make it⁴¹
```

In this example, the first turns that mark the interlocutors' disbelief towards Juliet's informing start at line 10 with Lorenzo's question *Pos antehan::=* (=How did they hold out=), which comes in overlap with Juliet's informing, and a follow up question *Toses ores¿* (=So many hours¿), specifying the referent term 'time' that was taken as extreme in this case. Both of his questions get Juliet's confirmation with a partial repeat of his turn *ºAnte↑huneº* (=ºThey ho↑ld outº). Dominik, who has been working in Crete for the past few years, therefore has the same epistemic access to the matter at hand as does Juliet, responds at line 18 with an agreement + confirmation, first agreeing with Juliet and then confirming her *ne antehun* (=yes they hold out). However, his turn has the form of a 'yes…but' argument; confirming but incrementing his turn with a counterargument *to kalokeri (d'a'di) den in' na stilis tipota* (=in the summer (namely) you cannot send anything) and an account *e gia' ehi tosi zesti* (= e because it is so hot). Juliet's subsequent disaffiliative turn at line 23 *[Prep' na mu 'h' stili emena i ma[na mu ( )* (=[My mother must have sent [me ( )) gets receipted with two *ne?* as disbelief tokens from two different interlocutors. Both disbelief tokens *ne?* are confirmed with a *ne* and a nod respectively (**Figure 4.1**). Juliet only backs down at line 31 *'pla molis ftasun entaks' [ka[pia prep' na ta fas[:: ekini tin mera] den ehi ne* (=Simply hardly have they arrived okay [so[me you must

---

⁴¹ This is a Greek expression which means I may make it but I may also be too late.

e<u>at</u>[:: that day] you cannot yes) after Dominik's elaboration on his counterargument at line 29 that even in winter 'only< a couple of times' they sent him something. After resisting a series of challenges to the credibility of her claim and holding firmly to her position, she backs down in the end but her interlocutor aligns with her *Ne katefthian ekines tis ores: prolaveno den prolaveno* (=Yes imm<u>e</u>diately those hours: I make it I don't make it), as in our previous example. As we can observe, the sequence here ends with a formulaic expression 'I make it I don't make it', which acts similarly to Drew & Holt's (1998) figurative expressions; it is also used here in a TRP to summarise and bring the prior topic to a closure. Idiomatic or formulaic expressions have a closing implicative quality because they are very difficult to argue against.
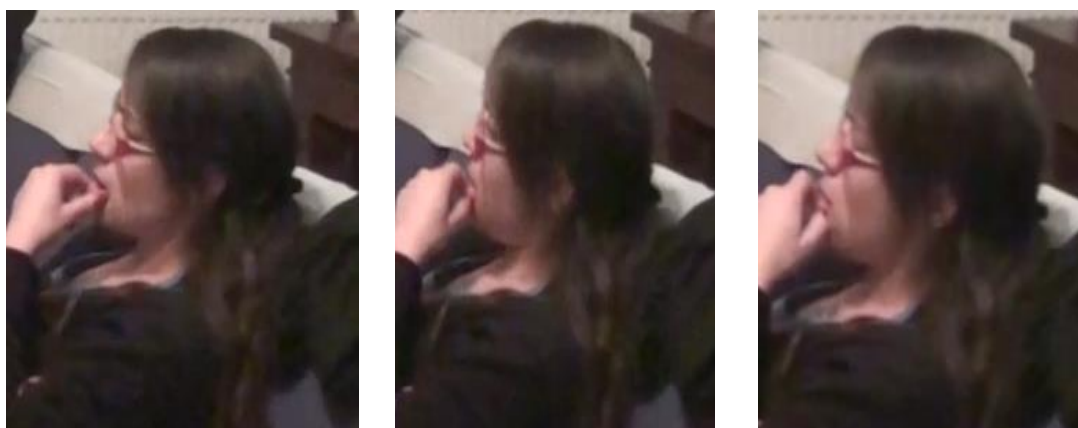
Figure 4.1 Frame representing the nod in line 28

To sum up, in the data that we have analysed above, speakers respond in differing ways to the disbelief token. In contrast to the initial examples, in which speakers were holding firm to their position even in the face of a token of disbelief and subsequent questioning of the veracity of the informing, in these examples speakers back down after *ne*. What is interesting about these examples, though, is the response to the turn in which the speaker backed down. In the data of the first part of this section, the sequence ends with an unanswerable question from the speaker who does the initial

informing. In the examples of this part, after the *ne* as a token of disbelief, the speakers back down on their initial claim but their interlocutors then produce a concessive turn after the backed down version of the initial informing and an unanswerable question. This pattern looks like the following:

1) Informing
2) *Ne* (with questioning prosody)
3) Back down
4) Affiliation
5) Unanswerable question

Thus, we can notice that the pattern follows a similar flow to the practice described in the first examples of the section. However, now that the speakers back down, it is the recipients of the informing who pose the unanswerable question. We can conclude that backing down is a practice that Greek interlocutors use in order to provide for alignment between the parties, as both examples show. Speakers manage to gain the concession of their interlocutors by downgrading their initial claim, thus providing for a means of alignment in next position.

4.3 *Ne* as acceptance of a prior informing

4.3.1 Stand-alone *ne*

In this section, I will look at *ne* and *a ne* as receipt tokens of an informing and I will argue that they do not do disbelief but acceptance/receipt of the informing and explain why although they look similar, at least prosodically, in fact they serve to do the opposite.

(9) [Balantani audio VN550060: 04:52]

(Vanessa called Eva to congratulate her on her daughter's name day. It's New Year and Eva has a cough; this is towards the end of their call.)

```
232 E:      [((coughs))
233 V:      [Den kse↑ro
            [Not I kno↑w
            [I don't kno↑w
234 E:      Afta
            These
            That's it
235 V:      Ets' ta [nefra piso [paraponiete
            Like about the [kidneys behind [he complains
            Like about the [kidneys behind [he complains⁴²
236 E:              [Ego 'ho-   [Ego 'ho ena viha ki ena lemo
                    [I I have-  [I I have a cough and a throat
                    [I have-    [I have a cough and a throat
237 E:      ((clears throat))
238 V:      M:
239         (0.4)
240 E:      Eho to lemo halia perno afta ta Depon tora ( ) pali
            I have the throat bad I take these the Depon now ( )
            again
            I have a sore throat I take these Depon now ( ) again
241 V:      Aha
242 E:      De↓fter' fora pu ta perno fetos
            Se↓cond time that them I take this year
            For the se↓cond time I take them this year
243 V:→     [Ne↓
            [Ye↓s
            [Ye↓s
244 E:      [(Den ksero) poses fores tha ta paro
            [(Not I know) how many times will them I take
            [(I don't know) how many times I will take them
245         (0.2)
246 V:      Hu ki o himonas e↑rhet' akoma
            Hu and the winter co↑mes still
            Hu and the winter stll co↑mes
247         (0.3)
248 E:      Ki akoma ne im- imaste stis arhes
            And still yes we ar- we are in the beginnings
            And still yes we ar- we are in the beginning
249         (0.2)
250 V:      E↓ entaks' Fevruarios eki Mart- te↑lospant-[hhhh
            E↓ okay February there Marc- a↑nywa- [hhhh
            E↓ okay February there Marc- a↑nywa- [hhhh
251 E:                                            [Ne
                                                  [Yes
                                                  [Yes
252 V:      Opote se piasihh
            Whenever you it catcheshh
            Whenever you catch ithh
253         (0.2)
254 E:      ((coug[hs))
255 V:           [O:po
256         (0.3)
257 E:      Ki afta
            And these
            And that's all
```

---

⁴² They are talking about Eva's father who is sick.

In the first example a sudden topic shift is initiated after a cough caused by Eva; she coughs and starts explaining her symptoms at line 236 *[Ego 'ho- [Ego 'ho ena viha ki ena lemo* (=I have- I have a cough and a throat). After Vanessa's minimal responses *M:*, *Aha*, she expands with an informing at lines 240 and 242, *Eho to lemo halia perno afta ta Depon tora ( ) pali* (=I have a sore throat I take these Depon now ( ) again) and *De↓fter' fora pu ta perno fetos* (=Se↓cond time that I take them this year). Eva attempts on three occasions to initiate the topic, after Vanessa passes up the opportunity to do so at the end of lines 238 and 241. Her last turn is in particular built to invite some kind of affiliation from her interlocutor by stressing the 'e' in 'se↓cond time' putting more emphasis on the fact that this is a repeated incident that requires attention. Her informing gets receipted with a *ne* but no confirmation and no further questioning. The interlocutor accepts the informing but with the *ne↓* she does it in a way that does not merely show acceptance but rather more engagement towards the informing. Thus, the *ne* here as it is prosodically marked, with falling intonation, is displaying the recipient's affiliation or interactional alignment towards the prior informing. Eva continues to pursue an affiliation from Vanessa with an unanswerable question at line 244 *[(Den ksero) poses fores tha ta paro* (= (I don't know) how many times I will take them) which emphasizes again the number of times she took the medicine to which Vanessa responds with an extended turn at line 246 that shows her affiliation *Hu ki o himonas e↑rhet' akoma* (=Hu and the winter still co↑mes). By showing her affiliation to the speaker's turn, first with the *ne* and then with the second affiliative turn, Vanessa indicates her receipt of the informing and marks it as newsworthy.

An example that follows a similar structure to the prior one is the following extended story telling of Matias trying to find a ski resort.

(10)   [Balantani audio: VN550051: 17:54]

(There is a ski resort in a place a little bit further away from Ioannina that is called Vasilitsa. It is much better than the closer one located in Metsovo. One has to go off the high way in order to find it. Here Matias is describing to Leandro and his sister, Rita, how he once lost the exit.)

```
 1 L:     Gia:: Vasilitsa ke gia te- ti:: tin eh' parakat'.
          For:: Vasilitsa and for su- her:: her it has below.
          For:: Vasilitsa and for su- it:: it they have it further
          down.
 2 M:     Ne [(eprepe) na stripso 'ki pu 'ne to megalo to::[:
 3        ventzinadiko ki olo afto [to: eki [pera strives
          Yes [(ought) to I turn there where it is the big the::[:
          gas station and all this [the: there [beyond you turn
          Yes [(I ought) to turn there where the big the::[: gas
          station is and all this [the: there [beyond that you turn
 4 L:         [De prepi na 'hi 'ki pano stin egnatia
              [Not it must to it has there up in the highway
              [There mustn't be one⁴³ there up in the highway
 5 L:                                                   [Ne
                                                        [Yes
                                                        [Yes
 6 L:                             [Ne ne
                                  [Yes yes
                                  [Yes yes
 7 L:                                 [Eki
                                      [There
                                      [There
 8 M:     Ki ego den to iksera k(hhh)e piga pio pera ego sinehisa
          And I not it I knew an(hhh)d I went more beyond I
          continued
          And I din't know it an(hhh)d I went beyond that I
          continued
 9        (0.5)
10 M:     °Gamoto leo pu sto kalo £(   edo)hhh.hhh.hhh£
          °Damn it I say where in the good £(   here)hhh.hhh.hhh£
          °Damn it I say where the hell £(   here)hhh.hhh.hhh£
11 M:     £Evala ke gps m'evgaze ap' alu me pi[ge ( )£
          £I put and gps me it was taking from elsewhere me it
          we[nt ( )£
          £I also put the G P S it was taking me from somewhere
          else it le[d me to( )£
12 L:                                             [U: kala
                                                  [U: good
                                                  [U: right
13 M:     O kala leo [tha hatho
          O good I say [will I get lost
          O right I told myself [I will get lost
14 L:            [Siga
                 [Slowly
                 [For sure
15 M:     £Girna piso ( ) hhh[.hhh£
          £Turn back ( ) hhh[.hhh£
          £Turn back ( ) hhh[.hhh£
16 R:                        [Ke telika? to vrikate?=
                             [And finally? it you found?=
                             [And finally? did you find it?=
```

---

⁴³ A road sign.

```
17 M:     =E to vrikame [afu kaname kan'a triantaria hiliometra
18        parapano to- to vrikame
          =E it we found [since we made some thirty kilometers
          more it- it we found
          =E we found it [since we made some thirty kilometers
          more we- we found it
19 R:                   [( )
20 R:→    Ne↓ e
          Yes↓ e
          Yes↓ e
21        (0.4)
22 L:     Ego piga: pe[ra-
          I I went: bey[ond-
          I went: bey[ond-
23 M:                 [Ih' entaks' ih' kales pistes kami[a shesi
                      [It had okay it had good ski slopes n[o
          relation
                      [It had okay it had good ski slopes n[othing
          to do with
24 L:                                           [Ne
                                                [Yes
                                                [Yes
```

This example is similar to the prior example in that the story recipient (here Rita) does not show any verbal participation[44] until the story telling has come to an end. Her first sign of alignment comes at line 16 when she asks for the outcome of the story telling *[Ke telika? to vrikate?=* (=[And finally? did you find it?). The response to that prompts her *ne e* receipt. In his response Matias uses an extreme number, that they drove 'thirty kilometers more' before reaching the destination. As an extreme number, this gets receipted with *ne e*.

The following example is an information receipt with *a ne* but, in this case, the interlocutor challenges the speaker before receipting the informing.

(11)   [Balantani video: M2U00056: 00:39]

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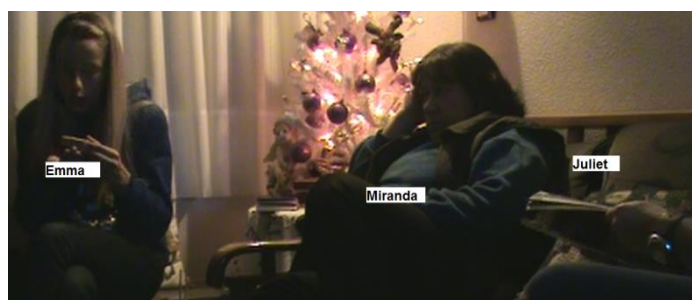
[44]Although this was a face-to-face interaction, we only have an audio-recording of this.

(On bank holidays the shops are closed in Greece. However, because of the current economic situation in the country, the government has decided to leave it up to the shop owners whether they would like to open their shops or not. This new policy has been introduced this year and Emma and Juliet, who are sisters, are talking about the decision of the shops to open on Christmas Eve. Lines 47, 49 and 53 are part of the previous topic. Miranda is not actively participating in this sequence.)

```
46 E:      =Telika i a[gora itan anihti simera
           =Finally the ma[rket it was open today
           =After all the ma[rket was open today
47 J:                [To proi↑ mi↑a hara me rotages
                     [The mo↑rning o↑ne happiness me you were
           asking
                     [In the mo↑rning you were asking me ju↑st
           fine
48         (0.4)
49 J:      ti kanate htes to vra↓di
           what you did yesterday the ni↓ght
           what did you do last ni↓ght
50 E:      Den >itan< ipohromeni n' a[niksune
           Not >they were< obliged to they o[pen
           >They were< not obliged to o[pen
51 J:                            [Ala↑
                                 [Bu↑t
                                 [Bu↑t
52         (0.5)
53 E:      simera
           today
           today
54         (0.5)
55 J:      Den itan apofasismeno apo ton eboriko silogo=
           Not it was decided from the commercial association=
           Wasn't it decided by the chamber of commerce=
56 E:      =Itane elefthero stin krisi tus
           =It was free in the judgement their
           =They could decide independently
57         (0.1)
58 J:→     A ne:[:¿
           A yes:[:¿
           A yes:[:¿
59 E:           [M::
60         (0.2)
61 J:      Ki itane oli telika¿
           And they were all finally¿
           And they were all open after all¿
62 E:      E oli den ksero re Juliet an vgikan gia dulia pu na
63         ksero¿
           E all not I know re Juliet if they went out for work
           where to I know¿
           E all I don't know re Juliet if they went for work how
           should I know¿
64         (0.4)
```

The sequence starts with a sudden topic shift by Emma with an informing at line 46

=Telika i a[gora itan anihti simera (==After all the ma[rket was open today). The

other speakers are still engaged with the prior topic so she makes a second try to get the topic on the table (Schegloff, 1996b) with a second informing *Den >itan< ipohromeni n' aniksune* (=>They were< not obliged to open). After her second informing, she mobilises her sister's attention. Her sister, Juliet, challenges Emma's statement with a negative formatted question *Den itan apofasismeno apo ton eboriko silogo* (=Wasn't it decided by the chamber of commerce) and asserts her primary rights to assess the situation. Being a polar question, it asks for a 'yes' or 'no' answer, and thus mandates the recipient to use the terms that the speaker is proposing. (Heritage & Raymond, 2006). Emma, however, resists the terms of the question and responds in a nonconforming way with another informing *Itan elefthero stin krisi tus* (=They could decide independently), asserting, in this way, her primary rights to knowledge. Thus, after the epistemic battle and the negotiation as to who has superior rights to knowledge, Juliet accepts the informing. The change-of-state token *a* that precedes the token *ne* marks the interlocutor's display of having been misinformed and with a low rising prosody on the *ne* she marks her acceptance of Emma's informing and the fact that she is being informed now (see Local, 1996 on a similar prosody of English *oh*), which is further illustrated by the fact that she affiliates with her sister by asking for more details *Ki itan oli telika¿* (=And were they all open after all¿).

In excerpt (12) below, Vanessa's daughter brought Melanie a case for her cell phone from England.

(12)   [Balantani video: M2U00063:00:00]


```
1 M:      [Oriste to kinito m'
          [Here you are the cell phone mine
          [Here you are my cell phone
2         [2.2
3 V:      [((trying to open it))
4 V:      ['a na dume teriazi tora
          [For to we see it fits now
          [Let's see does it fit now
5         (0.6)
6 V:      [((trying to open it))
7 V:      Su pire tetia thiki,
          You she took such case,
          She got you such a case,
8         (0.6)
9 M:→     A £ne[:::£
          A £yes[:::£
          A £yes[:::£
10 V:         [Pos ine- pos iha 'go,
              [How it is- how I had I,
              [How is- how I had,
11        (.)
12 V:     Ala den imastan siguri £gi'afto kitaza t'n ali fora to
          kinitohe£
          But not we were sure £for this I was looking the other
          time the cell phonehe£
          But we weren't sure £that's why I was looking the other
          time at the cell phonehe£
```

Again the informing at line 7 *Su pire tetia thiki,* (=She got you such a c<u>a</u>se,) is not an extreme case that is inviting surprise or disbelief, so the *A £ne[:::£* (=A £yes[:::£) does mere acceptance. However, the falling prosody of the end of her turn *Su pire tetia thiki,* (=She got you such a c<u>a</u>se,) proposes that the speaker expects more and that is what *A ne* is doing; it marks the news as newsworthy or unexpected. What is more, her facial expression marks her acceptance by smiling and looking at the case (**Figure 4.2**).
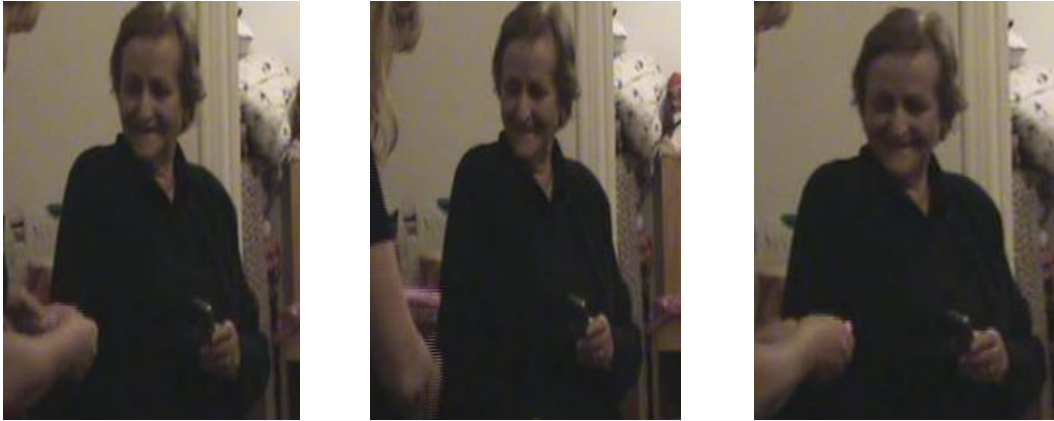
Figure 4.2 Frame representing smile and eye-gaze on the case

Nevertheless, it is not always the case that *a ne* is used to accept an informing as newsworthy. In what follows, I will present one excerpt in which there are two *a ne* produced by the same speaker but one of them is functioning as a surprise token and the other as acceptance of an informing. This is to highlight that the sequential environment in which the token appears determines its function in each case.

(13)   [Balantani video: 00014: 19:27]

(Dominik was working in Crete as a teacher, where his headmaster was not a nice person. The use of 'awesome' at line 4 is meant sarcastically. Leandro, who is also a teacher, once also had a Cretan head master but his experience was the opposite.)

```
1 D:     >Kritikos Kritikos<
         >Cretan Cretan<
         >Cretan Cretan<
2 L:     A:: ( )=
3 D:     Haniotis ohi Ha- Rethimniotis ke:: >apo ta< Hania
         From Hania no Ha- from Rethimno and::: >from the< Hania
         From Hania not Ha- from Rethimno and::: >from< Hania
4 D:     [>Ine foveros<]
         [>He is awesome<]
         [>He is awesome<]
5 L:     [Iha    ego  ] diefthinti: kritiko
         [I     had   I ] headmaster: Cretan
         [I     had      ] a Cretan headmaster:
```

```
6           (0.3)
7 D:    Edo: sta Giannena?
        Here: in the Giannena?
        Here: in Giannena?
8 V:    Oh' [oh' stin Athina]
        No [no in the Athens]
        No [no in Athens]
9 L:        [Oh' st'n Athina] st'n Athina
            [No in the Athens] in the Athens
            [No in Athens] in Athens
10          (0.2)
11 D:   V°l°a[kas e¿
        S°t°u[pid e¿
        S°t°u[pid e¿
12 L:        [Ego:-
             [I:-
             [I:-
13 L:   Ti les re (0.2) °o° kali↑teros
        What you say re (0.2) °the° best
        What are you saying re (0.2) °the° best
14 D:→  A ne?
        A yes?
        A yes?
15 D:   ((looks at Vanessa))
16 L:   Milame::
        We talk::
        We are talking about::
17 D:   ((turns his eyes back to Leandro))
18 D:   £Ironika e¿£
        £Ironic e¿£
        £You mean ironically e¿£
19 L:   [O↑h' r°e°
        [No↑ r°e°
        [No↑ r°e°
20 V:   [O↑h' o↑h' oh'=
        [No↑ no↑ no=
        [No↑ no↑ no=
21 D:→  =A ne?=
        =A yes?=
        =A yes?=
22 V:   =Alithia
        =Truth
        =Really
23 D:   Afstiros i ti↓[::
        Strict or what↓[::
        Strict or what↓[::
24 L:                  [Ti↑pota ti (.) [siga
                       [No↑thing what (.) [slowly
                       [No↑thing what (.) [not at all
25 D:                              [A ((nods))
26 V:   ((continues with story))
```

In this excerpt, we have two turns that involve *a ne* and, although they sound identical, because they are in different sequential position, they are doing different actions. The first *a ne* comes at line 14 as a response to Leandro's disagreement to Dominik's candidate answer *V°l°akas e¿* (=S°t°u[pid e¿). In the beginning of the

excerpt Leandro is making a statement *[Iha ego] diefthinti: kritiko* (=[I had] a headmaster: Cretan) to which Dominik responds with an assessment in the form of a candidate answer 'stupid e¿', asking for confirmation with the 'e'. However, Leandro is not confirming his assessment rather he is disagreeing with it by providing an opposite and extreme assessing term 'the best'. Leandro's double challenge 'what are you saying' and the extreme referent term used as well as the contrast between 'stupid' and 'the best' is what prompts Dominik's surprise token *a ne*. What marks this as a surprise token rather than an acceptance is further illustrated by the subsequent questioning turn 'you mean ironically e¿' which provides an account for his surprise and shows that it doesn't accept the veracity of the prior turn. Only after Leandro and Vanessa align against him in overlap at lines 19-20 'No↑ re' and 'No↑ no↑ no', does he use *a ne* as an acceptance token. The fact that this *a ne* is doing acceptance is underwritten by the candidate answer in the following turn *Afstiros I ti↓::* (=Strict or what↓::), which shows that after he accepts the informing, he is now asking for clarification, thus progressing the topic.

In this section, we have looked at the use of *ne* as a receipt or acceptance of news. The informing in itself is not something that is necessarily constructed as surprisable or unbelievable, but still something that is newsworthy. What is more, in almost all the examples, it is the speaker who treats it as newsworthy and builds his/her turns in a way to get a response from the interlocutor, either by reformulating or repeating his/her subsequent turns, as we saw in examples (1) and (3) or by prosodic means, as in the last example. The *ne* is always produced with terminal falling pitch, which distinguishes them from the *ne* in our first category, where *ne* is used by the interlocutors with rising intonation as a disbelief token. *Ne* with terminal falling pitch is not asking for confirmation from the interlocutor and is also not treated as such by

the recipient; the recipients in all cases take it as an affiliation to their informing, as in almost all of the cases, upon the receipt of *ne* with falling intonation, the interlocutor continues with turns that advance the topic.

4.3.2   *Ne* + question + candidate answer

As I have argued in the prior section, *ne* with falling or low rise intonation after an informing marks the prior turn as newsworthy. What I will show in this report is the analysis of the token *ne* incremented with a candidate answer. Pomerantz (1988) suggests that candidate answers are an information seeking strategy that participants in talk rely on in order to elicit information from their interlocutors. What I will argue in this section is that candidate answers in the context of informings serve as a facilitator to topic expansion, as we shall see in the following examples.

(14)   [Balantani video: M2U00053: 00:03]

(Juliet has a dog which has had its period for the first time.)

```
1 J:      >Ih<e::- itan adiatheti
          >She h<ad::- she was under the weather
          >She h<ad::- she was under the weather
2         (0.25)
3 D:→     Ne: ti 'he,
          Yes: what she had,
          Yes: what was wrong with her,
4 J:      ((nods))
5 D:      Peri[odo¿
          Peri[od¿
          Her peri[od¿
6 J:          [Pe[riodo=
              [Pe[riod=
              [Her pe[riod=
7 J:              [((nods))
```

```
 8 D:     =Prot' fora?
          =First time?
          =For the first time?
 9 J:     [Ne
          [Yes
          [Yes
10 J:     [((nods))
```

In excerpt (14), the *ne* + question + candidate answer comes in the immediate turn following the informing at line 1 >*Ih<e::- itan adiatheti*[45] (=>She h<ad::- she was under the weather). Note that the informing is being repaired form 'had' to 'was under the weather', which is a more delicate way in Greek of saying someone has her period. Dominik's initial question here *Ne: ti 'he,* (=Yes: what was wrong with her,), as it is grammatically formulated with a 'have' in Greek, could refer to either generally 'what was wrong with her' or 'did she have her period'. However, the fact that Juliet initiated self-repair in her initial informing, allows Dominik to offer that candidate answer *Peri[odo¿* (= Her peri[od¿). *Ne* + question + candidate answer here progresses the topic as it solicits a confirmation. In the following turns Dominik provides more candidate answers, for example *Prot' for a?* (=First time?), which further facilitate the progression of the topic. What is more, instead of waiting for a response in expectance to his *ne:* question, he provides a candidate. With this practice he asserts more knowledge on the matter through his candidate response and seeks his interlocutor's confirmation or disconfirmation (Pomerantz, 1988), thus upgrading his epistemic stance.

In the following excerpt, after *ne* there is the question from Vanessa and the candidate answer all in the same turn, without waiting for a response from her interlocutor.

---

[45] 'Adiathetos' is someone who is ill. However, when it is used for females, it can mean both that you are ill or you have your period.

(15)   [Balantani video: M2U00063: 02:04]
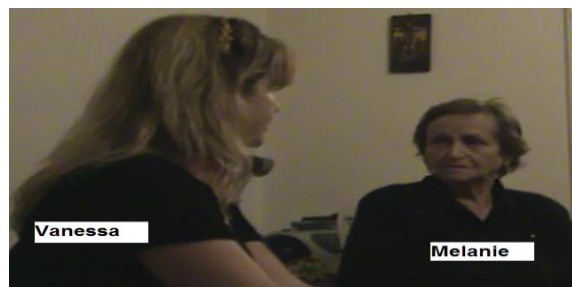
(Vanessa's husband fell and hurt his knee. He is about to go on pension and so the topic came up about someone who died before even getting his pension.)

```
1 M:      O kosmos- tora enas p' pethane kat' sto tetio m:akria
2         apo 'do::⁴⁶ (.) sinaderfos tu Theo aft' den >prep'
3         'prolave na< par' t' sintaksi eksinta: °hronon°
          The world- now one who he died down in the such f:ar from
          here:: (.) colleague of Theo he not >it must he made it
          to< he takes the pension sixty: °years°
          The people- now one who died down in the such a:way from
          us:: (.) colleague of Theo he didn't >he mustn't have
          made it to< get his pension sixty: °years° (old)
4         (1.0)
5 V:→     Ne¿ apo? kardia?
          Yes¿ from? heart?
          Yes¿ of? heart?
6         (1.0)
7 M:      .hhh A kat' ih' aftos °sto pnevmon' gia den to prosekse°
8         °°( )°°
          .hhh A something he had he °in the lung for not it he
          paid attention° °°( )°°
          .hhh A he had something °in the lung and he didn't pay
          attention to it° °°( )°°
9 V:      Uh huh
```

The informing at lines 1-3 *O kosmos- tora enas p' pethane kat' sto tetio m:akria apo 'do:: (.) sinaderfos tu Theo aft' den >prep' prolave na< par' t' sintaksi eksinta: °hronon°* (=The people- now one who died down in the such a:way from us:: (.) colleague of Theo he didn't >he mustn't have made it to< get his pension sixty: °years° (old)) is receipted with *ne¿*, marking its newsworthiness, apo? (=of?), a general question that precedes the candidate answer, and the candidate answer kardia? (=heart?). Again we can see the pattern that is followed in the prior example with a *ne* that accepts the informing as news and the candidate answer that facilitates topic

---

⁴⁶ 'Makria apo edo' is an expression that is being used when something bad is being mentioned and we want to disassociate ourselves with it.

expansion through the request for clarification. In addition to that, although the *ne* requests clarification, Vanessa upgrades her epistemic stance by building on her next TCU immediately and providing her candidate answer for Mary to confirm or disconfirm.

Overall, we can see that candidate answers take *ne* as acceptance a step further. As with *ne* interlocutors mark the newsworthiness of the topic but with the candidate answer they show their full engagement with the topic at hand by soliciting expansion on it. The candidate answer they provide derives from the initial informing as it is preceded by a general question first and then they target the part of the informing they want to ask more information about. So in the first example, Dominik first asks the general question *ti 'he* (=what was wrong with her) and then immediately he provides the candidate answer. The same happens in the second example, Vanessa first marks the informing as newsworthy and then the general question 'what he died of' but before Melanie can provide an answer to her question, Vanessa provides her candidate answer, asking for specific information. This practice allows listeners to take an active role in the engagement and expansion of a topic. What is more, by providing a candidate answer exactly after the *ne*, the recipient of the informing is sequentially deleting the speaker's participation (Schegloff, 1986), that is his/her contribution to the conversation is erased by the other participant by not attending to his/her conversational input. Instead of expecting the interlocutor's confirmation that they are asking for with the token *ne*, interlocutors build their next TCU immediately as a candidate answer thus upgrading themselves by making the speaker confirm their proposition. "Sacks (1964, 1966, 1966, 1967) described offering a Candidate Answer as a "correction invitation" device. [ ] A speaker who uses a correction invitation device implicitly asks the recipient to either confirm the guess as correct or provide

the correct answer if the guess is wrong." (Pomerantz, 1988). In this way recipients of an informing are asserting some knowledge on the matter as they are upgrading their epistemic stance; they are not simply seeking for information, but rather they are seeking for confirmation.

4.4 *Ne* as an indicator of surprise

In the following section, I will examine the function of the token *ne* as a display of surprise. Wilkinson & Kitzinger (2006) analyse the expression of surprise in talk-in-interaction. Their analysis reveals that surprise is often collaboratively achieved by the participants in talk. A display of surprise is something that is performed and can be recycled in subsequent turns (for further details see §2.3.1). Apart from surprise tokens, interlocutors have many more resources to hand in order to achieve a display of surprise, some of which include repeats of prior turns (Jefferson, 1972; Selting, 1996), facial expression (Ekman, 1992), and gesture and body deployment (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2000). In my analysis, as we shall see, interlocutors make use of a variety of resources to indicate their surprise to a prior informing, one of which is the use of the token *ne,* sometimes followed by the particle *e*.

(16)   [Balantani audio: VN550051: 03:11]

(Leandro is recounting to his nephew and niece, Mike and Rita, an excursion that he had to Ioannina, a city in Greece, with his primary school when he was a child. They are from a village close to Ioannina but in those days, the sixties, it was a big deal having been to the big city. He is talking about a zoo that they visited but that doesn't exist anymore.)

```
184 L:    Ne eki mesa ihe e↓nan ke thimame mia arkuda pu tin
185       ihane (.) tin evlepes apo p°ano (.) oh' apo dipla°
186       (.) °fantasu diladi afta ta zoa pos ta i↓han°
          Yes there inside it had o↓ne and I remember one bear
          that they had (.) her you saw from °up (.) no from
          beside° (.) imagine to wit these the animals how them
          they ha↓d°
          Yes there inside there was o↓ne and I remember a bear
          that they had (.) you could see it from °above (.) not
```

```
                    from besides˚ (.) so imagine how they ha↓d these
                    animals˚
187 M:    Kala 'nta↓ks
          Good oka↓y
          **Yeah ri↓ght**
188 L:    **E↑**
189       **(0.1)**
190 M:    Iperoha
          Wonderful
          **Wonderful**
191 L:    Ihe ki ena li↑ko
          It had and one wo↑lf
          **There was also a wo↑lf**
192       **(0.2)**
193 R:    [Li↑ko
          [Wo↑lf
          **[A wo↑lf**
194 L:    [>Etsi afto mu 'hi [mini] emena<
          [>So this me it has [stayed] me<
          **[>Like that that's [what I] remember<**
195 M:                         [Po↑s]
                               [Ho↑w]
                               **[Ho↑w]**
196 R:→   Ne↓ e↑
          Yes↓ e↑
          **Yes↓ e↑**
197 L:    Ne ihe li↑ko (.) arku↓da (0.3) tora ti alo >de
198       thim(h)ame kat' (h)alo< a- e- [( ) tin arkuda] tin
199       evlepes apo pano
          Yes it had wo↑lf (.) bea↓r (0.3) now what else >not I
          reme(h)mber something (h)else< a- e- [( ) the bear]
          her you saw from up
          **Yes there was a wo↑lf (.) a bea↓r (0.3) now what else**
          **> I don't reme(h)mber something (h)else< a- e- [( )the**
          **bear] you could see from above**
200 M:                                    [(       )zo↑a]
                                          [(    )animals]
                                          **[(    )animals]**
201 R:    Ne
          Yes
          **Yes**
202       (0.2)
203 R:    Ske↓ps' tora
          Thi↓nk now
          **Now ima↓gine**
```

In this first example we have a story telling; Leandro is recounting a story that happened in his childhood and that only he has epistemic access to. At line 184, when the excerpt begins, we are in the middle of the story and Leandro is describing the zoo: *thimame mia arkuda pu tin ihane (.) tin evlepes apo p˚ano (.) oh' apo dipla˚ (.)* (=I remember a bear that they had (.) you could see it from ˚above (.) not from besides˚ (.)). At line 191 he gives an informing that is built for uptake *Ihe ki ena li↑ko*

(=There was also a w<u>o</u>↑lf). After 0.2 seconds of silence and thus no immediate uptake, a practice that interlocutors use as a performance of "doing being surprised" (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006), Rita produces a partial repeat of the prior turn as a token of ritualized disbelief *[Li↑ko* (=[A wo↑lf) and Leandro confirms it *[>Etsi afto mu 'hi [mini] emena<* (=[>Like that that's [what I] remember<). Leandro does not reply with a 'yes' but backs down with 'that's [what I] remember', which is in accordance with what Drew said that people tend to back down after being questioned about an exaggerated claim (Drew, 2003). After the confirmation there is a display of surprise with the token *Ne↓ e↑*, which in itself invites confirmation from the prior speaker and indeed is confirmed by the speaker in the beginning of his next turn *Ne ihe li<u>i</u>↑ko* (=Yes there was a w<u>o</u>↑lf). Note, here, the prosody of the turn that displays the surprise; *ne e* appears with a rising-falling tone, marked in the transcript with the low and up arrows, which has been suggested by Roach (1983) as a practice used by interlocutors to communicate their approval, disapproval or surprise, as well as showing that a participant is impressed by something unexpected (O' Connor & Arnold, 1961). So, in this example, we have a sequence of turns in which the "co-conversationalists collaborate to bring off an interactionally achieved performance of surprise." (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006).

The next example is an extended sequence that follows the same structure.

(17)   [Balantani video: M2U00055: 01:01]

(Toby's girlfriend is from Italy and after the festive season they will go to visit her mother in Italy. Juliet and Dominik have never been to Italy but Alexandra has done her Erasmus there and has travelled by ship to Italy. Alexandra is sitting behind the camera and does not appear in this video.)

```
 1 J:     >Esi pos tha: ta- pot'< tha ksanafigete¿
          >You how will: the- when< will you leave again¿
          >How will: you- when< will you leave again¿
 2        (0.75)
 3 T:     Dekateseris
          Fourteen
          The fourteenth
 4        (0.25)
 5 J:     Ge[na↓ri
          Ja[nua↓ry
          Of Ja[nua↓ry
 6 J:       [((raising of eyebrows))  (Figure 4.3)
 7 T:     ((nods))
 8 T:     malonhhhe
          probablyhhhe
          probablyhhhe
 9 J:     [Tha pa:-]
          [Will you g:-]
          [Will you g:-]
10 D:     [Ke  ta:-] me karavalo ki etsi¿
          [And the:-] with wrecked ship and so¿
          [And the:-] with a wrecked ship⁴⁷ or so¿
11 T:     [M:
12 T:     [((nods))
13 T:     [huhuhu[hu]
14 D:     [£hehe£]
15 J:           [>Pu tha pate<
                [>Where will you go<
                [>Where will you go<
16 T:     .hhh[hhh
17 J:         [Italia pali¿=
              [Italy again¿=
              [(To) Italy again¿=
18 T:     n:malon tha dume bori na parume to plio gia t'n Venetia
19        ine pio ftino isos (0.25) mas simfe[ri
          n:[probably will we see maybe to we take the ship for
          the Venice it is more cheap perhaps (0.25) us it is
          conve[nient
          n:[probably we will see maybe we will take the ship to
          Venice it is cheaper perhaps (0.25) it is more
          conve[nient
20 J:                                           [Po: po re 'si Toby:
21        me to plio sinehia pera dothe:
                                            [Oh my re you Toby:
          with the ship always to and fro:
                                            [Oh my re Toby: with
          the ship always back and forth:
22        (0.25)
23 T:     Orea ine
          Nice it is
          It is nice
24 J:     M: poses ores?
```

---

⁴⁷ 'Karavalo' is an inside joke. It derives from the combination of 'Karavi'=ship and 'saravalo'=wreck and refers to the state of the ships in Greece which are very old.

```
         M: how many hours?
         M: how many hours?
25 J:    ((frowns her forehead))
26       (0.75)
27 T:    Dekaefta
         Seventeen
         Seventeen
28 J:    ((raises her eyebrow))
29 T:    Oh' sti Venetia ine parapano i↓kos' ikos'te↓seris
30       [ikos'pe↓nte
         No in the Venice it is more twe↓nty twentyfou↓r
         [twentyfi↓ve
         No to Venice it is more twe↓nty twentyfou↓r [twentyfi↓ve
31 J:    [((opens her mouth and keeps it open throughout the
32       sequence))(Figure 4.3)
33 J:    Pla°k°a kani[s
         Fun you d[o
         You are kiddin[g
34 D:              [£Trianta£haha
                   [£Thirty£haha
                   [£Thirty£haha
35 T:              [Tria£nta[ha£.hhh
                   [Thi£rty[ha£.hhh
                   [Thi£rty[ha£.hhh
36 D:                      [O↓hi re mala°ka°
                           [No↓ re ma°te°
                           [No↓ re ma°te°
37 T:    [(Pe-)
38 D:    [E: i >Alexandra< eh' kan' pu eh' po- £pohhhs's ohhhres
39       ihes pai=
         [E: the >Alexandra< she has done where she has ho-
         £hohhhw many houhhhrs you had gone=
         [E: >Alexandra< has done where has she ho- £hohhhw many
          houhhhrs had you done=
40 D:    [((turns his head to Alexandra))
41 T:    haha[haha
42 A:        [Ikos'tris [ores
             [Twenty-three [hours
             [Twenty-three [hours
43       (0.75)
44 D:                      [((turns to Juliet and nods))
45 T:    A ((nods))=
46 J:→   =Ne¿
         =Yes¿
         =Yes¿
47 T:    Saranta [meres
         Forty [days
         Forty [days
48 D:            [Ala pas Venetia re 'si
                 [But you go Venice re 'you
                 [But you go to Venice re
49       (0.5)
50 J:    Ante: re: [sopa ali£thia hehehehe.hhh ki emena ti me
51       niazihi£
         Get out of here: re: [shut £up hehehehe.hhh and me what
         me it careshi£
         Get out of here: re: [shut £up hehehehe.hhh and what do I
         carehi£
52 D:              [hehe[he.hhh
53 D:                   [((turns his gaze towards Toby))
54 T:                   [((joins in laughter))
```

What is constructed as surprisable in this sequence is an extreme numerical value; the amount of time needed to go by ship from Greece to Italy. The surprise token *ne* that we are interested in comes at line 46 but is preceded by a series of displays of surprise on Juliet's part in response to Toby's informing. The first display of surprise comes at line 28 after Juliet and Toby's Q-A adjacency pair *M: poses ores?* (=M: how many hours?), *Dekaefta* (=Seventeen). 'Seventeen' hours is perceived as an excessive amount for that trip by Juliet and she displays her surprise with a facial expression, the raising of her eyebrows (Plutchik, 1980, cited in Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006) and opening of the mouth (**Figure 4.3**).
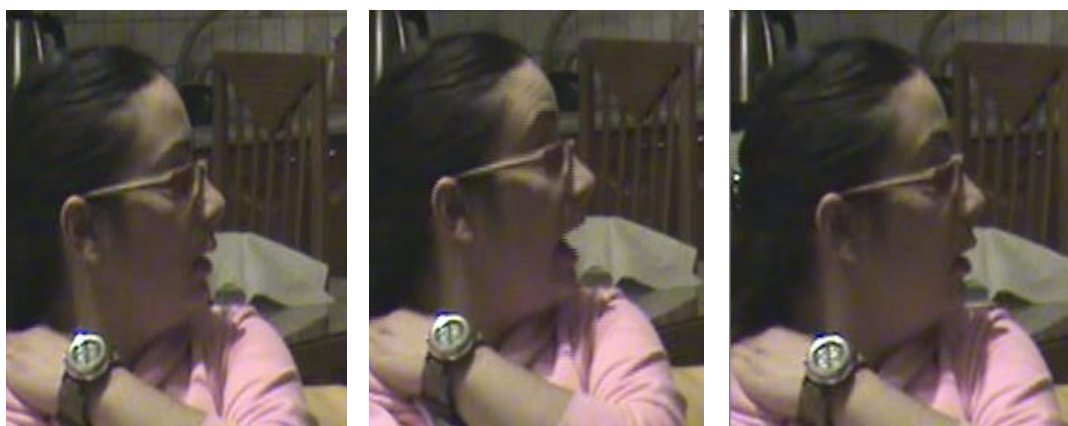
Figure 4.3 Frame representing the raising of the eye-brows in line 6

The duration of the trip becomes even more extreme after Toby's repair at line 29 *Oh' sti Venetia ine parapano i↓kos' ikos'te↓seris [ikos'pe↓nte* (=N<u>o</u> to Venice it is m<u>o</u>re twe↓nty twentyfou↓r [twentyfi↓ve) to which Juliet responds with another facial expression, the opening of her mouth (**Figure 4.4**), marking her surprise and

incrementing it with a ritualized disbelief token *Plaᵒkᵒa kani[s* (=You are kiᵒddᵒin[g).
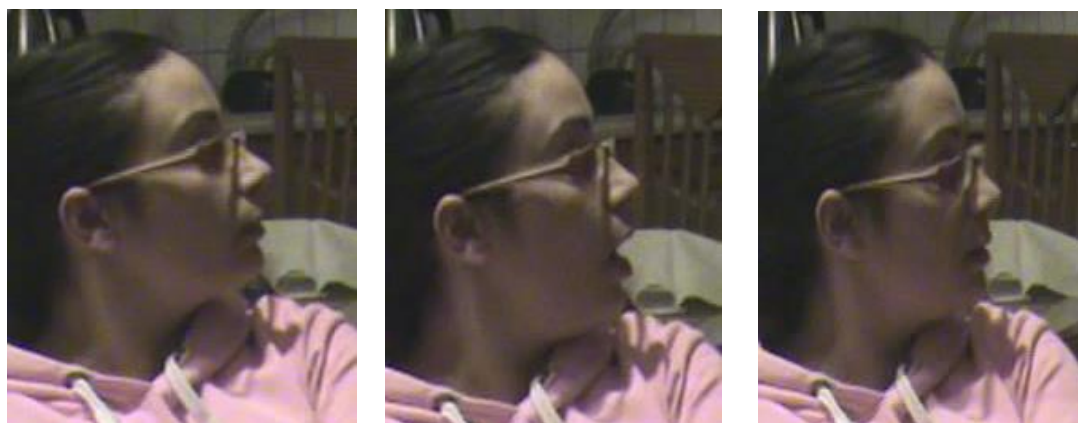
Figure 4.4 Frame representing the opening of the mouth in line 31-32

At lines 38-9, after all the displays of surprise and disbelief on the part of Juliet, Alexandra, who has epistemic authority on the matter, having done the trip in the past, is invited to intervene. Her turn at line 42 *Ikos'tris [ores* (=Twenty –three [hours) receives the final surprise token *ne*, which is preceded by 0.75 of silence as a performance of "doing being surprised" (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006). *Ne* as the final product of surprise in this sequence has prosodically a disengaged quality and, especially since it is produced after the 0.75 pause, it marks a move from the speaker towards closing. This is a very neat example that shows how a display of surprise emerges across an interactional sequence in conformity with Wilkinson & Kitzinger (2006); it is not an eruption of surprise but is prefigured, constructed and attended to by interactants. It can be achieved through body deployment (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2000, cited in Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006), facial expressions (Ekman, 1992, cited in Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006), delays and the production of surprise tokens, such as *ne*.

In the following example *ne* appears as a response to the surprise turn; rather than functioning as a surprise token it seems to play the role of a token of disbelief to the recipient's display of surprise.

(18)   [Balantani audio: VN550050: 10:10]

(Alexandra is moving abroad and her father needs to buy a computer so they can talk over skype.)

```
450 A:                           [Ego de tha 'ho- de tha 'ho kin-
451        e tilefono
                                 [I not will I have- not will I
           have cell- e telephone
                                 [I will not have- I won't have
           cell- e telephone
452 R:     De tha 'his?
           Not will you have?
           You won't have?
453 L:     Tha 'his internet omos
           Will you have internet but
           But you will have internet
454 A:     [˚Ne˚
           [˚Yes˚
           [˚Yes˚
455 L:     [Opote prep' na paro ipologisti ego gia na 'hume:
456        skype i: to alo [pos to len'
           [So it must to I take computer I for to we have: skype
           o:r the other [how it is called
           [So I need to buy a computer I for us to have: skype
           o:r the other [how is it called
457 R:                     [Iha di enan ikonomiko pentakosia poso?
                           [I had seen one economical five hundred
           how much?
                           [I had seen one economical five hundred
           how much?
458 L:     Pentakosia? In' poli akrivos ase
           Five hundred? It is much expensive you leave
           Five hundred? It is too expensive forget it
459 R:→    Ne?=
           Yes?=
           Yes?=
460 L:     =Me triamis' ekatostarika ka↑t' tha paro ego ena aplo
461        pragma de thelo: kat' to: aplos na 'hi: kamera
462        ensomatomen'
           =With three and a half hundred so↑mething will I take
           I one simple thing not I want something the: just to
           ha:ve camera integrated
           =With three and a half hundred so↑mething I will get I
           a simple thing I don't want something the: just to
           ha:ve a camera integrated
```

The surprisable in this excerpt is Rita's turn at line 457 *Iha di enan ikonomiko pentakosia poso?* (=I had seen one economical five hundred how much?), specifically

the surprise source is located in the referent term 'five h<u>u</u>ndred'. Although it is not designed as a surprise, Leandro treats it as such; he perceives 'five h<u>u</u>ndred' as an extreme case which is marked with the repeat of the referent term in his next turn incremented with a negative assessment *In' poli akrivos ase* (=It is too expensive forget it). Rita's response *Ne?* here functions as a token of disbelief to the negative assessment. Since Rita never intended her initial informing as a surprise source, quite the opposite as she described it as 'economical', her turn marks her disbelief of the negative assessment, the fact that Leandro perceives it as 'expensive'. Thus, Rita's display of disbelief with the token *ne* in the face of Leandro's display of surprise is located in the contrast between the two referent terms 'economical' and 'expensive'.

Concluding, we can see the use of *ne* in surprise sequences, either as a surprise token or as a disbelief token to the surprise turn. In any case, the outcome of this section is that *ne* is a token that comes as a final turn in a surprise sequence followed by a number of prior turns that mark surprise, as is the opening of the mouth, the raising of the eyebrows and ritualized disbelief tokens. Thus, we can see that surprise is very delicately and gradually built into turns that lead to the final *ne* token. The *ne* marks the end of the surprise sequence and participants then either confirm it, since the prosody itself invites for confirmation, or provide an explanation for the extremity of the case. The fact that *ne* is the final product of a series of displays of surprise seems to suggest that the particle has termination-relevant connotations and marks a move to close the sequence.

4.5   Summary

The analysis of *ne* has revealed that the particle is used in different environments to accomplish diverse actions. Depending on its position in the sequence and its

placement within the turn, it can indicate disbelief, surprise or acceptance. We have seen its function as a NTRI after an informing followed by further questioning on the topic by the recipient of the informing. What I noticed is that Greek speakers tend not to back down on their initial claim, as is the case in the English data, as reported by Drew, but hold firm to their position, even in the wake of the disbelief token. Even in the examples I provide, that initially look like deviant cases, as the speakers downgrade their initial claim, the recipients display their affiliation in the end of the sequence. The examination of *ne* as accepting the prior informing has revealed that with a stand-alone *ne* the recipients of the informing mark it as newsworthy and accept its true value, whereas when it is followed by a candidate answer it helps progress the topic. And, lastly, I have analysed its use in the context of surprise sequences and have shown that *ne* appears in the final turn in a surprise sequence followed by other contextual cues that indicate surprise, like mouth opening, raising of the eyebrows etc. and interlocutors then have to confirm or disconfirm it, as it prosodically invites for confirmation. Coming in the end of the surprise sequence, after several other displays of surprise, it has a more disengaged quality towards the informing and marks a move to close the sequence. Perhaps, then, we can suggest that the placement of the token in the sequence is relevant to its function; when it appears closer to the informing turn, it has a more accepting quality to it, whereas in the end of the sequence, it seems to be slightly more disengaged towards the informing.

Chapter 5   *Ela* + (*re*) + **name**

5.1   Introduction

Ela is a Greek token that is common in conversation. Originally, it is the imperative form of the verb έρχομαι (=to come). However, after close attention to naturally occurring talk one can observe that it appears in diverse interactional environments, namely phone-openings and –closings, in arguments and as a surprise token. The following is an example of a phone-opening; V is calling M, so the identity of the answerer is known, and she is being identified with *ela* + name[48]:

```
1 V:      Ela thi↑a
          Come au↑nt
          Hey au↑nt
2 M:      Ela kamari m'
          Come pride mine
          Hey my pride
3 V:      Ti kanishhm
          What you dohhm
          How are youhhm
```

In this chapter, I will examine the use of *ela* in conjunction with a name, sometimes even incremented by the particle *re*, in the environment of disagreements. Preliminary observations of the particle *re* suggest that it appears in the environment of disagreements[49].

---

[48] In this case, V is using the kinship term 'aunt' to identify her.

[49] See for example in the following extract Emma's response at line 62; her turn is disaffiliative and functions as a challenge to Juliet's yes/no interrogative question.

```
61 J:     Ki itane oli telika¿
          And they were all finally¿
          And they were all (open) after all¿
62 E:     E oli den ksero re Juliet an vgikan gia dulia pu na ksero¿
          E all not I know re Juliet if they went out for work where
           to I know¿
          E all I don't know re Juliet if they went for work how
           should I know¿
63        (0.4)
```

5.2   *Ela* + (*re*) + name: defending ones position

Previous research on the use of address terms in different interactional environments reveals interesting insights into the interactional significance of these actions in English talk-in-interaction. Clayman (2013) examines prefatory address terms and how a recipient can exert agency from the position of the respondent. Specifically, he focuses on the occurrence of names, in news interviews, in turns that are dispreferred in relation to the prior action and what that action made sequentially relevant as a preferred response. By responding in a dispreferred way, instead of providing the sequentially projected preferred response, interlocutors display their action as motivated independently from the preceding action and thus, have a sense of being less responsive and exerting more agency from second position in their attempt to override the secondness of the action.

Clayman (2010) observes that very often prefatory address terms are used in order to introduce a topic shift, in which case the address term prefaces, not the beginning of the turn, but the TCU in which the topic shift occurs. Address terms are also used to preface disagreements or in order to delay the beginning of a disaligning turn. The following excerpt shows clearly the use of address term prefatory to disagreements:

(1)   [ABC This Week, 5 May 1996: Treasury Sec. Robert Rubin]

```
1 IR2: You spoke of so glowingly thuh president's program for
2      thuh past three years, I wonder (.) if you agree: with
3      thuh president, (.) in his latest pronouncement, (.)that
4      he: (.)T:A[Xed (.)rich Americans too much.= in nineteen
5      ninety three.
6 ??:          [hm hmm:
7 IE:→ .hhh S:am tha-that's not what he said.
```

(Clayman, 2010: 168)

The interviewee responds to the interviewer's paraphrase of Clinton's assertion that 'he: (.) T:A[Xed (.) rich Americans too much.=in nineteen ninety three.' in lines 4-5

with a disagreement 'tha-that's not what he said.' prefaced with the address term

'S:am'.

Address terms are also manifested in, as Raymond (2003) puts it, "non-conforming

responses to yes/no questions", responses that neither give yes nor no as an answer to

a yes-no question. For example, in the following excerpt taken from Clayman (2010:

167) the interviewee responds in a non-conforming way to the interviewer's question

whether a supposedly simpler tax plan championed by the chairman is in reality 'just

another example of different logs rolled in different ways'.:

(2) [ABC This Week, 8 Dec. 1985: Tax Policy]
```
 1 IR:      .hhh Uh Mister Chairmen (.) this (0.2) tax reform
 2          when it firs' got rolling was defendedeh in large
 3          measure in terms of simplicity.=Wur='unna simplify
 4          thuh tax code. .hhhhhh You have refu:sed duh kill
 5          the: (0.9) mortgage interest deduction on second
 6          ho:mes, you have even preserved something called an'
 7          you could if you wanned to explain it to me, thuh
 8          gravestone exemption, .hhh which I gather's a
 9          depreciation fer granite quarries, .hhhhh Is this
10          really any simpler an' isn't this just another example
11          of different lo:gs ro:lled in different way:s,
12          (1.5)
13 IE: →    George (0.8) uh I'm a negotiator. (1.0) Uh thuh
14          president c'n draw a line an' say: uhthis is purity.
15          uh- uh this is what reform is all about. (1.1) I drew
16          a line as we:ll . . .
```

The interviewee's response 'George I'm a negotiator.' avoids giving a yes or a no as

an answer and is prefaced with an address term 'George'.

The analysis that I will present in the following section will focus on the relevance of

ela + (*re*) + name in disagreement sequences; I shall investigate how the speakers'

knowledge asymmetries lead to the practice *ela* + (*re*) + name as a resource for

closing a disagreement sequence.

(3) [Balantani video: M2U00061: 38:04]

(At the dinner table, Kelvin, Leandro and Vanessa are talking about the meat they are eating at the moment. They were all present when it was being cooked in the oven. The dinner takes place at Leandro's and Vanessa's place and Kelvin is a visitor. The camera is being made relevant at some point in the interaction.)

```
 1 L:      To skliriname po[li↓ re ga°°moto°°
           It we made hard mu[ch↓ re damn °°it°°
           We made it too tou[gh↓ re damn °°it°°
 2 V:                        [((moves forward with her chair and
 3         adjusts her leg))=
 4 K:      =((moves forward in his chair suddenly and [stares at
 5         the camera))
 6 V:                                                 [Esi: eh's
 7         oli (t'n ora to kil-) mat' eki afto tha: e kata tha th'
 8         to dioks' o[lo
                      [You: you
           have all the time the (kil-) eyes this will:: e by will
           will it remove a[ll
                           [You: have
           all the time the (kil-) eyes this she will:: e by she
           will will remove it a[ll
 9 K:                [Tha- tha kopune.
                     [Will- will cut.
                     [They will- will be cut.
10 V:      ((nods))
11 V:      Tha to svis' olo.
           Will it she erase all.
           She will erase it all.
12 K:      Tora mono su ipa
           Now only you I said
           I only told you now
13 L:      ((looks at the camera))
14 L:      [Al dente
15 L:      [((mouth full of food))
16         (0.3)
17 L:      [(  )
18 K:      [Ti 'n' afto
           [What it is this
           [What is this
19         (0.2)
20 L:      Den ipame?
           Not we said?
           Didn't we say?
21         (0.4)
22 V:      Na ine: [me li:go ema
           To it is: [with li:ttle blood
           To have: [a li:ttle blood
23 V:              [((hand gesture))
```

```
24 L:     Na kratai ligo na 'h' ke ligo ema
          To it keeps a little to it has and little blood
          To keep a little to have also some blood
25        (0.5)
26 L:     Otan to ['vgala ego tote: pu: ipes ine mov (.) tote
27        'prepe na to vgalume.
          When it [I took out I then: when: you said it is purple
          (.) then we had to to it take out.
          When [I took it out then: when: you said it is purple
          (.) then we should have taken it out.
28 L:          [((upward movement of the face))
29        (0.6)
30 V:     Ne tote tha ihe zumia bra[vo afto: li:: afto lipi]
          Yes then will it had juices well [done this: mi:: this
          misses]
          Yes then it would have had juices exac[tly this: is mi::
          this is missing]
31 K:                               [Otan ekopsa  ego:   :] to
32        telefteo de masi↓tan re pedia
                                    [When   I    cut   I::] the
          last not che↓wed re children
                                    [When    I:  :       cut] the
          last one it could not be che↓wed re guys
33        (0.1)
34 L:→    [E↓la re Kelvin.
          [Co↓me re Kelvin.
          [Co↓me on re Kelvin.
35 L:     [((mouth full of food))=
36 K:     =I- ine analoga ke pos itan opos ipes
          =I- it is depending and how it was as you said
          =I- it also depends how it was as you said
37        [(0.5)
38 L:     [((nods))
39 K:     to psisimo
          the roasting
          the roasting
40        (0.5)
41 K:     Telospanton=
          Anyway=
          Anyway=
42 L:     =Kalo itan.
          =Good it was.
          =It was good.
43 K:     Telos kalohuhu
          End goodhuhu
          All is wellhuhu
44        (0.2)
45 K:     £ola kalahahahahahehe£
          £all wellhahahahahehe£
          £that ends wellhahahahahehe£
46 L:     ((smiles))
47 L:     >kalo kalo<
          >good good<
          >good good<
```

This is a guest-host scenario, in which two people are co-hosting a person. The hosts,

Leandro and his wife Vanessa, are self-deprecating about the meat as a way of

apologising for the toughness of it, for it being overcooked, and Kelvin, as a visitor, responds by doing reassurance. The practice *ela* + (*re*) + name comes as a response to Kelvin's disagreement at lines 31-32 *[Otan ekopsa ego::] to telefteo de masi↓tan re pedia* (=[When I:: cut] the last one it could n<u>o</u>t be che↓wed re guys). The part we are interested in, that closes with the above mentioned practice, lies in lines 26-36. Leandro's suggestion at lines 26-27 *Otan to ['vgala ego tote: pu: ipes ine mov (.) tote 'prepe na to vgalume.* (=When [I took it out then: when: you said it is purple (.) then we should have taken it out.) gets receipted with an affiliative turn from his wife, who agrees with him 'yes' but upgrades it with 'bravo'[50], and the resistance from Kelvin at lines 31-32. We can notice in Leandro's turn the use of *ego* (=I)[51] and the contrast between 'I' and 'you' with which he is claiming primacy. Kelvin's response is also formatted in a way that functions as an epistemic upgrade; specifically, he also does not drop the *ego* and ends his turn with *re pedia*[52]. Thus, we can see that this sequence is not merely a disagreement sequence, but contains a lot of epistemic assertions; each one of the interlocutors is claiming primacy on the experience with a different practice. The practice *ela* + (*re*) + name here functions as a strong challenge that receives no counterargument and is closing implicative. Not only does it not get challenged by the interlocutors but the recipients back down on their claim, as we can also see in this example. After *Ela re Kelvin* Kelvin actually backs down on his assertion, agreeing in the end with Leandro *I- ine analoga ke pos itan opos ipes* (=I- It also depends how it was as you said). Additionally, **Figure 5.1** and **Figure 5.2:** F0 trace of extract 1, line 34 show a prosodic analysis of line 34 in which we can observe

---

[50] a token we will see that suggests that the interlocutor has come to that conclusion first.

[51]Greek is a pro-drop language, which means that the pronoun could be omitted because it is pragmatically inferable. However, the fact that it appears in this turn means that the interlocutor is deliberately using it to achieve something.

[52]a token that, we have seen in another analysis, often appears in disagreement sequences and functions as a challenge to the prior speaker's turn.

how low pitched the utterance is produced. With Leandro's pitch range reaching maximum 305 units and his bottom range being 68 units, he produces *Ela re Kelvin* with a very low pitch contour. We shall see in the next examples that this is a general characteristic that speakers follow when using this practice, as all of the examples follow a similar pattern. What is more, according to the spectrogram, we can see that his voice is quite flat as there is not much variation in intensity (see the middle part in **Figure 5.1**) and as we can observe from the blue lines there is no rise or fall in the pitch contour but it follows a straight line, which contributes to our understanding of the practice as closing implicative. Leandro is not prosodically inviting the speaker to advance the sequence marking his utterance as the end of the argument. What is important is that the recipient takes it as a move to close the argument and thus backs down on his prior claim, agreeing in the end with his interlocutor.
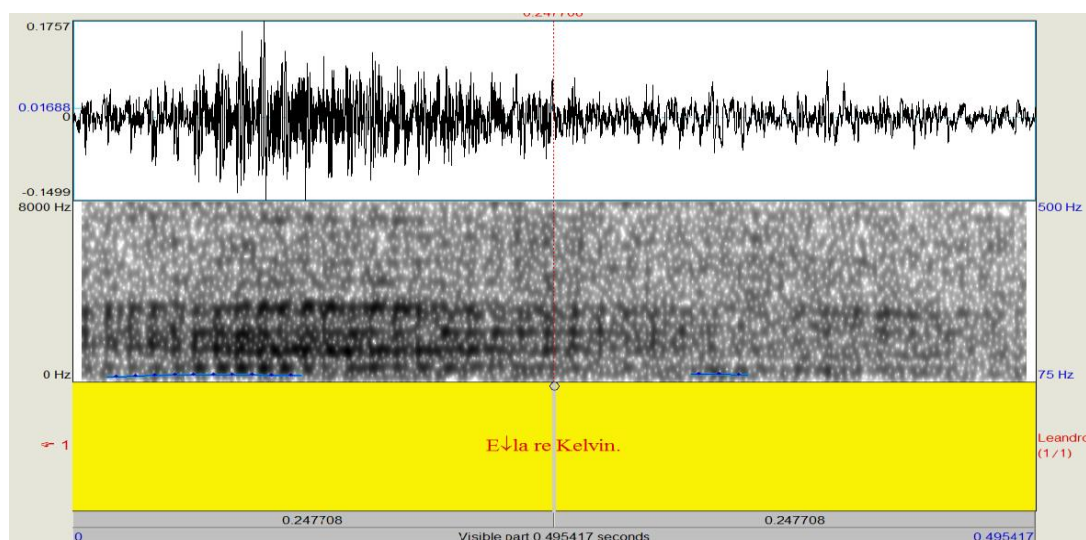
Figure 5.1: Spectrogram/waveform of extract 1, line 34
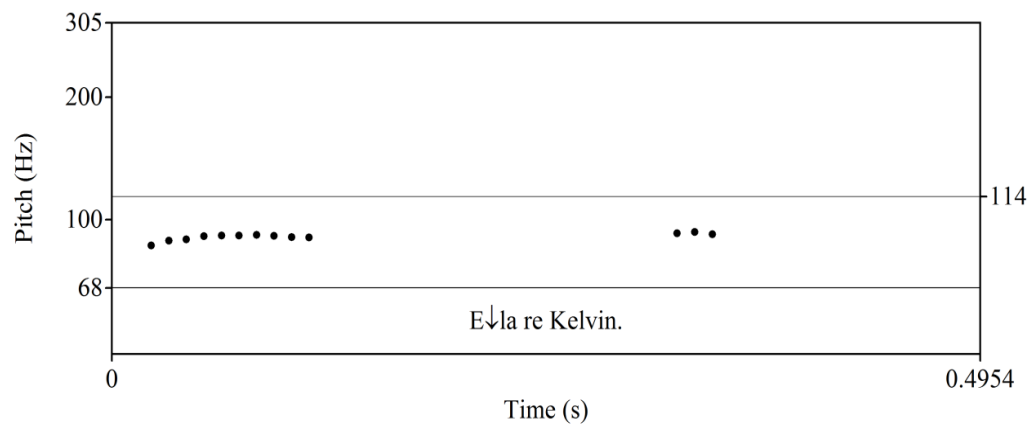
Figure 5.2: F0 trace of extract 1, line 34

In the following extract, we have another sequence of epistemic incongruence that results in an *ela* + (*re*) + name turn and a downgrade by the recipient.

(4) [Balantani video: M2U00061: 42:50]

(This extract comes from the same recording. Leandro has bought a new stove for his parents and they are wondering whether they will be able to turn it on.)

```
 1 L:     E meta ti 'a kanume?
          E then what will we do?
          E then what will we do?
 2        (.)
 3 L:     E↓ katso kan'a:
          E↓ I sit any:
          E↓ I will sit some:
 4 L:     [((chews))
 5 L:     [(0.5)
 6 L:     ligo sto horio↑
          a little in the village↑
          a little while in the village↑
 7        (0.2)
 8 K:     [Ne↑ ne
          [Yes↑ yes
          [Yes↑ yes
 9 L:     [>'a [dume tha 'n eh' anameni ti soba?==[de tha 'n eh'.<
          [>to [we see will her he has turned on the stove?==[not
          will her he has.<
          [>Let's [see will he have the stove turned on?==[he
          won't have it.<
10 L:          [((head nod towards the direction of the village
11        that his parents live and eye gaze to Vanessa keeping it
12        until he gets a response from her))(Figure 5.3)
13 L:                                          [((movement of
14        his head to the back indicating no))(Figure 5.4)
15        (0.1)
16 K:     Tha fi'is tri:s tha 'se pent[emis'
          Will you leave three: will you are five th[irty
          You will leave at three: you will be at five th[irty
```

```
17 L:                                   [((raises his eyebrows and
18         slightly moves his head back to indicate no))
19         (0.1)
20 L:      Ime [si[guros
           I am [su[re
           I am [su[re
21 L:          [((hand gesture))
22 V:             [Les¿
                  [You say¿
                  [You think¿
23 L:      E [h i-     h i l i a ] ta ekato
           E [t h- t h ou s a n d] the hundred
           E [a hu- h u n d r e d] per cent
24 L:        [((closes his eyes))]
25         (0.6)
26 L:      ((keeps his eye gaze towards Vanessa and then looks
27         down))
28 K:      O: pate↓ras su les
           The: fa↓ther your you say
           You:r fa↓ther you mean
29         (0.2)
30 L:      [hhh
31 L:      [((tosses his head to the side and eye brows down))
32 L:      Pateras den bori more i mana m'=
           Father not he can more the mother mine=
           (My) father can't more my mother=
33 V:      [Aftos tha tin anapsi omos tha dis aftos tha- ki ama
34         [tha: rotisis aftos tha t'n eh' ana[ps'
           [He will her turn on nevertheless will you see he will-
           and if [will: you ask he will her he has tu[rned on
           [He will turn it on however you will see he will- and if
           [you will: ask he will have tu[rned it on
35 V:      ((nodding during her whole turn))
36 K:      [((opens mouth to take the next turn))
37 K:                                     [Bori na min eh' ke
38         krio more:
                                          [It can to not it has
           and cold more:
                                          [Maybe it won't be so
           cold more:
39         (0.3)
40 L:      ((shakes his head to both sides))
41 V:→     Ela re: Kelvin den eh' °kr[io°
           Come re: Kelvin not it has °co[ld°
           Come on re: Kelvin it won't be °co[ld°
42 L:                                    [Eh'.
                                         [It has.
                                         [It is.
43 K:                                    [Ala tha m' pis an den eh'
44         to: kalo[rifer
                                         [But will me you say if not
   it
           has the: [radiator
                                         [But then if he hasn't got
           the: [radiator
45 V:            [Ets' opos ehun math' afti:::
                 [So like they have learned they:::
                 [As they::: are used to
46         (0.2)
47 V:      den tus ftan' to kalorifer
           not them is enough the radiator
```

```
                   the radiator is not enough for them
```

In this extract, *ela* + (*re*) + name appears after a downgraded assessment in the form of an evidential weakening *[Bori na min eh' ke krio more:* (=[Maybe it won't be so cold more:) (Heritage & Raymond, 2005), that comes as a response from Kelvin to the above sequence of epistemic incongruence between his interlocutors. His assessment is receipted with strong disagreement from both his interlocutors; Leandro tosses his head to both sides indicating no and his wife formats her response with *ela* + (*re*) + Kelvin incrementing it with a partial repeat of Kelvin's turn. Again we can see that Kelvin backs down *[Ala tha m' pis an den eh' to: kalo[rifer* (=[But then if he hasn't got the: [radiator) in his following turn. The incongruence that led to the practice begins at line 9 with Leandro posing a question *[>'a [dume tha 'n eh' anameni ti soba?* (=[>Let's [see will he have it turned on the stove?) and responding himself in the same turn with a negative assertion *[de tha 'n eh'.<* (=[he won't have it.<) at the first TCU in which someone could have come in, thus claiming firstness in the matter at hand. At the same time, he keeps his eye gaze towards his wife[53] (**Figure 5.3**) the recipient who could challenge his assertion since she is the one with the same epistemic access to the matter.

---

[53] This gestural hold, a stretch of talk where the gesture is held even after the end of the TCU (Ford, Fox & Thompson, 2002; Selting, 2000; Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974, cited in Sikveland & Ogden, 2012: 168), in this case an extended eye-gaze, starts with Leandro's initiation of the turn at line 9 and is stretched well beyond the completion of his turn. This relates to Kendon's (1995) observation that a gestural hold may serve to demonstrate that the content of the TCU that has just been completed forms a question addressed to this specific recipient. Leandro and his wife have a shared knowledge on that matter, so his rhetorical question of line 9 is addressed to her.

Figure 5.3 Frame representing eye-gaze in lines 10-12

He then reinforces his statement with facial expressions such as a head nod indicating no (**Figure 5.4**), the raising of his eyebrows (**Figure 5.4**) and an upgrade of his assertion with a strong epistemic claim *Ime [si[guros* (=I am [su[re) in the following turn.
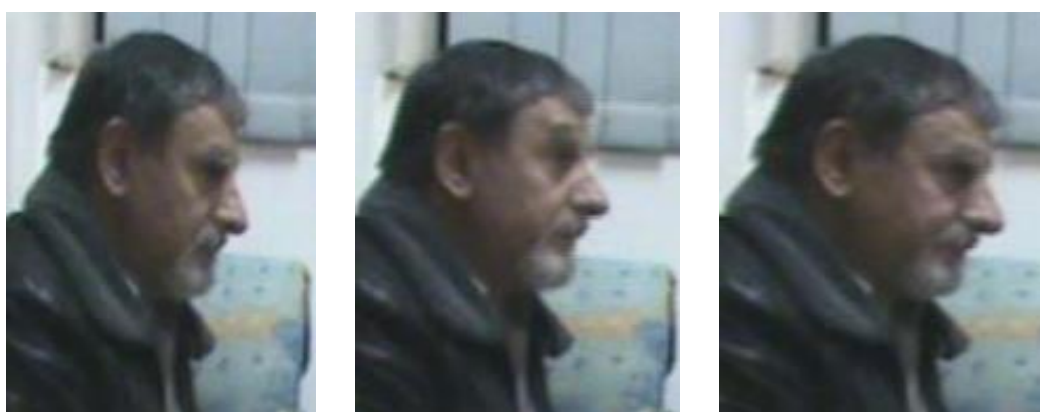
Figure 5.4 Frame representing the nod and the raising of the eye-brows in lines 13-4

The response from his wife is a downgraded turn *[Les¿* (=[You think¿), which does neither agreement nor disagreement, thus giving him the "permission" to upgrade his next turn with an extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986) *E [hi- hilia] ta ekato* (=E [a hu-hundred] percent).[54] After a repair sequence between Kelvin and Leandro,

---

[54] I have translated it in English as a hundred percent but in Greek as we can see from the second line of translation it is actually a thousand percent. 'Percent' comes from Latin meaning a hundred but in Greek we use the Greek expression 'of a hundred', so normally it should 'a hundred of a hundred'. The fact that he used an even greater number than the original expression highlights his claim to epistemic primacy on this matter.

in which Leandro specifies who he means his father or mother[55], Vanessa produces her assessment on the matter stressing the pronoun *aftos* (=he). She reiterates *aftos* three times for emphasis in a multiunit turn which consists of several TCUs and each one contains the pronoun *aftos* which in conjunction with the expression 'you will see' works as a claim to primacy on the matter[56]. Kelvin attempts to end the disagreement in his subsequent turn at lines 37-8 *Bori na min eh' ke krio more:* (=Maybe it won't be so cold more:) which receives the push back from Vanessa *Ela re: Kelvin den eh' ᵒkr[ioᵒ* (=Come on re: Kelvin it won't be ᵒco[ldᵒ). So we see that after several turns of epistemic incongruences, the turn that brings the epistemic battle to an end is formatted as *ela* + (*re*) + name produced with low pitch and minimum variation in intensity (see **Figure 5.5** and **Figure 5.6**) and is receipted as a move to close the sequence as it gets no counterargument, but a backdown.
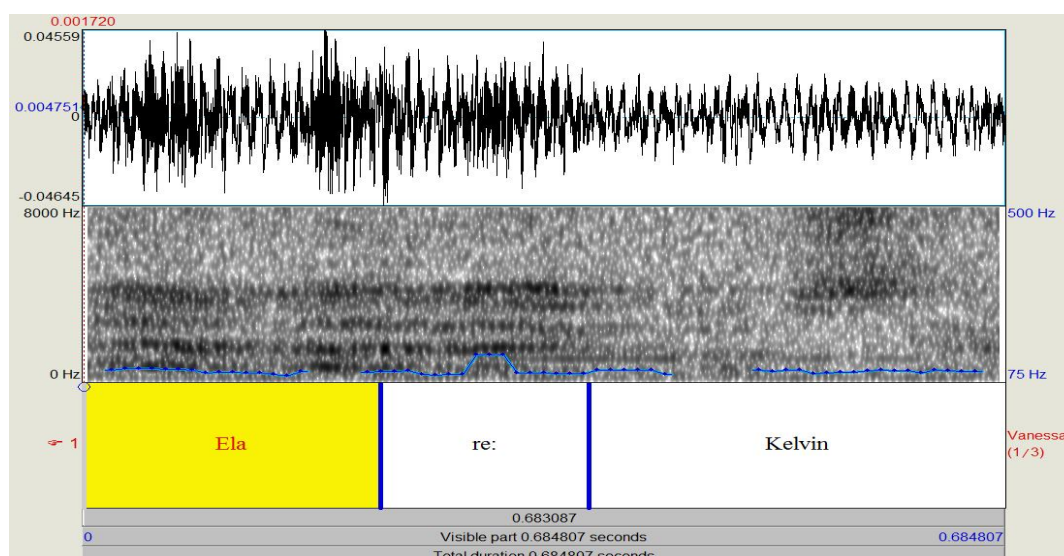
Figure 5.5: Spectrogram/waveform of extract 2, line 41

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[55] Greek is a pro-drop language, thus Kelvin isn't necessarily able to establish from Leandro's turn whether he meant his father or mother.

[56] It is her step-father and she has the same epistemic rights with her husband, Leandro, on this matter.
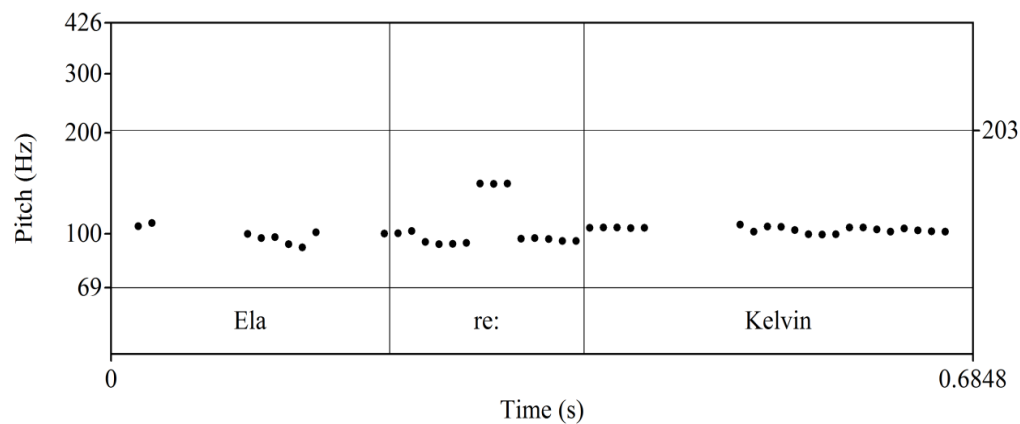
Figure 5.6: F0 trace of extract 2, line 41

The following excerpt is an example of an affiliative disagreement sequence with *ela* + (*re*) + name closing the sequence.

(5) [Balantani video: M2U00064 15:39]

(Alyssa, Vanessa, Leandro, and Emery are in a cafeteria drinking coffee and eating cakes. Emery, the daughter of Alyssa and niece of Leandro and Vanessa is offering to pay for everything. Emery is half German half Greek and speaks very little Greek.)

```
 1 E:     Ich za:hl' das
          I pa:y this
          I pa:y for this
 2        (0.1)
 3 V:     E[he
 4 E:      [>Aber< du muss' mir das vorsprechen[hhhhe
           [>But< you have me it recite[hhhe
           [>But< you have to recite it to me[hhhe
 5 V:                                         [huhuhaha[ha
 6 V:                                                  [((turns
 7        her gaze towards Alyssa))
 8 A:                                                  [((closes
 9        her eyes and turns her gaze towards Vanessa))
10 A:                                                  [hhhhaha
11 L:     Afto to [nero diko su ine?
          This the [water own your it is?
          This [water is yours?
12 V:             [Nein=
```

```
                [No=
                [No=
13 V:   ((looks at the glass))
14 E:   =Doch
        =Yes
        =Yes I will
15 V:   Wir zahlen das komm=
        We pay this come=
        We pay for this come on=
16 L:   =E¿=
17 V:   =[Ne=
        =[Yes=
        =[Yes=
18 V:    [((nods))
19 E:   =Nei:n=
        =No:=
        =No:=
20 V:   =[Ne
        =[Yes
        =[Yes
21 V:    [((nods))
22 E:   Ich möcht' euch einla:den
        I want you invi:te
        I want to invi:te you
23 V: →  Ela Caro- Emery::
        Come Caro- Emery::
        Come on Caro- Emery::
24      (0.3)
25 A:   [As' tin Carolina tora]=
        [Leave the Carolina now]=
        [Leave Carolina now]=
26 ?:   [(                    )]
27 V:   =In' polaha=
        =It is manyha=
        =It is a lotha-
28 A:   =eki pu inehe
        =there where she ishe
        =where she ishe
29 A+V: ((take a mouthful of the cake at the same time))
30      (0.4)
31 E:   Carolina lädt euch ein
        Carolina invites you
        Carolina invites you
32 V:   huhuhuhuhu
```

This example is in a bilingual context and, although the speakers are code-switching between German and Greek, *ela* + name is used in response to a German turn. *Ela* + name is used as a practice to counter a proposal in this extract. The proposal appears as a FPP at line 1 *Ich za:hl' das* (=I pa:y for this) from Emery which receives a disaffiliative response from Vanessa in the form of a laughter at line 3 and a disagreement at line 12 as a SPP. Emery resists the disagreement *Doch* (=Yes I will),

inserting a post-expansion[57] to the sequence, and Vanessa makes a counterproposal and the pattern that is being followed is the same as in the initial proposal, namely disagreement *Nei:n* (=No:) and resistance to the disagreement *Ne* (=Yes). At line 22, Emery proffers an account for her initial proposal *Ich möcht' euch einla:den* (=I want to invi:te you) but this does not receive an affiliative response from Vanessa; in contrast, she responds with the practice *ela* + name. Vanessa resists to the invitation by switching from German to Greek; the target turn is produced in Greek in response to a German utterance and a speaker, Emery, who does not speak Greek, thus making it harder for the recipient to challenge the resistance. It is evident that *ela* + name does not get challenged by the recipient but instead she merely picks up on the self-initiated repair of the name referent and makes a joke *Carol̲i̲na lädt euch ein* (=Carolina invites you). 'Carolina invites you' is a case of teasing because Carolina didn't offer to pay later on. Similar to the above examples, there is very little variation in the intensity of the utterance, although intonationally it is different; first of all, the pitch contour is a bit higher in this example, which could be attributed to the fact that the recording took place in a coffee shop with a lot of surrounding noise, so the speakers are speaking louder to be heard and, secondly, it is produced with 'a stylized falling contour' (Ladd, 1978). Unlike the prior examples that were produced quiet and with low volume, in this example the target turn is produced with a rhythmic voice quality that gives it a less controversial tone and more of a stylized thing to say to resist an invitation. Indeed, in this example, we get no back down after the use of the practice.

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[57] "…a rejection of, or challenge to, the second pair part…" (Schegloff, 2007a: 161).
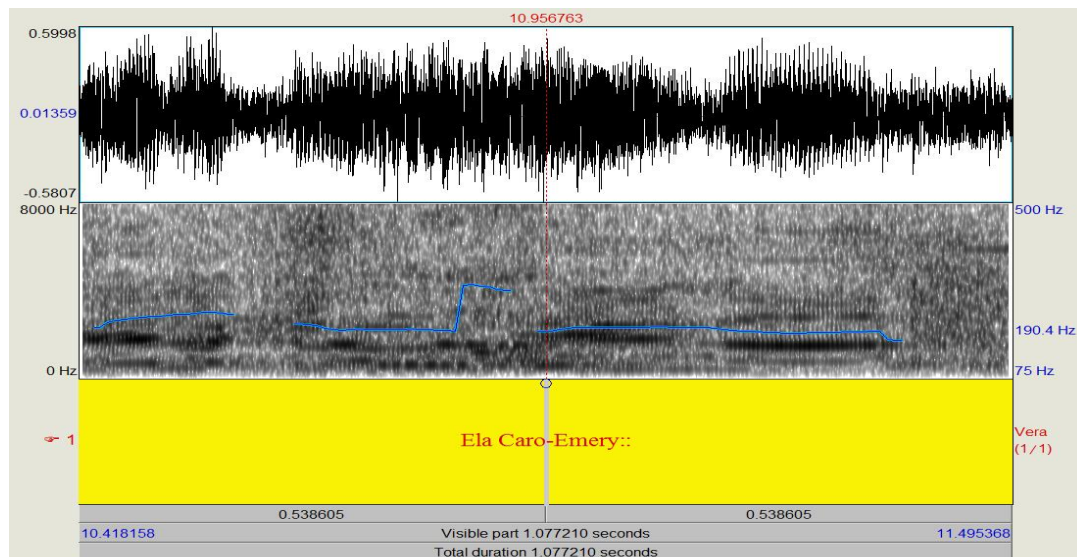
**Figure 5.7**: Spectrogram/waveform of extract 3, line 23
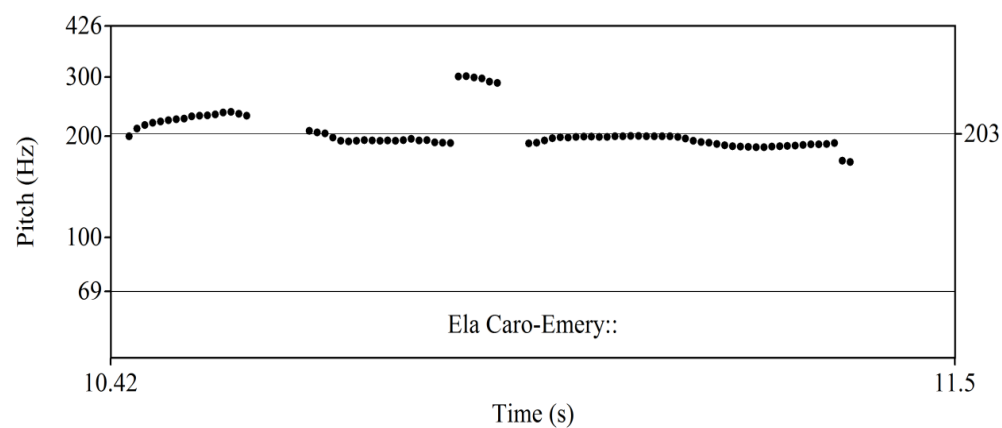
Figure 5.8: F0 trace of extract 3, line 23

The previous examples demonstrate that the practice *ela* + (*re*) + name is used by Greek interlocutors in disagreement sequences. In the first example, there is an epistemic issue at hand; all the participants have the same access to the meat that is being assessed and each one is claiming his/her primary rights to assess the referent but it is the speaker who implements that practice that eventually closes the argument. Similarly, in the second and third example, after proffering the *ela* + (*re*) + name practice the argument closes and the disagreement sequence comes to an end with the recipient of the practice backing down on his/her prior claim, unless it is produced

with a 'stylized falling contour', in which case there is no back down. In all of the extracts, the turns are prosodically produced with little variation in intensity and low pitch, marking the interlocutor's withdrawal and indicating to the recipient not to elaborate on them. The interlocutors respond accordingly by backing down in their following turn, thus closing the sequence.

5.3   A deviant case

In the last section, we saw the implications of the notion of adjacency pairs on the sequential management of disagreement turns, namely how the practice *ela* + (*re*) + name is implemented in closing the sequence and how epistemic asymmetries are managed by the speakers. In this section, I will show how interlocutors indeed orient to this practice as disaffiliative by examining an example of a misinterpretation of the use of *ela*; the recipient takes it as a disaffiliative turn, according to the use we saw in the above examples, whereas the speaker used it in an affiliative way having to account for its use in his subsequent turn.

In contrast to the prior ones, this fragment comes from an institutional setting, a political interview in a news programme. Thus, the characteristics of the talk are that of an institutional talk, namely pre-allocated roles for the participants, turn-taking constraints and journalists turn-allocating (for further details on institutional talk see §2.4

(6) Συζήτηση για τις πολιτικές εξελίξεις (Discussion of political developments)-
06.06.2013
(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yujtjYkIRCc&index=55&list=WL
29/09/2014, 07:49) (13:58-14:46)

Elena Kountoura (congressman of Anexartitoi Ellines), Basilis Luritzis (journalist),
Dimitris Oikonomou (journalist), Alexandros Bistis (Member of the committee of
Syriza), Adonis Georgiadis (representative of New Democracy)

*(This extract comes from a news programme in the Greek channel 'Skai'. On that day
3 representatives, each from a different political party, were invited to talk about the
political developments in Greece. Each speaker is allocated some time to inform the
citizens about their position towards an ongoing subject. Mrs. Kountoura, from
Anexartitoi Ellines, was given the last slot.)*

```
 1 E:      I Ifesi ine pente koma tria (0.2) iparhi anaksiopistia
 2         (0.2) giati: (.) ipo:thikan >para pola pragmata ta opia
 3         den ehun efarmosti apo tin kivernisi ke erxomaste edo ke
 4         leme simera ti tha kanume<,
           The recession it is five point three (0.2) there is
           unreliability (0.2) because: (.) they were sai:d >very
           many things them which not they have applied from the
           government and we come here and we say today what will we
           do<,
           The recession is five point three (0.2) there is
           unreliability (0.2) because: (.) >many things were sai:d
           which have not been applied by the government and we come
           here and say today what will we do<,
 5 E:      ke erxete [to DNT⁵⁸ i ekthesi ke lei afta pu elegan] i
 6         Anexartitoi Elines ke [fisika pali distihos tha po
 7         dikeonomaste=
           and it comes [the IMF the report and it says these that
           they were saying] the Anexartitoi Ellines and [of course
           again unfortunately will I say we are vindicated=
           and [the report (from) the IMF comes and says what the
           Anexartitoi Ellines were saying] and [of course again
           unfortunately I will say we are vindicated=
 8 D:                  [((c l e a r s   h i s   t h r o a t))]
 9 E:                  [((facial expression))
10 D:      =[Oli dikeoneste [pali ta idia]
           =[Everyone you are vindicated [again the same]
           =[Everyone is vindicated [again the same]
11 B:        [(                              )]
```

---

⁵⁸ DNT stands for IMF, which is the International Monetary Fund.

```
12 E:                         [di- o↓h' oh' >mono emis dikeo[nomaste
13        giati oli ligo poli alazun tis thesis tus==emis imaste
14        [statheri apo tin proti stigmi giati ehume [pi<
                        [ven- no↓ no >only we we are vendi[cated
          because  everyone  little  or  a  lot  they  change  the
          positions their==we we are [fixed from the first moment
          because we have [said<
                        [ven- no↓ no >only we are vendi[cated
          because everyone more or less change their positions==we
          are [constant from the first moment because we have
          [said<
15 A:                                        [((laughter))
16 E:                                        [((nod and
17        gesture))
18 D:     [Ma  ki  o  Siriza  dikeonete      [°etsi lei°
          [But  and  the  Siriza  is  vindicated  [°so he says°
          [But  Siriza  is  also  vindicated     [°so they
          say°
19 E:                                        [E:hume pi
20        oti ehume mia [<politiki stathe]ri>
          that we have one [<policy consta]nt
          [We ha:ve said
          that we have a [<consta]nt policy>
21 E:             [((shifts her eye gaze to D))
22 D:             [Ki i kivernisi dikeonete °tha sas pi°]
                  [And the government is vindicated °will you
          she say°]
                  [The government is also vindicated °they
          will tell you°]
23        (0.2)

24 B:→    [Elate kiria Kountoura]
          [Come Mrs. Kountoura]
          [Come Mrs. Kountoura]
25 E:     [I: a-]
26 E:     ((eye gaze to B))
27        (0.2)
28 E:     >Kitakste ama ine na milane i ali apo ena tetarto ki
29        emena na mu [lete elate me to pu [aniksa to stoma mu:↑<
           >Look if it is to they talk the others from one quarter
           and me to me [you say come with the where [I opened the
           mouth mine:↑<
          >Look if the others talk for a quarter and to me [you
          say come the moment [I opened my mouth:↑<
30 B:             [((looks at his watch))
31 B:                          [Ela↑te ohi na
32        mili↑sete leo [na mi sas diakoptume ( )
                        [Co↑me no to you ta↑lk
          I say [to not you we interrupt ( )
                [Co↑me no I mean ta↑lk
          [so that we don't interrupt you ( )
33 D:             [Elate proho[riste leme de leme
34         stama[ti↓ste=
                  [Come go ah[ead we say not we say st[o↓p=
                  [Come go ah[ead we say we don't say
           st[o↓p=
35 E:                      [°°E ne°° ((nods))
                          [°°E yes°° ((nods))
                          [°°E yes°° ((nods))
36 E:        [Afto leo e:m
             [This I say e:m
```

```
                    [That's what I mean e:m
37 B:     =Prohoriste ne
          =Go ahead yes
          =Go ahead yes
38 E:     £Pro[spatho£
          £I t[ry£
          £I am t[rying£
39 E:         [((glides hand through her hair))
40 E:     .hhh Lipon den bori
          .hhh So not it can
          .hhh Well it can't
41        (0.2)
42 E:     e: an den iparksi anaptiksi (.) ki an den iparksi
43        antimetopisi tis forodiafigi:s (0.1) ke tis litotitas
44        tis ifesis na bore:sume na vgume ap' afto to telma
          e: if not there will be development (.) and if not there
          will be  confrontation of the tax eva:tion (0.1) and of
          the austerity of the recession to we ca:n to we go out
          from this the swamp
          e: if there won't be progress (.) and if we won't deal
          with the tax eva:tion (0.1) and the austerity of the
          recession so we ca:n get out of this stagnancy
```

In this extract the practice *ela* + (*re*) + name at line 24 is used in an affiliative way by the journalist, as a go-ahead rather than a request to halt her turn, but the response from Mrs. Kountoura in her next turn indicates that she perceived it in the challenging way we saw in the examples above. Her response to *Elate kiria Kountoura* at lines 28-9 is prefaced by *Kitakste* (=Look), marking that what follows will be dispreferred and continues with her complaint *ama ine na milane i ali apo ena tetarto ki emena na mu [lete elate me to pu [aniksa to stoma mu:↑<* (=if the others talk for a quarter and to me [you say come the moment [I opened my mouth:↑<). It is the only instance in which *elate* + name gets a challenge. But why is it that Mrs. Kountoura does not take Basili's turn *Elate kiria Kountoura* as a go ahead but the opposite as a request to refrain from continuing her announcement and he has to defend his use of that expression and explain what he meant? The interpretation of Basili's utterance may be based on an understanding of the identity of the speakers. The fact that Basilis is a journalist and Mrs. Kountoura is from that specific party and all the characteristics that the party may entail makes her challenge his practice. Basilis does not announce 'Stop' but he is taken to hint at that. Mrs. Kountoura's interpretation of his

announcement as a hint for her to stop speaking is based on her seeing him as a journalist and colleague of Dimitri and her as a right wing, anti-austerity party representative "under attack". The misinterpretation of his utterance can be located in the prior hostile sequence between her and Basili's colleague, Dimitris. Dimitris disagrees with Mrs. Kountoura's statement at lines 1-7 and the self-appraisal that follows her announcement *ke [fisika pali distihos tha po* dikeonomaste= (=and [of course again unfortunately I will say we are vindicated=) with three disagreement turns; the first one takes the form of an extreme case *=[Oli dikeoneste [pali ta idia]* (==[Everyone is vindicated [again the same] and the subsequent two are partial repeats of his first disagreement turn, in which he specifies the referent term to Mrs. Kountoura's political party's opponents, namely Syriza and the government, marking the contrast between we and they. Mrs. Kountoura responds to each one of his disagreements and gets interrupted by Dimitris in all her attempts to support her position. Consequently, when his colleague, Basilis, enters the conversation at line 24 with *Elate kiria Kountoura*, she hears it as antagonistic and supportive towards his colleague when it is clearly facilitative and neutral, as demonstrated by the unfolding of the interaction thereafter. Mrs. Kountoura's interpretation of his utterance is based on her understanding of his identity category, namely his occupation; his identity, as a journalist, invokes certain characteristics that are made relevant in talk and to which Mrs. Kountoura orients to in order to interpret his utterance as hostile.

Thus, we can see how the participants' identities become interactionally relevant in conversation; according to their identities they are held accountable for their actions and this is reflected in the conversation.

5.4   Summary

The focus of this chapter has been on how Greek interlocutors manage disagreements in an affiliative way and what is the role of the practice *ela* + (*re*) + name in that context. We saw that disagreements are delicately done in an affiliative environment in which epistemic authority and identity become interactionally salient and interlocutors manage to nevertheless agree. We started by looking at instances in which after the use of this practice the recipients back down on their initial claim proffering a downgraded version of their prior turn and moved on to a case of an interview panel in which the interlocutor misunderstood the use of *ela*, which underscores our observation that sequentiality plays a major role in understanding the role of this practice. The examination of the formulation *ela* + (*re*) + name has revealed that this practice is used to close an argument after sequences of epistemic incongruence; it functions as a challenge to a prior disagreement turn and, in most cases, receives a back down from the recipient of his/her prior turn, thus marking it as a practice that is implemented by interlocutors to achieve agreement or affiliation after disagreement sequences. Prosody is deployed as an interactional resource in these cases, as the interlocutors produce the turns with low pitch and little intensity, marking them as closing implicative.

Chapter 6   *Bravo*

6.1   Introduction

In this chapter, I will analyse the use of the token *bravo* in Greek in the environment of competitive assessments, as well as a resource for indexing surprise. The dictionary definition of this token coincides with the meaning attributed to it in English, namely as an exclamatory adverb that gives credit to somebody for an achievement of his/hers, a token that indicates approval and appraisal (Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek[59]). Nevertheless, it is important to draw attention to the fact that this definition was given in order to provide a lexicographic meaning of this token, rather than what is its role inside a conversation. Consequently, my analysis will demonstrate the multitude of actions we can accomplish with it, looking at it from an interactional perspective, depending on the type of sequence it is involved in.

6.2   I told you so: indexing epistemic independence

In the introduction to the methodology section of this thesis, I have explored the various practices through which interlocutors can negotiate the management of their rights to knowledge, for instance using negative interrogatives (Heritage, 2002a) or 'oh' prefaced agreements (Heritage, 2002b) (for further details see §2.3.2). The analysis of this section will focus on the use of *bravo* as a resource for claiming epistemic primacy.

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[59] Accessed 22/09/2015, 14:20, http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern_greek/tools/lexica/triantafyllides/search.html?lq=%CE%BC%CF%80%CF%81%CE%AC%CE%B2%CE%BF&dq=

(1) [Balantani audio: VN550058: 07:15]

(This is a phone call between Vanessa and Mary. Vanessa is Mary's niece. Her father-in-law is sick and her mother-in-law does not want to sell their animals in their farm, although they both are not able to take care of them anymore. Vanessa's husband is the only son of the family, which, in the Greek society of their time, meant that he had, at that time, more responsibilities and more privileges than his sisters, a situation which no longer exists. In this particular segment, Vanessa is describing to her aunt exactly this; how his sisters are expecting from him to do everything and convince their parents to sell the animals.)

```
192 V:    Kamia fora leo eftihos pu efige i mama: ke den ta
193       vlepi afta tora==kse's pos aghonotan i mama↑
          Some time I say fortunately that she left the mum: and
          not them she sees these now==you know how she got
          stressed out the mum↑
          Sometimes I say thank God that mum: has gone and
          doesn't see these things now==you know how stressed
          out mum↑ got
194 M:    Aghono↑tan [ne vevea
          She got stre↑ssed out [yes certainly
          She got stre↑ssed out [yes certainly
195 V:              [.hhh Mo:no afti mu 'lege panta po po ti
196       eh's na traviksis
                    [.hhh O:nly she me she was saying always po
          po what you have to you pull
                    [.hhh Indee:d she was always saying to me
          po po⁶⁰ what you have to go through
197       (0.5)
198 V:    Kalitera p' den ta vlepi
          Better that not them she sees
          (It's) better that she doesn't see them
199       (0.2)
200 M:    °Ne°↓ aftin ehi to stoma poli more ego t'n iksera apo
201       kopela ( )
          °Yes°↓ she she has the mouth a lot more I her I knew
          from girl ( )
          °Yes°↓ she talks a lot more I knew her since she was a
          girl ( )
202 V:    M::
203 M:    [( )
204 V:    [Den- Den sikoni kuventa oh' Leandro ke kse↓ris oti
205       oli ton Leandro lei- oli to Leandro:: tetionun⁶¹
          [Not- Not she lifts discourse no Leandro and you kno↓w
          that all the Leandro she says- all the Leandro:: make
          such
          [She doesn't- she doesn't take no for an answer not
          even Leandro and you kno↓w that everyone says to
          Leandro- everyone makes Leandro:: such
206 M:    Katigorun=
          Blame=
          Blame=
```

---

⁶⁰ A Greek expression that is not translatable in English.

⁶¹ 'Tetoio' means 'such' in Greek and it is a pronoun. 'Tetiono' is a neologism that roughly approximates to 'suching'. It is used in instances in which the interlocutor cannot find the appropriate verb or does not want to use the right verb. In general, it means 'I do something'.

```
207 V:      =NE↑ NA t's pi o Le↑andro (.) re pedia leo TI NA PI O
208         LEANDRO GIATI KATHET' O LEANDRO T'S LEI MANA BRA↓VO
            =YES↑ TO her he says the Le↑andro (.) re children I
            say WHAT TO HE SAYS THE LEANDRO WHY HE SITS THE
            LEANDRO HE SAYS MOTHER WE↓LL DONE
            =YES↑ Le↑andro SHOULD say to her (.) re guys I say
            WHAT SHOULD LEANDRO SAY TO HER WHY DOES LEANDRO SIT
            THERE AND SAY TO HIS MOTHER WE↓LL DONE
209 M:→     Ets' bravo [ne ne ne
            So bravo [yes yes yes
            Exactly [yes yes yes
210 V:              [Afu in' eki I IDII INE EKI↓ KE:: akun
211         [kiolas
                    [Since they are there THE SAME THEY ARE
            THERE↓ AND:: they hear [already
                    [Since they are there THEY ARE THERE↓ IN
            PERSON AND:: they hear [already
212 M:      [Afti kan- den to: pisteu'n den kan' dikio: (.) t'
213         Leandro kan' af'no↓
            [She d- not him: they believe not they do justice: (.)
            to the Leandro they they do the↓ir
            [She d- not him: they don't believe they don't do
            justice: (.) to Leandro they do (justice)to the↓m
```

Bravo, in this excerpt, is deployed in the environment of a competitive assessment. Vanessa and Mary are competing for their rights to assess the situation that Vanessa is describing to her aunt. It comes as a response to Vanessa's complaint at lines 207-8 and is preceded by *etsi*[62]. Mary upgrades her epistemic access to the referent from second position (Heritage & Raymond, 2005) by first confirming *etsi bravo* (=exactly) and then she agrees with the multiple 'yes', thus projecting herself as more knowledgeable. What is more, the three-item multiple 'yes' delivered on Mary's part under a single intonation contour is another practice that she uses to mark the fact that she got there first. By repeating 'yes' she does not simply agree; she marks that the information provided to her in the prior turn was unnecessary because the information was already known to her (Stivers, 2004) and in her next turn she affiliates by explaining the situation in her own terms *[Afti kan- den to: pisteu'n den kan' dikio: (.) t' Leandro kan' af'no↓n* (= She d- not him: they don't believe they don't do

---

[62] We are focusing on the second *bravo* at line 209, as the *bravo* in the prior turn is used as an approval term.

justice: (.) to Leandro they do (justice) to the↓m). So, *bravo* is deployed as an

emphatic agreement token in assessment sequences to index epistemic independence.

Extract (2) is taken from the same conversation just a few lines later in which Mary

uses the same practice *etsi bravo + ne* as a response to yet another stretch of reported

speech, as in our prior example.

(2) [Balantani audio: VN550058: 07:55]

```
216 V:     [Alo paragma e↑
           [Other thing e↑
           [Something else e↑
217 M:     [Kan' af'nun
           [They do them
           [They do them
218 M:     Kan' af'nu↓n: le↑n oti [den e-
           They do the↓ir: they say that [not e-
           They do the↓ir: they say that [not e-
219 V:                              [Ne
                                    [Yes
                                    [Yes
220 M:     den t's piez' o Leandro [katalaves °e°°e°
           not them he pressures the Leandro [you understand
           °e°°e°
           Leandro doesn't put pressure on them [see °e°°e°
221 V:                              [Ne den t's piez' o Leandro
222        den >t's lei o Leandro < na t' pi o Leandro na >t'
223        kan' o Leandro ==ohi o Leandro t's leo t's lei M-
224        bravo ka:thi:ste aftu parte ki ala deka=
                              [Yes not  them  pressure  the
           Leandro not >them he says the Leandro < to he says the
           Leandro to >them he makes the Leandro ==no the Leandro
           them I say them he says W- well done si:t there take
           and other ten=
                              [Yes   Leandro   doesn't   put
           pressure  on  them  he  doesn't  >Leandro  doesn't  say  to
           them<  Leandro  should  says  to  them  >Leandro  should  do
           to  them==no  I  say  to  them  Leandro  says  W-  well  done
           si:t there and take ten more=
225 M:→    =Etsi bravo °ne°
           =So bravo °yes°
           =Exactly °yes°
226 V:     Ti↑ na po↑ ti na po
           What↑ to I say↑ what to I say
           What↑ can I say↑ what can I say
227 V:     Ala den den tipota tipota tipota den katalaven' tipota
228        (.)pes esi oti thelis
           But  not  not  nothing  nothing  nothing  not  she
           understands nothing (.) say you whatever you want
           But  no  no  nothing  nothing  nothing  she  understands
           nothing (.) say you whatever you want
229        (0.4)
230 M:     Tha kani (gifese) gia na par's kat' edothe na se pan'
231        afti edo tha kratis' pali
```

```
               Will she does (gifese) for to you take towards here to
               you they go she here will she keeps again
               She will do (gifese) for you to take towards here they
               take you she here will keep whatsoever⁶³
232            (0.4)
233 M:         Den prokite na ta pulis'
               Not about to to them sell
               She won't sell them
234 V:         Pios
               Who
               Who
235 M:         I: pethera s'=
               The: mother-in-law your=
               Your: mother-in-law=
```

Mary's turn at line 225 *Etsi bravo ºneº* (=Exactly ºyesº) exhibits a similar format to

the prior one we saw in extract (1) *Ets' bravo [ne ne ne* (=Exactly [yes yes yes), only

in this case instead of a multiple 'yes', there is a very softly articulated one. It comes

as a response to Vanessa's complaint at lines 221-24. However, before incrementing

her turn with the complaint she first agrees with a 'yes' and partially repeats Mary's

prior turn *den t's piez' o Leandro* (=Leandro doesn't put pressure on them). Mary's

response to the complaint is latched, thus fully aligning and affiliating with her

interlocutor. Nevertheless this is being done competitively as her response is

formulated as a confirmation + agreement *Etsi bravo* and then the agreement *ne*,

projecting herself as having come to that conclusion first[64]. In fact, if we look back at

the sequence, we can see that she did come to the conclusion first, as Vanessa's

complaint is merely a reformulation of Mary's prior turns. So, irrespective of who

does the informing or who has primary rights to assess a situation[65], there are ways in

which the interlocutors can manage their involvement into the situation by not simply

agreeing but indicating that they have thought of something before it is being

mentioned with the use of *etsi bravo*.

---

[63] The translation of this utterance is very hard because the Greek utterance is also grammatically incorrect.

[64] It should now become clear why *etsi bravo* is translated as 'exactly'. 'Exactly' in English has that sense that is used in confirmations.

[65] Vanessa is the one with the primary rights in this situation, as it is her mother-in-law they are talking about.

A further example of this practice is excerpt (3), the only difference here is that *etsi bravo* is not followed by a 'yes' but is preceded by a prolonged *A::* and comes after a long disagreement sequence of how to get to a place more quickly. Fiona is the one who initiated the sequence with an information seeking question which gives two alternatives *ap' ton Kifiso i ap' ta Ktel[66]: Karditsas.* (=from Kifiso or from Karditsa bus station:.) and the one who in the end proffers the practice *A + etsi bravo*.

(3) [Balantani video: M2U00052: 14:02]

(Fiona is asking Leandro about a bus station in Athens because he has lived for several years in Athens and is more knowledgeable on her request. In Athens there is a main bus station in Kifiso that buses from the rest of Greece arrive there but there are some buses that use their own bus stations in different locations.)

```
 6 F:    Gia- Leandro gia pes mu ligo esi pu kser's apo Athina,
         To- Leandro to you tell me a little you that you know
         from Athens,
         To- Leandro tell me a moment because you know Athens
         better,
 7 F:    [.hhh e: gia na pao sto Pangrati,67]
         [.hhh e: for to I go to the Pangrati,]
         [.hhh e: for me to go to Pangrati,]
 8 F:    [((looks up when searching for the word))]
 9       (0.2)
10 F:     apo pu ine pio konta ap' ton Kifiso68,
          from where it is more close from the Kifiso,
          from where is it closer from Kifiso,
11        (0.2)
12 F:    i ap' ta Ktel: Karditsas69.
         or from the bus station: of Karditsa.
         or from Karditsa bus station:.
13        (0.3)
14 L:    Ta (idia) 'ki 'ne
         The (same) there it is
         It's the (same) it is there
15        (0.2)
16 F:    Den in' eki: [Karditsas
         Not it is there: [of Karditsa
```

---

[66] 'Ktel' is an acronym.
[67] An area in Athens.
[68] An area in Athens where the main bus station is situated.
[69] A town in Greece.

```
                        It is not there: [the one from Karditsa
   17 L:                               [Ti les
                                       [What you say
                                       [You think so⁷⁰
   18                    [(0.3)
   19 F:                 [((slight head shake))
   20 K:    Pu ine=
            Where they are=
            Where is it=
   21 F:    =Gia Athina milame
            =For Athens we talk
            =We are talking about Athens
   22       (0.5)
   23 F:    Emena pos me simfer' na [pao
            Me how me interest to [I go
            What is the best way for me to [get there
   24 A:                                   [Ola ston Kifiso ine mana
                                           [All in the Kifiso they are mum
                                           [They are all in Kifiso mum
   25       (0.2)
   26 L:    Eki ine ta Ktel pedak' [m' den eh-
            There they are the bus stations child [mine not it h-
            The bus station is there my [child it hasn't-
   27 F:                            [DEN I:NE TIS KARDITSAS STON
   28       KIFISO MIN EPIMENETE::↓=
                                   [NOT THEY A:RE OF KARDITSA IN
            THE KIFISO NOT YOU INSI::ST↓=
                        [THE KARDITSA BUS STATION I:S
            NOT IN KIFISO DON'T INSI::ST↓=
   29 A:    ((left the room))
   30 K:    =KSERIS PU INE M'TA MIN MAS ZALI↓Z['S
            =YOU KNOW WHERE IT IS THEN NOT US YOU HA↓SSL[E
            =DO YOU KNOW WHERE IT IS THEN DON'T HA↓SSLE [US
   31 V:    Oriste [des ed[o
            Here you go [look her[e
            Here you go [look her[e
   32 V:            [((shows the ipad))
   33 F:                     [DE↑N I↑NE EKI STON KIFISO TIS KARDITSAS
   34       TA KTEL
                          [NO↑T IT I↑S THERE IN THE KIFISO OF THE
            KARDITSA THE BUS STATION
                        [IT I↑S NO↑T THERE IN KIFISO THE KARDITSA
            BUS STATION
   35       (0.2)
   36 V:    Den fene[te sto::
            Not it see[ms in the::
            Can't you s[ee in the::
   37 N:            [Pu ine¿
                    [Where it is¿
                    [Where is it¿
   38       (0.3)
   39 F:    E:: alu=
            E:: elsewhere=
            E:: elsewhere=
   40 K:    =[Vres' to ligo=
            =[Find it a little=
            =[Find it quickly=
   41 K:     [((hands the ipad to Nathaniel))
```

---

⁷⁰ I could not find an equivalent translation in English that could represent the meaning of this phrase. It is questioning the validity of the prior turn in an ironic way.

```
42 L:      =.hhh Ego ksero [oti Ktel mono gia e: to Ktel Athinon
          =.hhh I I know [that bus station only for e: the bus
          station of Athens
          =.hhh I know [that only the bus station for e: the bus
          station for Athens
43 V:                    [((reaches the ipad over to Nathaniel))
44        (0.4)
45 L:     to Ktel Atikis malon (0.1) ine stin platia stin:: sto
46        Pedio tu Areos⁷¹ (.) to Ktel::: Attikis
          the bus station of Attica rather (0.1) it is in the
          square in the:: in the Pedion tu Areos (.) the bus
          station::: of Attica
          rather the bus station of Attica (0.1) is in the square
          in the:: in the Pedion tu Areos (.) the bus station:::
          of Attica
47        (0.3)
48 L:     T- Ola t' ala [ta Ktel
          Th- All the other [the bus stations
          Th- All the other [bus stations
49 F:                   [GIA LA:RISA⁷²: d-den fevgun ap:- den
50        nomizo ot' fevg' ap' to idio Ktel, (0.1) den fevg'
51        apo:: 'ki pu fevgume gia [Gianena⁷³
                         [FOR LA:RISA: n-not they leave fr:- not I
          think that they leave from the same bus station, (0.1)
          not they leave from:: there where they leave for
          [Gianena
                         [FOR LA:RISA: they do- they don't leave
          fr:- I don't think that they leave from the same bus
          station, (0.1) they don't leave from:: there where they
          leave for [Gianena
52 L:                                  [Le:s na 'ne sto stathmo
53        Larisis¿=
                                        [You say: to it is in the
          station of Larisa¿=
                                        [Cou:ld it be⁷⁴ in the Larisa
          station¿=
54 F:→    =A:: ets' bravo:: (.) stathmo Larisis prep' na ine
          =A:: exactly:: (.) station of Larisa it must to it is
          =A:: exactly:: (.) it must be in the Larisa station
55 K:     °°E°°
56 L:     E:ki pu stamatai ke to treno (.) eh' stas' to treno
57        eki st'n platia Karaiskakis
          The:re where it stops and the train (.) it has stop the
          train there in the square of Karaiskaki
          The:re where the train also stops (.) the train has a
          stop there in the square of Karaiskaki
```

A:: ets' bravo:: (=A:: exactly::) also appears in the environment of a competitive assessment. Leandro and Fiona are competing as to whose view is more authoritative with respect to the matter at hand, namely the location of the bus station. What initially started as a quest for which station is closer to Pangrati *ap' ton Kifiso i ap' ta*

---

⁷¹ 'To pedion tu Areos' is a park in Athens.
⁷² 'Larisa' is a city in Greece.
⁷³ 'Gianena' is a city in Greece.
⁷⁴ Leandro here is thinking out loud. His turn is not directed to Fiona but to himself.

Ktel[75]*: Karditsas.* (=from Kifi<u>so</u> or from Karditsa bus station:.), turned into a disagreement sequence as to whether the two stations are the same or not, after Leandro's dispreferred response at line 14 *Ta (idia) 'ki 'ne* (=It's the (same) it is there). After a series of insistence and resistance on both parts the disagreement sequence finally gets resolved at line 48 where Leandro reconsiders his informing by asking himself *Le:s na 'ne sto stathmo Larisis¿=* (=Cou:ld it be in the Larisa station¿=). Fiona then latches her turn to his with *A:: ets' bravo::* (=A:: exactly::), indexing her independent access to the referent, marking in this way that all along she knew the two stations are not the same[76].

In all excerpts, *etsi bravo* appears in the environment of competitive assessments. The interlocutors are competing as to whose view has priority with respect to the matter at hand −a priority literally derived from firstness. Our analysis suggests that *etsi bravo* functions as a practice with which interlocutors can index their epistemic independence on a state of affairs in that the speaker has already considered the matter presented in the previous talk. It can be followed by 'yes', in which case the speaker upgrades his/her epistemic access from second position with *etsi bravo* before agreeing with 'yes'. We also encountered an example where the practice is preceded by a prolonged *a::,* which can be used as a challenge to the prior speaker's turn, as the interlocutor is indexing that, all along, she knew there were two stations.

---

[75] 'Ktel' is an acronym for the bus station.
[76] Fiona is engaged in "…'corrective monitoring' of the speakers' progress from error to self-correction…" (Jefferson, 2007), that is she is allowing Leandro to find his mistake and correct it himself. Once he spotted the error, she produces a "post-self-correction repeat".

6.3   How about that: *bravo* indexing surprise or skepticism

6.3.1   Stand-alone *bravo*

In the rest of this chapter, I will examine the use of *bravo* in a different interactional context, specifically in instances in which it marks surprise or skepticism towards the prior interlocutor's informing. As mentioned in the introduction, prior research shows that there are different resources available to interlocutors to display that "…some prior talk or event in the world is unexpected or counter to expectation" (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006: 153). As we have already seen in §4.4 some of those resources include prosodic marking on questions or repeats of prior turns (Jefferson, 1972), gestures (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2000), facial expressions (Ekman, 1992) or surprise tokens. In this section, I will be focusing on the latter, in particular, on the use of *bravo* as an interactional resource for displaying surprise towards an informing. For instance, the arrowed turn in excerpt (4) indexes the speaker's surprise about something that is unexpected[77].

> (4) [Balantani audio: VN550051: 03:47]

(Leandro is recounting a story of his childhood to his daughter, nephew and niece. Leandro is originally from a village near Ioannina and as a boy he visited the big city with his school and they went to the zoo, the airport, the cave of Perama, a nearby location, and the island that is located in the lake of Ioannina.)

```
235 L:    Ke meta pigam' st' aerodro↓mio (0.1) i↑dame t'
236       aeropla↓na
          And afterwards we went to the airpo↓rt (0.1) we sa↑w
          the airplanes
          And then we went to the airpo↓rt (0.1) we sa↑w the
          airplanes
237       (0.2)
238 A:    Ipirhan aero(h)pl(h)a↓na
          There were air(h)pla(h)a↓nes
          There were air(h)pla(h)a↓nes
```

---

[77] The decision to translate *bravo* as 'how about that' is based on the sequential analysis of the token. as it is utilised in my data to mark that something was counter to expectation, the same way that 'how about that' indicates the surprisable nature of a prior turn.

```
239 L:      Ne ne
            Yes yes
            Yes yes
240 M:      Ego ( ) pu ipirhan ke liofor[ia
            I ( ) that there existed and bus[es
            I ( ) that there even existed bus[es
241 L:                                [Pigame sto [spileo to↓te
                                      [We went to the [cave
            the↓n
                                      [We went to the [cave
            the↓n
242 A:                                            [Hehe[he.hhhhe
243 M:                                            [Hehe[he
244         .hhh
245 R:                                                  [Ne
                                                        [Yes
                                                        [Yes
246 L:      De thimame an iham'- ihame pai ke sto nisa↓k' mu
247         fenete (0.1) ihame tot' [oli mera ne
            Not I  remember if  we  had-  we  had  gone  and  to  the
            little isla↓nd me it seems (0.1) we had then [all day
            yes
            I don't remember if we had- we had also gone to the
            little isla↓nd I think (0.1) we had then [all day yes
248 R:→                            [Bra↑vo
                                   [Bra↑vo
                                   [Ho↑w about that
249         (0.3)
250 L:      Ap' to tetio- ap' to Mikro Peristeri [ihame pai
251         ekdromi↓
            From  the  such-  from  the  Mikro  Peristeri  [we  had  gone
            excursion↓
            From  the  such-  from  the  Mikro  Peristeri  [we  had  gone
            on excursion↓
252 R:                                        [(A) skepsu=
                                              [(Oh) think=
                                              [(Oh) imagine=
253 L:      =Ne (.) ekdromi
            =Yes (.) excursion
            =Yes (.) on excursion
```

In this excerpt, *bravo* is used in the environment of a storytelling. Leandro is engaged in a storytelling and provides an informing at lines 235-36 *Ke meta pigam' st' aerodro↓mio (0.1) i↑dame t' aeropla↓na* (=And then we went to the airpo↓rt (0.1) we sa↑w the airplanes). Although his informing is not built for uptake, it gets receipted with a display of disbelief and surprise. After 0.2 seconds of silence, a practice used by interlocutors to perform "doing being surprised" (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006), Amy produces a partial repeat of the prior turn as a token of ritualized disbelief, that has some teasing quality in it, *Ipirhan aero(h)pl(h)a↓na* (=There were

air(h)pla(h)a↓nes) which Leandro confirms *Ne ne* (=Yes yes). Jefferson (1979) shows that laughter in a prior turn can invite laughter from the recipient in the subsequent turn. However, Leandro here does not join in the laughter, even after Mike endorses Amy's display of disbelief with an extreme case formulation 'I ( ) that there even existed bus[es)' marked with the use of 'even' and the two interlocutors laugh in overlap. He does not treat his informing as a laughable matter. The third story recipient, Rita, does a display of surprise with the token *bravo* in overlap with Leandro's next informing at lines 246-7 *ihame pai ke sto nisa↓k' mu fenete (0.1) ihame tot' [oli mera ne* (=we had also gone to the little isla↓nd it seems to me (0.1) we had then [all da̲y yes)– the object of the surprise embodied in Leandro's turn at lines 250-51, where he verbalises the *bravo* and topicalises the surprise in 'from the Mikro Peristeri'.

In the following specimen, which is just a few lines later, a similar phenomenon can be identified:

(5) [Balantani audio: VN550051: 03:56]

```
248 L:    De thimame an iham'- ihame pai ke sto nisa↓k' mu
249       fenete (0.1) ihame dil'di [oli mera ne
          Not I remember if we had- we had gone and to the
          little isla↓nd me it seems (0.1) we had to wit [all
          da̲y yes
          I don't remember if we had- we had also gone to the
          little isla↓nd I think (0.1) so we had [all da̲y yes
250 R:                                   [Bra↑vo
                                          [Bra↑vo
                                          [Ho↑w about that
251       (0.3)
252 L:    Ap' to tetio- ap to Mikro Peristeri [ihame pai
253       ekdromi↓
          From the such- from the Mikro Peristeri [we had gone
          excursion↓
          From the such- from the Mikro Peristeri [we had gone
          on excursion↓
254 R:                                          [(A) skepsu=
                                                [(Oh) think=
                                                [(Oh) imagine=
255 L:    =Ne (.) ekdromi
          =Yes (.) excursion
          =Yes (.) on excursion
```

```
256 R:      [Tote pos den] mas ehi pi tipota: i mama (0.1) de
257         thima↓te [( )
            [Then how not] us she has said nothing: the mum (0.1)
            not she remembers [( )
            [Then how come] mum hasn't told us anything: (0.1) she
            doesn't remember [( )
258 M:      [(       )]
259 M:      [E oh' itan pio mikri den tin pirane [( )][(triti:]
260         [triti dimotiku][i mama itan nipia]
            [E no she was much small not her they brought [(
            )][ti:rd primary school)[the mum she was kindergarden]
            [E no she was younger they didn't take her [(
            )][thi:rd class in primary school][mum was in
            kindergarden]
261 L:                                            [( )]
262 R:                                                [Ne
                                                     [Yes
                                                     [Yes
263 L:      [(To evdominta)
            [(The seventy)
            [(In the seventies)
264 R:                   [Ne
                         [Yes
                         [Yes
265 L:      ˚E˚ oh' [dio hronia] mikroter' itan ala:
            ˚E˚ no [two years] smaller she was but:
            ˚E˚ no [two years] was she younger but:
266 M:              [(       )]
267         (0.3)
268 L:      [De thimame
            [Not I remember
            [I don't remember
269 R:      [Mpori na min ta pernan ta mikra mikra na min ta
270         pernan ekdromi
            [It can to not them they took the small small to not
            them they took excursion
            [Maybe they didn't take the very small ones they
            didn't take them on an excursion
271 L:      De thimame pote itan prepi na 'tan <eksinta: efta:
272         eksinta ohto:> kapu eki mesa prepi na 'tan afto to: to
273         pragma eksinta eks' mpori na 'tan akoma (0.2) prin
274         ti:n diktatoria mpori na 'tan
            Not I remember when it was it must to it was <sixty:
            seven: sixty eight:> somewhere there  inside it must
            to it was this the: the thing sixty six maybe to it
            was even (0.2) before the: dictatorship maybe to it
            was
            I don't remember when it was it must have been <sixty:
            seven: sixty eight:> approximately then it must have
            been this: thing maybe even sixty six (0.2) maybe it
            was before the: dictatorship
275         (0.3)
276 R:→     Bra↑vo
            Bra↑vo
            Ho↑w about that
277 L:      Ki ihame pai stin Drabadova tote na: fame eki fagame
            And we had gone to the Drabadova then to: we eat there
            we ate
            And we had gone to Drabadova then to: eat we ate there
278 M:      E↓la
            Co↓me
```

```
                     Rea↓lly
    279  L:          E
    280  R:          Poli prohorimeni tha e(h)leg(h)a aha[haha
                     Vey advanced will I s(h)ai(h)d aha[haha
                     Very advanced I would s(h)ay aha[haha
    281  L:                                          [U:: to eksinta
    282       [e:ksi
                                                     [U:: the sixty
                     [si:x
                                                     [U:: in sixty
                     [si:x
    283  R:          [gia 'kini tin epo(h)hi↓
                     [for that the per(h)iod↓
                     [for that ti(h)me↓
    284  L:          [to 'ksinta eksi ki ekdromi t(h)e↑tia .hhh
                     [the sixty six and excursion s(h)u↑ch .hhh
                     [such an excursion in sixty s(h)i↑x .hhh
    285  M:          [( )
    286  R:          Ne ne ne
                     Yes yes yes
                     Yes yes yes
```

In this example, we have another instance where the surprise gets tropicalized by the storyteller after the receipt of the story with *bravo* to do affiliative work. Leandro's storytelling is suspended in the wake of Rita's intervention with an inquiry that she poses at line 256-57 *[Tote pos den] mas ehi pi tipota: i mama* (=[Then how come] mum hasn't told us anything:) and after her inquiry is answered she produces the surprise token *bravo*. Her surprise turn is delayed by 0.3 seconds of silence, as a "…little performance of "doing being surprised" (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006), supporting this way the final production of the surprise token. At line 280 Rita formulates an account in the form of an assessment for why she produced the surprise token, returning to the teasing stance that we encountered in the prior extract, *Poli prohorimeni tha e(h)leg(h)a aha[haha* (=Very advanced I would s(h)ay aha[haha) and Leandro registers the surprise in his following turns *to 'ksinta eksi ki ekdromi t(h)e↑tia .hhh* (=such an excursion in sixty s(h)i↑x .hhh).

In sum, we can see that, after the production of *bravo,* the surprisable becomes a topicalisable issue. The producer of the storytelling, upon receipt of his/her story with

bravo, formulates the target of the *bravo*, topicalising the item of surprise as a way of affiliating with his/her interlocutor.

6.3.2   *Bravo* in the environment of NTRIs

I have also encountered instances in which the turn of the surprise token is preceded by a NTRI (for further details see §2.2.3) in a prior turn or in the same turn as the surprise token. The following specimen is an example of the latter:

(6) [Balantani audio: VN550051: 00:49]

(The extract starts with Rita's son offering cookies to everyone so there are two topics running concurrently and some lines make reference to the cookies being offered. Leandro is a primary school teacher and this morning they went on a trip with his school. He is informing his niece and nephew, Rita and Mike, about the place they visited. In Greece, every class has a right to go on an excursion once a month. The recording took place in September, in which the school year starts in the middle of this month.)

```
46 M:     E↓la ego tha paro ( )
          Co↓me I will I take ( )
          Co↓me I will take ( )
47 R:     Giati Leandro ti dieta ksekina ti [metha↑vrio fa↑e
48        simera ena
          Why Leandro the diet start her [the day after tomo↑rrow
          e↑at today one
          Why Leandro the diet start it [the day after tomo↑rrow
          e↑at today one
49 M:                                     [Po↑ po milame ( )
                                          [Po↑ po we talk ( )
                                          [Wo↑w we talk ( )
50 L:     Oh' oh'
          No no
          No no
51        (0.2)
52 R:     Otan figi i Amy [gia na girisi ke na se vri
          When will leave the Amy [for to she return and to you
          she find
          When Amy leaves [so that she comes back and finds you
53 M:                     [Prepi na ( )
                          [It must to ( )
                          [It must be ( )
54 L:     Pigam' [ekdromi simera
          We went [excursion today
          We went on [an excursion today
55 J:            [Amy↑
56 R:     [Pu↑ pigate
          [Where↑ you went
          [Where↑ did you go
```

```
57 L:      [Ala den to 'fharistithika
           [But not it I enjoyed
           [But I didn't enjoy it
58 A:      [( )
59         (0.3)
60 J:      [Pare] oli [tha parun
           [Take] everyone [will they take
           [Take] everyone [will take
61 M:      [(   )]
62 L:             [Eki sto- [sti Vunoplagia ta vgalam' ap'
63          e↓kso
                  [There in the- [in the Vunoplagia them we
           took out from ou↓t
                  [There in- [in Vunoplagia⁷⁸ we took them ou↓t
64 A:                       [˚Efharisto˚
                            [˚I thank˚
                            [˚Thanks˚
65 R:      Ah ti ore↓a [emis giati den ta pame puthena
           Ah what nice↓ [we why not them we go nowhere
           Oh how nice↓ [why don't we take them anywhere
66 M:                  [( )
67         (0.1)
68 M:      Ta me[liso↓pula
           The li[ttle bee↓s
           The li[ttle bee↓s
69 R:          [u::
70 R:      Ne(h)
           Yes(h)
           Yes(h)
71 L:      Ta gemisam' edo
           Them we filled here
           We made a mess here
72 M:→     Kio↑las [˚Bravo˚
           Alrea↑dy [˚Bravo˚
           Alrea↑dy [˚How about that˚
73 R:              [Den pirazi kala kanate
                   [Not it matters good you made
                   [It doesn't matter you did alright
74 L:      Kio↓las siga
           Alrea↓dy slowly
           Alrea↓dy big deal
```

This is a multiparty conversation in which Mike, one of the interlocutors, receipts

Leandro's announcement with a NTRI before registering his surprise with the token

bravo. Leandro's announcement at line 54 *Pigam' [ekdromi simera* (=We went on

[an excursion today) gets receipted at line 65 by Rita with an Oh-plus-assessment turn

"to attend to the informing as telling of good [ ] news" (Heritage, 1984b: 302) and

with surprise from her brother, Mike at line 72. He designs his display of surprise to

follow on from an indication of what is the surprise of this, the fact that it is too early

---

⁷⁸ 'Vunopliagia' is an area near Ioannina.

for an excursion, as the questioning prosody of the time referent *Kio↑las* (=Alrea↑dy) indicates (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006). *Kiolas* here functions as a NTRI before the interlocutor registers his surprise with *bravo*. Mike cannot rely on proximity to display his surprise as there are several turns that separate the surprise source from the surprise outcome[79], so the NTRI here is adjacent to the surprise token and the confirmation comes in the following turn. Leandro confirms his question with a full repeat *Kio↓las* in overlap with Mike's surprise token *bravo* and increments it with *siga* (=big deal), indicating that the surprise is not accounted for.

We will see that this is a recurrent practice that interlocutors implement to display their surprise; after the surprisable the recipient initiates repair before displaying his/her surprise with the surprise token, in this case *bravo*. In extract (6), Mike does not wait for a response to his NTRI but immediately indexes his surprise with *bravo*.[80] In the following example, however, Leandro confirms Alyssa's NTRI before she proffers the surprise token *bravo*.

(7) [Balantani video: M2U00064: 19:36]

(*Leandro is a teacher. There is a mum that brings her children to school and has 2 boy twins and 2 girl twins.*)

```
 1 V:      E ne::
           E yes::
           E yes::
 2         (0.2)
 3 L:      Erxete sto sholio eki
           She comes in the school there
           She comes to school there
```

---

[79] Since there are two topics running concurrently, the display of surprise is not adjacent to the surprise source.

[80] Another possible interpretation to this could be that perhaps '*kiolas bravo*' expresses surprise only.

```
  4 A:       ((nods and lifts her coffee to drink))
  5 L:       Pai,
             She goes,
             She goes,
  6          (.)
  7 L:       eh' dio fores didima.
             she has two times twins.
             she has twice twins.
  8          (0.2)
  9 A:       ((nods and raises her eyebrows))(Figure 6.1)
 10 A:       ta dio ta pai sto nipiagog[i:o,
             the two them she goes to the kindergart[e:n,
             the two she brings to the kindergart[e:n,
 11 A:       ((nods))
 12 L:       ke ta dio ta pai sto:: pediko.
             and the two them she goes to the:: nursery.
             and the two she brings to the:: nursery.
 13 V:       [((nods))
 14 A:       [((nods))
 15 L:       Ine glika omos [£ke ta tesera [hhh he£
             They are sweetness but [£and the four [hhh he£
             But they are sweet [£all four [hhh he£
 16 V:                      [((smiles))
 17 A:                      [((nods))       [M::
 18 A:       ((leaves the coffee on the [table))
 19 A:                                  [Po↑s ke ta dio ke dio [fores
 20          ke didima
                                        [Ho↑w  and  the  two  and  two
             [times and twins
             [Ho↑w  both  and  [twice  and
             twins
 21 L:                                                      [£ne↑::
 22          re pedak' m' dio fores didima
                                                            [£yes↑::
             re child mine two times twins£
                                              [£yes↑::
             re my child twice twins£
 23 A:→      Bra↑vo
             Bra↑vo
             Ho↑w about that
 24          (0.1)
 25 L:       Ke ta dio prep' na ine kori:tsia ke ta dio agoria
             And the two must to they are gi:rls and the two boys
             And the two must be gi:rls and the two boys
```

In this example, we have a launching of a telling that is built to invite surprise. Leandro's observation on a woman that has given birth twice to twins *eh' di̱o fores didima* (=she has twi̱ce twins) is a rare case, that is designed to get surprise. He initiates an extended telling at line 3 and then interpolates into his prosodically and syntactically incomplete TCU at line 5 P̱ai, (=She g̱o̱es,) the observation on the woman *eh' di̱o fores didima* (=she has twi̱ce twins). Note that he withholds the

completion of his extended turn until his interlocutor marks her acknowledgment of his parenthetical TCU with the nod and the display of surprise with the raising of her eyebrows (Plutchik, 1980, cited in Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006).

Figure 6.1 Frame representing the raising of the eye-brows in line 9

Alyssa responds to the extended telling with a partial repeat of Leandro's parenthetical TCU 'Ho↑w both and twice and twins' at lines 19-20 and after Leandro confirms her questioning in the following turn 'twice twins', she receipts the confirmation with the surprise token *bravo*. So, we can see that interlocutors first question the informing, showing what was the "item that caused their surprise", and only after the confirmation do they mark their surprise with *bravo*.

A further example of this practice is excerpt (8), where Vanessa initiates repair on the surprisable item and after Alyssa's confirmation she proffers the surprise token *bravo*.

(8) [Balantani audio: VN550059: 15:45]

(This is a phone call between Vanessa and Alyssa that are sisters. Alyssa is recounting to her sister what happened with her son at lunch. It is a bilingual conversation but the point that causes surprise is expressed in Greek.)

```
 1 A:    Ke: t's lei >°ne ne< ich° steh' schon mal auf ha↑ha=
         And: her he says >°yes yes< I° stand already times up
         ha↑ha=
         And: he tells her >°yes yes< I° wake up now ha↑ha=
 2 V:    =Oh Gott
         =Oh god
```

```
          =Oh god
3         (0.1)
4 A:      K' irthe edo to °kaimeno k' itan ke:° weisste die hatten
5         getrunken gestern Abend
          And he came here the °poor and it was and:° you know
          they had drunk yesterday night
          And he came here the °poor guy and he was and:° you know
          they had drunk yesterday night
6 V:      M:
7 A:      K' itan edo o Walker ke i: Amy,
          And they were here the Walker and the: Amy,
          And Walker and: Amy were here,
8         (.)
9 V:      M:
10 A:     Ki aftos e:kane schämen °°(>ke mu lei< riech ich noch)
11        nach Alkohol°°
          And he he ma:de ashamed °°(>and me he says< smell I
          still) after alcohol°°
          And he was fee:ling ashamed °°(>and he tells me< do I
          still smell) like alcohol°°
12 V:     (hhh)=
13 A:     =°°ich sach ist doch jetzt (doch) es ist doch egal°°
14        prin tha mu elege ist doch scheiss egal £ne£?
          =°°I say it is anyway now (anyway) it is anyway all the
          same°° before will me he would say it is anyway shit all
          the same £right£?
          =°°I say it is anyway now (anyway) it doesn't matter
          anyway°° before he would tell me it doesn't matter anyway
          £right£?
15 V:     £Hm£
16 A:     £Ke tora to ekane so£ °°Oh (bestimmt sind die so ( ))°°
17        °Och egal sag ich dem ist mir egal wo du bi↓st je↓tzt
18        ist doch egal ( ) du bist da ne?
          £And now it he made so£ °° Oh (I am sure they are they
          so ( ))°° °Och all the same say I him it is me all the
          same where you a↓re no↓w ( ) you are here right?
          £And now he made it so£ °° Oh (I am sure they are so (
          ))°° °Och it doesn't matter I tell him it doesn't matter
          where you a↓re no↓w ( ) you are here right?
19 V:     M::
20 A:     £Ke >afto to kaimenos< emiaze so (.) so schuldig
21        irgend[wie hhhhehe£
          £And >it the poor< he looked so (.) so guilty some[how
          hhhhehe£
          £And >the poor thing< he looked so (.) so guilty
          some[how hhhhehe£
22 V:           [M:
23 A:     [hhh
24 V:     [Ke pu↑ itan mehri t- to mesimer' pedi mu¿
          [And where↑ he was until t- the afternoon child mine¿
          [And where↑ was he until t- the afternoon my child¿
25        (0.3)
26 A:     Itan e↑kso ( ) se mia:: ö: so 'n Freund.
          He was out ( ) in one:: ö: so a friend.
          He was out ( ) in one:: ö: a friend.
27        (0.3)
28 V:     Mehr' to mesimeri¿
          Until the afternoon¿
          Until the afternoon¿
29        (0.2)
30 A:     Ne↑ mehr' to mesimer' apo htes to vrad' mehr' to
```

```
31        mesimer' eki
          Yes↑ until the afternoon from yesterday the night until
          the afternoon there
          Yes↑ until the afternoon from yesterday night until the
          afternoon there
32        (0.2)
33 A:     ekanan feiern
          They did celebrate
          They celebrated
34        (0.1)
35 V:→    Bra:vo
          Bra:vo
          Ho:w about that
36        (0.1)
37 A:     Aha
```

In this example, we have another instance of a storytelling that is receipted with surprise by the interlocutor. What initiated the surprise in this storytelling is Alyssa's assessment at lines 20-21 *£Ke >afto to kaimenos< emiaze so (.) so schuldig irgend[wie hhhhehe£* (=£And >the poor thing< he looked so (.) so guilty some[how hhhhehe£). Assessments at the end of a sequence of storytelling are topic closing (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987) so, with a question in this sequential position from Vanessa, we have a topic expansion. By *And*-prefacing her question, Vanessa links it to the storytelling *[Ke pu↑ itan mehri t- to mesimer' pedi mu¿* (=[And where↑ was he until t- the afternoon my child¿) (Heritage & Sorjonen, 1994) and locates the surprisable in the time referent 'until the afternoon'. After Alyssa's confirmation *Itan e↑kso* (=He was ou↑t), Vanessa pursues the matter with a partial repeat in her next turn Mehr' to mesimeri¿ (=Until the afternoon¿) and then moves on to mark her surprise with the token *bravo*.

In sum, the analysis shows that *bravo* is deployed to mark surprise. Participants first initiate repair on the informing and after the clarification they mark their surprise with the token *bravo*, so the practice that interlocutors implement to display their surprise is:

1)   B: surprisable turn
2)   A: NTRI
3)   B: Clarification
4)   A: Bravo

After the surprisable, the recipient initiates repair before displaying his/her surprise with the surprise token *bravo*.

6.4 Summary

This chapter has focused on the use of the token *bravo*. I have shown examples where it is prefaced by *etsi*, examples with stand-alone *bravo* and those in which the speaker first initiates repair and proffers *bravo* after the clarification from the interlocutor. On the whole, the data used in this analysis has served to illustrate that *bravo* is an emphatic positively inflected receipt token, which can serve different actions in different sequential environments. Specifically, in the environment of competitive assessments *etsi bravo* is used as a resource for claiming epistemic primacy; participants can mark that they have reached that conclusion in advance, thus indexing their epistemic independence to the referent at hand. *Bravo* is utilised as well to mark surprise towards the interlocutor's prior informing, marking that something was counter to expectation. In this case, *bravo* has been found to appear as a stand-alone token after the surprisable or preceded by a NTRI in a prior turn or in the same turn as the surprise token before the interlocutor registers his/her surprise with *bravo*.

Chapter 7   *Etsi* vs. *Etsi den ine*

7.1   Introduction

The focus of the final analytical chapter of this thesis will be the sequential analysis

of the Greek adverb *etsi*. So far we have seen it in instances in which the interlocutor

indicates that he/she came to a conclusion first, marking him/herself as more

knowledgeable, in which case it is incremented by the token *bravo*. The following is

an example from the previous chapter that illustrates the function of *etsi bravo* as a

resource for indexing epistemic independence:

    (1) [Balantani audio: VN550058: 07:32]

```
204 V:    Den- Den sikoni kuventa oh' Leandro ke kse↓ris oti
205       oli ton Leandro lei- oli to Leandro:: tetionun
          Not- Not she lifts discourse no Leandro and you kno↓w
          that all the Leandro she says- all the Leandro:: make
          such
```
She doesn't- she doesn't take no for an answer not
even Leandro and you kno↓w that everyone says to
Leandro- everyone makes Leandro:: such
```
206 M:    Katigorun=
          Blame=
```
Blame=
```
207 V:    =NE↑ NA t's pi o Le↑o (.) re pedia leo TI NA PI O
208       LEANDRO GIATI KATHET' O LEANDRO T'S LEI MANA BRA↓VO
          =YES↑ TO her he says the Le↑o (.) re children I say
          WHAT TO HE SAYS THE LEANDRO WHY HE SITS THE LEANDRO HE
          SAYS MOTHER WE↓LL DONE
```
=YES↑ Le↑andro SHOULD say to her (.) re guys I say
WHAT SHOULD LEANDRO SAY TO HER WHY DOES LEANDRO SIT
THERE AND SAY TO HIS MOTHER WE↓LL DONE
```
209 M:→   Ets' bravo ne ne ne
          So bravo yes yes yes
```
Exactly yes yes yes

Mary is upgrading her epistemic access to the referent from second position (Heritage

& Raymond, 2005) by first confirming *etsi bravo* (=exactly) and then agreeing with

the multiple 'yes', hence projecting herself as more knowledgeable by suggesting that

she came to that conclusion first.

In this chapter, we will see its action implication in question design in turn-final position in situations of disputes deployed by interlocutors as a resource in the construction of a particular rhetorical position. The chapter is divided into two parts; the first one is looking at the use of *etsi den ine* in turn-final position in the broader sequential context of disputes, whereas the second part focuses on the action implication of *etsi,* as well in turn-final position, in developing a line of argument.

7.2   Is that right?: *Etsi den ine* as a confirmation seeking device

Questions are a very powerful interactional tool. As Sacks (1995: 54) puts it, "As long as one is in the position of doing the question, then in part they have control of the conversation". By initiating a sequence with a question, interlocutors put pressure on recipients to respond and, depending on the question design, they enforce certain presuppositions and preferences. But how do we recognise when an utterance is a question and not an assertion? Let us consider polar questions as an example; for languages like English, polar questions are distinguished with the use of grammatical marking, using, for instance, inverted interrogative, negative interrogative or tag questions. In some languages interlocutors deploy distinct question particles, like turn-final 'ne' in Japanese (Tanaka, 2015). In Greek, as in many other languages like Italian, Romanian and Arabic (Dryer, 2013; Rossano, 2010), interlocutors deploy interrogative prosody. So, for example, the question Ἦρθε; (=Did he come?) and its affirmative answer Ἦρθε. (=He came.) is only distinguishable from its interrogative prosody. However, it is not the case that absence of an interrogative particle or syntax necessarily means that an utterance is not a question. CA research on epistemics has also highlighted the importance of domains of knowledge of the participants in a

conversation. For instance, when a speaker makes a statement about a state of affairs that the recipient has more knowledge about, the recipient hears it as directed to him/her and, hence, it functions as a polar question that is seeking confirmation or disconfirmation (Heritage, 2003, 2012a; Heritage & Roth, 1995; Stivers & Rossano, 2010). By the same token, the mere fact that an utterance contains an interrogative word, as for example 'What', does not necessarily mean that it only serves as a question; one needs to take into account the sequential context in which that utterance was formulated. To give a simple example consider, for instance, the utterance 'What are you doing tonight?', although it is formulated as a question, it also functions as a pre-invitation.

In light of the above, we can see that questions are a very powerful resource for interlocutors that constrain the recipient and lay on them the questioner's beliefs (Hayano, 2013), as they convey a speaker's presuppositions (Clayman, 1993; Heritage, 2003; Levinson, 1983; Lyons, 1977). In this section, I will be concerned with the design of a form of tag question in Greek formatted as 'assertion + *etsi den ine'*, where the negative *den* is not used as a negative tag but as an emphasis of the assertive element (Chondrogianni, 2009), and I will provide evidence that, by formulating their question in such a way, interlocutors convey certain presuppositions that the recipient is asked to confirm in order for the speaker to build up his line of argument. The following excerpt is an example of that:

(2) [Balantani video: M2U00061: 35:35]

(Leandro, Kelvin and Vanessa are talking about the implementation of a new toll station near the city which will have a big impact on the commuters from surrounding areas and whether it is more convenient to use the old road.)

```
 1 L:      Ti na do'[is-
           What to you gi[ve-
           What to gi[ve-
 2 K:            [>Tora< ama pas apo ['do,=
                 [>Now< if you go from [here,=
                 [>Now< if you go from [here,=
 3 K:                               [((indexes direction with
 4         his right index finger))
 5 L:      =[M
 6 L:      =[((nods))
 7         (0.2)
 8 K:→     ta pernas ta diodia ets' den ine¿=
           them you pass the toll stations so not it is¿=
           you pass the toll station don't you¿=
 9 L:      =[Ne=
           =[Yes=
           =[Yes=
10 L:       [((nods))
11 V:       [((nods))
12 V:       [M::
13 K:      =Em arage apo 'do simfer' sigura es- tulahiston esena
           =Em therefore from here it is more convenient sure yo-
           at least you
           =Em therefore from here it is more convenient for sure
           for yo- at least for you
14 V:      ((continues nodding for the whole of Kelvin's turn))
15         (.)
16 L:      [M
17 L:      [((raises his eyebrows))
18 K:      [Ap' to na 'rthi o alos ap' to:: 'fto >den< ton
19         simfer'(0.3) a' 'n Kats'ka:
           [From the to he comes the other from the:: this >not<
           him it is convenient (0.3) from the Kats'ka:
           [For the one coming from the:: this is >not< for him it
           is not convenient (0.3) from Kats'ka:
20         (0.2)
21 L:      [E oh'
           [E no
           [E no
22 L:      [((nods))
23         (0.2)
24 K:      Ets'
           So
           Right
```

In this excerpt, Kelvin at line 2 initiates a line of argument that culminates at line 13 with his assessment. The recording takes place while eating, so there is another main line of activity there besides the conversation. Kelvin initiates his line of argument at line 2 *[>Tora< ama pas apo ['do,=* (=[>Now< if you go from [here,=) which is not brought to prosodic or syntactic completion. Thus, after Leandro's continuers at lines 5-6, he continues with his line with an affirmative statement incremented with the tag question *etsi den ine* in turn-final position *ta pernas ta diodia ets' den ine¿=* (=you pass the toll station don't you¿=). This question is grammatically formulated as a yes-no interrogative (henceforth YNI) (Raymond, 2003), that prefers a yes answer. Leandro aligns with the design of the question and the action that it delivers by providing a type-conforming response =[Ne= (==Yes=). Having received the confirmation from his interlocutor, Kelvin can now continue with his line of argument. Accordingly, by formulating his question as a YNI, Kelvin strongly proposes his recipient to confirm his questioning and his suggestion at line 13 *=Em arage apo 'do simfer' sigura es- tulahiston esena* (==Em therefore from here it is more convenient for sure for yo- at least for you), prefaced with *arage* (=therefore) it is displayed to be a logical conclusion they drew collaboratively with his interlocutor. Similar to the three-part "perspective-display sequence" that Maynard (1989) has observed in his data, which consists of a "perspective-display invitation" that solicits the recipient's opinion in the subsequent turn, which in turn is followed by the asker's report, taking the recipient's response into account, the practice 'assertion + *etsi den ine*' lays the ground for a report that is shaped by the recipient's confirmation to the initial positive assertion. Since the report occurs after the confirmation, the recipient's confirmation is exploited to support the assertion, facilitating the trajectory of the talk that the asker is putting forward. So, the recipient's confirmation to the assertion *ta*

pernas ta diodia ets' den ine¿= (=you pass the toll station don't you¿=), serves to facilitate the asker's suggestion at line 13 *=Em arage apo 'do simfer' sigura es-tulahiston esena* (==Em therefore from here it is more convenient for sure for yo- at least for you) as to which way is more convenient.

In the following excerpt, we have a multi-party conversation in which *etsi den ine* is incremented with a name; the interlocutor is recruiting a co-participant to confirm her assertion with *etsi den ine* + name.

(3) [Balantani video: M2U00049: 00:24]

(Leandro and Vanessa are a couple visiting their friends Kelvin and Fiona. Leandro's father has been diagnosed with cancer. Fiona is trying to convince Leandro that he should not be so pessimistic by giving the example of Vanessa's mother who survived for 4 years, although she was very ill.)

```
26 L:    Se liges meres o pateras de tha bori ute na s'kothi,
         In few days the father not will he can not even to
         stand,
         In few days father will not be able to even stand,
27 F:    Katarha↑s den kse↑'s ti antohi ehi o kathe↓nas ta idia
28       ksana legam' me t' ma[na t's⁸¹ Vanessa↑s] [(ap'oti
29       vlepis)]
         Fi↑rst  not  you  kno↑w  what  endurance  he  has  the
         every↓one  the  same  again  we  said  with  the  mu[m the
         Vanessa↑] [(from whatever you see)]
         Fi↑rst you don't kno↑w what endurance every↓one has we
         said the same again with Vanessa↑'s mu[m] [(as you can
         see)]
30 V:                           [Entaksi re⁸² 'si↓] [afto (pu
31       leme)-]
                                 [Okay   re  you↓] [this (that
         (we say)-]
                                 [O k a y    r e] [what (we say)-]
32 V:                                            [((shows
33       towards Leandro with her hand))
34 K:    As' to afto [(le↓me)
```

---

⁸¹ Genitive article.
⁸² *Pε* is a particle in Greek that is not translatable in English. It may standardly be found in conjunction with names and is counter positional. It serves as an epistemic push back.

```
                  Let it this [(we say)
                  Leave this [(we say)
  35 F:                       [Ezise tesera hro[nia
                              [She lived four ye[ars
                              [She lived for four ye[ars
  36 L:                       [Re-
  37 L:                                             [Re Fiona:
  38 F:→   Ets' den ine Vanessa?
           So not it is Vanessa?
           Isn't it so Vanesa?
  39 V:    [Ne re 'si,
           [Yes re you,
           [Yes re,
  40 L:    [E:h' teseris pente meres tora ine (.) ine °poli
  41       hirotera°
           [It ha:s four five days now he is (.) he is °much
           worse°
           [It i:s been four five days now that he is (.) he is
           °much worse°
  42       (.)
  43 F:    Ne re hristiane↓ mu⁸³ [e:
           Yes re christian↓ mine [e:
           Yes re my christian↓ [e:
  44 L:                          [Ne
                                 [Yes
                                 [Yes
  45 F:    Katarhas kanat' aksoniki.
           First you made CT scan.
           First you did a CT scan.
  46 L:    Ne
           Yes
           Yes
```

This excerpt differs in that the interlocutor is incrementing *etsi den ine* with a name. We have a multi-party conversation of two couples, Fiona and Kelvin and Leandro and Vanessa. Fiona is doing reassurance at lines 27-9 *Katarha↑s den kse↑'s ti antohi ehi o kathe↓nas ta idia ksana legam' me t' ma[na t's Vanessa↑s] [(ap'oti vlepis)]* (=Fi↑rst you don't kno↑w what endurance every↓one has we said the same again with Vanessa↑'s mu[m] [(as you can see)]) after Leandro's negative assessment of his father's health condition at line 26 *Se liges meres o pateras de tha bori ute na s'kothi,*(=In few days father will not be able to even stand,).[84] As a counterargument to his position, Fiona makes reference to a similar case, namely Vanessa's mother

---

[83] *Χριστιανέ μου* is a Greek expression that literally speaking means 'my Christian' but there is no equivalent in English. Probably the most equivalent would be 'my darling'.

[84] Fiona's counterargument here is the preferred response to Leandro's negative assessment of his father's condition because as Pomerantz (1984) has shown self-deprecations prefer disagreements.

who *[Ezise tesera hro[nia* (=[She lived for four ye[ars) and increments it with the tag

question *ets' den ine Vanessa?* (=Isn't it so Vanessa?), thus pursuing explicitly a

stance of affiliation from Leandro's wife. Fiona's argument in this dispute utilises the

past experience of Vanessa, so, with the tag question and the name, she recruits

Vanessa for support to confirm her statement about something that is in her epistemic

domain.

In the last excerpt, the tag question is utilised as a confirmation seeking device with

which the interlocutor is changing her epistemic gradient from a K+ (knowing) to a

K- (not knowing) position (Heritage, 2012b) to elicit confirmation (for further details

see §2.3.2).

  (4) [Balantani audio: VN550049: 02:24]

*(This is a phone-call between Gail and Val who are sisters and have to organise a
ceremony for their mother's death. They are discussing whether they have everything
in order to prepare for the snacks. By the word "tripito" they refer to a sieve.)*

```
100 G:      E:: afta ['ntaks' den thimame tora tipot' alo ama
101         thimitho tha s' po
            E:: these [okay not I remember now nothing other if I
            remember will you I tell
            E:: that's it [right I don't remember anything else
            now if I remember I will tell you
102 V:                [Hm
103 V:      Hm oke
104 G:→   Den nomizo kiola' na 'ne ke kat' alo tora afu ta- ta
105         'hum- ta perisotera ta 'hum tora apo t'n proigumen'
106         fora [ets' den in'?
            Not think already to be and something other now once
            them- them we have- the most we have now from the
            previous time [like this not it is?
            I don't think that there is something else now once
            the- we have the- we have most of them now from the
            previous time [don't we?
107 V:          [Ne ne to: tripito to pira kato gia [˚kalo ke gia
108         kako˚ ehun pio poles tripes emena
                [Yes yes the: strainer the I took down for [˚good
            and for bad˚ they have most many holes me
                [Yes yes I took the: strainer down [˚in any case˚
            mine have more holes
109 G:                                              [A ( )
110 V:      Ehi pio poles tripes tetio aluminenio ine ki emena ala
111         ehi [pio poles tripes
```

```
          It has most many holes such aluminium it is and me but
          it has [most many holes
```
**It has more holes it is such made of aluminium but it
has [more holes**
```
112 G:    [Ne (eae)
          [Yes (eae)
```
[Yes (eae)

In this extract, two sisters are co-organizing a memorial for their mother's funeral and are checking whether they have all ingredients to prepare the snacks or they need to buy something more. The target turn is a declarative statement that is converted into a confirmation seeking question with *etsi den ine* in turn-final position after a self-initiated self-repair *afu ta- ta 'hum-* (=once we-we have the-) in the middle of the turn. After the self-initiated repair, Gail makes a statement *ta perisotera ta 'hum tora apo t'n proigumen' fora* (=we have most of them now from the previous time) to which she adds *ets' den in'?* (= don't we?) turn-finally. This usage of a declarative statement followed by *etsi den ine* in turn-final position is a confirmation seeking question design in which the interlocutor changes his/her epistemic gradient from knowing to not knowing. Taking a more "knowing" stance with the assertion, Gail shifts her epistemic stance to a "not knowing" position with the tag question, thus inviting confirmation from her interlocutor (Heritage, 2010; Heritage & Raymond, 2012; Raymond, 2010). Val's expanded confirmation comes in overlap at a TRP, once it is grammatically complete; her turn, initiated with a double *ne* and a prolonged *to:*, is responsive to the trouble her sister has in completing her turn by doing self-repair *ta- ta 'hum- ta perisotera ta 'hum* (=the- we have the- we have most).

Concluding, as we can see from the analysis, *etsi den ine* serves as what in English would be a tag question; it is a standalone TCU-final resource with a positive

assertion[85], which is applied to the end of a turn independently of its tense or whether it is singular or plural. Formatted as a positive assertion + *etsi den ine*, it invites a confirmation to the statement that is adjacent to *etsi den ine* and in all the cases gets the preferred response 'yes' from the interlocutor. This element serves to elicit a confirmation in the course of developing a line of argument, in which the recipient has been implicated in the route of the conclusion.

7.3   *Etsi* in TRPs: pursuing a response

In this subsection, I will examine the use of *etsi* in Transition Relevant Places (henceforth TRPs), deployed as a device that will allow the speaker to claim him-/herself an extended turn, that is a turn with more than a single "turn constructional unit"" (Schegloff, 1980). So, we can see in extract (5) the use of *etsi* at line 154 at a TRP; once Rita marks her attention to Leandro's statement, he then continues his line of argument.

(5) [Balantani audio: VN550051: 02:19]

(In Greece, the pupils are entitled to an excursion every month during term time. Leandro is a teacher in a primary school and they had their first excursion of the year in September, although the term starts in the middle of the month.)

```
148 L:     Kitakse na dis simer' ehi o minas [(.)] ehi simera
149        ikosiefta↓
           Look to you see today it has the month [(.)] it has
           today twenty seven↓
           Look today it is the [(.)] it is the twenty seventh↓
           today
150 M:                                        [.hhh]
151        (.)
152 M:     [Malista [( )
           [Yea
           [Yea
153 R:     [( )
           [( )
           [( )
154 L:→          [Pigame ekdromi etsi¿=
                 [We went excursion so¿=
```

---

[85] In all the examples of this data set, *etsi den ine* was preceded by a positive assertion. However, it remains to be seen whether this is the case or it could come after a negative assertion as well.

```
                        [We went on an excursion right¿=
    155 R:      =Ne
                =Yes
                =Yes
    156 L:      Pigame gia to Septemvri omos
                We went for the September but
                But we went for September
    157 R:      N[e
                Ye[s
                Ye[s
    158 M:       [M
    159         (0.1)
    160 L:      Tin epomeni vdomada
                The next week
                Next week
    161         (0.3)
    162 M:      Tha pate gia ton O[ktovrio
                Will you go for the O[ctober
                You will go for O[ctober
    163 L:                      [£tha pame gia ton Oktovrio£
                              [£will we go for the October£
                              [£we will go for October£
```

The target turn here at line 154 is a preliminary to an announcement. The
announcement comes at lines 160-63 *Tin epomeni vdomada* (=Next week) *[£tha
pame gia ton Oktovrio£* (=[£we will go for October£), in which Leandro announces
the next excursion. However, his point is built up collaboratively and delivered
incrementally depending on continuous signals of attention from his interlocutor; he
is utilising pauses[86] and prosodic cues[87] at TRPs, thus engaging the recipient turn by
turn. *Etsi* in turn-final position at line 154 is one of those cues. His turn at lines 148-9
prefaced with 'Look' indicates that there is an extended telling coming up. However,
after the completion of his TCU there is a sufficient amount of delay before Mike's
continuer. Leandro then produces a turn that serves as an increment to his point in
overlap with Mike's late response; he uses a declarative sentence *[Pigame ekdromi*
(=[We went on an excursion) and increments it with *etsi* with rising intonation, thus
prosodically inviting his interlocutor to align with him as a recipient (Stivers &
Rossano, 2010). He is indexing that his turn has not come to completion and

---

[86] See, for instance, the pause at line 151 before M produces a continuer.
[87] An example of this is line 149. The speaker is ending his turn with falling prosody, thus marking the
incompleteness of his turn.

explicitly pursues some kind of acknowledgment from his interlocutors, which Rita provides with the vocal continuer at line 155 *=Ne* (==Yes). Vocal continuers, such as *ne* mark the recipient's alignment with the telling activity; they serve to facilitate the telling structurally as they "…treat the structure of the telling as not yet complete and thus align with the telling activity as still in progress" (Stivers, 2008: 34).

A further example of this practice is excerpt (6); *etsi* appears in a TRP at the end of an assessment turn.

(6) [Balantani video: M2U00058: 09:33]

(Jenny is visiting her sister with her husband, Gary, and her son, Christian. In this extract they are talking about a shed that is being built in front of the church in their village for public events, like festivals. The materials they are going to use is tin and not tiles, which Leandro is suggesting. Christian is not actively participating in this discussion.)

```
1 G:     Ne ( )=
         Yes ( )=
         Yes ( )=
2 L:     =E ashimo de tha 'ne re pedia=
         =E ugly not will it is re children=
         =E won't it be ugly re guys=
3 G:     Giati i eklisia ti eh':¿
         Why the church what it has:¿
         Why what does the church have:¿
4        (0.2)
5 L:     Ts eh↓ eklisia ine alios pali==ine pio::- pio psi[lo:-
6        pio-]
         Ts eh↓ church it is different again==it is more::- more
         ta:[ll- more-]
         Ts eh↓ the church is different again==it is more::- more
         ta:[ll- more-]
7 J:                                              [Ti na
8        to ka:nis?]
                                                  [What
         to it you do:?]
                                                  [What
         should you do: it?]
9        (.)
```

```
10 J:     Ti↓ na to kan's kerami↓di thes na pis¿
          What↓ to it you do ti↓le you want to say¿
          What↓ should you do it with ti↓les you mean¿
11        (0.4)
12 L:→    Re:: pedia ena me- [ena terastio pragma pentakosia
13        tetragonika (.) etsi,=
          Re:: children one with- [one huge thing five hundred
          square metres (.) right,=
          Re:: guys a with- [a huge thing five hundred square
          metres (.) right,=
14 L:                          [((gesturing))
15 G:     =Ne,
          =Yes,
          =Yes,
16         (0.3)
17 L:     E:::: [m'enan tsigo ke m'ena tetio] eki de tha 'ne
18        ashimo °°omos°°¿
          E:::: [with one tin and with one such] there not will it
          is ugly °°however°°¿
          E:::: [with a tin and with a such a thing] there won't
          it be ugly °°though°°¿
19 L:           [((making the shape of a roof with his hands))]
20        (0.2)
21 G:     Katholu [giati tha 'n' ashimo¿=
          Not at all [why will it is ugly¿=
          Not at all [why would it be ugly¿=
22 L:             [((facial expression showing disagreement))
23 L:     =°Kala°
          =°Good°
          =°Okay°
24        (0.1)
25 L:     Ego:: aftis tis tetias- t's apo[psis ↑ime
          I:: of this of the such- of the opi[nion ↑I am
          I:: ↑am of this- of this opi[nion
26 G:                                 [A: entaks'
                                      [A: okay
                                      [A: okay
27 L:     E↓ ets' to vlepo
          E↓ so it I see
          E↓ this is how I see it
28        (0.3)
29 L:     Ego=
          I=
          I=
30 L:     ((facial expression showing indifference))
```

Here *etsi* appears in the environment of a competitive assessment with regards to a shed being built in front of a church. Leandro expresses disapproval of the materials being used for its construction, whereas his interlocutors disagree with him. The assessment that is our target turn comes at lines 12-13 *Re:: pedia ena me- [ena terastio pragma pentakosia tetragonika (.) etsi,=* (=Re:: guys a with- [a huge thing five hundred square metres (.) right,=) and is a dispreferred response to Janet's YNI

at lines 7-8 *Ti↓ na to kan's kerami↓di thes na pis¿* (=What↓ should you do it with ti↓les you mean¿). His response is a multi-TCU turn that starts with a prolonged Re:: pedia, marking that what follows will be non-straightforward and dispreferred, and after a repair *ena me- [ena* (=a with- [a), we have the assessment that is accompanied by a big number *terastio pragma pentakosia tetragonika* (=huge thing five hundred square metres). The assessment turn ends again with *etsi* with a fall in intonation after a minimal pause and upon receiving the continuer from his interlocutor *ne*, Leandro continues his argument with a negative formatted question, eliciting confirmation *E:::: [m'enan tsigo ke m'ena tetio] eki de tha 'ne ashimo ᵒᵒomosᵒᵒ¿* (=E:::: [with a tin and with a such a thing] there won't it be ugly ᵒᵒthoughᵒᵒ¿). So, we can see the function of *etsi* in a TRP as a request to continue one's turn and to make sure the speaker has the recipient's attention, before proceeding with his/her line of argument.

A further example of this practice is excerpt (7); however, unlike the previous examples, we have the agreement ne (=yes) after a multi-unit TCU but before the proffering of *etsi* that pursues alignment. Nevertheless, similar to excerpt (5) and (6) this example illustrates the use of *etsi* in TRPs as a device for a speaker to claim him/herself a turn beyond the single TCU.

(7) [00022 video: Balantani: 19:20]

(In the dinner table, three friends, Leandro, Kelvin and Gareth, are discussing the current economic situation in Greece and what led us to that.)

```
1 L:    >Ti les more<
        >What you say more<
        >What are you saying more<
```

```
 2 G:     Gi↑a' den borusa[m' na paragume
          Why↑ not we coul[d to we produce
          Why↑ couldn'[t we produce
 3 L:                  [Kelvin
 4 K:     °Des°
          °You look°
          °Look°
 5 L:     E=
 6 K:     =Mehri to hiliaeniakosiaeksinta Gareth mu↓=
          =Until the thousandninehundredsixty Gareth mine↓=
          =Until the nineteensixty my↓ Gareth =
 7 L:     =M
 8        (0.2)
 9 G:     [Kelvin mu
          [Kelvin mine
          [My Kelvin
10 K:     [(go) mAna mu ki o >pateras su ki i mana mu pu dulevan
11        sta horafia ke ihane< ae tin kalips' >t' diki mas omos<
12        tis anages t's kaliptame kathe ikogenia
          [(go) mOther mine and the >father yours and the mother
          mine that they were working in the fields and they had<
          ae the coverage >the ours yet< the needs them we were
          covering every family
          [(go) my mOther and >your father and my mother who were
          working in the fields and had< ae the coverage >ours
          though< we were covering the needs every family
13 L:     M
14 K:     Meta to eksintapente [ke tetia teliose]
          After the sixtyfive [and such it finished]
          After sixtyfive [or so that was it]
15 K:                         [((hand gesture indicating the end
16        of something)]
17        (0.6)
18 K:     Ti na leme to[ra¿
          What to we say n[ow¿
          What can we say n[ow¿
19 G:                   [Kosta ego nomizo oti:: i: afti: i: (0.8)
20        malon (0.8) metAlaksi tis e: >ikonomikis< e tis kinonias
21        mas ke tis paragogis mas irthe poli argotera de
22        stamatise to 'ksinta[ohto
                              [Kelvin I I think that:: the: her: the:
          (0.8) rather (0.8) mutAtion of the e: >of the economic< e
          of the society ours and of the production ours she came
          much later not she stopped the sixty[eight
                              [Kelvin I think that:: the: this: the:
          (0.8) rather (0.8) mutAtion of the e: >of the economic< e
          of our society and our production came much later it did
          not stop in sixty[eight
23 K:                       [Argotera irthe ne=
                            [Later it came yes=
                            [It came later yes=
24 G:     =Poli argotera
          =Much later
          =Much later
25        (0.4)
26 G:     Ego nomizo t' ogdontaena ke dothe (0.4) otan arhisan na
27        peftune pahila:: [pahili misthi >dimosioipaliliki< to-i-
          I I think the eightyone and onwards (0.4) when they
          started to they fall hefty:: [hefty salaries >public
          clerkship< the- the-
```

```
            I think in eightyone and onwards (0.4) when they started
            to give hefty:: [hefty salaries >public clerkship< the-
            the-
28 K:                                          [((nods))
29 K:   [I [misi Elada]
        [The [half Greece]
        [The [half of Greece]
30 L:      [M
31 G:   [dioristike   ]
        [it was appointed]
        [was appointed]
32 G:   I misi Ela:da (0.4) lipo:n ki afto ohi me:: st- sidoro-
33      sintiromastan [me ta nio- me ta- me ta danika] ala kapii
34      ehun efthini gia >'fto to thema<
        The half Gree:ce (0.4) we:ll and this no with:: su-
        subs- we substisted [with the nio- with the- with the
        borrowed] but some they have responsibility for >this the
        matter<
        Half of Gree:ce (0.4) we:ll and this not with:: su-
        subs- we substisted [with the nio- with the- with the
        borrowed money] but some have responsibility for >this
        matter<
35 K:                    [(me tus            )ne]
                         [(with the          )yes]
                         [(with the          )yes]
36      [(0.2)
37 G:   [((keeps his eye gaze to Kelvin))
38 K:   Ne=
        Yes=
        Yes=
39 G:→  =Etsi
        =Right
        =Right
40 G:   Lipo:n (0.2) i akoma ke simera (0.4) pu ftasame: na:- na
41      ehume aftes tis ktinotrofikes monades na min borun n'
42      anteksune (0.2) kat' prep' na gen' [(0.4) ke den nomizo
43      oti ine- eh' efthini vevea to: edo i: Dodon- i: pos ti
44      legan'¿ >°kala to 'pa°< i: idiotikopiisi tis Dodonis
45      (0.4) simantiko pligma gia tin ktinotrofia (0.2) ala den
46      'ne mono afto↑ (0.2) in' to gegonos oti >mehri tor'< den
47      'ksixronistike i::: ktinotrofia mas (0.4) oli tus
        We:ll (0.2) or even and today (0.4) that we reached:
        to:- to we have these the livestock units to not they can
        to bear (0.2) something must to be done [(0.4) and not I
        think that it is it has responsibility of course the here
        the: Dodon- the: how her they were calling¿ >°good it I
        said°< the: privatization of the Dodoni (0.4) important
        blow for the livestock (0.2) but not it is only this↑
        (0.2) it is the fact that >until now< not was modernised
        the::: livestock ours (0.4) all them
        We:ll (0.2) or even today (0.4) that we came: to:- to
        have these livestock units not being in a position to
        stand (0.2) something must be done [(0.4) and I do not
        think that it is- it has responsibility of course the
        here the: Dodon- the: how were they calling it¿ >°I said
        it correct°< the: privatization of Dodoni (0.4) important
        blow for the livestock (0.2) but it is not only this↑
        (0.2) it is the fact that >until now< it was not
        modernised our::: livestock (0.4) all of them
48 K:                                         [((nods))
49      (0.4)
```

```
50 K:     Pernan trakteria ( )
          They were taking tractors ( )
          They were getting tractors ( )
51 G:     I plio- i pliopsifia tus epernan tis epidotisis tis
52        ekanan:
          The majo- the majority them they were taking the support
          them they were making:
          The majo- the majority of them they were taking the
          support they were making: it
53 K:     M ((nods)) ets' °°(ets')°°
          M ((nods)) so °°(so)°°
          M ((nods)) right °°(right)°°
```

In this excerpt, Kelvin and Gareth are disputing as to when Greece, as a nation,

started to subsist on loans and why all that money did not help increase the

production. Gareth's account of the situation comes with two extended multi-unit

turns at lines 32-4 and 40-7 separated by each other with an agreement by Kelvin

after a 0.2 second pause and an *etsi*. Gareth produces a multi-unit TCU turn at lines

32-34 *I misi Ela:da (0.4) lipo:n ki afto ohi me:: st- sidoro- sintiromastan [me ta nio-*

me ta- me ta danika] ala kapii ehun efthini gia >'fto to thema< (=Half of Gree:ce

(0.4) we:ll and this not with:: su- subs- we substisted [with the nio- with the- with the

borrowed money] but some have responsibility for >this matter<) in which he

initiates several self-repairs. Although, Kelvin's next turn is not clearly audible, the

fact that it comes in overlap after the initiation of the first repair, it is plausible he is

repairing the repairable before agreeing with the 'yes'. In the end of the last TCU of

his turn *ala kapii ehun efthini gia >'fto to thema<* (=*but some have responsibility for*

>this matter<) there is a 0.2 second pause in which he keeps his eye gaze to his

interlocutor until he receives the agreement from Kelvin (Stivers & Rossano, 2010).

So, the *etsi* here coming latched with the agreement still marks the transition to the

following extended TCU that comes with no pause and is introduced with 'we:ll'. It

indicates to the recipient that there is more to come, so hold back.

In sum, at a TRP *etsi* is deployed TCU-finally in a TCU which is an increment in a multi-unit turn which itself is building a line of argument; speakers index the incompleteness of their turn and are not interrupted until they complete the extended line they are developing. *Etsi* displays that the turn is not complete and this seeks a responsive go-ahead. The *ne* that follows the target turn functions as a continuer, with which interlocutors mark their alignment as recipients. Thus, interlocutors can confirm they have the recipient's attention and alignment before proceeding with their extended line of argument.

7.4   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have illustrated the use of *etsi* in tag questions and in TRPs as a device to pursue a response from the interlocutor. The data I presented has shown that *etsi* is a token that is deployed by interlocutors as a resource to get an uptake from their recipients. When it appears in the form *etsi den ine* it functions as a tag question that serves to elicit a confirmation from their interlocutors. Hence, the line of argument that the speaker is going to put forward assumes the characteristics of a collaborative achievement, as the recipient takes part in reaching that conclusion by confirming the assertion that precedes the tag question *etsi den ine*. In contrast, *etsi* in turn final position is deployed at a TRP by interlocutors to mark that the current TCU is merely a preliminary to another TCU. It does not mark the end of their story or argument but it is a way for speakers to make sure that they have gotten the attention of their interlocutors and can continue with their line of argument. In fact, the pursuit token appears with interrogative prosody that mobilizes a response from the recipient (Stivers & Rossano, 2010); thus, it lets the recipient take a turn at its possible completion but constrains him/her to respond with respect to the action projected by

the speaker, in our case to agree with the prior turn. This allows the speaker, then, to continue the extended line that he/she is trying to pursue (Schegloff, 1980). Accordingly, the *etsi* is always followed by a continuer from the listener, in our cases a 'yes'; "…there is general agreement among researchers that *mm, hm, uh huh yeah,* and nods form a collection of tokens [ ] treat the turn as still in progress" (Goodwin, 1986; Goodwin, 1980; Jefferson, 1984; Schegloff, 1982, cited in Stivers, 2008: 34), an activity that Stivers termed as *alignment* (for further details see §2.3.1). By aligning with the telling, recipients mark their attention to the prior statement and support that the teller has the floor until his/her line of argument is completed.

Chapter 8   **Conclusion**

The aim of this thesis has been the investigation of receipt tokens, mainly in turn-initial position, in naturally occurring interactions in Greek. I have examined the design of turn beginnings in response to an informing or observation and, also, how speakers recruit the assistance of their interlocutors in order to format their following action. Hence, this dissertation addresses the interactional significance of some of the most commonly occurring tokens in Greek everyday interaction, while simultaneously exploring the real-life consequences of these tokens in communication and the social relations that the interlocutors are building through interaction. In this chapter, I review the findings for each receipt token analysed in the thesis and then explicate the conclusions that arise from the general analysis. In the end, I conclude with comments on the implication of the findings for conversation analytic studies and provide some suggestions on how this research project could be developed in the future.

8.1   **The findings of this study**

8.1.1   *Entaksi*

Entaksi is found to function as a pivotal item that interlocutors deploy in TRPs to move from prior to next-positioned matters. Specifically, in the environment of questions, the particle checks the understanding of the recipient of the prior turn before moving to the next action. In closings of phone calls, *entaksi* has a dual function; it is deployed to close down the prior topic before the interlocutors move to

the closing of the phone call and it is, also, utilised as a termination-relevant particle in phone calls (Sacks & Schegloff, 1973; Pavlidou, 1998; 2002).

In the environment of assessments and disputes, on the other hand, the analysis has shown that *entaksi* in turn-initial position is used as a preliminary to a counter-positional. For instance, in assessment sequences, *entaksi*, preceded by the token *e*, is deployed as a 'pre-disagreement agreement' token (Schegloff, 1988) that delays the forthcoming disagreement, wheareas in disputes it functions as a concessive particle prefacing the counterargument.

What is more, the data I have analysed has shown that interlocutors employ this particle to index their epistemic stance, either by seeking confirmation from their co-participant in talk, in which case *entaksi* appears in turn-initial position with a questioning prosody, or by minimally agreeing with *entaksi* and then communicating their stance with an assessment.

Finally, the analysis of *entaksi* in institutional settings has revealed that the particle is mainly used in the beginning of extended counter positional multi-unit turns. Speakers use it to claim their position in an argument by challenging the prior speaker's turn and proposing to recipients to abandon the larger course of action they are pursuing.

8.1.2 Turn-initial *ne*

Turn-initial *ne* is used as a NTRI, especially after an informing that is built as a strong and dramatic claim. *Ne* with questioning prosody, thus, functions as a token of disbelief to the prior informing. Unlike the English speakers in Drew's (2003) data, however, who back down after the skeptical response from their recipients, Greek

interlocutors do not back down but hold strong to their initial claim. I encountered two examples in my data where after the target turn, the recipients do back down on their initial claim but in the end of the sequence the recipients of the informing affiliate with the original claim.

Ne and *A ne* with a terminal falling intonation accept and affiliate with an informing and mark it as newsworthy. Upon the receipt of the token, interlocutors continue the sequence with turns that facilitate topic expansion, such as seeking more information on the topic under discussion. Topic progression is also achieved with *ne* incremented with a question and a candidate answer; recipients of the informing are upgrading their turn from second position by seeking confirmation to their candidate answer (Pomerantz, 1988).

Ne is also used in surprise sequences as a surprise token or as a token of disbelief to the surprise turn. After a number of prior turns that mark surprise, as is the opening of the mouth, the raising of the eyebrows and ritualized disbelief tokens, *ne* appears in the final turn of the surprise sequence. The *ne* marks the end of the surprise sequence; upon receipt of the token, participants then either confirm it, since prosodically it seeks confirmation, or account for the extremity of the surprisable.

8.1.3   *Ela* + (*re*) +name

Ela in conjunction with a name and often incremented by the Greek particle *re* is a practice that Greek interlocutors deploy when confronted with a disagreement turn. It marks a strong move to close down a prior disagreement turn and functions as a challenge to the prior turn. *Ela* + (*re*) + name is produced prosodically with low pitch and little intensity, therefore marking it as closing implicative. Recipients back down after the use of this practice and proffer a downgraded version of their initial claim,

registering it as a practice that is used by conversationalists to achieve affiliation and agreement after disagreement sequences. The deviant case that I provide in the analysis underscores my observation that there is this challenging use of *ela* + name, as the conversationalist takes it as a request from her interlocutor to shut down her line of argument.

8.1.4   *Bravo*

Bravo is an emphatic positively inflected receipt token. When it appears in the form of *etsi bravo*, namely preceded by the token *etsi*, it is used as a resource for indexing epistemic primacy in the environment of competitive assessments. Interlocutors index their epistemic independence on a state of affairs, marking, with this practice, that they have already considered the matter presented in the previous talk. When followed by 'yes' speakers upgrade their epistemic access to the referent from second position with *etsi bravo* before agreeing with 'yes' (Heritage & Raymond, 2005).

Bravo is utilised as well to mark surprise towards the interlocutor's prior informing. The token appears as a stand-alone token after the surprisable turn and the surprisable becomes a topicalisable issue in the next turn. Recipient of the *bravo* turn feel obliged to formulate the target of the surprise of their story, thus affiliating with their interlocutors. The data shows that *bravo* can also be preceded by a NTRI in a prior turn or in the same turn as the surprise token before the interlocutor registers his/her surprise with *bravo*. In this case, after the initiation of the repair there is a clarification from the informant and then the recipient registers his/her surprise with *bravo*.

8.1.5 *Etsi* vs. *Etsi den ine*

Etsi in tag questions and in TRPs functions as a device that is deployed by interlocutors as a resource to get an uptake from their recipients. When it is formatted as 'assertion + *etsi den ine*', it serves as a tag question; with the assertion before the tag question *etsi den ine*, interlocutors convey certain presuppositions that the recipient needs to confirm in order for the speaker to build up his rhetorical position, thus implicating the recipient in the route to the conclusion.

Etsi at TRPs is deployed TCU-finally as an increment in a multi-unit turn. It functions as a device that indexes the incompleteness of a turn and comes with interrogative prosody seeking a responsive go-ahead from the recipient. The aligning response allows the speaker to claim an extended turn and continue his/her line of argument.

8.2 The social implication of the research

8.2.1 Interpretation of the results

The present thesis has investigated the organisation of human action by looking at the interactional activities that conversationalists deploy in their everyday interactions. Specifically, it has examined how interlocutors receive informings attending to the response tokens that occur in turn-initial position. The distinctiveness of this investigation lies in the fact that it has researched Greek talk-in-interaction. Particularly, it has looked at response tokens, mainly in turn-initial position, and how these are deployed by interlocutors in conjunction with other interactional resources in order to accomplish certain activities, such as agreement, disagreement or displaying their surprise towards a prior turn.

On the whole, the results of the present study indicate that there are certain resources interactants use in response to an informing, especially in turn-initial position, in order to show their stance towards the prior turn. In what follows, I explain how each receipt token functions in managing the agenda of the interaction by attending to the prior informing but at the same time showing their personal stance, while keeping the balance of the social relation with their interlocutors, for example:

a) The analysis of *entaksi* has shown ways that interlocutors pivot from prior to next-positioned matters without disrupting the flow of their personal relations. It indicates that interlocutors can maintain their sociality by paying attention to the prior speaker and do topic transition with the minimal disruption of the interactional flow. By the same token, we saw the function of *e entaksi* as a preliminary to disagreements; interactants show their partial agreement to the prior turn, giving some right to the prior speaker before moving on to the counterargument, thus mitigating the effect of the disagreement. The concessive nature of this particle shows how interactants show their affiliation and acknowledge the prior speaker's informing before they take their personal stance towards the informing, contributing to solidarity.

b) Similarly, the sequential analysis of *ne* with questioning prosody has revealed that it is a resource that promotes solidarity; it is implemented as a token of disbelief and, after the confirmation from the speaker, recipients proceed with further questioning on the topic, thus facilitating topic expansion. In the same way, when it is incremented with a candidate answer, interlocutors seek confirmation from their co-participants in talk and, therefore, involve their interactants in the conclusion. In this way, speakers manage to avoid conflict and achieve affiliation and agreement.

c) The analysis of *ela* + (*re*) + name has uncovered as well the way in which this practice is involved in achieving affiliation and downplaying disagreement. Although it functions as a strong challenge to the prior speaker's disagreement turn, it nevertheless achieves to make the recipient back down in his/her following turn and agree with the speaker's perspective on the topic at hand. The use of this practice is instrumental in signalling the termination of a disagreement sequence.

d) The findings from the study of *a bravo* or *etsi bravo* in the end of a disagreement sequence show that the aforementioned receipt tokens are used by interlocutors in order to index their epistemic superiority or independence toward the content of an informing. After the use of this practice, participants reach an agreement, thus putting an end to the disagreement sequence that preceded this token.

e) Finally, with regards to *etsi* in TRPs and *etsi den ine* as a form of tag question, we have seen the tokens functioning as resources that pursue a response from the recipients. Specifically, in the case of *etsi den ine*, interlocutors are seeking confirmation from their recipients in order to pursue a line of argument; the conclusion reached after the confirmation assumes the characteristics of a collaborative achievement. In contrast, *etsi* is deployed in TRPS and is marked prosodically with a rising intonation, mobilising a response from their interlocutors; it is a pursuit token that puts pressure on the recipient to take a turn at its possible completion and respond with respect to the action projected by the speaker, in our case to agree with the prior turn. So the speaker, then, can continue the extended line that he/she is trying to pursue (Schegloff, 1980).

In view of the above, we can see that there is a preference for agreement in interaction but there are different degrees of accepting or agreeing with a prior informing. Each token is deployed to eventually achieve an agreement but at the same time it shows the recipients' degree to which they accept the informing or observation; is it a blind acceptance or merely a preliminary to a rejection? These degrees of acceptance or denial could be roughly schematised in the following way:

Figure 8.1 Degrees of accepting a prior informing

8.2.2   Displaying intimacy through conflict

As I mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, Greek speakers are stereotypically viewed as having very strong views, resorting easily to disagreements in their conversations, but nevertheless always staying close together. In this section, I trace the origins of these stereotypes with examples drawn from my data. In doing so, I aim to demonstrate that, although these stereotypes are grounded in extreme generalisations about Greek culture, they may capture some truths about Greek interactional styles and may have been formed through careful observation of how Greek speakers communicate.

The particularity of the data analysed for this thesis is that it consists of verbal conflicts between intimates and friends. Verbal conflicts are areas of activity where dimensions of power and affect can be enacted. In my data, verbal conflicts arise in delicate contexts, such as a family member's terminal illness. Participants orient to

each other's problems and concerns through oppositional turns. See for example

Fiona, in the following extract, showing her opposition towards Leandro's self-

deprecatory remark at line 57 "Will he survive¿".

(1) [Balantani video: M2U00049: 00:48]

```
55 F:      =Ne orea tha par' himiotherapi↓a tha ksekinisete
56         himiotherapies¿
           =Yes nice will he take chemotherapy↓ will you start
           chemotherapies¿
           =Yes okay will he have chemotherapy↓ will you start
           chemotherapies¿
57 L:      Th' anteks'¿
           Will he endure¿
           Will he survive¿
58         (0.3)
59 F:→     E eh' gero organismo gi' afto su leo na min les pote
60         tipota gia kane↓nan=
           E he has strong organism for this you I say to not you
           say never nothing for a↓nybody=
           E he has a strong constitution that's why I am saying
           never say anything about a↓nybody=
61 V:      =Entaks'==ala den ine gia na zisi me ta [zoa:
           =Okay==but not he is for to he lives with the [animals:
           =Okay==but he can't live with the [sheep:
62 F:                                              [hhh
63         (0.4)
64 F:→     Entaks' ta zoa to katalaveno
           Okay the animals it I understand
           Okay I understand (what you mean about) the sheep
```

Fiona is putting herself in an opposing position to her interlocutor under the auspices

of displaying her intimacy towards Leandro by means of disagreement. This is further

illustrated by the fact that she is the one terminating the conflict at line 64 by

submitting to her interlocutor *Entaks' ta zoa to katalaveno* (=Okay I understand (what

you mean about) the sheep). Fiona's submission demonstrates her acceptance of

Leandro's epistemic dominance on the issue at hand, as it is his father that is being

referred to, assuming a subordinate position with regards to the dispute.

In other cases, termination of the conflict is achieved when one speaker's

counterpositional turn does not receive a counterpositional turn from his/her

interlocutor. In this way, the closing of the conflict is a result of coordination between

interlocutors (Vuchinich, 1990). This is evidenced in our data with the practice *ela re*:

(2) [Balantani video: M2U00064: 15:39]

```
 1 E:     Ich za:hl' das
          I pa:y this
          I pa:y for this
 2        (0.1)
 3 V:     E[he
 4 E:      [>Aber< du muss' mir das vorsprechen[hhhhe
           [>But< you have me it recite[hhhe
          [>But< you have to recite it to me[hhhe
 5 V:                                         [huhuhaha[ha
 6 V:                                                  [((turns
 7        her gaze towards Alyssa))
 8 A:                                                  [((closes
 9        her eyes and turns her gaze towards Vanessa))
10 A:                                                  [hhhhaha
11 L:     Afto to [nero diko su ine?
          This the [water own your it is?
          This [water is yours?
12 V:            [Nein=
                 [No=
                 [No=
13 V:     ((looks at the glass))
14 E:     =Doch
          =Yes
          =Yes I will
15 V:     Wir zahlen das komm=
          We pay this come=
          We pay for this come on=
16 L:     =E¿=
17 V:     =[Ne=
          =[Yes=
          =[Yes=
18 V:      [((nods))
19 E:     =Nei:n=
          =No:=
          =No:=
20 V:     =[Ne
          =[Yes
          =[Yes
21 V:      [((nods))
22 E:     Ich möcht' euch einla:den
          I want you invi:te
          I want to invi:te you
23 V: →   Ela Caro- Emery::
          Come Caro- Emery::
          Come on Caro- Emery::
24        (0.3)
```

Participants avoid the continuation of the conflict here by one conceding to the other

with *Ela Caro- Emery::*.

The recordings of Fiona and Kelvin and Leandro and his wife, in particular, have rendered interesting results with regards to the strong connections between the speakers. Fiona and Kelvin are family friends of Leandro and his wife and seem to share their concern very deeply and show great affection and interest towards their friends' problems and concerns. The strong interpersonal ties between the speakers are also evident in extracts such as the following, where Vanessa is complaining to her aunt Mary about a situation she is experiencing with her mother-in-law:

(3) [Balantani audio: VN550058: 07:27]

```
200 M:      °Ne°↓ aftin ehi to stoma poli more ego t'n iksera apo
201         kopela ( )
            °Yes°↓ she she has the mouth a lot more I her I knew
            from girl ( )
            °Yes°↓ she talks a lot more I knew her since she was a
            girl ( )
202 V:      M::
203 M:      [( )
204 V:      [Den- Den sikoni kuventa oh' Leandro ke kse↓ris oti
205         oli ton Leandro lei- oli to Leandro:: tetionun⁸⁸
            [Not- Not she lifts discourse no Leandro and you kno↓w
            that all the Leandro she says- all the Leandro:: make
            such
            [She doesn't- she doesn't take no for an answer not
            even Leandro and you kno↓w that everyone says to
            Leandro- everyone makes Leandro:: such
206 M:      Katigorun=
            Blame=
            Blame=
207 V:      =NE↑ NA t's pi o Le↑andro (.) re pedia leo TI NA PI O
208         LEANDRO GIATI KATHET' O LEANDRO T'S LEI MANA BRA↓VO
            =YES↑ TO her he says the Le↑andro (.) re children I
            say WHAT TO HE SAYS THE LEANDRO WHY HE SITS THE
            LEANDRO HE SAYS MOTHER WE↓LL DONE
            =YES↑ Le↑andro SHOULD say to her (.) re guys I say
            WHAT SHOULD LEANDRO SAY TO HER WHY DOES LEANDRO SIT
            THERE AND SAY TO HIS MOTHER WE↓LL DONE
209 M:→     Ets' bravo [ne ne ne
            So bravo [yes yes yes
            Exactly [yes yes yes
210 V:             [Afu in' eki I IDII INE EKI↓ KE:: akun
211         [kiolas
                   [Since they are there THE SAME THEY ARE
            THERE↓ AND:: they hear [already
                   [Since they are there THEY ARE THERE↓ IN
            PERSON AND:: they hear [already
```

---

⁸⁸ 'Tetoio' means 'such' in Greek and it is a pronoun. 'Tetiono' is a neologism that roughly approximates to 'suching'. It is used in instances in which the interlocutor cannot find the appropriate verb or does not want to use the right verb. In general, it means 'I do something'.

```
212 M:     [Afti kan- den to: pisteu'n den kan' dikio: (.) t'
213        Leandro kan' af'no↓n
           [She d- not him: they believe not they do justice: (.)
           to the Leandro they they do the↓ir
           [She d- not him: they don't believe they don't do
           justice: (.) to Leandro they do (justice) to the↓m
```

In the chapter on *bravo*, I showed that *etsi bravo* in competitive assessments, such as this one, is implemented by speakers to claim epistemic priority on the matter at hand. However, this is done in a supportive and empathetic way. Prior to the target turn at lines 200-201, Mary asserts her knowledge of the situation by claiming she 'knew her since she was a girl', 'her' referring to Vanessa's mother-in-law. Mary shows empathy towards her niece, demonstrating her understanding of the situation she is going through. This is further evidenced in her next turn in lines 212-13 where she shows her affiliative stance by explaining the situation in her own terms *[Afti kan-den to: pisteu'n den kan' dikio: (.) t' Leandro kan' af'no↓n* (=She d- not him: they don't believe they don't do justice: (.) to Leandro they do (justice) to the↓m), building on her interlocutor's prior utterance but also taking her own perspective on it (Wynn & Wynn, 2006).

This study has also shown that Greek interlocutors have strong views on certain topics and do not back down easily to accommodate the opinion of the other participants. As we have seen in §4.2 Drew (2003) examines claims that are treated as overstated in a conversation and how those are sequentially managed by participants in talk. His analysis, which includes British and American data, reveals that in English interactions exaggerated claims, used by interlocutors to strengthen their position, are commonly received with skeptical responses. Upon receipt of their claims with skepticism, such as pausing or questions, participants revise their initial claims and back down in their following turn. In my data I observe that, unlike the practice that has been followed by the English speakers in Drew's paper, who repair

their initial turn after it has been treated as overstated, Greek interlocutors hold firm

to their position and defend their initial claim. This is particularly evident in the

analysis of the token *ne*. Take, for example, the following extract:

(4) [Balantani audio: VN550051: 47:58]

```
 1 S:     I e::: ehi sizitithi idi
          The e::: has discussed already
          The e::: it has been discussed already
 2 L:     M
 3 S:     Sta: site ton a e::: pos to len' ton ereton
          In the sites of a e::: how it called of elected
          In the sites of a e::: what is it called of the elected
 4 S:     M
 5 S:     Oti::::: apo 'do ke sto eksis de tha ksanagin' ASEP,
          That::::: from here and in the following not will it
          become again ASEP,
          That::::: from now onwards there won't be an ASEP again,
 6        (0.8)
 7 L:     Ne?
          Yes?
          Yes?
 8 S:     N[e=
          Ye[s=
          Ye[s=
 9 L:      [Terma? [pai?
           [End? [it goes?
          [The end? [it is gone?
10 S:            [(Pernun) idikotiton [opote
                 [(They take) of specialties [so
                 [(They take) specialties [so
11 L:                              [Ne ke i proslipsis pos
12        tha ginonte?
                                   [Yes and the employments
          how will they become?
                                   [Yes and the employments
          how will they be done?
13        (0.6)
14 S:     E: mono anaplirotes
          E: only substitutes
          E: only substitutes
15        (0.6)
16 L:     [De tha ginun pote proslipsis?
          [Not will they become never employments?
          [There will never be employments?
17 S:     [I- i- osi li-
          [The- the- those (li)-
          [The- the- those (li)-
18 S:     Oso pai (.) ti tus niazi
          As long as it goes (.) what them it cares
          As long as it goes (.) what do they care
```

We can see here that both speakers, Simon who provides the informing and Leandro

the recipient of it, have very strong views on the matter at hand which they are not

easily hearably willing to abandon. Leandro questions Simon's informing at lines 9, 12 and 16 before eventually accepting it and Simon, who made the announcement, also does not back down even after Leandro's multiple questions. Both speakers will challenge their interlocutor and will not shift their ground to accommodate the other speaker's view.

Another instance in my data that illustrates the strong commitment of speakers to their personal views is the following excerpt:

(5) [Balantani video: M2U00058: 09:33]

```
 1 G:    Ne ( )=
         Yes ( )=
         Yes ( )=
 2 L:    =E ashimo de tha 'ne re pedia=
         =E ugly not will it is re children=
         =E won't it be ugly re guys=
 3 G:    Giati i eklisia ti eh':¿
         Why the church what it has:¿
         Why what does the church have:¿
 4       (0.2)
 5 L:     Ts eh↓ eklisia ine alios pali==ine pio::- pio psi[lo:-
 6        pio-]
         Ts eh↓ church it is different again==it is more::- more
         ta:[ll- more-]
         Ts eh↓ the church is different again==it is more::- more
         ta:[ll- more-]
 7 J:                                                [Ti na
 8       to ka:nis?]
                                                     [What
         to it you do:?]
                                                     [What
         should you do: it?]
 9       (.)
10 J:    Ti↓ na to kan's kerami↓di thes na pis¿
         What↓ to it you do ti↓le you want to say¿
         What↓ should you do it with ti↓les you mean¿
11       (0.4)
12 L:    Re:: pedia ena me- [ena terastio pragma pentakosia
13       tetragonika (.) etsi,=
         Re:: children one with- [one huge thing five hundred
         square metres (.) right,=
         Re:: guys a with- [a huge thing five hundred square
         metres (.) right,=
14 L:                       [((gesturing))
15 G:    =Ne,
         =Yes,
         =Yes,
16        (0.3)
17 L:    E:::: [m'enan tsigo ke m'ena tetio] eki de tha 'ne
18       ashimo °°omos°°¿
```

```
           E:::: [with one tin and with one such] there not will it
           is ugly °°however°°¿
           E:::: [with a tin and with a such a thing] there won't
           it be ugly °°though°°¿
19 L:             [((making the shape of a roof with his hands))
20         (0.2)
21 G:      Katholu [giati tha 'n' ashimo¿=
           Not at all [why will it is ugly¿=
           Not at all [why would it be ugly¿=
22 L:             [((facial expression showing disagreement))
23 L:      =°Kala°
           =°Good°
           =°Okay°
24         (0.1)
25 L:      Ego:: aftis tis tetias- t's apo[psis ↑ime
           I:: of this of the such- of the opi[nion ↑I am
           I:: ↑am of this- of this opi[nion
26 G:                                 [A: entaks'
                                      [A: okay
                                      [A: okay
27 L:      E↓ ets' to vlepo
           E↓ so it I see
           E↓ this is how I see it
28         (0.3)
29 L:      Ego=
           I=
           I=
30 L:      ((facial expression showing indifference))
```

This is a long assessment sequence on how the shed that is being built in front of the church in their village will look like if they use tin instead of tiles for the roof. Leandro shows his disapproval of the fact that the material to be used on the roof should be tin and, although his interlocutors disagree with him, he does not back down on his opinion. In fact, the assessment sequence closes with Leandro stating 'I am of this opinion' and 'This is how I see it', thus standing firm to his view and not conceding to others.

In general, this investigation has shown how Greek interlocutors deploy specific linguistic and interactional resources in their everyday interactions in order to position themselves towards a prior informing. Additionally, it illustrates that certain over-generalised perceptions about Greek interlocutors may ultimately be rooted in their interactional style. Despite the fact that this is not a cross-cultural investigation, there were some observable interactional differences in the data in comparison to

English interactions. Drawing on Drew's (2003) observation on back downs in the face of a challenge and comparing it to the Greek data, in which speakers are holding firm to their position, one could attribute this distinctness in the sequential management of claims to cultural differences. English speakers are seen as willing to concede to their interlocutors in order to receive a preferred response from them, while Greek interlocutors are shown as stubborn and opinionated, not willing to shift their ground to accommodate other peoples' opinion. And, although these conceptions of English and Greek interactions in no way capture the details of actual occurrences, as Jefferson notes, they may be

> *crude expressions and products, of a sort of tacit, working sense of a whole complex of regularities… [ ] These stereotypes might then be seen to be reflecting, referring to, constituting a 'gloss' for that complex of regularities. [ ] That is, there may be a range of impressionistic noticings, stereotyped characterizations, etc., which may turn out to be invoking something essentially true* (2004: 131).

Nevertheless, while these perceived stereotypes convey negative impressions about Greek culture and its people, through my analysis I have shown that they also portray a positive character of Greeks. So, although disagreements often become very vivid in Greek encounters with speakers raising their voices and often talking in overlap, those are done in an affiliative way, thus encouraging topic progression. Challenges towards a prior speaker's turn are delicately done in an affiliative environment in which epistemic authority and identity become interactionally salient. Interlocutors deploy different practices in talk that serve the management of conflicts. Especially in the context of interactions between friends and intimates, participants orient to practices that negotiate their involvement in the conflict. Interlocutors make use of all the linguistic and paralinguistic resources that any language and culture provides in order to keep their social positioning and not damage their interpersonal relations. The competitiveness and sort of resistance towards informing that is evidenced in the

data are in fact aimed at achieving solidarity and friendship. Talk, then, can be seen as the coordination of action through sequences of talk.

8.3   Directions for further study

The purpose of this thesis was to shed light on one of the conversational activities that interlocutors perform in their everyday interactions, with a particular focus on the receipt of informings. The study contributes to the general research being undertaken on turn-initial receipt tokens in English and other languages, as well as our understanding of Greek talk-in-interaction. However, the present investigation does not cover all aspects of turn-beginnings and is by no means exhaustive. Further research is required to enrich our knowledge on the domain of Greek everyday interactions and, specifically, the linguistic resources that Greek interlocutors use in turn-initial position when positioning themselves with respect to their co-participants in talk. The present thesis suggests some generally defined areas of analytic interest in this domain and only after thorough investigation of a considerable number of instances of naturally occurring talk-in-interaction will we be in a position to draw more accurate conclusions about the social organisation of Greek everyday interaction.

Most notably, the findings of this research have mainly focused on conversational practices in everyday settings. The few instances that have been examined on institutional data have yielded interesting results with regards to the use of the same practices in institutional settings. Therefore, the present research on naturally occurring talk could be expanded to institutionalised settings in order to gain insight into the importance of the linguistic and socio-cultural idiosyncrasies of Greek talk-in-interaction. To this end, I am particularly interested in exploring in more explicit

detail whether the participants' identities shape the use of the linguistic resources that interactants implement in talk and how social hierarchy is revealed through their actions.

Moreover, in this thesis I have produced a preliminary analysis with regards to multimodality in interaction but we need a far more in-depth account of the interaction between eye-gaze, gestures and posture in disputes. It would be of interest to explore how people coordinate their actions and position themselves in relation to others in the absence of speech.

What is more, the last chapter of this thesis examined *etsi* as a resource for getting uptake from the recipient. A closer investigation of Greek should be considered in order to determine whether the same resources described by Stivers & Rossano (2012) for mobilizing response are implemented by Greek interlocutors or whether there are other practices for mobilising a recipient's response that are culture-specific to Greek interactions.

Overall, the investigation of response designs across languages attracts nowadays an increasing interest in the conversation analytic community, as researchers are interested in a deeper understanding of human behaviour. Cross-cultural studies help us give an answer to the long-standing question of whether human languages share universal features or whether there are features that are culture/language specific. Therefore, I believe that the research agenda of this thesis, drawing from the insights of sociolinguistics and conversation analysis, will make an increasingly important contribution to our understanding of social interaction.

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Appendix A

Transcription Conventions

→	An arrow in the beginning of a turn signals the specific part of the excerpt discussed in the text.
[ ]	Square brackets indicate the beginning and the end of overlapping talk.
↑↓	Arrows indicate falling or rising intonation in the speaker's voice.
=	Equal signs, one in the end of one turn and the other in the beginning of the next indicate no break between the two turns.
-	A dash indicates a cut-off.
(0.5)	Time in parentheses indicates a time gap in tenths of a second.
(.)	A dot between parentheses indicates a tenth of a second interval between the utterances.
.	A dot in the end of a turn indicates "sentence-final" type of falling intonation.
,	A comma indicates continuing intonation.
?	A question mark indicates questioning intonation.
::	Colons indicate a stretch in the previous sound. The more colons, the longer the prolongation.
£	The pound-sterling sign indicates a quality of voice which contains 'suppressed' laughter.
wor<u>d</u>	An underlined letter of the word indicates stress.
WORD	Upper case letters indicate louder sounds in contrast to the surrounding ones.
°word°	Degree signs indicate softer sounds than the surrounding ones.
Wor-	A dash in the end of a word indicates that a word or sound is cut off.
(h)	A parenthesized h can mean laughter, crying, breathlessness etc.
.hhh	A row of h with a dot in front of them indicates the inbreath of the person.
hhh.	A row of h with a dot in the end indicates outbreath.

>word< The talk between > and < is rushed or compressed.

<word> The talk between < and > is produced with a slower pace than the surrounding talk.

(word) Words in parentheses indicate a best guess as to what was said.

((word)) Words in double parentheses indicate descriptions of transcription events.

( ) Empty parentheses show that the transcriber was unable transcribe the talk because it was unclear.

(( )) Double parentheses contain transcriber's descriptions.

Appendix B

Metadata

Description of recordings

There were three different time periods in which the recordings took place. Thus, my data base consists of audio- and video recordings of different time periods.

September 2012

The first data collection was initiated a month before I started my PhD. I utilized the consent forms from my master thesis and started audio recording family members over phone and during coffee breaks. Below are all of my recordings from that period, although I haven't transcribed or used them all.

Number of recording	Place	Number of participants	Time of recording
VN550047	Ioannina	2	00:01:06
VN550048	Ioannina	2	00:33:55
VN550049	Ioannina	2	00:03:01
VN550050	Ioannina	3	00:10:52
VN550051	Ioannina	6	00:53:17
VN550052	Ioannina	2	00:00:44
VN550053	Ioannina	2	00:00:22

December-January 2012-3

The second data collection took place during my first Christmas break to Greece. This was a rather long period I stayed in Greece, 4 weeks in total. This data set can be divided into 2 categories; one category consists of audio recordings done through telephone and another is video recordings. The telephone recordings of this period are much clearer than the ones from September as I used a microphone to connect my recorder to the phone and raise the volume of the participant's voice.

Telephone recordings

Number of recording	Place	Number of participants	Time of recording
VN550056	Ioannina	2	00:00:18
VN550057	Ioannina	2	00:14:15
VN550058	Ioannina	2	00:10:09
VN550059	Ioannina	2	00:21:06
VN550060	Ioannina	2	00:05:29
VN550061	Ioannina	2	00:00:32

Video recordings

Number of recording	Place	Number of participants	Time of recording
M2U00049	Ioannina	4	00:02:02
M2U00050	Ioannina	4	00:01:32
M2U00051	Ioannina	6*[89]	00:02:17
M2U00052	Ioannina	7*	00:38:16
M2U00053	Ioannina	4*	00:00:19
M2U00055	Ioannina	5*	00:16:21
M2U00056	Ioannina	4*	00:07:18
M2U00057	Ioannina	7*	00:49:10
M2U00058	Ioannina	6*	00:14:19
M2U00059	Ioannina	3*[90]	00:52:53
M2U00060	Ioannina	2	00:24:08
M2U00061	Ioannina	6[91]*	00:52:22

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[89] I put an asterisk to the recordings that I have included myself, the analyst, as a participant because although I am not one the main interlocutors, I may have been asked to participate minimally. In the rest, almost in every recording, I was present but did not participate at all.

[90] At some point the mother of the child comes in to bring the teacher a coffee.

[91] Some other participants entered but did not take part for long in the conversation.

M2U00062	Ioannina	3	00:10:27

May 2013

Another set of data was collected during a one week break in May at my hometown. Since my aunt and cousin from Germany visited my mother in Greece, I took the opportunity to record some Greek-German bilingual interactions, as well as some more video recordings of Greek interactions.

Number of recording	Place	Number of participants	Time of recording
M2U00063	Ioannina	3*	00:15:35
M2U00064	Veroia	6*[92]	00:27:38

December-January 2014-5

Some of the participants of these recordings were the same but I have also included new ones. The recordings took place in cars during trips and in the houses of the participants as well as mine. The recordings in cars are interesting in the sense that one can observe how external stimuli become part of the conversation and trigger introductions to new topics, thus shaping the trajectory of the talk. However, I found that some participants were overenthusiastic about the camera and were not acting naturally, which had an impact on the recording as I could not use much of the data.

Number of recording	Place	Number of participants	Time of recording
00001	On our way to Albania, from Ioannina to Igoumenitsa	4*	00:19:11
00002	On our way to Albania, on the highway between Ioannina and Igoumenitsa	4*	00:32:05
00003	On our way to Albania, between Igoumenitsa and the	4*	00:17:35

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[92] I have also included the waitress as a participant, although I don't have her consent form.

	borders		
00004	On our way back from Albania, after the borders to Igoumenitsa	4*	00:09:14
00006	Ioannina	6*	00:43:52
00007	Ioannina	6*	00:02:54
00008	On our way to Tzoumerka	4*	00:32:30
00009	From Pramanta to Surrako	4*	00:16:49
00010	Pramanta	4*	00:02:01
00011	Pramanta	4*	00:21:34
00012	Melisourgoi	4*	00:14:51
00013	Mikro Peristeri	5*	00:25:42
00014	Ioannina	4*	00:23:54
00015	Ioannina	4*	00:50:20
00016	Ioannina	4*	00:07:27
00017	Ioannina	2	00:10:09
00018	Ioannina	6*	00:52:33
00019	On the highway between Ioannina to Thessaloniki	3*	00:27:38
00020	On the highway between Ioannina to Thessaloniki	3*	00:42:26
00021	Ioannina	8*	00:43:32
00022	Ioannina	8*	00:45:13
00023	Ioannina	4	00:02:20
00024	Ioannina	5*	00:45:24

| 00025 | Ioannina | 3* | 00:20:56 |

Appendix C

Consent Form

Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form

Project: Epistemics: a case study in Greek

What is the project about?

In this project, I am interested in studying naturally occurring interaction in Greek.

What does participating involve?

The instruments that I am going to use in this project are qualitative research methods. I will audio- and video-record people from Greece in their everyday interactions, transcribe their conversations and analyze the data.

Please tick the appropriate boxes

Yes No

Taking Part

I have read and understood the project information given above.	☐	☐
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.	☐	☐
I agree to take part in the project. Taking part in the project will include being audio- or video-recorded.	☐	☐
I understand that my taking part is voluntary; I can withdraw from the study at any time and I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part.	☐	☐

Use of the information I provide for this project only

I understand my personal details such as name, email address and phone number will not be revealed to people outside the project.	☐	☐
I understand that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs.	☐	☐

Use of the information I provide beyond this project

I agree for the data I provide to be archived at the UK Data Archive. ☐ ☐

I understand that other genuine researchers will have access to this data ☐ ☐
only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as
requested in this form.

I understand that other genuine researchers may use my words in ☐ ☐
publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they
agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this
form.

_____   _____   _____

Name of participant [printed]   Signature   Date

_____   _____   _____

Researcher [printed]   Signature   Date

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