



COLLABORATIVE GRAMMAR: THE TEMPORALITY AND EMERGENCE OF CLAUSE COMBINATION IN ITALIAN TALK-IN-INTERACTION

fche ha
scritto IX
YPSILON.£

e anche
zeta.

e che sembrava
(.) un cartone
ani↑ma:to.

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by

VIRGINIA CALABRIA

Joint doctorate under the supervision of:

Prof. Elwys De Stefani (KU Leuven)

Prof. Simona Pekarek Doehler (Université de Neuchâtel)

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IMPRIMATUR

La Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de l'Université de Neuchâtel, sur les rapports de Mme Simona Pekarek, co-directrice de thèse, professeure, Université de Neuchâtel ; M. Elwys De Stefani, co-directeur de thèse, professeur, Universität Heidelberg ; Mme Kristin Davidse, professeure, KU Leuven ; M. Edoardo Lombardi Vallauri, professeur, Università Roma Tre ; Mme Margret Selting, professeure, Universität Potsdam ; Mme Dorien Van de Mieroop, professeure, KU Leuven autorise l'impression de la thèse présentée par Mme Virginia Calabria en laissant à l'autrice la responsabilité des opinions énoncées.

Neuchâtel, le 3 mars 2023

Le doyen
Louis de Saussure

Examination Committee

Chair

Prof. Karen Lahousse

KU Leuven

Supervisors

Prof. Elwys De Stefani

KU Leuven/Universität Heidelberg

Prof. Simona Pekarek Doehler

Université de Neuchâtel

Jury Members

Prof. Kristin Davidse

KU Leuven

Prof. Dorien Van de Mieroop

KU Leuven

Prof. Edoardo Lombardi Vallauri

Università Roma Tre

Prof. Margret Selting

Universität Potsdam

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*TO ALL THE KINDRED SPIRITS OUT THERE
WHO COMPLETE EACH OTHER'S LIVES*

ABSTRACT IN ENGLISH

This thesis, “Collaborative grammar: the temporality and emergence of clause combination in Italian talk-in-interaction”, explores how collaborative practices of clause-combining relate to the sequential and temporal organization of turns and actions in talk-in-interaction. Drawing on Conversation Analysis (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) and Interactional Linguistics (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018), I investigate speakers’ online analysis of turns-in-progress (cf. Auer, 2009a). The thesis focuses on two phenomena in language-in-interaction, which I group under the name “Collaborative Turns”: co-constructions (cf. Lerner, 1987, 1991, 1996), whereby an interactant completes a speaker’s turn-in-progress or suggests a candidate continuation thereof, hence fulfilling a prior speaker’s grammatical projection; and other-extensions, whereby a speaker extends a prior speaker’s potentially complete turn, in grammatically integrated ways, potentially re-occasioning a transition relevance place (TRP). I investigate syntactic formats (and co-occurring embodied conduct) deployed by the participants when continuing, extending or (re)completing a prior speaker’s turn (main, complement, relative and adverb clauses), as they emerge in relation to turns-at-talk. I thus problematize the notion of syntactic, prosodic, and pragmatic completion (cf. Selting, 2000). Collaborative Turns have been described as sophisticated examples of coordinated behaviour (cf. Bolden, 2003) and an obvious testimony (cf. Auer, 2009a) to the collaborative and interactive syntactic work that speakers do. By studying collaborative grammar, I show that clause-combining in interaction is an emerging, temporal, and interactional achievement. I thus discuss theoretical concepts, such as syntactic dependence, syntactic integration, coordination, subordination, etc., in light of the practical and contingent needs of participants in interaction. This research bears, then, implications for (i) studies on clause combining in spoken language; (ii) studies on different types of collaborative turns; (iii) studies on Italian talk-in-interaction; (iv) discussions on the concepts of projections and completion, dependency, syntactic integration, and the role of these for the sentence-in-progress. My corpus is composed of 12 hours of video data, recorded in different settings (informal dinners/aperitifs; formal business meetings) of naturally occurring interactions ‘around a table’, in present-day Italian. It has been transcribed following Jefferson’s (2004) conventions for talk and Mondada’s (2018) for embodied conduct. The interactions are all multiperson, which

allows me to problematize how speakers use a variety of verbal and non-verbal resource to orient to their recipients (cf. Sacks, 1992) and to turn-management practices in complex participation frameworks. Ultimately, I show how speakers mobilize resources that enable them to display to each other their collaboration. I call both the set of tools available to them and the process by which they mobilize these: “collaborative grammar”. I show that clause combining patterns emerge from it.

KEYWORDS: Interactional Linguistics, Conversation Analysis, Emergent Grammar, Online Syntax, clause combining, collaborative grammar, collaborative turns, co-construction, other-extension, incrementation, grammatical integration, temporality, projection, latency, completeness, multiperson interaction, embodiment, gaze, prosody, Italian talk-in-interaction

ABSTRACT IN FRENCH

Grammaire collaborative : la temporalité et l'émergence de la combinaison de clauses en italien parlé en interaction

Cette thèse explore la manière dont les pratiques collaboratives de combinaison de phrases sont liées à l'organisation séquentielle et temporelle des tours et des actions en interaction. En m'appuyant sur l'Analyse de la Conversation (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) et la Linguistique Interactionnelle (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018), j'étudie la manière dont les locuteurs analysent en temps réel les tours en cours des autres locuteurs (cf. Auer, 2009a). La thèse se concentre sur deux phénomènes dans le langage en interaction, que je regroupe sous le nom de "tours collaboratifs" : les co-constructions (cf. Lerner, 1987, 1991, 1996), par lesquelles un locuteur complète le tour en cours d'un locuteur précédent ou suggère une continuation de celle-ci, remplissant ainsi la projection grammaticale du locuteur précédent ; et les autres-extensions, par lesquelles un locuteur étend le tour potentiellement complet d'un locuteur précédent, de manière grammaticalement intégrée, réoccasionnant potentiellement des places de transition pertinents (TRP). J'étudie les formats syntaxiques (et la conduite incarnée co-occurrence) déployés par les participants lorsqu'elles continuent, étendent ou (re)complètent le tour d'un locuteur précédent (phrases principales, complétives, relatives et adverbiales), tels qu'ils émergent en relation avec les tours de parole. Je discute ainsi la notion de complétion syntaxique, prosodique et pragmatique (cf. Selting, 2000). Les tours collaboratifs ont été décrits comme des exemples sophistiqués de comportement coordonné (cf. Bolden, 2003) et un témoignage évident (cf. Auer, 2009a) du travail syntaxique collaboratif et interactif que font les locuteurs, lorsqu'ils analysent la grammaire de l'autre. En étudiant la grammaire collaborative, je montre que la combinaison de phrases en interaction est une réalisation émergente, temporelle et interactionnelle. Je discute donc des concepts, tels que l'intégration syntaxique, la dépendance syntaxique, la coordination, la subordination, etc., à la lumière des besoins pratiques et contingents des participants en interaction. Cette recherche a donc des implications pour (i) les études sur la combinaison de phrases dans la langue parlée ; (ii) les études sur les différents types de tours collaboratifs ; (iii) les études sur l'italien parlé en interaction ; (iv) les concepts de projections et de complétion, de dépendance, d'intégration syntaxique, et le rôle de ceux-ci pour un énoncé en cours. Mon corpus est

composé de 12 heures de données vidéo, enregistrées dans différents contextes (dîners/apéritifs informels ; réunions d'affaires formelles) d'interactions naturelles 'autour d'une table', en italien. Elles ont été transcrites en suivant les conventions pour la langue parlée de Jefferson (2004) et celles pour la conduite incarnée de Mondada (2018). Les interactions sont toutes multi-personnes, ce qui me permet de problématiser la façon dont les locuteurs utilisent une variété de ressources verbales et non-verbales pour s'orienter vers leurs destinataires (cf. Sacks, 1992) et les pratiques de gestion du tour de parole dans des cadres de participation complexes. Enfin, je montre comment les locuteurs mobilisent des ressources qui leur permettent de montrer aux autres leur collaboration. J'appelle à la fois l'ensemble des ressources à leur disposition et le processus par lequel elles les mobilisent : « grammaire collaborative ». Je montre que des modèles de combinaison de clauses en découlent.

MOTS CLÉS : Linguistique Interactionnelle, Analyse de la Conversation, grammaire émergente, syntaxe on-line, combinaison de clauses, grammaire collaborative, tours collaboratifs, co-constructions, other-extensions, incrémentation, intégration grammaticale, temporalité, projection, latence, complétude, interaction multiperson, conduit corporelle, gaze, prosodie, interaction parlée Italienne.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AdvP	Adverbial phrase
AdvC	Adverbial clause
AP	Adjective phrase
CA	Conversation Analysis
CC	Complement clause
CRS	Collaborative reported speech
CT(s)	Collaborative turn(s)
DRS	Direct reported speech
IL	Interactional Linguistics
IEMCA	Interactional Linguistics, Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis
IRS	Indirect reported speech
NP	Noun phrase
PP	Prepositional phrase
RC	Relative clause
RS	Reported speech
TCU	Turn constructional unit
TRP	Transition relevance place

LIST OF TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS AND GLOSSES

This manuscript adopts American English spelling throughout. This text uses italics for words from languages other than English. English translations are reported in ‘single quotation marks’, i.e., *significa* / ‘means’. Translations in the excerpts are all mine.

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS FOR TALK (BASED ON JEFFERSON, 2004)

(.)	short pause or gap (up to 0.2 seconds)
(2.4)	measured pause, gap, silence (in seconds)
[]	onset and end of overlap
(forse)	dubious hearing
(ciò;c’ho)	alternative hearing
()	incomprehensible segment
((cry))	transcriber’s comment
do↑mani	the segment following ↑ is pronounced with a higher pitch
futu↓ro	the segment following ↓ is pronounced with a lower pitch
.	final falling intonation
,	continuative intonation
?	final rising intonation
FORTE	loud
°meno°	soft
°°piano°°	whispered
<u>certo</u>	emphasis; ‘punched up’ pronunciation
:	syllable lengthening
semp-	cut-off
e^anche	liaison
< >	slowed down, compared to the surrounding talk
> <	speeded up, compared to the surrounding talk
davve ^{hh} ro	pronounced with breathiness (laughter)
.h	inbreath
h	outbreath
ə	schwa
&	turn continuation by the same speaker
£ciao£	smiley voice or suppressed laughter
=	latching; no break or gap between end of one line and beginning of next line

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS FOR EMBODIED CONDUCT (BASED ON MONDADA, 2018)

DATASETS MI13PROI AND MI13PROII

PAO	*gaze	+head movements/facial expressions	•hands/other gestures
ANN	€gaze	\$head movements/facial expressions	əhands/other gestures
EZI	√gaze	∞head movements/facial expressions	†hands/other gestures
MAR/VAN	@gaze	\$head movements/facial expressions	®hands/other gestures
DUI/PAM	%gaze	Δhead movements/facial expressions	∝hands/other gestures

DATASET MI13DIN

GIU	*gaze	+head movements/facial expressions	•hands/other gestures
ANG	€gaze	\$head movements/facial expressions	əhands/other gestures
RIN	√gaze	∞head movements/facial expressions	†hands/other gestures
PIE	@gaze	\$head movements/facial expressions	®hands/other gestures
GIO	%gaze	Δhead movements/facial expressions	∝hands/other gestures

DATASET TO13APE

ALI	*gaze	+head movements/facial expressions	•hands/other gestures
FLA	€gaze	\$head movements/facial expressions	əhands/other gestures
SER	√gaze	∞head movements/facial expressions	†hands/other gestures

BASIC GLOSSING SYMBOLS (BASED ON THE LEIPZIG GLOSSING RULES, 2015)

1	1ST PERSON
2	2ND PERSON
3	3RD PERSON
ADJ	ADJECTIVE
ADV	ADVERB
ART	ARTICLE
AUX	AUXILIARY VERB
COMP	COMPLEMENTIZER
COND	CONDITIONAL MOOD
COP	COPULA
CNJ	CONJUNCTION
DEM	DEMONSTRATIVE
DEF	DEFINITIVE
DOBJ	DIRECT OBJECT
DRS	DIRECT REPORTED SPEECH
F	FEMININE
FIN	FINITE VERB
FUT	FUTURE TENSE (<i>FUTURO SEMPLICE</i>)

GER	GERUND
IMP	IMPERATIVE MOOD
IMPRS	IMPERSONAL VERB
IND	INDICATIVE MOOD
INDF	INDEFINITE
INF	INFINITIVE VERB
INT	INTERROGATIVE
INTERJ	INTERJECTION
IOBJ	INDIRECT OBJECT
IRS	INDIRECT REPORTED SPEECH
M	MASCULINE
N	NOUN
NEG	NEGATION
OBJ	OBJECT
PASS	PASSIVE VOICE
PAST.PST.IPFV	IMPERFECTIVE (<i>IMPERFETTO</i>)
PL	PLURAL
POSS	POSSESSIVE
PP	PAST PARTICIPLE
PREP	PREPOSITION
PRO	PRONOUN
PRS	PRESENT TENSE
PTCP	PARTICIPLE
PTV	PARTITIVE
QUOT	QUOTATIVE (QUOTATION MARKER)
REC.PAST	RECENT PAST (<i>PASSATO PROSSIMO</i>)
REFL	REFLEXIVE
RELAT	RELATIVIZER
SBJ	SUBJECT
SG	SINGULAR
SUBJ	SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD
VOC	VOCATIVE

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In this terrifying world, all we have are the connections we make.

BoJack Horseman

Have you heard-

-this dankwoord?

So, I'm going to do a very 'me' thing
To thank who helped me cast into the fire the 'ring'.
I've thought so much, and then a bit more
But there weren't words too good for
Expressing how grateful today I feel
To have all these people to seal the deal.
It was an adventure, rich and complicated
But by friendship and love it was dominated.
I could not have done it without a company so great
collaborating with me from beginning to this very date.
So, I'm putting this all in a big rhyme
hopefully it will keep you all company, through time,
in the same way that many people have kept me
happy, sane, stimulated, loved, afloat in this big sea.

I start to say thanks for his guidance and friendship
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I tuoi abbracci genuini mi hanno riscaldato il cuore
così come i tuoi imbattibili manicaretti pieni di gusto e di amore.
Anto, resta sempre così come sei:
ovunque vai porti il sole e buonumore crei!
Un enorme grazie a Valeria per la tua amicizia
che con regali, gite, e cene sempre mi vizia.
Una parola positiva trovi in ogni momento
sei la migliore cura per ogni impedimento!
E grazie ad Andrea e anche alla dolce Caterina
così come grazie mille alla magica Carolina,
per aver reso più felice il mio presente:
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Thanks Martina, Miara and Vincent too:
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...I haven't forgotten, oh how could have I?
I don't really know how but here I try:
thanks to Giulia, for being my office mate,
for sharing with me the love and the hate,
thanks for taking the burden off my soul
for biking with me and taking a stroll.
Thanks for giving me all the world's comprehension
for teaching me to be brave, to be a better person.
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Thanks for starting a chapter with me in the most important book
and for persisting with me in all the time that it took.
It was a long marathon, but together we truly sprint
nothing can stop us now: together we'll do great things!
Mbalassi a Giuli... che è bedda, na maravigghia:

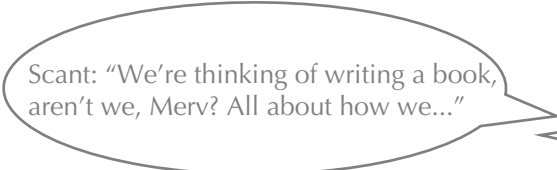
Grazie di esistere e esser diventata, con Anto, a me famiglia!
I also want to thank some people not in Belgium,
Unfortunately, some of them I see seldom.
However, It does not matter as they are always with me here:
With them by my side nothing I fear.
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with your soft voice, you envelop me with love.
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great music, great poems, how to mix chocolate and onion rings.
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we'll have fun again in that magical land!
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we will invent new paradigmatic theories brilliant and rare
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giving me strength and then also celebrating
I cherish our shared quiriness very dearly
I hope we will share more, after the PhD, more freely.
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Grazie anche a Ciccio, Nunzio, Peppe, Lorenzo, Ilaria, Alessia, Roberta
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Laura, Giulia L., Sara T. e Andrea... chissà
cosa posso scrivere che rispecchi la realtà?!
Siete la mia ancora, la mia forza, la mia babbà preferita
Mi insegnate tutto l'ABC della vita.
Giulia mi insegni pazienza e perseveranza, lezione memorabile
da te imparo che la strada verso la straordinarietà è lenta e inesorabile!
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mi supporti sempre e come panda con te imparo a rotolare.
Laura mi insegni una preziosa lezione: a connettermi a ogni emozione,
con un abbraccio, un po' di couscous oppure una canzone...
Andrea mi insegni il potere della vera condivisione
ogni volta che mi accarezzo la a, tutto va bene, torna la passione!
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mia sorella, mia moglie, amica e una persona favolosa.
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senza te non avrebbe avuto senso niente nel mio cammino.
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quando io non ho creduto in me, tutto è stato possibile coi tuoi incoraggiamenti.
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senza il tuo supporto questa matassa non avrei mai sbrogliato.
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they all have a big heart, and they branch out like an amazing tree:
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for making me feel welcome, loved and warm.
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Perché un grazie devo riservare
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Grazie Nonna Nico, la più importante
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you always believed in me, you've been my anchor and my port.
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Un grazie ad Angelo, che per me andrebbe sulla luna:
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che risuoni oltre tutte le difficoltà e le disgrazie.
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vi amo immensamente: spero siate fieri di questo dottorato!
Now at last the most difficult and beautiful part
to say thank you with all parts of me and my heart
to one of the most wonderful human beings I know
with whom I share a life, and for this I am still in awe
Grazie amore mio, didi, Sammi, my love
for saving me every day, for putting me above!
I have never known support like the one you give
I never felt such a sense of safety and so relieved.
You believe in me with a power so strong
that when I am with you nothing can go wrong!
Thanks for existing, for co-constructing our life like a tree:
without you, I simply could not be.

Really, I'm the luckiest in every universe and dimension
For every person I wrote about and even some I didn't mention.
Like the metrics in these rhymes, everything seems inexact
to express my gratitude: no concept is to the task apt...
'Trasumanar per verba non si poria', Dante said:
you can't translate it in words what's in your heart and head.
And while tears of emotion wet my face
I want to say one last time in this space:
Thank you all for co-constructing with me
this life-changing adventure that has been my PhD!



Scant: "We're thinking of writing a book,
aren't we, Merv? All about how we..."



Merv: "Finish each other's sentences"

Eoin Colfe (2005) *Artemis Fowl and the Opal Deception*

PART I

1. INTRODUCTION

We can begin by thinking of grammar as the – or one – basic organization for the turn constructional unit.

Of course, grammar is not the only way of organizing the materials of language.

Schegloff (1993: 55)

1.1 What can collaborative grammar tell us about clause combining?; 1.2 The research scope, aims and questions; 1.3 Outline of the thesis

This work has been carried out within the framework of the project *Beyond the clause: Encoding and Inference in clause combining* (2018-2022; funded by the Research Council of KU Leuven, C14/18/034) directed by Bert Cornillie, Kristin Davidse, Elwys De Stefani and Jean-Christophe Verstraete. The overall aim of the project was to examine the interplay between inference and encoding in the emergence and development of clause combining. Types of clause combination (i.e., adverbial, complement and relative constructions) arise from mechanisms that involve explicit encoding devices, such as conjunctions (cf. Haspelmath, 2004), or from inferences about the semantic relations internal to the clauses (cf. Verstraete, 2010). The overall project – bringing together methods from different subdisciplines, i.e., Interactional Linguistics, Linguistic Typology, Contrastive Corpus Analysis and Historical Linguistics – addressed both the interplay between explicit encoding and inference in clause combining, and the role of clause boundaries and the transition from monoclausal to multiclausal structures. The ultimate goal was to develop a richer and more accurate understanding of clause combining in a variety of typologically different languages.

1.1 What can collaborative grammar tell us about clause combining?

This thesis, which constitutes the interactional component of the project, explores how practices of clause combining relate to the sequential and temporal organization of turns-at-talk in interaction, adopting the methods of Conversation Analysis (CA, Sacks et al., 1974; Sacks, 1992) and Interactional Linguistics (IL, Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018). In other words, it studies how patterns of clause combination get produced bit-by-bit while speakers' turns unfold in conversation.

Through a turn, participants in interaction verbally and/or embodiedly accomplish social actions, which emerge progressively. Speakers tend to respect the principle of one speaker-at-a-time (see chapter 3), and the turn-taking machinery regulates how the floor passes from one speaker to another, i.e., how turns are alternated in conversation (cf. Sack, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). Hence, a turn is not defined by its linguistic format. It is rather an action-unit that the participants themselves treat as potentially complete.

For the description of the linguistic format, instead, the notion of clause (see § 2.1.1), which is defined on the level of syntax, can be helpful. A clause is a grammatical unit that comprises a predicate and the phrases that accompany it (cf. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018). Clauses can be linked together in more complex units. Clause combining occurs when two or more clauses, or a clause and other linguistic “constituents” (cf. Gast & Diessel, 2012: 4), are combined in symmetrical or asymmetrical relationships. A clause is independent when it can stand alone and may combine with other independent clauses in symmetrical relationships. A clause is dependent when its grammatical and semantic-pragmatic interpretation depends on another clause with which it combines in an asymmetrical relationship. Asymmetrical relationships are relations of dependency. Asymmetry is grammatical when one clause is grammatically independent and the other is dependent on the latter. Asymmetry is semantic-pragmatic when one clause is pragmatically the main one, it carries the main meaning, and the other is dependent on the latter for its interpretation (cf. Haiman & Thompson, 1988; Ford, 1993; Bril; 2010; Couper-Kuhlen, 2012; Maschler et. al., 2020, etc.).

Through clause combining, clauses become more complex. This is not achieved retrospectively in the shape of one monolithic grammatical unit (cf. Matthiessen, 2002), but in an emergent, prospective, incremental process. This process draws on syntactic combinatory possibilities, specific to any given language (cf. Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen, 2005), and on pragmatic and semantic relations between grammatical units, such as causality, temporality, conditionality, anaphorical reference to a main semantic topic, etc. (cf. Couper-Kuhlen, 2012). Thus, when analyzing spoken language, adopting a broader stance on clause combining is needed. This includes considering the syntactic as well as the pragmatic relations in play in the complex combination of units (cf. Selting, 2005; Couper-Kuhlen, 2012; among others). This thesis therefore deals with all grammatical units as they emerge while a speaker’s turn unfolds. I consider both monoclausal structures, in

which the jointly-built turn results in one “prolonged” clause, and multiclausal structures, in which the jointly-built turn results in more than one clause (cf. Hopper & Thompson, 2008 and Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen, 2005). Phrasal and interjectional resources, which may occasion combinations of phrases or fragments (cf. Hopper, 2004; Auer & Pfänder, 2011; Laury & Suzuki, 2011; Pekarek Doehler, 2011; Lindström et al., 2022) are also considered.

Although clause combinations are occasioned between multiclausal units, monoclausal structures contribute to the complexification of syntax productions too. Specifically, monoclausal structures can be deployed to complete or extend a unit incrementally, i.e., bit-by-bit (cf. Hayashi, 1999; Kim, 2003, Tanaka, 2000; based on Lerner, 1987). Moreover, these structures can become more complex in the successive unfolding of talk. This is why I take into consideration both simpler and more complex grammatical units, at the boundaries between mono- and multi-clausal structures, and how the first expands temporally into the second.

To explore how clauses combine in interaction, I examine instances where two or more speakers jointly build clauses and clause combinations, using collaborative grammatical resources. “Collaborative grammar”, for the purposes of this thesis, means a set of tools available to speakers for achieving a shared and/or combined grammatical unit (be it more or less complex), and displaying this collaboration to each other. Grammar, in this sense, goes beyond syntax to include, lexical, pragmatic, prosodic and multimodal resources. A first illustration can be provided with the help of a fictional representation taken from a comic strip. Although this does not show naturalistic talk, it demonstrates the way in which multiple characters speak as one. In the following reproduction of spoken language, we can see precisely how three fictional characters combine their clauses, using both syntactic and pragmatic-semantic resources (as already remarked by Sacks, 1992). The illustration comes from Walt Disney’s *Donald Duck*¹ (Fig. 1.1). *Zio Paperino* (Uncle Donald), with a net in his hand, orders his nephews, *Qui*, *Quo* and *Qua* (Huey, Dewey, and Louie) to stop chit-chatting and catch an insect, which he refers to as “that monster.” The three nephews first utter together their refusal response: “that’s impossible, today is Ecology day”, then they build collaboratively the explanation of

¹ The usage of this example was inspired by *Lecture 3, Fall 1965* in Sacks (1992: 144-149). Source: https://disney-comics.fandom.com/it/wiki/Qui,_Quo,_Qua_e_la_giornata_dell%27ecologia.

'ecology'. Qui says: "ecology means respecting nature and its creatures", Quo adds: "if creatures are mistreated", and Qua ends: "nature takes revenge."



Fig. 1.1 'Qui, Quo, Qua e la giornata dell'ecologia' (by Guido Martina, 1981)

Although temporality cannot be 'heard' in a comic strip, one could imagine that in this episode Qui, Quo, and Qua are orienting to complete each other's utterances, following one another to jointly provide a reasoning and an explanation in response to their uncle. Their turns are intertwined to produce one response by combining more or less complex clauses. More specifically, Qui utters an independent clause in Italian, i.e., a clause formed by a subject *ecologia*'ecology', a main verb conjugated in an explicit mood (indicative) *significa*'means', and an object *rispetto della natura e delle sue creature*'respect for nature and its creatures'. His turn is potentially complete, being designed as a stand-alone clause. However, Quo extends the prior turn: he adds another clause, which does not articulate an explicit subject, but the possessive pronoun *le sue*'its', which refers anaphorically back to *natura*'nature' in Qui's utterance. Quo also reuses Qui's *creature*'creatures', already uttered by Qui. Quo's turn is, in this way, heard as semantically and pragmatically retrospectively drawing on the previous turn, extending the prior topic, and co-building an explanation. Moreover, prospectively Qui's turn is recognizable from the beginning as part of an *if-then* construction, *se si maltrattano le sue creature*'if one mistreats its creatures', hence a *then*-clause is expected to follow. Indeed, Qua utters the projected clause, thereby co-constructing the prior turn: *la natura si vendica*'nature takes revenge'. Qua draws on the possessive pronoun *le sue*'its', which becomes, retrospectively, not only backward but also forward oriented. To sum up: three turns containing more or less complex clauses are here combined by three different speakers using morpho-syntactic and lexical materials that show visibly the combination of their three turns. One of the three participants, A, utters a turn. B,

extends it after the prior turn is completed, combining their clause with anaphoric, morphosyntactic resources, but also with pragmatic-semantic references to a subject (*natura*) uttered already by speaker A. Speaker C, then, **co-constructs** B's turn-in-progress, at a point where a potential second part is expected after the first has been uttered. Both a pragmatic, anaphoric – backward oriented – combination of clauses and a grammatic, cataphoric – forward oriented – one are visible in this illustration.

By analyzing each other's grammar so that the turns are designed to draw on those prior, Qui, Quo, and Qua undertake a collaborative endeavor that ends up in the interactional achievement of a collaboratively built explanation: I call their joint production a "Collaborative Turn" (CT). The object of this thesis is precisely clause combining that emerges in CTs – both as extensions and as co-constructions of prior/ongoing turns – and that is shown by means of either syntactically or pragmatic-semantically integrated clauses. I consider, for the purposes of this thesis, that linguistic units are integrated when: grammatically, speakers deploy resources that overtly show the syntactic relationship between the units; and pragmatically, when the action achieved through the unit continues, extends, completes or re completes the prior action.

In the literature, CTs have been investigated under various labels (§ 2.2). Seminal work on some types of co-constructions, called "collaborative turn sequences" – and my starting point – and on some types of other-extensions, called "other-increments", has been carried out respectively by Lerner (1987, 1991) and by Schegloff (2001, 2016). Lerner pointed out that CTs are the result of the grammatical and pragmatic-semantic combination of turn constructional units (TCUs) – the smallest interactionally relevant components, recognizable as complete action units in a turn (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; Selting, 2000). For the moment, I consider that a turn is complete when after one TCU or multiple TCUs a transition relevance place (TRPs) is reached and speaker change can occur. A complete turn is syntactically, pragmatically and prosodically complete (cf. Ford & Thompson, 1996; Couper-Kuhlen & Ford, 2004; Fox, 2001; among others). Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen (2005) have shown that speakers orient to the clause when constructing their TCUs. Ford & Thompson (1996) have shown that grammatical completion often correspond with turns formatted as clauses. Hence, by looking at how TCUs unfold in clausal formats and how they combined, we can shed light on how clause combinations emerge from turn combinations. In other words,

collaborative grammar can tell us how clause combining gets patched together by multiple speakers in interaction.

1.2 The research scope, aims and questions

This work revolves around three key concepts: collaboration, temporality, and (emergent) grammar. They will inform the arguments, guide the analysis of the data, and converge and blend in the discussion and conclusions of this thesis. The aim is to bring back and reconnect all the threads to the following “spinal cord” idea: grammar, as an epiphenomenon, arises from the use speakers make of grammatical resources (cf. Bybee et al. 2002; Hopper, 2011a; among others) while interacting. Grammatical structures emerge from the local contingencies of a situated interaction (cf. Bergmann, 1990) and can be interpreted because of the sequential and temporal organization of their step-by-step emergence (cf. Mushin & Pekarek Doehler, 2021) in “enchrony”, the “conversational time” (cf. Enfield, 2013). Grammar is a collaborative achievement, shaped by the efforts of cooperating shared by co-interactants. Without the speakers’ timely coordination and negotiated collaboration there could not be communication, mutual understanding, and ultimately any grammar at all.

By analyzing naturally occurring conversational data in present-day Italian, I focus on speakers’ online analysis of turns-in-progress and their collaborative achievement of joint grammatical productions, mutual understanding, actions, and activity progression. Speakers have to monitor each other’s grammar as it unfolds in time in their turns in progress (Auer, 2009a), especially when co-constructing and extending each other’s clauses. They mobilize grammatical resources that allow them to tie and integrate not only their turns, but also their clauses. This is what Schegloff (1979) has called “syntax-for-conversation”: speakers need to adapt their talk to the local tasks of turn management and turn taking: repair, hesitation, sequence organization, etc. (cf. Schegloff 1979; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018). Hence, collaborative turns are a privileged locus to verify how simpler syntax expands into more complex projects in ‘visible’ and ‘hearable’ ways, and to observe the emergence of clause combining patterns from the interactants’ practical needs².

² Following Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson (2008: 445), a “pattern” is a recurrent interactional practice, rather than a sedimented grammatical format.

CTs have been described in the literature (cf. Auer, 2014; Kalkhoff & Dressel, 2019) as evidence of the work of synchronization that speakers do while analyzing each other's grammatical and interactional projections (cf. Auer, 2005). Speakers project with their talk what can come next grammatically and interactionally. Through grammatical projections, speakers foreshadow at every moment the further development of their talk, which recipients can anticipate. A syntactic gestalt (cf. Auer, 2005) is opened up, the projection follows a trajectory, which the hearer starts examining, and the projection can be fulfilled by the same speaker or by others, via the production of more or less predictable elements. However, projections are not deterministic and can be abandoned; moreover, projections may not be precise (collaborative completions are also evidence thereof; cf. Lerner, 2002). Auer (2005) has individuated projection at the grammatical level, based on the linguistic design of a turn (e.g., after a *se*'if-clause, an *allora*'then'-clause is expected), and projection at the inter-actional level, based on the action and activity at hand (e.g., by starting a turn with *once upon a time* a speaker projects an upcoming story). Auer (2005) calls "projection" the point where grammar and interaction meet, as there is evidence that speakers do this to progress in a conversation and secure mutual understanding. Accordingly, Bolden (2003: 187) said about collaborative completions: "Among the different ways in which recipients can demonstrate their understanding, collaborative completions are the most convincing since they display not only recipients' understanding of the stance or the import of a turn-in-progress, but the minute analysis of the action itself." Compared to constructing a new turn, Luke (2021) argued, combining a TCU with a prior one in syntactic and pragmatic integrated ways allows speakers to perform tasks not achievable otherwise. Most relevantly in a work that investigates the making of complex clauses and sentences, the collaboration process in play in achieving CTs allows us to understand how a sentence can emerge bit-by-bit, or in Lerner's (1991: 441) terms how it can be "in-progress":

The collaboration of two speakers within what is achieved as a single sentence provides a way to recover features of sentence structure, where those features are not wholly tied to the talk of individual speakers. Sentence production can be seen here as an interactional achievement. The import of this is that the completion of one speaker's utterance by another participant reveals aspects of an interactionally relevant syntax.

Rather than simply describing the “historical” constituents of a complete sentence, the examination of this type of collaboration makes possible the description of features of a sentence-in-progress.

By addressing talk to their recipients, at all moments speakers adapt what they say. In this sense it is relevant to them what and how they are designing their turns. This has already been shown in the seminal work by Goodwin C. (1979, 1980), who demonstrated how even one single sentence is an interactional achievement that shapes and is shaped by a conversational event: “the collaborative process of constructing the turn might lead to the modification of the speaker’s emerging sentence” (Goodwin, C., 1979: 98). These are a few initial reasons why CTs are crucial for observing the emergence of clause combining in relation to the unfolding of turns-at talk.

The interactions analyzed in this thesis are multiperson, i.e., they involve three to five participants (see § 4.2). In multiperson settings, turn taking can require more cooperative work in comparison to dyadic interactions (cf. Stivers, 2020). Displaying participation and engagement can also require additional interaction work. The relationship between grammatical formats in CTs and turn allocation in multiperson settings has not been widely investigated. How turn taking is negotiated, which ‘forms’ participation takes (see chapter 6), and how synchronization and collaboration are achieved in multiperson settings fall, therefore, under the scope of this research and constitute an element of originality

The language under investigation is another crucial element in this research. Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen (2005: 495) have shown that different languages offer different “formats available to speakers for resolving communicative and interactional problems.” They examined “co-constructions” and “turn-unit extensions” and demonstrated two relevant points. The first is the importance of projection, as speakers draw on the knowledge they have of the resources and formats available in their languages to mobilize specific grammatical resources. The second is the orientation of interactants toward the format clause, which has as a corollary the recognition of what a clause – or also a phrasal unit – is in a given language, in other words, how it is conceptualized in the specific grammatical tradition of the specific language.

Traditionally, Italian has been the object of study of conversational analysts and linguistic anthropologists, at least Duranti & Ochs's (1979) study of left dislocations in Italian. Beyond that, only recently has the grammar of Italian talk-in-interaction received more attention (cf. De Stefani & Veronesi, 2020). Even less has been done on clause combination from an interactional perspective, based on spontaneous conversations (but cf. De Stefani, 2020). While working with naturalistic data, the application of labels for descriptive purposes to Italian linguistic phenomena based on English has not always proven satisfactory. Crucial syntactic concepts for this thesis, clause, clause combining, parataxis, hypotaxis, the terminology for prosodic phenomena, e.g., continuative prosody, do not translate well from English to Italian. "Translate" here is intended not only as a switch between the linguistic codes, but as conceptualization differences due to a different grammatical tradition and to the specificities of the (canonical) grammar of Italian. Therefore, this thesis will be concerned also with terminological issues. Other well-established concepts in CA and IL such as party, multiparty, and completion, will also be critically discussed in light of the findings that resulted from the analysis. Nonetheless, following Couper-Kuhlen & Selting (2018: 23):

We will use the technical terminology of traditional linguistic analysis where it seems an appropriate way of describing what we find participants doing. This is, however, not necessarily to claim that such category notions are themselves meaningful to participants; rather, we assume that participants tacitly orient to the *practices* captured by these notions.

One big challenge of this thesis is to examine grammatical phenomena while being respectful of their temporality and emergence, and without retrospectively analyzing structures that have not yet been uttered. It is also necessary to be aware of the relevancy of linguistic notions for the users of linguistic phenomena: speakers are not concerned with relative clauses, linguists are.

Finally, this thesis is concerned with Interactional Linguistics. Chapters 3 and 4 will be dedicated to the framework and the implications of working within it. For now, I will borrow Lindström's (2006: 6) words on IL, as they perfectly explain the relevance of studying clause combination adopting an interactional approach:

This vein of research has made important contributions towards a new understanding of syntax and grammar: It is not sufficient to account for the internal structure of utterances ('sentences'), since the internal structure is relative to the external structure of the utterance, viz. the sequential and actional context. Syntactic structure provides a resource of organizing an interactional task.

As for the research questions that prompted this research, they address both the wider field of grammar-in-interaction, specifically clause combination in interaction, and the specifics of practices and resources available in Italian talk-in-interaction.

The starting questions for the overall thesis are two:

1. How do practices of clause combining relate to the sequential and temporal organization of turns in talk-in-interaction? How do speakers project possible clause combinations and how do hearers interpret successively uttered turns (in clausal format) in relation to each other?
2. How does collaborative clause combining emerge incrementally as speakers construct their turns-at-talk in collaborative turns?

These two initial questions contain several aspects that can be unpacked in more specific sub-questions:

- a. Which lexico-syntactic (e.g., conjunctions), prosodic (e.g., continuative prosody) and embodied (e.g., gaze) resources do speakers employ when combining clauses? How do they mobilize them to ensure the overt and hearable syntactic and action integration of their TCUs?
- b. What are the formats under the umbrella term CTs? Which grammatic, prosodic and embodied resources are deployed to implement them?
- c. Are there specific clause combining patterns that speakers use to collaboratively achieve turn co-construction and other-extensions? What implications emerge for our understanding of concepts such as "coordination", "subordination", "parataxis", "hypotaxis"?
- d. Which actions do speakers achieve when providing a TCU co-constructing with the prior speaker (e.g., co-constructing reported speech; claiming understanding and aligning; etc.)? Which actions do they implement by other-extending a prior turn (e.g., displaying understanding, agreeing/disagreeing, (dis)affiliating, teasing, etc.)?

Moreover, are there specific clause combination patterns to implement specific actions (e.g., relative clauses in other-extensions that co-construct the previous speaker's argument; cf. Stoenica 2020)?

By addressing these questions, this research is complementary to other approaches to grammar and clause combination where the focus is not on the temporal emergence of grammatical units in interaction, but, for instance, on “the general form of language that underlies each particular realization, each particular natural language” (Chomsky, 1966: 10). To answer these questions, I will look at how speakers and hearers interpret together the meaning of their unfolding turns, and at how hearers come to be co-speakers and collaboratively build these turns as they unfold. Following Goodwin's (1979: 11) suggestion that “the procedures utilized to construct sentences are, at least in part, interactive procedures”, I investigate the extent to which grammar can be “collaborative”. i.e., jointly-built. And collaborative turns, as I stated above, are an ideal microscope through which to observe these issues.

In essence, the choice to investigate clause combination through the lenses of CTs is motivated by three reasons: 1) the possibility offered by co-constructed TCUs and other-extensions to see the constant mutual monitoring speakers do of their co-participants' talk and embodied behavior, and how this monitoring is then made visible in fulfilling projections or in lexico-syntactic choices; 2) the fact that speakers orient to the clause as a relevant unit of interaction (Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen, 2005), for turn-taking and recognition of turns-at-talk and their potential completions (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting, 2018: 365), etc. Specific clausal structures that are co-constructed and (re)completed emerge from jointly building utterances; 3) that investigating CTs from the point of view of clausal patterns can reveal syntactic tendencies (more paratactic or hypotactic units; cf. Trevisi, 2003) or that certain clause types (complement, relative and adverbial clauses) are more likely to be projective or deployed as extensions.

This research bears, then, implications for (i) studies on clause combination in spoken language, as outlined above; (ii) studies on different formats of collaborative turns: co-constructions and extensions; (iii) studies on Italian talk-in-interaction; (iv) discussions on the concepts of “projections” and “completion” and their role for the sentence-in-progress.

1.3 Outline of the thesis

Part I of lays the theoretical and epistemological groundwork for the analyses in part II.

Following **Introduction**, Chapter 2, **Clause combining and collaborative turns: a literature review**, presents a definition of the clause, followed by prior research on clause combining in interaction, with a section on Italian. The chapter introduces previous interactional studies on collaborative turns, again with a focus on Italian.

Chapter 3, **Interactional Linguistic: from theoretical concepts to practices**, is conceived as a toolkit: the theoretical frameworks of Conversation Analysis and Interactional Linguistics is presented, both in their historical development and for their main tenets. The approaches to syntax and grammar ‘in’ interaction and ‘for’ interaction are described. Concepts and labels useful in the thesis are discussed. One section is dedicated to explaining in detail collaborative turns, with illustrative excerpts for each label used in this study. The final aim of this chapter is to elaborate the conceptual and methodological background for the analyses and arguments in part II.

Chapter 4, **Data & method**, presents the corpus, its transcription, the reasons behind the choice of the data, how the collections of phenomena were built, and the implications of choosing multiperson interactions. The conversation analytical procedure behind this enterprise is emphasized. Some minor quantifications are provided, presenting the general characteristics of the data analyzed. This chapter also includes a section on relevant features of Italian, and notes on Italian terminology, in comparison it with the terminology from the Anglo-Saxon tradition and explores the appropriateness of the latter for Italian data. Alternative terms are suggested, both to fit the language of the data, and to move away from labels that belong to traditional grammatical description toward an interactional account of grammar.

Part II contains the analyses, a discussion of the findings and a general conclusion. The analytical part has been divided into two main chapters.

Chapter 5, **Analysis I: collaborative grammar**, presents an analysis of the data, starting from the formal and syntactic design of the components of a CT as the starting point. Grammatical integration of these components is discussed in relationship to temporality: the data are presented according to four categories, based on what occurs between a candidate contribution (i.e., B’s talk) and the unit in the host turn that speakers co-construct or extend (following other items, following a pause, latched to or

immediately following A's talk, early). I show how temporality plays a role in shaping the grammatical resources used in clause and turn combining, and how the relation of clauses to turns can be unveiled looking at temporality. Chapter 5, ultimately, illustrates how interactants combine clauses collaboratively, which resources they use, and how clause combining relates the turn taking machinery.

Chapter 6, **Analysis II: grammar in action(s)**, contains an action-based analysis of the data, at the edges of clause combining. Collaborative multi-unit turns are represented. I approach turn and clause combination from a pragmatic angle, showing how grammatical units are connected by virtue of the interactional activities in which turns take shape. Since this thesis sits at the syntax-interaction interface, separating the grammatical from the action level is a heuristic solution. In actual talk, these levels are not separated, but intertwined and overlapping. Bringing them together in the discussion is what roots this work in Conversation analysis and Interactional linguistics.

Chapter 7, **Discussion and conclusions**, provides a summary of the findings and their general implications for the field. Clause combination is presented as emerging from the participants' interactional needs: what collaborative turns tell us about clause combination and what clause combination tells us about speakers-collaboration; which clause combination patterns in CTs accomplish which interactional jobs and *vice versa*; what grammar tells us about interaction and *vice versa*. Finally, the thesis closes with some possible future directions in which this research could be taken.

2. CLAUSE COMBINING AND COLLABORATIVE TURNS: A LITERATURE REVIEW

There are, in the conversation itself, a lot of events that are to the altogether naïve eye, quite remarkable. That is, without any analysis and simply by inspection you can find some things that you might take to be worth thinking about, without any special consideration of wh't we've done here at all.
Sacks (1992: 144)

The things in the world that are going to count theoretically [...] will not necessarily come with labels on them.
Sacks (1992: 664)

2.1 Prior research on clause combining; 2.1.1 Defining the clause; 2.1.2 Clause combining in interaction; 2.1.3 Clause combining in Italian; 2.2 Prior research on collaborative turns; 2.2.1 Co-constructions; 2.2.2 Co-constructions in Italian; 2.2.3 Other-extensions; 2.2.4 Extensions in Italian; 2.3 Summary and contribution to the literature

In the next sections, I present the main research directions taken in interactional studies on clause combining and focus particularly on Italian. I then move to collaborative turns (CTs), the phenomena through which I investigate how clausal patterns and turn-combination emerge. I pay particular attention again to the pre-existing literature on CTs in Italian. Finally, I provide a preliminary summary of my contribution to the existing literature.

2.1 Prior research on clause combining

2.1.1 Defining the clause

As reported by Dryer (2006), previous studies have discussed the status of a clause through its morphosyntactic marking (the form and type of predicate); whether it is main or subordinate; the status of a clause in relation to a sentence; its semantic type (e.g., declarative, interrogative, imperative); the topic-focus structure (in Dryer, 2006 “information packaging”); and the (hierarchical) relationships clauses have with other clauses or other grammatical material (cf. Haiman & Thompson, 1988).

The temporal unfolding of a clause in interaction and the relation of the clausal structure to turns-at-talk has been explored in interactional studies. Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen (2005) have shown how the clause is a relevant resource for speakers, who orient

to clausal structures and deploy them for turn-taking, for projecting actions, for utterance co-construction, etc. There is agreement that different languages offer different resources to build clauses (cf. Ono, Laury & Suzuki, 2019). However, Laury, Etelämäki & Couper-Kuhlen (2017: 12) warned that the clause: “is not a universal grammatical category. In fact, what counts as a clause can differ significantly from language to language.”

In this thesis I adopt a definition of clause taken from Couper-Kuhlen & Selting (2018: 361)³ (adapted to Italian data, see § 4.4). In their view, clauses are “grammatical units that consist of ‘predicates’ (in English these are verb complexes) and the phrases that ‘go with’ them. One single clause or a combination of clauses can be referred to as a sentence.” Couper-Kuhlen & Selting (2018) observed that although the presence of a predicate is a definitory element for a clause in linguistics (as also pointed out by Haspelmath, 2010), containing a predicate does not in itself give an indication of how a clause emerges in real time in relation to a turn-at-talk, it only “facilitates the monitoring of talk for social actions” (Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen 2005: 812). In other words, the presence of a predicate can give clues as to which social action is being carried out in a clausal TCU (cf. Tanaka, 1999; Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen, 2005).

The possibility of monitoring a co-participant’s unfolding grammatical unit is key in interaction (cf. Auer, 2005), as it also provides an interesting insight in to the interactional management of clauses in relation to each other, and therefore on jointly built clauses and sentences. Since every language ‘affords’ grammatical projectability in different ways, and offers participants different resources to build talk bit-by-bit and monitor what comes next (e.g., the position of predicates varies in main and subordinate clauses in different languages; biclausal formats are marked as such in different elements of a clause in different types of languages; etc.), ultimately it is important to define what a clause is (for speakers) in the language under investigation (see § 4.4). For instance, Biazzi (2011), in her analysis of co-constructions in Italian, concluded that the predicate has a central role in turn projection. Indeed, postverbal constituents occurs in her data most frequently as co-constructing the prior turn-in-progress, confirming that speakers orient to the predicate as a grammatically projective element, i.e., they monitor potential clausal structures and co-construct them with fitted grammatical material.

³ One must also bear in mind Laury et al.’s (2017) recommendation to understand the clause as it is defined in the language being examined.

2.1.2 Clause combining in interaction

How does IL define “clause combination”? Couper-Kuhlen & Selting (2018) discussed ‘combination’ as the linkage of two or more independent units (clauses and actions) that form a more complex format (a sentence, and a more complex action). Laury, Etelämäki & Couper-Kuhlen (2017) distinguished “combination of clauses” from “linkage of clauses.” They regarded combination as the result of putting together smaller parts in larger units to achieve a more complex one, and linkage as the result of two items in relationship with one another that do not form a larger unit together. Clause combination therefore results in a new, more complex unit formed by the smaller bits that compose it. This is a process that can emerge and complexify incrementally (cf. Maschler, Pekarek Doehler, Lindström & Keevallik, 2020). Gast & Diessel (2012: 4) remarked: “While the term ‘clause combining’ suggests a symmetrical interpretation – standing for a ‘combination of two clauses with each other’ – it actually means that one clause is combined with something else.” Specifically, a unit (a clause) can be combined with either another clause, or with a phrasal unit. They suggested, then, to redefine clause combining as the “combination of a clause with some other constituent”, which is in line with my understanding of the phenomenon.

Couper-Kuhlen & Selting (2018) provided two reasons for deploying the term “clause combination” in interactional studies: first, to put emphasis on the clause as an emergent unit that speakers in conversation orient to (cf. Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen, 2005) and to distance IL from more formal/functional descriptions centered on the sentence, as a post-hoc product⁴; second, to keep focus on all the possible, emerging combinations (cf. Matthiessen & Thompson, 1988), and encompass more hierarchical, dichotomic descriptions of the relationships between linguistic units. The types of combinations described in linguistics (including in IL), and that concern this thesis as well, are generally three:

1) Coordination, where the units are at the same level: “syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements” (Haspelmath, 2007: 1).

⁴ But see some studies within the frameworks of functional and typological linguistics that have adopted the clause as starting point rather than the sentence: Cristofaro (2003), Diessel & Hetterle (2011), Davidse & Van Praet (2019) Sansiñena, De Smet & Cornillie (2015), Verstraete (2011), among others.

Coordination can be syndetic, i.e., the linkage of clauses is realized via grammatical resources that openly mark their relationship (e.g., conjunctions) or asyndetic, i.e., a linkage without an overt marker⁵ (cf. Mazzola, 2022). Excerpt 2.1 illustrates how coordination is achieved across two participants. During the business meeting of a consultancy company, Annina (ANN) explains to Paolo (PAO) and to her other co-workers that the venue they have chosen for their company's annual party is surrounded by rubble from restoration work. But as it was winter, snow had covered it and it was not visible (ll. 01-02) (see chapter 5, for a complete analysis, as excerpt 5.3.8):

Ex. 2.1 Mi13PRO1-52, 32:58-33:32

01	ANN	la neve le aveva cope:rte e quindi (.) durante l'inverno <i>the snow had covered them and so during the winter</i>
02		non si vedeva niente >assolutamente.< <i>you couldn't see absolutely nothing</i>
03	PAO	=e adesso si vedono però. <i>and now you can see them instead</i>

At l. 03, Paolo links his turn to Annina's syndetically, by means of the conjunction *e*/'and'.

2) Subordination, where one unit is in a relation of dependency with another: "grammatically dependent on another clause or some element in another clause" (Thompson, Longacre & Hwang, 2007: 237-238), and can either be an argument of the main clause (complement clauses, CCs), a modifier of a referent in the main clause (relative clauses, RCs) or a modifier of the predicate or of the entire clause (adverbial clauses, ADvCs) (cf. Laury & Suzuki, 2011: 2; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018: 426). Excerpt 2.2 illustrates how other-speakers can design their turn as a subordinate (adverbial) clause, (re)completing a prior turn. At dinner, Angela (ANG) and Giulio (GIU) talk about a friend who is moving, as he does not have a job in their city anymore:

Ex. 2.2 Mi13DIN2-44, 18:38-18:47

01	ANG	=paga l'affitto per leggere:[:] <i>he pays the rent to read</i>
02	GIU	[per] passare la giornata <i>to spend his day</i>
03		[a leggere libri e fumar le canne.] <i>reading books and smoking joints</i>

⁵ Cf. Reintges (2010: 216) "Although coordinate constructions are usually marked by a coordinator, they do not have to be. In fact, coordination represents a syndetic variant of paratactic clause combining." Also, on asyndetic and syntactic parataxis cf. Haspelmath (2007).

At line 01, Angela states that their friend is only paying rent to read, and Giulio, l. 02, adds an adverbial subordinate clause introduced by *per* /‘for/in order to’, grammatically depending on *paga l’affitto* /‘he pays rent’, reusing Angela’s grammatical resources.

3) Embedding: “an embedded clause is a clause functioning as a constituent of another clause” (Cristofaro, 2003: 1). Excerpt 2.3 shows an example of an embedded clause provided by a co-participant. Alice (ALI) and Flavia (FLA) are having drinks and talking about work. Alice explains that her boss has set up an online shared folder adding all the co-worker’s email addresses to it. Alice finds that confusing.

Ex. 2.3 To13APE2-52, 01:37-01:38

01	ALI	.hh poi <u>tu:</u> non sai ma:i (.) quanto è (0.2) cari:no:, eh <i>then you never know whether it is nice er</i>
02		(0.9)
03	FLA	includere agli altri?= <i>to include the others</i>
04	ALI	=no. venire via dalla carte:lla. <i>no to come away from the folder</i>

At line 01, Alice says that one never knows how nice it is, uttering a clause *poi tu non sai mai* /‘then you never know’ followed by a complement clause *quanto è carino* /lit. ‘how it is nice’ that is left incomplete. A pause occurs in l. 02, and Flavia provides a TCU at l. 03 co-constructing Alice’s turn. This is formatted as an implicit⁶ complement clause, *includere agli altri* /‘to include others’ depending, as embedded in, on *quanto è carino*.

Although all these types of syntactic relationships are relevant and investigated in this thesis, whether the ‘combinations’ identified in the data can be defined as coordinate, subordinate, embedded will be further discussed in and after the analyses.

Research on how grammatical units are combined in talk-in-interaction has moved in several directions. It has focused on a general discussion on the theory of clause combining: e.g., how do we talk of “coordination” and “subordination” from an online perspective on language? (cf. Ford, 1993; Hakulinen & Selting, 2005; Fox, 2007; Laury, 2008; Auer & Pfänder, 2011; Laury, Etelämäki & Couper-Kuhlen, 2014, 2017; Maschler, Pekarek Doehler, Lindström & Keevallik, 2020; among others). Specific types of complex clausal patterns, e.g., complement, casual, concessive, pseudo-clefts etc. have been addressed as implementing specific practices (cf. Ehmer & Barth-Weingarten, 2016; Fox

⁶ In Italian, an implicit clause contains a verb in an infinitive form; an explicit clause, conversely, contains a verb in a finite form.

& Thompson, 2007; Günthner, 1996, 2000; Horlacher, 2015; Lindström et al., 2020; Ono & Thompson, 1994; Pekarek Doehler, De Stefani & Horlacher, 2015; Stoenica & Pekarek Doehler, 2020). The relationship between clause combination and turn-taking practices has been explored by looking at how the projectability of TCUs relates to the type of clausal format deployed in the TCU (Selting, 2000), and the implication for the concept of clause (cf. Couper-Kuhlen, 2012; Ford, 1993; Ford, Fox & Thompson, 1996, 2002; Küttner, 2020). Studies at the interface between clause combination and intonation units have delved into the prosodic realization of clausal turns to discuss the relationship between prosodic completion and syntactic completion (cf. Barth-Weingarten & Ogden 2021; Couper-Kuhlen, 1996; Selting, 2000, 2005). Work at the interface between body and grammar (cf. the special issue by Pekarek Doehler, Keevallik & Li, 2022) explores questions linked to grammatical completions and suspension (Hofstetter, Keevallik & Löfgren, 2021); the embeddedness of body conduct into syntactic slots and the implications for the notions of grammatical completion, and the clause (Keevallik, 2013, 2018); and how speakers can orient to bodily clues in co-producing grammar (Hayashi, 2003, 2005). Another line of research has focused on how clause combining relates to action formation and action ascription, namely how speakers orient to a clausal formats in the accomplishment of an action, e.g., requests and declarative sentences and assessments (Couper-Kuhlen, 2009, 2014), denials (Ford, 1993, 2002) and responsive actions (Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen, 2015). Some studies have also addressed practices of jointly building clausal patterns, e.g., self-incrementation, or turn continuation (cf. Couper-Kuhlen, 2012; Helasvuoto, 2004; Lindström & Rönqvist, 2021; Seppänen & Laury, 2007; Stoenica, Pekarek Doehler & Horlacher, 2020), but there is only little work on how/which clause combinations emerge when multiple speakers combine their turns.

One dimension that emerges from these studies is that IL assumes the existence of a certain level of “canonical syntax” (Ono & Couper-Kuhlen, 2007). Some descriptive concepts, i.e., predication, branching, finiteness in main clauses, etc. are indeed considered in grammatical descriptions of interactions. The difference between IL and descriptions of grammar not based on actual usage, or not focused on social interactions, is what is effectively defined as “canonical” and how that is determined:

The unanswered question seems to be how 'canonical syntax' is established. What is considered 'canonical' in each language is often influenced by the grammar of written language, or worse, by native linguists' intuition. As a result, what has been assumed to be standard syntax may actually not be the standard syntax of spoken language. In fact, if actual interaction is taken as a basis for canonical syntax, some categories of 'increment' may disappear altogether, either merging into another category or morphing into non-increments. (Ono & Couper-Kuhlen, 2007: 509)

In agreement with a view of grammar as emergent (Hopper, 1988, 2011, 2015; cf. Thompson, 2019 on the clause as emergent unit), interactional linguists have contested a view of clause combination as dictated by parameters that are 'internal' to the language as a closed system (cf. Chomsky, 2007), toward a view of syntactic constructions as open, adapting to interactional contingencies (see chapter 3), arising from and sedimenting in the interactions (Auer & Pfänder, 2011; Hopper, 2004):

Constructions, then, are open in two ways. One of them is widely recognized and acknowledged: they contain open slots into which new lexical items can be inserted with a greater or lesser degree of freedom, depending on the construction [...]. But there is another, more important way in which constructions are open. They are open because their structure is emergent, that is to say, their structure never reaches a point of closure and completion as a construction (Hopper 1987, 1998). They are intrinsically indeterminate. (Hopper: 2004, 19)

Ford (2004: 47), discussing the possibility to find "units" that are "discrete" and "uniformly recognizable", such as phrases or clauses, concluded that this may be problematic as "all units are in one way or another 'open'."

Conceptualizing constructions⁷ in interaction as "fragments that are habitually combined with other fragments to make utterances" (Hopper, 2004: 1), Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson (2006) and Hopper & Thompson (2008) have argued against a view of

⁷ Cf. Peaker Doehler (2011: 107): "I use the term 'construction' in line with usage-based approaches to grammar to refer to patterns of language use of various sizes (e.g. NP, clause, clause combination) comprising multiple linguistic items. Constructions (see e.g. Goldberg, 1995) are (more or less) sedimented patterns for accomplishing communicative functions/actions; their meaning or function cannot be derived from the sum of their constituents; they develop and are reconfigured as a response to recurrent communicative needs."

clauses as fixed pieces of syntactic materials always combined in fixed relationships, such as biclausal structures (e.g., pseudo-clefts). Instead they have suggested looking at biclausal structures as emergent linguistic units in progressive completion deployed by speakers to accomplish actions and manage their interactional needs. These biclausal structures are linked by projections that can be analyzed in real time by co-interactants. A debate over the “position” of grammatical elements (right vs left branching), goes in the same direction: Auer & Lindström (2016), for instance, have argued against a view of grammar that considers bipartite structures as necessarily ordered in a linear way (one part after the other), in favor of looking at the actual position of the utterances in the sequential unfolding of conversations. Auer (2014) building on Hopper’s consideration has argued that “latency” and “projection” (see chapter 3) are two key elements for the concatenation of syntactic material in conversation: interactants build on open grammatical projection trajectories, while also reusing latent spaces provided by previous linguistic elements (e.g., reusing the dependency of a complement taking verb to provide an integrated complement clause). That syntactic material is open can also be shown by cases where speakers use lexical resources to build a structure as *prima facie* in paratactic relationship with another structure that emerges as in hypotactic relationship (for examples of this, see chapter 5), or vice versa (cf. De Stefani, 2020 on *nel senso (che)* in Italian, Maschler, 2018 on *she* in Hebrew; Verstraete & D’Hertefelt, 2016 on Germanic conjunctions; cf. also Maschler et al., 2020). The investigation of specific clausal formats – adverbial, relative and complement clausal patterns – has also brought evidence to the fuzziness of the categories of coordination and subordination in spoken language (cf. Fox & Thompson, 2007; Ehmer & Barth-Weingarten, 2016; Lindström, Lindholm & Laury, 2016 on adverbial structures; Günthner, 2000 on structures at the boundaries between hypotaxis and parataxis; etc.).

Research on clause combination in relation to turn taking practices and to action formation and ascription has focused on (inter)actional projection (cf. Auer, 2005; see chapter 3) and resources that allow speakers to project specific grammatical elements. However, as Sacks et al. (1974), and Ford, Fox & Thompson (1996) already noticed, the potentiality of TCUs as projecting elements is not only focused on the linguistic material used but rather on the purpose of activities and sequences organization that certain grammatical formats serve. Couper-Kuhlen (2009, 2014), for example, mapped some

formats with certain actions (e.g., directive-commissive actions with declarative clauses, *if*-clauses, interrogative *why*-clause and so on) and discussed the grammatical and conceptual overlaps of the formats and types of actions, showing how certain linguistic chunks are sedimented in spoken language to achieve certain specific actions, and also certain actions favor certain grammatical turn designs. By studying a variety of formats situated in specific interactional activities, IL research has focused on clausal formats that emerge “for practical purpose.” For instance, Pekarek Doehler (2011) showed that left dislocations are an example of online syntax as they can be used to insert elements in between projections to adapt the utterance as it unfolds to a recipient; while right dislocations can be deployed to extend an utterance incrementally, after a completed turn, as in line 9 of the excerpt in fig. 2.1 from Pekarek Doehler (2011: 26):

(13) CODI L1-secII-EO-03, 502 “ton parent”

1 Cat *franchement* (...) *je pense que: c'est: (1.0) si: t'as vraiment*
 'frankly I think that it's if you really have'

2 *un parent qui a: (1.4) dévié,*
 'a parent who has gotten on the wrong track'

3 Els ((laughter 6.4s))

4 Cat *qui a vraiment pris un très mauvais chemin,*
 'who has really taken a very bad path'

5 (1.0) *euh: (1.5) soit (...) tu prends le même chemin que*
 'either you take the same path as'

6 *lui? (1.1) soit tu vas à l'opposé*
 'him/her or you go in the opposite direction'

7 ***et tu le détestes.***
 'and you hate him'

8 (1.0)

9 ***euh: ton: parent qui a- (1.2) dé [vié.***
 'your parent who has gotten on the wrong track'

10 Els ((dévié)
 'gotten on the wrong track'

Fig. 2.1 Right dislocation as self-extension in Pekarek Doehler (2011: 26)

Similarly, Horlacher (2015) showed the emergence of right dislocations as means for speakers to reorganize, i.e., re-open, close, expand, a conversational sequence; while Pekarek Doehler, De Stefani & Horlacher (2015) gave an account of a wider range of “marked constructions”, studying their temporal relations to specific action purposes. In showing how “complex” adverbial clauses derive from complex action packages (e.g., in instructions), Lindström et al. (2020: 14) stated:

This accomplishes a single complex action which, in a *post hoc* structural perspective, is a complex consecutive clause combination that in its process of emergence is matched with the participants' initiating and responding moves in the local instruction sequence. The consecutive clause completes this complex action combination pragmatically and the recipient takes an orientation to it as one of completion.

Some of these studies have specifically focused on how clausal formats are actively emerging for implementing practices, i.e., self- or other-extending a turn (see § 2.2.2) after a transition relevance place (TRP). In cases where a co-participant extends a prior speaker's potentially complete turn, they cannot draw on possible open syntactic trajectories, as these trajectories have potentially been fulfilled by the prior speaker. Nonetheless, co-participants can draw on grammar that remains latent, they can extend some elements (e.g., a referent) in prior turn by means of anaphoric resources (cf. Stoenica, Pekarek Doehler & Horlacher, 2020), they can use morphology to integrate their contribution(s) with prior talk (e.g., in *consecutio temporum*, masculine or feminine pronouns in agreement with prior talk, etc.), they can use lexical resources that tie back to the talk that has been continued/extended. Especially when co-participants deploy overt marks of subordination (i.e., extending a turn by means of a relative clause introduced by 'which', in Italian *che*), complex syntactic patterns arise, as clause combination is locally occasioned. Ford, Fox & Thompson (2002) have accounted for two phenomena in US English that show how grammatical extensions are sensitive to action contingencies: "increments", TCUs that are grammatically dependent on a prior turn, and that continue the prior action (e.g., pursue uptake); and "extensions", TCUs that are grammatically independent and carry out a different action, e.g., expressing a speaker's stance. The authors did not make a distinction between multiclausal and monoclausal units, dealing exclusively with phrasal extensions, and self-increments. Similarly, reflecting on the relationship between grammatical integration and social practices, Seppänen & Laury (2007) showed how *et(tä)*/'that' in Finnish can be used either as a subordination conjunction or particle. The speakers' different deployment of the resource reflects the different degree of integration of the *etta*-extensions with prior talk, which involves a variety of practices (incrementing vs. extending with "free constituents", using the terminology by Ono & Couper-Kuhlen, 2007) and actions.

Maschler (2018) looked at clauses introduced by *she*/'that' in Modern Hebrew, which similarly to Italian are not unambiguously identifiable with a clausal type, e.g., a relative clause. Although they are introduced by a “subordinating conjunction”, these *she*-structures are rather “loosely integrated” with prior talk, and this integration only emerges in the turn unfolding from the interactant’s need, as co-constructed *she*-clauses show. Stoenica (2020) explored how speakers both co-construct and other-increment relative clauses in French; and Stoenica & Pekarek Doehler (2020) focused on relative clauses in French that emerge as increments and accomplish referential repair or referential elaboration. This demonstrates that relative clauses in spoken French are part of “grammar for talk implementing action” (Schegloff, 1996: 113). Finally, Lindström & Rönqvist (2021) showed how *å sen*/'and then' in Swedish is used in multiparty conversations for both self and other-extensions after TRPs during the activity of describing paintings (where pointing gestures are also relevant positioning these *and then*-continuations at the body/grammar interface). These latter studies present similar formats and phenomena that I account for in Italian (see chapter 5). However, they do not make a distinction between co-constructing/other-extending a relative clause (i.e., sharing a syntactic format between multiple speakers); and co-constructing/other-extending the prior turn by means of a relative clause. For instance, in excerpt (4) from Stoenica (2018: 109), a speaker adds an NP to a clause-in-progress, co-building it:

03 FED: par exemple ±×la façon dont on e::st
 04 JES: xassis?

Fed utters in l. 03 an emergent relative clause introduced by *dont*/'in which', 'for example the way in which we are', and Jes provides a candidate completion *assis*/'sitting' (l. 04). Conversely, in this thesis, I analyze cases where speakers provide candidate contributions formatted, among other things, as relative clauses (as shown by ex. 2.6 below).

In her investigation of “circumstantial relations (e.g., cause, condition, and concession)” (Couper-Kuhlen, 2012: 278), Couper-Kuhlen argued that whether the relationship of combination is overtly marked or not does not make a difference for the interactants⁸. She documented two types of continuation speakers can achieve with *because*-accounts: those that can be produced as parts of a multi-unit turn, projective of

⁸ Couper-Kuhlen (2012) also makes a useful difference between the level of “sequence organization”, in the case turn-continuations, and the level of “turn organization” in the case of multi-unit turns.

more to come (incomplete), and those produced as continuations after a completed turn. In the latter, they can be treated as new actions if they are not “through-produced” (i.e., part of a multi-unit turn, where recipients do not take the floor after potential TCU-completion but treat the TCUs as part of a larger project that culminates in a TRP). The overt presence of ‘because’ does not make for a direct reading of “accounts” as “turn-continuations”:

the distinction between lexico-syntactically marked forms of clause combination (by definition, TCU continuation) and lexico-syntactically unmarked forms (by definition, new TCU) is not relevant for participants’ decisions about when to come in and what to do next. These findings raise interesting questions about the interactional relevance of deploying a connector such as *because* in turn construction (*ibidem*: 296-297).

Based on prior research, adopting an interactional approach to the study of grammar of spoken language shows to have, at least, three implications: (i) it stresses the fuzziness of linguistic categories and underlines that linguistic elements “achieve categoriality” only through their actual use in interaction, while their reading as categorial is not forced into the interaction (cf. Laury & Thompson, 2008: ix; Voghera, 2017); (ii) it entails looking at how linguistic patterns and structures emerge and evolve from interactional practices (cf. Haiman & Thompson, 1988; Hopper, 2001, 2011); (iii) it involves investigating the “multifunctionality” of resources without assigning systematic correlations to phenomena (cf. Haiman & Thompson, 1984; Matthiessen & Thompson, 1988; Etxepare, 2008; Laury, 2008; Maschler, 2020; etc.).

How does clause combining emerge when multiple speakers are involved? What are the consequences for the relationship between clause combining and practices of turn management and turn co-construction/extension? How do contributing speakers orient to connectors and subordinating resources when providing their candidate contributions? These are just some of the questions that arise from this overview and are left to be answered throughout the analyses.

2.1.3 Clause combining in Italian

There is no lack of literature on Italian from a conversation analytical perspective (cf. Fele, 2007), as pointed out by Rossi (2015). Moreover, research interest has increased in

recent years, as shown by a recent SI dedicated to Italian talk-in interaction curated by De Stefani & Veronesi (2020). Nevertheless, not a lot of work has been done on the links between grammar and interaction in Italian (cf. De Stefani & Veronesi, 2020: 476) and specifically, on clause combining in Italian talk-in-interaction.

Duranti & Ochs (1979) provided a first interactional account of a syntactic construction in Italian, left dislocations (cf. also De Stefani 2014), followed by De Stefani (2009) and Bonetto (2013) for cleft sentences, Monzoni (2005) for right dislocations, Calaresu (2018) for hanging topics, and more recently De Cesare & De Stefani (2022), who provided an account of pseudo-clefts in multiperson Italian talk-in-interaction, adopting both an interactional and a text linguistic approach. De Cesare & De Stefani (2022) confirmed Hopper & Thompson's (2008) findings on English applied to spoken Italian, namely that PCs are not always biclausal combined in a single unit: pseudoclefts, like other units canonically considered "constructions", in spoken language are not conceived as in a static text but unfold in time. Thus, different elements can get patched together even after a projecting *wh*-clause, resulting in more fragmentary and paratactic structures, with less syntactic integration between the components. This confirms that interaction structures are open and flexible as speakers adapt them to the contingency of the social interaction at hand. Evidence for this comes also from De Stefani's (2021) investigation of the *if-X/then-Y* format in guided tours. *If*-clauses enable speaker to project vocally the grammatical "adequate" continuation of the turn, i.e., the main *then*-clause, while also projecting the relevant next bodily action of the recipients, i.e., establish a focus of attention on an object in the surroundings. Different degrees of grammatical integration between the clauses correspond to different degrees of overt causality between the turns (cf. "content conditional" in Sweetser, 1990). Emerging grammatical structures are, then sensitive not only to grammatical but also to body-action projections.

Biazzi (2009, 2011) studied the interface of Italian syntax and interaction with L2 speakers while also focusing on co-constructions. She also addressed projectability of grammar in interaction (see chapter 4), and the issue of units that emerge as grammatically integrated when a projector construction is followed by the grammatical fulfilment of the trajectory. However, as shown in co-constructions, integration can also be semantic and action based, and not produced via syntactic marking (Biazzi also drew a continuum of integration between the linguistic units that are co-constructed, see § 2.2.1).

Other interactionally oriented studies have focused on specific “pragmatic particles” (cf. Pauletto & Ursi, 2022), “discourse particles” (cf. Borreguero Zuloaga et. al. 2021) or lexical resources in Italian talk-in-interaction that link together linguistic units or preface them: for instance, Bazzanella & Borreguero (2011) on *allora* and *entonces* in Italian Spanish; Thaler, (2016) on *mica*; Pauletto, (2016) on *bè*; De Stefani (2010) on *eh*. Other studies have looked at phrases that have undergone a sedimentation process: Bazzanella & Cristofoli (1998) on *piuttosto che* and De Stefani (2020) on *nel senso (che)* as resource for turn management. Specifically, De Stefani (2020) investigated how *nel senso che* is flexibly used by speakers not only as turn-entry device and turn-yielding and transitioning device, but also, from a syntactic point of view. This resource allows speakers to coordinate clauses as well as to self-extend a turn with a unit formatted as a non-main clause and therefore as an incremental TCU. Studies like De Stefani (2020) showed once again how, when adopting an emergent view on clause combining, the formats and resources that are deployed are intertwined with the turn management practices and the social actions that the speakers are accomplishing.

Not within an IL approach, but with a focus on spoken Italian, Lombardi Vallauri (1994, 2000) has worked on relative clauses (RCs). He provided a functional description that moves beyond the definition of RCs as subordinate, to a classification of them as equivalent to phrases and coordinated sentences. Lombardi Vallauri (2009) has also worked on adverbial sentences in Italian from a functional perspective, looking at the semantic-pragmatic reasons behind subordination read through the lenses of information structure. Lombardi Vallauri (2010) focused syntactic completeness and incompleteness and on conditional sentences and insubordination in spoken Italian, with a focus on constructions that are “absent in writing” (Lombardi Vallauri, 2004: 189) such as unembedded conditional *if*-clauses (without main clause), for which he provided a functional semantic-pragmatic explanation. Voghera (1992; 2017) has worked on the syntax of spoken Italian considering different interactional settings and has opposed the recently increasing interest in spoken language to the “written language bias” (cf. Linell, 1982, 2005) of formal linguistics. What emerges from these studies is that spoken language is not less complex than written language, nor do speakers necessarily tend to simplify. While it may be the case that processes involved in speaking emerge as continuous and contingent re-adjustments and that they fragment grammatical structures,

at the same time these processes reveal these structures to be open and flexible. Combinations of linguistic units, then, are occasioned incrementally when ‘needed’, and not by virtue of static possibilities rooted in the internal rules of the linguistic system⁹.

More traditionally “la sintassi del periodo” in Italian has been studied mainly from grammatical (cf. Dardano, 2005; Prandi 2013), typological (cf. Cristofaro, 2003) or formal perspectives. With respect to the latter, Rizzi (1982) and Burzio (1986) applied the Generative *Government-Binding Approach* (cf. Chomsky, 1982) to Italian clausal constructions and reflected on the implications for the syntax of Italian being a pro-drop language (the overt expression of the grammatical subject is not mandatory). Cinque’s (1999) work on the morphosyntax of Italian verbs became models for further research in Italian syntax. Generativists have also focused on syntactic variation, comparing Italian varieties on the Peninsula (cf. Poletto & Benincà, 2007 for the *Syntactic Atlas of Italy*). Research on syntax has also been focused on Old Italian (Salvi & Renzi, 2010), Italian Sign Language (Geraci. et al., 2015), the syntax of acquisition of Italian as L2 (Guasti, 2005) and computational linguistics, (cf. Lenci et al., 2005 for *treebank*), among other things. While Cristofaro (2003) remains a seminal reference for subordination in a typological perspective, based also on Italian data, Kortmann (1996) had already investigated Italian adverbial subordinators (e.g., *perché*, *mentre*, etc.) in cross-linguistic comparison with other “European” languages. These last-mentioned studies are mostly diachronic and functional accounts.

What this prior research – especially the rich tradition of Generative literature available for Italian – has allowed linguists to examine are factors that belong to the ‘internal structure’ of the language, whereby language is conceptualized as a “system” that follows its own internal (syntactical) rules, which can be represented in schematic detailed abstractions (i.e., in syntactic trees). For this reason, these studies (often) do not deploy naturally occurring linguistic data and are not interested in actual Italian-in-use.

⁹ For a distinction between traditional and interactional approaches to syntax, cf. Lindström (2008: 44): “Mainstream syntax only focuses on the internal syntax; it describes phrases, clauses, and sentences, which are built from grammatical units. The focus point is the internal organization, from an identified beginning to a projectable end and this is simply not sufficient in interactional linguistics. [...] The external syntax, based on empirical data, connects the study of grammatical constructions to the dialogical sequence of which it is a part, and the focus point is the dialogic organization of the utterance. Rather than choosing the traditional static product-syntax as a point of departure, the dynamic process-syntax is chosen and by that the opportunity to describe the ongoing collaborative task which the interactants carry out in a dialogue.”

the realizations by speakers are seen, in fact, as individual acts of performance in contrast with a universal language system (cf. Cinque, 1995). Most of these studies are interested in categorizations that account for language internal factors in abstract ways, in contrast to a view of grammatical categories as open and emergent taken by approaches like Emergent grammar (Hopper, 1987, 2004, 2011a) (see chapter 3). This is the approach to grammar, and specifically to clause combining in Italian talk-in-interaction, that I adopt.

2.2 Prior research on collaborative turns

Conversation is a collaborative endeavor: the extent to which speakers collaborate is made visible by themselves in specific ways. Investigating co-constructed and shared grammar is one of the ways in which this becomes visible (cf. already Lerner, 1991; Blöndal, 2015; Enfield & Sidnell 2017; Goodwin, C., 2017; Luke, 2021; among others). “Collaborative turns” (CTs) is an umbrella term I deploy to describe the turns involved in the collaboration: the ongoing or prior speaker’s one (for clarity’s sake, A), and the contributing speaker’s one (B), who can either continue or complete an ongoing/prior turn in co-construction or extend ongoing/prior talk. The label collaborative turns does not refer to a syntactic type of turn design: although the grammatical design of the components of a CT is the starting point, the focus is on the collaborative practice that is accomplished by mobilizing grammatical, pragmatic, prosodic and embodied resources.

Between 1965-1967, Sacks gave a number of lectures on collaboratively producing an utterance in everyday talk¹⁰, defining the phenomenon, whereby “three boys collaborate to produce a single sentence” as “to some extent not terribly rare”, but instead “special” and “a rather remarkable occurrence”:

Joe : (cough) We were in an automobile discussion,
Henry : discussing the psychological motives for
Mel : drag racing on the streets.” (Sacks, 1992: 144-145)

Not dissimilarly to the *Qui, Quo, Qua* example in chapter 1, Sacks noticed how three speakers can build on the prior turn to collaboratively build one sentence. The very first

¹⁰ Part II, lecture 3, 144-147; part III, lecture 7, 320-327; part IV, lecture on March the 2nd, 523-534; part VI, lectures 4 and 5, 647-664; and various other remarks across the collection of *Lectures*.

phenomenon he observed would be later defined as “Appendor questions”¹¹ (cf. Sacks, 1992; Schegloff, 1997; Sidnell, 2012) – turns that are designed grammatically as “optional adjuncts (e.g. prepositional phrases)” (Sidnell, 2015: 190), are syntactically dependent on prior talk, prosodically formatted as questions, and are used pragmatically to initiate other-repairs, or checking a speaker’s understanding of another speaker’s turn. Appendor questions point backward to the previous turn but do not forward it by extending the previous action. Another phenomenon observed by Sacks and then described at length by Lerner are “word searches” (cf. Lerner, 1996; Local, 2005) – turns where a speaker display troubles finding a word and a co-participant provides the missing lexical item(s). Two significant elements come out of Sacks’ description: how syntactic elements are tied to social organization, and the view of collaborative utterances as syntactic possibilities related to turn-taking and management. Sacks also mentioned the importance of prosody, but most of all he addressed one of the main elements that enables this collaboration – which will be a central argument for Auer’s (2009a) online-syntax, i.e., the real-time analysis of the interlocutor’s ongoing turn (grammar, action, and prosody), made possible by the projective force of the incremental unfolding of each bit of an utterance:

If it’s the case that non-speakers can listen to an utterance in its course for issues like completion, and can, for example, see completion forthcoming, and they can do that with the use of more than, say, intonation contour – where intonation contour is a way of producing a question such that you can produce - if, that is, persons aren't only using that, but are using, e.g., analysis of syntax, then one thing that wouldn't be puzzling at all is that they might find themselves in the position of doing such things as completing a sentence that somebody else began [...] Such a fact as that persons go about finishing incomplete sentences of others with syntactically coherent parts would seem to constitute direct evidence of their analyzing an utterance syntactically in its course, and having those results available to them during the production of such a sentence, so that they can use that to complete it. (Sacks, 1992: 647)

¹¹ I agree with Luke (2021: 24), that in his overview on collaborative turns, distinguished “appendor questions” and Persson’s (2017) “fill-in-the-blank questions” – designedly incomplete questions that are used to elicit another participant’s completion – as broad cases of collaboration, from narrow cases of collaboration, co-constructions and increments, where all speakers involved collaboratively work to build together one turn (Luke says, in fact, one TCU).

From these early lectures, the main ingredients of CTs can be already extracted:

- a speaker A's turn unfolds bit-by-bit projecting grammatically at every step what could potentially come next, on a local morphosyntactic level (e.g., after a feminine singular article in Italian, what is expected to come is a feminine singular noun; after an *if*-clause, a *then*-clause) and on an interactional-pragmatic level (e.g., after an *if*-component, the protasis, a *then*-component, the apodosis, is expected) (cf. De Stefani, 2021);
- a co-participant B hears and analyses in real time, grammatically, prosodically, pragmatically, the unfolding turn of speaker A;
- a co-participant B finds what they treat as a slot in A's turn, and provides a candidate element that continues, completes, or recompletes speaker A's turn, using dependent or integrated grammatical resources, from a 'simple' phrase to an entire sentence.

Sacks also noticed another important element: "the inserted word is treated as a 'candidate' and the other person then accepts or rejects the candidate term and goes on to complete the utterance" (Sacks, 1992: 321). Rephrasing this, I add:

- speaker A can ratify, by accepting or refusing, the candidate completion/continuation or the other-extension, by means of both verbal and embodied resources.

Combining these elements into a systematic study, Lerner (1987, 1991) provided a description of possible types of "collaborative completions". Keeping projection and its fulfilment as central points, Lerner focused, in his doctoral dissertation, on what he called collaborative turn sequences. The idea of sequence comes from the relation of "conditional relevance" (Schegloff, 1968), that links a TCU with the (prior) turn that is being completed: for Lerner, not only does a co-speaker build on the grammar of the prior turn, called a "preliminary component" (in Fig. 2.1, Rich's turn), but also on its inter-actional projection, treating the first turn as a first pair part of an adjacency pair (Schegloff, 2007) and providing the second pair part, called "anticipatory completion" (Carol's turn, in Fig. 2.2):

[US]

Rich: if you bring it intuh them

Carol: ih don't cost yuh nothing

Fig. 2.2 If-then collaborative turn sequences in Lerner (1991: 443-444)

The possibility to provide a well-integrated grammatical unit arises from "compound TCU formats": some components (the *if* at the beginning of a turn) can foreshadow what

follows (the *then* component): “This format, the compound turn-constructive unit format, may be a component of a socially construed syntax-for-conversation” (Lerner, 1991: 441). Lerner then shifted the focus from syntax to action and listed some types of compound formats, e.g., list making, quotation in conversation, parenthetical inserts, possible co-occurrence of these, etc. However, as Lerner noticed already, not all contributions are provided after a preliminary component, even when a space in the turn is provided, and not all instances where participants collaboratively build grammar and turns are recognizable as compound TCUs. For this reason, Lerner’s first accounts constitute only the basis for following studies that have opened up to different aspects of sharing grammar, in many languages, to the point that King (2018: 11) observed: “[T]he collaborative completion appears to be a universal practice that appears to accomplish similar things across languages.”

Prior literature on collaborative turns presents an array of terminological variation in the different languages for which CTs have been investigated. After presenting these studies, I focus on Italian, to which I am contributing. Although in my conceptualization of the phenomena I consider together co-constructions and other-extensions (see chapter 3), in presenting the literature I first talk about co-constructed utterances and then about other-extensions in separate subsections. This is both for reasons of clarity, and because they have been treated as separate phenomena in the literature. However, I consider them jointly for the aims of this thesis.

2.2.1 Co-constructions

Studies on co-constructions have been carried out on a variety of languages, sometimes with terminological overlaps, sometimes with different labels pointing toward different approaches (e.g., a focus on syntax, on action, on prosody, on collaboration, etc.) from which the phenomenon has been approached in and for a specific language. An aspect that differentiates existing studies is whether emphasis is put on the design of the candidate contribution that is provided (e.g., whether B’s turn is a completion of A; whether it is grammatically integrated with A; whether it continues A’s action); or on the result of the collaboration (e.g., whether A’s projection is fulfilled, whether B transforms, subvert A’s turn retrospectively).

The term “co-construction” has been mainly used to describe the phenomenon whereby speaker B provides a TCU completing speaker A’s incomplete turn, with grammatically integrated material (see excerpts 2.4 and 2.5). In this sense it has been applied to German (Auer, 2015; Auer & Zima, 2021), Finnish (Helasvuo, 2004), Swedish (Bockgård, 2004), Italian (Biazzi, 2009; Bazzanella, 2016), Spanish (Kalkhoff & Dressel, 2019), and French (Stoenica, 2020). In these studies, whether the candidate contribution is a completion or a continuation that does not complete the prior turn has not been investigated in depth. Other studies have focused even more narrowly on the practice of bringing the prior incomplete TCU to potential completion: “complétions collaboratives” (Oloff, 2014) for French; “(putative) completions” (Díaz, et. al., 1996), and “collaborative completions” (Kangasharju, 2002) for English; “subversive completions” (Bolden, Hepburn & Potter, 2019) for Russian and English; “collaborative completion” (Kim, 2003) for Korean; “co-participant completions” (Lerner & Takagi, 1999) for Japanese. Focusing on “completions of unfinished turns” in Finnish and Estonian, Vatanen (2017) elaborated on Lerner’s “delayed completions” (2004b). A shared argument in these studies for the grammatical integration between the host turn and its collaborative completion is the role of grammatical projection of the host turn and the fulfilment of the projected syntactic trajectory by B (cf. Lerner, 1996 on compound TCUs and see chapter 6). However, the pragmatic fulfilment of inter-actional projections has been generally less investigated (but see Lerner, 1991; Sidnell, 2012 and Bolden et al. 2019).

With more emphasis on the collaboration between speakers in building of co-constructed turns than on the type of contribution that a speaker B can provide, the following terms have been coined: “collaborative productions” (Szczepek Reed, 2000a), and “collaboratively built sentences” (Sacks, 1992) for English; “collaborations syntaxiques” (Müller & Klaeger, 2010) and “coénonciation” (Jeanneret, 1999) for French; “collaborative production of syntactic constructions” (Blöndal, 2015) for Icelandic; “collaboratively constructed TCUs” (Song & Vukadinovich, 2021) for Mandarin; and “collaborative unit construction” (Iwasaki, 2011), for Japanese. A variation on this is the deployment of joint instead of collaborative, in English, “joint productions” (Ferrara, 1992), “jointly constructed TCUs” (Lerner 1996), and in Japanese, “joint utterance constructions” (Hayashi, 1999). Finally, the relationship of co-construction with turn-

construction is teased out in studies of “turn continuation by others” (Sidnell, 2012), and “interactional junctures” (Bolden, 2003).

Two aspects jump to the eye: the large sample of languages in which the practice of jointly producing utterances have been documented (cf. King, 2018) and the range of different angles¹² from which the phenomenon has been and can be approached. Indeed, studies on this phenomenon have privileged one, or the interplay of two of the dimensions involved in achieving a collaborative turn, i.e., syntax, prosody, action and embodiment. Namely, the formal and grammatical design of the turns involved in co-constructions has been emphasized¹³ (cf. Lerner, 1987; Hayashi, 1999; Helasvuo, 2004; Orletti, 2008; Müller & Klaeger, 2010; Iwasaki, 2011; Blöndal, 2015; Li 2016; Oloff & Havlík, 2018; among others). The study on Icelandic by Blöndal (2015) constituted a starting point for my formal categorization, as Blöndal is among the first scholars to consider together co-constructed utterances and other-extensions as instances of shared syntax, *loci* where “grammar meets interaction”. Prosody and embodiment are, however, very marginally considered in Blöndal’s arguments.

Action has been the starting point of a small series of studies (cf. Falk, 1980; Goodwin, M.H. & Goodwin, C., 1986; Ferrara, 1992; Díaz, Antaki & Collins, 1996; Hayashi, 2003b; Bolden, 2003; Bolden, Hepburn & Potter, 2019; Kalkhoff & Dressel, 2019); Cantarutti, 2020; Auer & Zima, 2021). This research shows that collaboration enables participation, or better, it allows participants to display different forms of participation, as they redefine the participation framework (cf. Goodwin, C., 1981; Hutcby, 2014, etc.). Participation frameworks are constellations of ways in which co-participants negotiate their relation to each other with their utterances and action (see chapter 3). It is not surprising that co-constructions are among the sets of practices that change and re-define the ways in which interactants participate in a given interaction (see chapters 5-6) . An applied use of co-constructions as a way of displaying “taking a side” has been documented by Kangasharju (2002), in her work on alliances and oppositions in institutional meetings. Lerner (2002, 2019), building on his seminal work on

¹² King (2018) and Luke (2021) rather than investigating a specific practice or a specific language within this phenomenon, take stock of the existing literature. Cf. these studies for terminological discussions and the scope of co-constructing, other-extending utterances and turns.

¹³ Starting from Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen’s (2005: 492) mention of “joint utterance completion” as “primary piece of evidence for viewing the clause as a locus of interaction.”

collaborative turn sequences, explored what happens when participants take the turn in co-constructions when they are not the recipients. Word-searches (Schegloff, et al., 1977) have been a further recurrent action investigated (cf. Szczepek Reed, 2000b; Schegloff, 2002; Mori & Hayashi, 2006; Radford, 2009; Oloff, 2014; Sert, 2019).

Descriptions that are more oriented to the prosodic dimension have also reflected on the boundaries on the host turn and the integration of the TCUs involved in the co-construction (Voghera, 1992; Auer, 1996; Koshik, 2002; Bolden, 2003; Local, 2005; Radford, 2009; Oloff, 2014; Vatanen, 2017; Krekoski, 2019; Cantarutti, 2020). However, the prosodic design of the candidate contribution (B's turn) is less investigated, or it is described in relation to A's turn (e.g., if B utters a turn prosodically integrated in the pitch contour of A; if B's turn is uttered with falling intonation, signaling that B is a completion of A). Specifically, what is missing are reports in which speakers B construct their contribution as a continuation, uttering their turns with projective prosody. Finally, the embodied conduct that accompanies co-constructed utterances or constitutes candidate contributions has been widely investigated (Goodwin, M.H. & Goodwin, C., 1986; Bolden, 2003; Hayashi, 2003b; Olsher, 2004; Mori & Hayashi, 2006; Radford, 2009; Ford, Thompson & Drake, 2012; Kalkhoff & Dressel, 2019); Cantarutti, 2020; Li, 2021; Auer & Zima, 2021). These studies, for instance Olsher's investigation of completions provided exclusively as gestures, are interesting for the question of what "belongs" to syntax and what to the body, in other words, what the relation between grammatical projection and action-embodiment projection (cf. De Stefani, 2021) is when completing someone else's unfolding turn. Less attention has been paid to gaze as a resource to display a common orientation toward a recipient (but see Calabria & De Stefani, *under review*), a dimension explored in this thesis that has to do with the reorganization of the participation framework.

Although most of these studies explore co-constructions at several levels – adopting the holistic view to conversational practices typical of the Interactional Linguistics, Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis (ILEMCA) approaches – the integration of a formal description of co-construction with an action/meaning realization is still missing (see on this point also King, 2018 and Luke, 2021).

What is particularly relevant for my definition of co-constructions (see § 3.2.1) is the combination of some elements present in the above mentioned research. I started from

projectability and non-projectability of the next element that could be contributed (on the same line as Lerner, 1987, 1991, 2004b; Hayashi, 1999, 2003a; Kim, 2003; Helasvuo, 2004¹⁴; Olsher, 2004; Iwasaki, 2009; Auer, 2015; Blöndal, 2015; Krekoski, 2019). I looked at the syntactic unit that is provided in co-construction, whether the co-constructed turn emerges as a monoclausal or multiclausal utterance¹⁵ (only in this case, clause combinations emerge), starting from Lerner (1987, 1991), but also Kim (2003) and Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen (2005: 492): “speakers are strongly clause-oriented in jointly constructing utterances. [...] what second speakers tend to add to a first speaker’s contribution is either (1) the second clausal component of a multi-clausal unit or (2) the last word or two of a mono-clausal unit.” Examples of monoclausal (see excerpt 2.4) and multiclausal (see excerpt 2.5) co-constructions come from business meeting I. Excerpt 2.4 presents the beginning of the meeting, just before the participants start discussing their agenda: Paolo (PAO) asks Pamela (PAM) for some water and candies positioned close to her on the table, thanks her and, at l. 01, starts accounting for his request.

Ex. 2.4 Mi13PRO1-42, 18:18-18:38

01	PAO	almeno sono: <i>at least I am</i>
02		(0.3)
03	PAM	a posto ^h [((laughs))] <i>set</i>
04	PAO	[a posto per tu]tta la:: per tutto il tempo <i>set for the entire for the entire time</i>
05		dell'incontro. <i>of the meeting</i>

Paolo utters the last syllable of the verb *sono* /‘I am’ with a lengthening, and a pause occurs at l. 02. Pamela treats Paolo’s turn as incomplete, probably taking the lengthening

¹⁴ This study is an interesting comparison departure point for a study on Italian. Helasvuo (2004: 1332) considered shared syntax in co-constructing actions (e.g., assessments), and grammatical formats (e.g., predications) in Finnish, and specified: “Finnish requires extensive inflection on both verbal and nominal categories. Each element in the clause is inflected according to its function in the clause, and even uninflected forms signal their syntactic function in the clause by their very lack of inflection. For turns in co-construction that are other-completions of simple clauses, this means that the form of each member of both the preliminary and the final part is controlled by the syntactic unit as a whole.” For Italian, even when looking at similar units in co-constructions, the grammatical marking and the “syntactic unit as a whole” controlling the overall shared turn is not always evident starting from grammar. Speakers do not mark morpho-syntactically the relationships between clause on each element of a sentence (see §4.4).

¹⁵ Sacks (1992: 647) already provided a definition that can be reworked as ‘multiclausal co-constructed turn’: “What one routinely gets as the product data is an utterance which is a whole sentence followed by an utterance which is not a whole sentence, but a part sentence that is, however, syntactically coherent with the prior, and the two of them constitute a sentence.”

and the pause as markers of Paolo's hesitation. Pamela provides the adverbial phrase *a posto*'set' in co-construction, which completes the idiomatic expression *essere a posto*'to be set'. Paolo ratifies by repeating and including Pamela's candidate contribution in the rest of his turn (ll. 04-05). As Pamela's turn is a phrasal contribution to an incomplete utterance, the overall construction (highlighted in grey in the transcript) between lines 01 and 03 emerges as a monoclausal structure.

In excerpt 2.5, Paolo (PAO) explains the new configuration of roles in the company, who owns shares, and how it works (see chapter 5, for a complete analysis, as excerpt 5.2.6):

Ex. 2.5 Mi13PRO1-51, 23:34-23:55

01	PAO	per cui se uno si dimette dal board o esce dal board, so that if one resigns from the board or leaves the board
02		.h əh:m [per (treso-)] umh for treso-
03	ANN	[la quota] torna. the(ir) share comes back

At lines 01-02, Paolo starts building his explanation with an *if*-clause, uttering the protasis and hesitating at the end of it, projecting more to come (namely an apodosis). At l. 03, Annina in co-construction provides the grammatical and action completion of Paolo's turn, the apodosis. As Annina provides the *then*-clause to Paolo's *if*-clause, the overall construction (highlighted in grey in the transcript) results in a multiclausal structure.

I distinguished completions from continuations (cf. Hayashi, 1999; Bolden et al., 2019; see also chapter 3) and continuations from extensions (cf. Luke, Ono & Thompson, 2012; see also § 2.2). I focused on certain actions achieved through certain formats (cf. Lerner, 1991; Szczepek Reed, 2000b; Couper-Kuhlen, 2014). Finally, I looked at the role of gaze in collaborative turns (cf. Goodwin, M.H. & Goodwin, C., 1986; Auer & Zima, 2021; see also chapters 3-4). Ultimately, I adopted a holistic approach to collaborative turns, from the intersection of analytical levels which have not brought together before. The aim is to provide a new taxonomy for Italian, and to contribute to the literature on clause combining as it emerges in CTs. This is an innovative approach, especially compared to prior studies on co-constructions in Italian, which will be presented in the next paragraph.

2.2.2 Co-constructions in Italian

The Italian literature on co-constructions counts only a few specific studies: Voghera (1992) on “turni complementari”, Orletti (2008) on “enunciati a più voci” and Biazzi (2009; 2011) on “co-costruzioni”.

Voghera (1992) looked at utterances articulated beyond one turn-at-talk. She found cases where one sentence is uttered by different speakers, one segment of which is the continuation of a prior one: together the two segments can be read linearly as one syntactic product. She called the continuation segment “complementary turn” as it is not autonomous and does not work as a standalone sentence. Moreover, she showed that complementary turns are an indication of the cooperation between speakers in the construction of talk. However, she does not distinguish between syntactic completion of an utterance and incomplete segments and does not consider clausal TCUs provided in co-construction that occasion multiclausal co-constructions.

Orletti (2008) considered *enunciati a più voci* ‘multiple voices utterance’ an example of the intersection between grammar and interaction. She underlined how the possibility of jointly producing an utterance with grammatically integrated material relies on common ground knowledge that is made relevant through the interaction, and on different kinds of projections: syntactic and semantic formulaicity, syntactic structure of the ongoing turn, prosodic structure, and type of language (SVO, SOV, etc.). “Enunciati a più voci”, according to her, are always examples of violation of the “one-speaker-at-a-time”, but she further distinguished “invasive” from “not-invasive” utterances. Non-invasive co-constructed utterances are invited or elicited contributions. They occur when a speaker displays with a variety of resources that they need “help” in constructing the ongoing turn (e.g., word searches). Invasive contributions, which also include overlaps, are not-elicited. Orletti also insisted on the choral dimension of the action accomplished through jointly producing utterances: this collaborative process of co-constructions is used to display social unity, being part of a group and sharing norms, rules, and knowledge with this group. However, she did not further exploit the idea of a choral dimension (cf. Lerner, 2002 and Luke, 2021), as she focused on whether the *enunciati* ‘utterances’ are elicited or not, but not on what a speaker does in relation to turn-taking, by co-constructing a turn. Co-constructing when not invited, in fact, can still be a non-invasive practice that enhances another speaker’s voice (Luke, 2021), treating

what has been said as worth pursuing. In my data, this is shown by contributing speakers not holding the floor further but yielding it to the prior speaker (who can take the floor or not). Moreover, in multiperson interactions, co-constructing can be an effective way of displaying participation – and the relevance and integration of a TCU for and with prior talk – when multiple participants are addressed at the same time.

Biazzi's (2009) formal and functional account of "co-costruzioni" focused on L2 competence, in light of the development of (and shift toward) a more active participation role, shown by the highly cooperative work needed to co-construct turns. Biazzi provided an interesting analysis of the components of co-constructions: she individuates a preliminary component that projects, through a trajectory à la Auer (2005), its "completion", each uttered by different speakers. The projection can operate at a syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic level. Another constitutive element concerns the lexical or non-lexical (a pause) nature of the resources speakers use to prompt a co-construction, which she called "segnale di co-costruzione" (co-construction signal). Between the preliminary component and its completion there may be other turns where speakers do not reach a TRP and those are called, for this reason, "unità di completamento non finali" (non-final completion units; cf. Lerner, 1991). This sequence can be closed by a ratification, which can also start a whole negotiation work where the completion unit can be more or less accepted. For Biazzi, the grammatical integration between the elements resulting in co-constructions arises from a maximally binding morphosyntactic projection (the grammatical units involved show open morphosyntactic markers of integration), in contrast with a more context-binding semantic projection. In this latter case, the grammatical integration can be looser, but the semantic of a TCU plays a more important role. The more syntactic constraints a completion unit follows, the more cohesive it will be with the preliminary unit. From this, Biazzi drew a continuum of integration, with on one extremity a single lexical item, pragmatically and semantically but not syntactically tied to what precedes. In excerpt 11 from Biazzi (2009: 270), the NP *oculista* 'eye doctor' at l. 02, is not projected by 'with these documents you go inside' (l. 01):

01 DO0: ch? (.) CON QUESTE CARTE QUA (.) va [dentro
02 PA0: [oculista)

On the other extremity she located full phrases (or sentences) projected as an argument of the verb, and therefore morpho-syntactically integrated with prior talk. In excerpt 10 (Biazzi, 2009: 270), the NP. *visita*/'visit' at l. 02 is the direct object, therefore an argument, of the verb *ho fatto*/'I did' (l.01);

```
01 PA0: ho fatto l- ch:::  
02 DO0: la visita per la gravidanza?)
```

To sum up, in Biazzi's description of co-construction, she took into consideration the kind of projection of the preliminary component, the projected element of the completion unit (phrase, clause, etc.), the presence and type of a co-construction signal, the syntactic cohesion of the units and the syntactic complexity of the completion. However, besides mentioning this last parameter, she did not analyze complex syntactic completion. She focused exclusively on monoclausal co-constructions (mostly phrasal contributions), while acknowledging the possibility (not found in her data) of co-constructions built with a connective to co-construct full sentences (multiclausal).

Biazzi provided a complete grammatical account of co-construction, which is useful for this thesis. However, she did not integrate the formal elements she individuates with the actions that the practice allows participants to achieve, thereby not responding, the question of what speakers actually do when co-constructing (cf. Luke, 2021).

None of these studies discussed so far focused on the precise grammatical formats that get co-constructed, and whether the co-constructed turn emerges as multiclausal or monoclausal syntactic structures, i.e., whether clause combining emerges. Orletti (2008) and Biazzi (2009) stated that both sentences and smaller parts, like morphemes, can be added in co-constructions, but they both focus on phrasal (rather than clausal) completions. Furthermore, only Orletti briefly mentioned expansions, or "additions" to already completed utterances as a possible part of the choral production of utterances. Moreover, in none of the above studies does gaze play a role in turn allocation, despite the focus on elicited or invited contributions. Orletti (2008) stated, about "voci non invasive sollecitate" (non-invasive elicited voices), that the speaker building on an ongoing turn elicits someone else's help through all the communicative modalities that

are available, verbal and non-verbal¹⁶. However, she did not show any example of the usage of non-verbal resources¹⁷.

The gaps identified in the previous literature are mainly three: (i) although co-constructions have been mentioned in studies on clause combining, how clause combining actually emerges in CTs and how speakers display and ensure collaboration by using specific clausal formats that are combined on the fly has not been examined. (ii) Likewise, how multimodality and prosody come to ensure this collaborative endeavor in relation to syntax has not been investigated. (iii) What actions speakers accomplish with different types of contributions, i.e., continuations or completions, formatted with different clausal types, e.g., relative clauses, adverbial clauses, etc. is also open to question. By looking at the clausal formats and their combination in complex syntactic projects, I give a first account of the actual Italian grammatical material and resources available to speakers and how they use it in co-constructions and other-extensions, while also providing an account of patterns of clause combination as they get jointly built in every-day interaction.

2.2.3 Other-extensions

In this thesis I use “other-extensions” as a term that includes and expands the phenomenon known as “other-increments” or “other-initiated increments” (Schegloff, 2016).

Incrementation builds on the possibility for the same and for another speaker to continue talking expanding prior talk and holding the floor after a turn is potentially completed. “Increments” (Vorreiter, 2003; Couper-Kuhlen & Ono, 2007; among others) have been described as TCUs the same speaker adds to a prior possibly complete TCU, thereby re-occasioning a TRP (cf. already Schegloff, 1996). The increment is uttered with fitted grammatical material to prior talk (dependent on or symbiotic with it), continues the prior action, and does not constitute, thus, a “new TCU”¹⁸. This grammatical requirement has been expressed as follows by Ford, Fox & Thompson (2002: 16): “nonmain-clause continuation after a possible point of turn completion.” The possibility

¹⁶ “Il parlante che sta costruendo il turno fino a quel momento sollecita attraverso tutte le modalità comunicative che ha a disposizione, verbali e non verbali, l’aiuto di un altro.” (Orletti, 2008: 1198)

¹⁷ Orletti (2008) showed instead some cases of “fill-in-the-blank questions” (Persson, 2017).

¹⁸ Cf. Walker (2004: 147): “An increment is a grammatically fitted continuation of a turn at talk following the reaching of a point of possible syntactic, pragmatic, and prosodic completion.”

of extending the turn of another speaker with syntactically dependent material was already formulated by Sacks in lesson IV from autumn 1967 (cf. Sacks, 1992, I: 647-655). Schegloff (1996), reflecting on the notion of TCU, remarked:

Recognizing some spate of talk as a TCU is itself an accomplishment. That is, some stretches of talk by a speaker are taken (by us as analysts and by co-participants in the setting) not as TCUs, but, for example, as increments of talk to some other, prior talk - either by that same speaker or by another. (Schegloff, 1996: 73)

By opening up to both the same and another speaker the possibility of extending prior talk with turns that are not new actions (therefore not TCUs, in his view) but that increment prior talk, Schegloff established the usage of “other-increment” that became deployed in the literature. After having defined some characteristics of “self-initiated increments” – namely, (i) a speaker has reached potential pragmatically, grammatically, and prosodically completeness of a TCU, (ii) the same-speaker adds further talk, (iii) with talk formatted as continuing the preceding TCU and not as a new TCU, by making it grammatically fitted to the end of talk-so-far (cf. Schegloff, 2016: 241) –, Schegloff noticed that another speaker can do the same. His examples (including one from written language) show that by other-incrementing, speakers can achieve an array of action, e.g., displaying alignment but also disalignment with the prior speaker (see Fig. 2.3), or adjusting/modifying the stance taken by the prior speaker in their turn, etc.: “Further, they display an orientation to the possibility of building a collaborative construction by starting in that position in another’s just possibly completed turn” (Schegloff, 2016: 260). However, he concluded: “it remains a matter of ongoing interest what special attraction there is to doing whatever is getting done by doing it as an increment, rather than as a new TCU”¹⁹ (Schegloff, 2016: 261).

¹⁹ Schegloff (1996: 121) had also noticed that some TCUs do not recomplete but “restructure” the prior TCU, which will be further elaborated in this thesis.

Extract 21 [Upholstery Shop, 35:20-37 (#82)]

- 01 Vic: En I- ch-en I, en I messed y'up. Becuss I says
 02 yihknow what he ain't Jesus.
 03 (?): Tch! heh!
 04 Jo?: (Lookit all that stuff).
 05 Mik: Why didjuh mess me up man w- you [said whatchu believed.
 06 (?): [(Jesus).
 07 Vic: I says he's Michael.
 08 (0.7)
 09 Vic: That's what I se:z.
 10 (1.4)
 11 Mik: I might be Jesus reincarnated. Wuhddiyou know.
 12 (?): Tchh.
 13 Vic: No,
 14 Mik: We may all [be Jesus reincarnated.
 15 Vic: [()
 16 (1.0)
 17 Vic: → **E:f you believe in that.**
 18 (0.7)
 19 Vic: Jesus, tuh me [is like,
 20 Mik: [Well,
 21 Mik: Jesus is God isn' 'e?

Fig. 2.3 Disaligning with an other-initiated increment in Schegloff (2016: 258-259)

Mik's turn at l. 14 is potentially complete: 'We may all be Jesus reincarnated' is a complete grammatical unit, uttered with final intonation and it is also pragmatically complete. At line 17, Vic self-selects and extends Mik's turn with a TCU that from onset starts as a dependent grammatical unit, namely as an *if*-clause. According to Schegloff (2016), l. 17 is an other-increment of Mik's talk, which allows Vic to disalign from the prior speaker. Vic's line 17 retrospectively reconfigures Mik's l. 14 as the apodosis.

This is the only example Schegloff reported where the other-increment is not necessarily formatted as a recompletion. I argue it is worth looking more in detail into other-increments that re-occasion a TRP, and other-increments that are continuation-extensions but not designed to recomplete prior talk. This distinction has implications for the notion of completion and turn combination. Another relevant point is the notion of "grammatically dependent increment" (in chapter 3). In Italian, a turn can be designed as grammatically dependent on previous talk from the onset (by means of what Lerner, 1996 called "increment initiators", e.g., *perché*'because'; *per*'for, to', or, like in

Schegloff's example, *se'if*, etc.), or can be grammatically dependent as it reuses latent grammar in the prior talk (e.g., the extension is on the argument that fills the argument structure of a predicate in the prior turn). To encompass a definition of other-increments that potentially only includes segments that re-occasion a TRP and whose status as dependent is recognized by speakers only from a turn's onset, I gathered all the instances in my collection, re-completions or continuations-extensions after a TRP (cf. also Mazeland, 2019), under the label other-extensions (see § 3.2.2, for a detail explanation of the phenomena).

Incrementation is a well-studied phenomenon for various languages. Different labels have been used according to whether the focus is syntactic, prosodic or pragmatic: "added segments" (Goodwin, C., 1980); "repairs", "expansions", "retractions" (Auer, 2009a); "recompleters" (Tanaka, 1999), "re-completions", "post-completions" (Schegloff, 1996), "increments" (Schegloff 1996, 2001; Ford, Fox & Thompson, 2002; Walker, 2004; Couper-Kuhlen & Ono, 2007); "add-ons", "glue-ons" (Vorreiter, 2003).

Schegloff (2001) distinguished between three types of increments based on their occurrence with respect to preceding talk²⁰: "post-gap increments", which occur following a pause (a gap); "post other-talk increments", which are produced after talk by another speaker immediately following the prior turn; "next-beat increments", which start immediately after a possible completion (latched to the prior TCU). Other-increments can also be found in these positions (cf. Schegloff, 2016). Self- and other-increments can be produced in these positions in Italian as well, as Calabria & De Stefani (2020) have shown. Couper-Kuhlen & Ono (2007) made a distinction between continuing (extending) a TCU and starting a new TCU based on a combination of syntactic and semantic criteria (see Fig. 2.4): a maximally integrated element is both syntactically and semantically continuing the prior TCU, and a minimally integrated one is a new TCU, with which a speaker achieves a different action from that of the prior TCU. In the middle of the continuum, there are "free constituents", whose grammatical integration can be problematic (e.g., phrases, which are semantically linked to what preceded and carry on

²⁰ Already Schegloff (1996: 76) noticed that increments are "positionally sensitive": the temporal placement of increments is relevant for how an increment is recognized and treated.

the action in the prior turn, but the syntactic link of integration is not overtly explicated²¹ or, I would add, available in a given language).

Syntactic & semantic dependence on prior unit

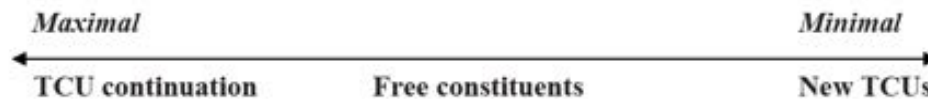


Fig. 2.4 Continuing a turn-at-talk: syntactic and semantic integration with prior TCU in Couper-Kuhlen & Ono (2007: 515)

Although Couper-Kuhlen & Ono (2007) do not mention TCU continuations by other speakers in their study, the features they individuate can be applied also to other-extensions (and other-increments, cf. Calabria & De Stefani, 2020). However, both the criterion of grammatical integration and prosodic realization vary a lot depending on languages. Overt grammatical integration is indexed differently, morpho-syntactically, in different languages. Couper-Kuhlen & Ono (2007) described these categories for English, German and Japanese, but are not universal. Ultimately, this integration is locally negotiated in the sequential unfolding of the turns in a conversation.

Extending a prior turn and recognizing a turn as an increment can be problematic achievements for the interactants, as they are retrospective operations (cf. Luke & Zhang, 2007). The emergence of a stretch of talk as expanding another one is not always clear from the onset of a speaker's turn. For self-increments, other elements, including voice quality and prosodic contours (cf. Auer, 1996; Selting, 1996 and Couper-Kuhlen & Ono, 2007 who also consider prosody as a criterion of "integration" in their typology) have been considered as defining a turn as an extension of the prior one (i.e., the speaker holds the floor at least until next TRP). However, when it comes to turn-extensions done by another speaker, the phenomenon can become "elusive" (cf. Auer, 2007), at the level of determining prosodic integration and of action continuation.

²¹ Couper-Kuhlen & Ono (2007: 525, excerpt 12) discussed the following example:

1 Les: Katherine's got to sleep,
 2 in:: the house up in York alo:ne this weeken[:d.
 3 Tre: [Oh really?
 4 Les: And she's no-t too-oo ha-ppy about it=
 5 Tre: =No:.
 6 (0.3)
 7 Tre: **House on her ow:n.** [°Oh G]od.°
 8 Les: [Ye:s.]

In l. 07 Tre utters a phrase that does not overtly link, syntactically, to Tre's prior turn in l. 05. However, Tre is carrying on, expanding his prior action. Namely, he clarifies his negative response at l. 05 that he had given in affiliation with Les' statement that their daughter Katherine is not happy to be sleeping alone.

After Schegloff, Lerner (2004b) investigated “other-increments”, disentangling the action criterion from the syntactic one:

When a speaker ties their utterance to a previous speaker’s possibly completed turn, the action accomplished through that contribution can constitute one of two types of connections: [...] as an increment to that turn (forwarding the action of that turn for its recipient) or as a distinct turn in response to it but one built off of the prior turn syntactically. (Lerner, 2004b: 160)

As for the grammatical make-up on other-increments, Lerner noticed they are implemented through similar practices as self-increments: speakers have certain resources, “increment initiators”, that allow them to prompt an increment, which is then recognized from the onset of a TCU as drawing on prior talk’s grammar (in English these are, e.g., prepositions such as *to*, *for*, *at*, etc.). An example of this double possibility of incrementing²² by the same and another speaker is provided in excerpt 2.6, from a business meeting. Annina (ANN) is about to introduce the next topic on the agenda, when Paolo (PAO) says they first need to do “a general overview of the corporate situation” for Mario (MAR) and Duilio (DUI) who do not know the news (see chapter 5, for a complete analysis of this excerpt, as 5.1.1).

Ex. 2.6 Mi13PRO1-49, 30:29-30:44

01	PAO	eh:: io: credo però per- pe:- >che prima bisognereb- <i>eh I believe nevertheless that first it'd be necess-</i>
02		si si debba< fare un inqua[dramento] generale& <i>it has to be done a general overview</i>
03	ANN	[certo.] <i>of course</i>
04	PAO	&[della si]tuazione, (0.5) bo- (0.7) societaria. <i>of the corporate situation</i>
05	MAR	[°certo. °] <i>of course</i>
06	MAR	°certo.°= <i>of course</i>
07	ANN	=si cer[to.] <i>yes of course</i>
08	PAO	[che:^]è stata fatta ieri nel board. <i>which has been done yesterday during the board</i>
09		(0.3)
10	PAO	allora,

²² Calabria & De Stefani (2020: 581) called incrementation a practice that can be both “ricorsiva” (recurrent) and “multipla” (multiple), i.e., increment a prior TCU more than one time and both the same and another speaker can increment the same TCU, as shown in lines 08 and 12 of excerpt 2.6.

11		<i>so</i>		
		(0.2)		
12	ANN	<i>che è una novità.</i>		
		<i>which is (a piece of) news</i>		
13		(0.2)		
14	PAO	<i>è una novità.=</i>		
		<i>it's (a piece of) news</i>		

Paolo's turn (lines 01-04) is potentially complete syntactically, pragmatically, and prosodically, hence a TRP occurs. After Mario and Annina display their agreements (ll. 06-07), Paolo self-increments with a relative clause whose referent is ambiguous (l. 08), as it could refer to *situazione societaria* 'corporate situation' (l. 04) or to *inquadramento generale* 'general overview' (l. 02). The situation has been made clear yesterday in the board, he says (and Mario and Duilio were not present). After a pause, at l. 10 Paolo starts his subsequent TCU with *allora* 'so', but at l. 12, Annina self-selects and other-extends Paolo's talk with a relative clause referring either to the same antecedent(s) Paolo mentioned, or without a specific antecedent. She reuses the same resource, *che* 'which, that', and format, a relative clause, to implement the same practice, extending a turn by adding an additional piece of information to prior talk. In line 14, Paolo ratifies by partially repeating Annina's TCU (leaving out *che*).

Lerner also introduced the notion of "directionality": an other-incrementing speaker utters a TCU that is directed to the same recipient as the action accomplished by the prior speaker, "for its current recipient" (Lerner, 2004b: 161). He distinguished these from TCUs that are uttered in response or that are addressed to the prior speaker, which he considered distinct turns. In these TCUs, speakers "reverse" the directionality of the prior action. In his discussion of the example reproduced here as fig. 2.5, Sidnell (2012: 332-333) stated that at line 21 Betty is doing an (elaborative) other-extension of Tom's turn, but the directionality of his action appears to be reversed. This is by the 'you' Betty uses at l. 21, which refers to different addressee from the 'we' in Tom's turn at l. 19.

19 Tom: .pt (.hh/(0.2)) (0.5) But we don't have any newspapers anymo:re?
 20 (1.7)
 21 Betty: That tell you anything.
 22 Tom: We:ll ↑no: I mean they're= [they're telling you] what thee guy=
 23 Betty: =Th[at's what you .have.]
 24 Tom: =that owns it wants [them to ↓say: y [eah,<they're
 25 Betty: [Ye(h)a(h) [Ye(h)ah,
 26 Tom: not telling you what's really ↑happenin.

fig. 2.5 Other extension reversing action directionality in Sidnell (2012: 332)

Sidnell (2012) was, however, cautious with a distinction based on directionality, since not infrequently the directionality of an extension is ambiguous for the participants themselves – most of all in multiperson interactions – and extensions used to reverse the directionality of the addressed recipient can still forward the ongoing action. He called other-increments “action-elaborating increment-continuation” and considered them a type of “other-continuations”, but made a distinction based on the interlay of action and grammatical form of the TCU continuation. He found cases where a speaker uttering a symbiotic TCU elaborates on the prior action, and cases where a speaker, uttering a grammatically independent unit, initiates a new action. But he also found cases in which a speaker can initiate a new action with a symbiotic TCU and elaborate on the preceding action with a grammatically independent unit. His example for action-initiating TCU continuations (not incremental) are *and*-prefaced “recipient formulations” (cases where a speaker uses extensions prefaced with ‘and’ to address the prior talk’s missing elements, “the unsaid”, cf. Bolden, 2010). The status of this *and*-preface TCU extension as “continuing” prior talk is problematic, and even ambiguous with other-initiated repairs, which is why Sidnell considered them action-initiating TCU continuations, alongside quoting Bolden’s (2010: 14) statements that *and*-prefaced formulations are “overwhelmingly, complete sentences that could, on their own, accomplish conversational actions.” However, two elements here are debatable. First, actions can be achieved with incomplete sentences, as speakers do not only orient to the grammatical design of a TCU to treat it as complete (cf. Selting, 2000). Second, coordination – which is achieved by resources like *and* – is a process that speakers orient to when tying their turns to prior talk more unambiguously than with utterances that have no grammatical open link with prior talk. Considering *and*-prefaced formulations as “complete” means

neglecting the fact they are not uttered in isolation but are connected to prior talk that contributing speakers are drawing on by using *and*²³.

Mazeland (2019) focused also on *en*/*and*'-prefaced continuations in Dutch, which he calls "other-continuations". His study is one of the few accounts of the practice of continuing other-speakers' talk in multiperson settings. He lists some features that for him are relevant for distinguishing "same-speaker continuation of the same action-unit and other-continuation of the ongoing activity" (Mazeland, 2019: 400-401): 1) "prosodic packaging", i.e., "the turn is prosodically structured as a unit that comprises both the prior and current turns"; 2) "achieving cohesion with linguistic devices (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976)", i.e., reformulating, repairing or repeating items in prior talk establishing referential contiguity; 3) "constructional symmetry", i.e., the continuing TCU and the prior turn are constructed with a similar format, e.g., they are both declarative utterances); 4) "elaboration and complementarity at the content level (Halliday and Hasan 1976; Levinson 2012)", i.e., the continuing TCU is semantically complementary with what comes before e.g., it is uttered as an exemplification of, expansion on, or reformulation of prior talk. Even though these are useful features, they address a very specific format of other-continuation and their applicability to a wider scope of formats is not always possible. The types of "other-continuations" Mazeland is interested in are indeed very specific: they are what he calls "position-expansions" (which differ from other types of continuations such as increments and collaborative completions):

position expansion is not a type of increment, nor a type of preemptive completion by another participant. The main technical difference between position expansion and increments [...] is that the speaker of a position-expansion turn shapes their contribution as a TCU continuation of prior speaker's turn, and not as an increment continuation (cf. Sidnell 2012). That is, a position expansion is not formatted as a grammatically fitting 'recompletion' of the TCU in prior speaker's turn. (Mazeland, 2019: 425-426)

Mazeland considered position expansions of the following type, as in line 03 (Mazeland, 2019: 421, example 12.2):

²³ Mazeland (2019: 409) also noted that position expansions: "are *and*-prefaced and the conjunct after the connective is constructionally dependent on a grammatically specifiable unit type in prior speaker's turn."

2. Clause combining and Collaborative turns: a literature review

1. Jan: (...) laten wij gewoon bepalen hoe wij 't willen hebben.=
let us simply decide how we want to have it.
2. Ciska: =pre[cies! (°ja.°)]
exactly!
3. Boris: [en dat- dat] wIJ 't plaatje makeh.
and that- that we make the picture.

He also differentiated them from other types of *and*-prefaced formulations and added: “Position-expansion turns continue prior speaker’s action with an action of the same type; they don’t modify prior speaker’s action by incrementing its terms” (*ibidem*: 427). Hence, with a position expansion, a speaker carries on the prior action (differently from other instances, e.g., other *and*-prefaced formulations), but the turn is not designed as dependent on the prior turn. I take Mazeland’s distinction into consideration. However, I argue that grammatically fitting a prior turn can also be achieved by deploying a coordinate structure such as *and*-prefaced clauses (which Mazeland noticed too at page 409). In my focus of other-extensions, I consider mainly clausal extensions, i.e., contributions that occasion clause combining. Turn combination, whether a structure is canonically subordinated or coordinated to the grammatical unit in the host turn, can be achieved by combining clauses.

Finally, syntactic accounts of turn continuations have been provided by Stoenica (2020) and Stoenica & Pekarek Doehler (2020). In these studies, a specific grammatical format, namely relative clauses, has been investigated both syntactically and multimodally in order to identify specific actions accomplished by other-increments, e.g., managing specific references by expanding on them, repairing them, etc.. Both self and other-increments have been documented in French talk-in-interaction, and the speaker’s orientation to relative clauses for the practice of incrementing has been proven to be the perfect example of syntax-for-conversation. The analytical chapters (5-6) will show that speakers can both other-increment and co-construct with *che*-clauses, which in Italian can emerge as relative clauses or complement clauses.

In my definition of other-extensions, I do not only consider recompletions that fit the end of the prior talk (as the literature focusing on “other-increments” does), and through which speakers increment the action achieved by the speaker of the prior’s turn (Schegloff, 1996; Sidnell, 2012). I consider a wider array of extensions, including Couper Kühlen & Ono’s (2007) “glue-ons” and “insertables”. For this reason, I move away from deploying the term “other-increments” to using a wider label. I do consider turns

dependent on the ending of the prior turn (cf. glue-ons) via syntactic markers (e.g., conjunctions) that overtly show the subordination of the grammatical units that compose the extensions to the host turn. Contributing speakers draw on latent grammatical slots available at any point of the prior speaker's turn (the turn-so-far), which they treat as "reusable" (e.g., the argument structure of a verb). When a turn has reached a potential TRP, an extension can be designed as dependent on any grammatical item in the prior talk (cf. insertables). Finally, I include extensions that are not recompletions at all but are designed as continuations after a TRP. These are also extensions (often clausal units) but contributing speakers do not re-occasion TRPs.

Some gaps in the literature are identifiable. (i) Although some definitory criteria and taxonomies have been suggested, the distinctions between the labels and the concepts are fuzzy and there is no shared terminology. (ii) Some differences drawn in the literature seem more relevant from a formal perspective than from the perspective of the speakers' actions achieved with these extensions. (iii) Most relevantly for this thesis the criteria used to define an increment as dependent or symbiotic, or grammatically fitting the prior turn, are often identified in the overt presence or absence of lexical resources from the turn's onset. Pragmatic-semantic integration, or other types of dependencies (latent grammar) are not discussed in depth by the literature. Finally, a focus on clausal other-extensions occasioning clause combining with the host turn is missing. Thus, a discussion about grammatical fittedness of increments that takes into consideration the actual grammatical relations with the host turn is necessary for Italian (cf. Calabria & De Stefani, 2020).

2.2.4 Extensions in Italian

Research focusing on the phenomenon of extension after potentially complete prior turns in Italian is scarce. Monzoni (2005: 150-151) spoke of increments to refer to expansions of a potentially completed sentence realized with NPs that retrospectively results in right dislocations. Biazzi (2009: 264) briefly mentioned increments to distinguish them from TCUs build over multiple turns and from multiple voices (also cf. Orletti, 2008, in § 2.2.1 who spoke of *espansioni*/'expansions' as one type of *enuciati a più voci*). The latter are co-constructions, while the former are units added to utterances that have reached a potential TRP. The first focused account of increments is in Salzmänn's (2017) PhD thesis, in which the author examined comparatively at increments used in academic lessons in

German and Italian, from a syntactic, prosodic and pragmatic point of view. However, the corpus is mostly monological, and the Italian expansions considered are units without inflected verbs.

Calabria & De Stefani (2020) provided the first conversation analytical and interactional account of grammatically dependent extensions, calling them “incrementi” (increments) in Italian talk-in-interaction. Their analysis highlights the situated, temporal, and embodied dimensions of the practice as well as suggesting a distinction between self-increments and other-increments and introducing those terms in the Italian panorama of interactional studies. “Autoincrementi” are instances where the current speaker extends their own turn, whereas “eteroincrementi” refers to turn-extensions accomplished by another speaker. Incrementability is shown to be a fundamental resource for interactants, as it enables them to manage turn-taking, to take and display their stance, and to accomplish socially relevant actions. The authors consider increments introduced by overt lexical initiators, and increments that are dependent on a prior turn reusing latent grammatical material from it. Increments are also used as an entry point into a wider reflection on grammar-in-interaction, which entails syntactic dependence and integration, as well as the relationship between grammar and actions. This thesis takes this definition as a starting point but also includes cases of extensions where integration is achieved less by means of overt lexico-syntactic material and more through pragmatic and prosodic resources (see the analyses in chapter 5).

2.3 Summary and contribution to the literature

Both grammatical and prosodic integration between the components of a CT have been widely investigated in the literature. Specifically, there has been a focus on stronger versus weaker morphosyntactic integration, on the syntactic symmetry between the components of CTs, and on the pitch contour integration of the turns involved. The types of actions speakers achieve with the practices of co-constructing and other-extending have also received attention. An open debate exists on whether speakers continue or subvert the prior action by providing a candidate contribution, or whether they extend the same activity but reverse the directionality of the action. There is a certain agreement that by means of providing a collaborative candidate, speakers may accomplish seemingly opposite actions, aligning and disaligning, agreeing and disagreeing,

endorsing a speaker's stance or moving away from it, etc. (cf. Schegloff, 1996). Luke (2021) has recently asked what it is that people actually achieve when building their talk as candidate contributions instead of as new (independent) TCUs.

Taking as the starting point for this investigation Sacks' (1992) *Lectures*, and work by Lerner (1897, 1991, 2004a), my focus is on CTs as a privileged *locus* to verify how syntax incrementally expands into more complex units. One way to do so is by filling the gaps identified in the above literature and to ask what collaborative grammar can tell us about clause combining. This means reflecting on what CTs can offer to our understanding of clause combining, which goes beyond the linguistic structures that make up the turns-at-talk. Although co-constructions are mentioned as an example of the online monitoring speakers do of each other's syntactic projections (cf. Lerner, 1991; Helasvuo, 2004 Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen, 2005; Hopper & Thompson, 2008; Pekarek Doehler, 2014; Couper-Kuhlen, 2014; Blöndal, 2015; among others), there is yet no study that systematically starts from co-constructions to investigate by which means these syntactic projections are fulfilled. The ways in which speakers design their clausal contributions to be grammatically fitted with prior talk occasion combinations not only of their turns, but also of the grammatical units that give shape to these turns. For other-extensions, talking about syntactic projections and their fulfilment is more problematic. As these are turns provided after a potentially completed turn, the openness of a syntactic trajectory that can be fulfilled is not at stake. However, the ways in which clausal other-extensions are formatted to be grammatically integrated with prior talk, anaphorically, occasion also clause combination patterns. Compared to non-collaborative turns, where the grammatical relation between the turns of different speakers is not often made relevant, in order to achieve CTs speakers have to deploy resources that combine and integrate their talk in observable ways. Clause combining patterns emerge from the contingencies of these interactional practices.

In chapter 3, I will provide a detailed account of the different formats of candidate contributions that can be provided to another speaker's talk. However, after investigating the array of terms present in the literature, a first visual representations of the taxonomy of CTs may be useful at this point (see Fig. 2.6).

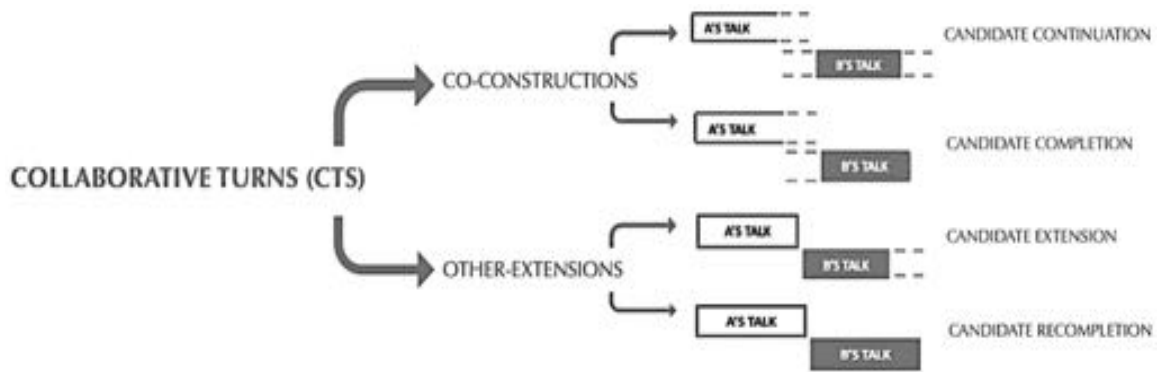


Fig. 2.6 New taxonomy of formats in collaborative turns

I consider CTs as all instances in which talk is uttered not as a new TCU, but either as continuing or completing a turn-in-progress whose speaker has not yet reached a TRP (co-constructions, which include candidate continuations and candidate completions); or as extending a prior potentially completed turn, by recompleting or just extending it (other-extensions, which include candidate extensions and candidate recompletions). All the formats of candidate contributions I present are designed to be heard as integrated grammatically and/or pragmatically with prior talk and are treated as such by the speakers of the host turns.

The categorization of CTs proposed in this thesis aims to contribute to the literature on jointly built turns and utterances. Moreover, it aims to provide a new study on collaborative clause combining, by putting emphasis on clausal candidate contributions. In other words, this thesis explores what CTs can tell us about clause combination, and what clause combination can tell us about collaboration.

3. INTERACTIONAL LINGUISTICS: FROM THEORETICAL CONCEPTS TO PRACTICES

*“How do you like the Queen?” said the Cat in a low voice.
“Not at all,” said Alice: “she’s so extremely—” Just then she noticed that
the Queen was close behind her, listening: so she went on, “—likely to win,
that it’s hardly worth while finishing the game.” The Queen smiled and passed on.
Carroll (1992) Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*

3.1 Epistemological background and tenets of Interaction Linguistics; 3.1.1 Sequentiality: Turn-taking;
3.1.2 Actionality: grammar in (inter)action; 3.1.3 Temporality: Emergent Grammar and Online Syntax;
3.1.4 Multimodality: Embodiment, with a focus on gaze; 3.2 Practices and formats: preliminary empirical
description; 3.2.1 Co-constructions; 3.2.2 Other-extensions; 3.3 Practices and formats: summary

Multiple methodologies from a range of disciplines converge in Interactional Linguistics. In the next sections, I explore this convergence and emphasize the contribution of Conversation Analysis, shedding light on the methods, the emic approach, and the orientation toward a “grammar in interaction” (Ochs, Schegloff & Thompson, 1996: 38) that constitute this framework. IL and CA are not only historically intertwined²⁴, but also share important theoretical standpoints that will be laid out in this chapter.

In the presentation of the tenets of IL, its main conceptual tools, and aims, I focus specifically on the concepts that underpin the analytical approach adopted in this thesis, in order to disentangle the intricate terminological net and the array of labels that constitute this multifaceted approach. I emphasize some angles from which syntax can be approached, which are not to be understood as separate, but as pieces of a puzzle that compose an interactional approach to grammar: sequentiality, actionality, temporality, and multimodality. Temporality and emergent grammar are two key concepts. I discuss the turn-taking machinery (Sack, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) in detail to explain the relationships between TCUs (and turns) and grammatical units (with a focus on clauses), clause combination and turn sharing (after the analytical chapters, these relationships will be problematized in the discussion chapter 7). I present the concepts

²⁴ Many complete accounts and descriptions of the disciplines have been given by scholars in the field over the years, including: Schegloff’s introduction to Sacks (1992), Goodwin, C. & Heritage (1990), Mazeland (2006), Ten Have (2007), Hutchby & Wooffitt (1998), Sidnell & Stivers (2013), for CA; Selting & Couper-Kuhlen (2001), Couper-Kuhlen & Selting (2018), Mushin & Pekarek Doehler (2021), for IL; etc.

of action, activities and practices to clarify the ways in which they will be used in the analytical chapters. Finally, after a first description of the phenomena in chapter 1, in this chapter I provide a detailed presentation of the practices and the formats that will be analyzed, each with an exemplificative excerpt. The aim is to present the terminological and conceptual apparatus that underpins the analyses.

3.1 Epistemological background and tenets of IL

According to Couper-Kuhlen & Selting (2018), Interactional Linguistics was first conceived as a discipline interested in studying languages and social interaction. It combined Conversation Analysis (in the works of Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson, Heritage, etc.) and Linguistic Anthropology (Duranti, Ochs, etc.) – disciplines that adopted an empirical and situated approach to the analysis of naturalistic data²⁵ – with more discourse-functionalist approaches to syntax, e.g., the ones of the West-coast functionalism²⁶ (Givón, Chafe, Du Bois, etc.) interested in usage-based and discourse-based linguistics.

Conversation Analysis emerged in sociology between the 1960s and 1970s. Rooted in Garfinkel's (1967) Ethnomethodology, CA extended Garfinkel's program, whose work differed from traditional sociological approaches for the particular attention given to the methods members of a society deploy to make sense of their daily activities (cf. Garfinkel, 1967: vii). The founders of CA, Harvey Sacks, Emanuel A. Schegloff and Gail Jefferson, focused on the possibility to record talk and then listen to it and analyze it in minute detail (pauses, intonation, linguistic material, etc.). As conversations are social phenomena, they also understood that by doing so, it would be possible to unveil the mechanisms behind naturally occurring interactions, since interactants establish and maintain order. In other words, CA describes everyday social interaction as an orderly phenomenon – “there is order at all points” (Sacks 1984: 22) – thereby showing how co-

²⁵ *Contextualization Theory* in the works of Gumperz in the 1970s and 1980s, and *Linguistic Anthropology*, in the works of Duranti in the 1990s and 2000s, are also fields that contributed to the definition of Interactional Linguistics as an autonomous discipline.

²⁶ Mushin & Pekarek-Doehler (2021) offer a contextualized and historical overview of IL, where the contributions of functional linguistics in IL are highlighted.

participants *orient*²⁷ to and maintain, by means of collaboration and intersubjectivity, a methodically produced and publicly available speech exchange system: “The organization of natural conversation is conceived as revealing the basic mechanisms of the organization of human social interaction at large” (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018: 5).

The main tenets of CA, constituting the basis for IL, can be summarized as follows:

- (i) CA focuses on naturally occurring interactions, recorded as audio and video data;
- (ii) the data are transcribed following a transcription system (e.g., Jefferson, 2004; Santa Barbara conventions by Du Bois et al., 1993; Minimal orthographic conventions by Walker 2004; GAT transcription by Selting et al., 1998 and GAT2 by Selting et al., 2011)²⁸ that allows researchers to capture the precise features of interaction²⁹;
- (iii) CA provides a rigorous analytical procedure: from the collection to the transcription of the corpus, from the identification of the phenomena and the collection of instances (with recurrent features) to the description of patterns and regularities with an in-depth granular qualitative analysis;
- (iv) Sacks et al. (1974) described a basic mechanism for conversation, “turn-taking machinery”: the basic unit of conversation is the “turn-constructive unit” (TCU)³⁰, the

²⁷ Billig (2013: 172) considered the use of the verb “to orient” in the CA tradition as a semi-technical term, broader in scope than a specific descriptive verb, that allows an analyst to talk about categories in conversation as the central concerns for the participants themselves: “By replacing ordinary verbs with a semi-technical verb like ‘orient’, conversation analysts can change the way that they describe conversationalists: no longer are the conversationalists acting in ordinary ways but they are acting in accordance with the things that are central to the analysts’ concerns.” Whether one agrees or does not with this definition (which is also provocative), it is still interesting to trace the *modus operandi* of a discipline in the terminological choices. CA analysts are particularly careful, when using *ad hoc* linguistic categories, not to assume the importance of these categories *per se*, but their relevance as tools that the participants in an interaction actively deploy. In this direction, Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson’s (2005) suggestion that speakers orient to the clause as the most frequent grammatical unit that allows interactants to project and to monitor actions has to be intended.

²⁸ For a detailed explanation and problematization of the Jeffersonian conventions cf. Hepburn & Bolden (2017); also see § 4 for more details about the Jefferson’s transcription conventions adopted in this thesis.

²⁹ Goodwin (2002: 19) problematized transcription as a writing practice that represents only partially certain phenomena while obscuring others, as it involves precise analytical-representation choices: “[T]he way in which a record both selects and shapes what is being recorded can deeply influence analysis in ways that the analyst may not recognize, especially when not all the potentially relevant phenomena are visible. Ochs (1979) argues that transcription is in fact a form of theory, and it has frequently been observed that linguistics as a field of study builds upon a long and complex history of writing practices. These practices have clarified certain phenomena, crucially relevant structure in the stream of speech, while obscuring or rendering completely invisible many contextual features that are central to the production of talk (e.g., the participation of hearers, the organization of the setting). It is therefore necessary to take a reflexive stance with regard to the interplay between methods for recording and transcribing an event, the phenomena that alternative choices reveal or hide, and the kinds of analysis that can then be developed.”

³⁰ Cf. Selting (2000), for a discussion of the different interpretations the notion of TCU has assumed in CA and grammar in interaction.

smallest segment in a turn, which can be composed of various material, from an interjection to a sentence (cf. Sacks et al., 1974), and which can be heard as a complete linguistic unit: “interpreted as the result of the interplay of syntactic, lexico-semantic, pragmatic, activity-type-specific, and prosodic devices in their sequential context” (Selting, 2000: 487). As shown by Selting (2000), the notion of TCU is debated, especially if considering the assumption that a “complete” unit means that speakers project possible endings in a space where speaker change can occur (a TRP). However, in bigger stretches of talk, such as explanations or storytelling (cf. Selting, 1995), or in list-construction (cf. Selting, 2007), speakers also project that their talk will take multiple TCUs before ending (cf. Selting, 2000 for a discussion of potential solutions). Moreover, Sacks et al. (1974) mentioned that a TCU can be composed of various types of linguistic units. These types of units have been investigated by linguists (cf. Auer & Pfänder, 2011). Grammatical and prosodic integration of TCUs become, then, an issue, since for the identification and definition of CTs, the difference between providing a new TCU and continuing/completing/extending prior talk lies exactly in the extent of this integration. The grammatical and prosodic make-up of the components of a collaborative turn is then worth investigating further.

Hence, TCUs are projective resources that speakers produce giving clues to hearers about the progression and possible continuations and endings of their turns-at-talk, based on grammatical but also action projectability, as well as on prosodic cues. A turn made by only one TCU is called a “single-unit turn”; multiple TCUs, uttered before a speaker has reached a potential place for transition (TRP), coalesce in a “multi-unit turn”³¹. In their pioneering paper, Sacks et al. (1974) showed how a TCU is not the product of one speaker’s ‘job’ but that rather “the turn as a unit is interactively determined” (*ibidem*: 726-727)³²;

(v) The method highlights the temporal and linear nature of conversation and emphasizes that conversations are organized sequentially. Sequences (see § 3.1.1) are formed by adjacent pairs of turns and actions (and their expansions, pre-sequences, insertions, and post-sequences) that are linked by the principle of conditional relevance: provided that

³¹ Selting (2000: 490): “In single-unit turns, a TCU always ends in a TRP. In multi-unit turns, however, there are both non-final and final TCUs within the turn. If a turn is possibly complete, all the prior TCUs taken together form the multi-unit turn that ends in a TRP. But as long as a possible turn-final TCU is not complete, the turn is not complete, and there is no TRP.”

³² This is also what Goodwin, C. (1979) argued: even one TCU, even one utterance, even when uttered by one speaker, is built through co-interaction, and shaped by the recipient to whom this unit is addressed.

a first-pair part is produced (e.g., a question for information), a second-pair part becomes the relevant next (e.g., the information). An adjacency pair constitutes the minimal sequence in conversation, and can be pre-, post- expanded, or 'deviated' by "side sequences" (cf. Jefferson, 1972). Speakers organize and maintain sequences deploying grammatical resources in observable ways (cf. Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Schegloff, 2007); (vi) Sacks et al. (1974) offered analysts a rigorous procedure for the validation of claims called the "next-turn proof procedure" (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998: 15): participants display in their "next" turn how they understood what happened in the "prior" turn. This allows analysts to provide emic evidence, i.e., to base their findings on how interactants themselves orient to talk as an accomplishment of certain actions and interpret them.

An original component of CA is the methodological choice of avoiding predetermined explanations, notions and categories. The perspective of the researchers/analysts ("etic" approach) is avoided in favor of the interactants' perspective ("emic" approach). Participants in interaction constantly show each other the actions they are doing, hold each other accountable in observable ways, try to ensure mutual understanding based on inferences they make in conformity with their expectations. These actions are made visible through conversational practices, by using specific grammatical and embodied resources, and by following a certain sequentiality. Even if early conversation analysts were not interested in the study of language per se³³ but rather in talk-in-interaction, it is clear that conversational structures are organized with linguistic means. When asking "why that now?" Schegloff & Sacks (1973: 299) referred to 'that' as linguistic material, e.g., an utterance, and 'now' as the placement of this linguistic material, the utterance, in a sequence, so that by virtue of this temporal placement, a speaker is heard as achieving certain actions. From the combination of a great attention to the details of grammatical resources and to the situated production of them, IL emerges and takes shape.

Couper-Kuhlen & Selting (2018) observed that in the 1990s researchers in Europe (UK, Germany) and in the US, developed awareness of the possible intersections of *interaction and grammar* (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 1996; Ochs, Schegloff, & Thompson,

³³ But Fox et al. (2012) highlighted that Sacks et al.'s (1974) and Schegloff et al.'s (1977) work was, nonetheless, published by the linguistic journal *Language*. In general cf. Fox et al. (2012) for a reflection about the cross-fertilization between CA and Linguistics, and an exploration of the reflexive relationship between these two disciplines and their differences and convergencies, that gave and give shape to IL.

1996). Scholars such as Local, Auer, Hopper, Thompson, Fox, and Ford (among others), adopting premises, findings and methods from Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis, and looking at naturally occurring data, started laying the groundwork for what would later, in the 2000s, be called Interactional Linguistics. Selting & Couper-Kuhlen (2001: 1) offered the following rationale for choosing the label Interactional Linguistics:

[W]hat we propose to call Interactional Linguistics, [is] a perspective on language structure and use informed by language's natural habitat in the interaction order. As we see it, it is not just grammar and prosody which lend themselves to study from an interactional linguistic point of view, but all aspects of language structure and use – phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, lexis, semantics, and pragmatics as well as language variation, language acquisition, loss and disorder.

IL pursues three objectives (cf. Couper & Selting, 2018):

- (i) providing a functional description of resources as they are mobilized in interaction;
- (ii) comparing practices cross-linguistically to describe the interactional necessities of speakers in interaction in different languages;
- (iii) drawing theoretical conclusions about how linguistic structures are organized in social interaction.

In combining the empirical and emic approach of CA with functional linguistic categories, e.g., the notion of 'clause', IL focuses on whether and in what ways such analytical categories are relevant to the participants themselves; i.e., how participants achieve social actions and make them visible and understood by co-interactants by deploying certain resources, labeled clause, sentence, conjunction, and so on.

IL differs from CA because of its in-depth linguistic analysis: while the latter is a sociological discipline ultimately interested in uncovering socio-interactional mechanisms, the former is driven by linguistic concerns ranging from morphosyntax, to semantics and prosody but also by non-verbal concerns, i.e., embodied conduct. Moreover, despite sharing CA's standpoints when it comes to the analysis of data, IL emphasizes more the necessity of adopting an "online perspective" (cf. Auer, 2009) in looking at the unfolding of turns-at-talk. Temporality is fundamental both to CA and IL, nonetheless, the temporal unfolding of the linguistic material in a turn constitutes the basis for IL. Accordingly, IL pays attention to the same temporal progression the

participants adopt when producing their talk, treating linguistic structures as “emergent in real time” and as “interactional achievements”. This is one of the main contributions of IL to the broad field of linguistics: the focus on linguistic structures as emergent (Hopper 1987, 2011; Auer & Pfänder 2011, Pekarek Doehler 2011, Pekarek Doehler et al. 2015). This focus operated a shift from a conception of grammar as a static set of rules in the speakers’ minds, toward a view of language and the relationship between linguistic resources as changing and reflexively being shaped while produced in the interaction between the speakers³⁴. Interactional linguists do not approach language retrospectively, but rather prospectively, as talk unfolds (cf. Hopper, 2011a). 1) The grammatical resources available in a given language³⁵ are not only a set of verbal tools bound together by abstract pre-established rules, which ‘just’ need to be accessed and used. They are, instead, temporal, situated, contingent and adaptive resources, serving the purpose of achieving social actions (cf. e.g., Hopper, 1987, 2011a; Thompson, 2002; Auer, 2009a; Fox & Thompson, 2010); Borrowing (Selting & Couper-Kuhlen’s (2001: 4-5) words:

An interactional perspective on language thus entails a radical re-thinking of notions such as competence and performance. Rather than conceptualizing language as an abstract and balanced system of pre-established discrete elements which are combined with one another into ‘sentences’ that are then realized in speech, interactional evidence suggests that language forms and structures must be thought of in a more situated, context-sensitive fashion as actively (re)produced and locally adapted to the exigencies of the interaction at hand

2) Grammar is not merely ‘verbal’, but: “Language is one among a range of resources that participants draw upon for the collaborative organization of social interaction” (Pekarek Doehler, 2019: 365). Verbal and embodied resources emerge together, reflexively

³⁴ Cf. Goodwin (2002: 24): “In formal linguistics the inclusion of such a sequential framework in the basic units used to build utterances has been largely ignored. Such neglect may result in large part from the fact that linguistics has typically focused on units no larger than an individual sentence produced by an idealized, isolated speaker. Within this framework issues of social coordination and the necessity of projectability by participants who are not currently speaking do not arise. More generally, in the human sciences language has typically been analyzed almost exclusively as a symbolic system rather than as a form of social organization in its own right.”

³⁵ Cf. also Voghera (2017) for a discussion on the rising interest in studying syntax of spoken Italian, moving beyond the “written language bias” (Linell, 2005).

shaping each other, in their timely unfolding and in their pragmatic interpretation, so that a holistic approach is warranted.

Interactional Linguists are interested in exploring the ways in which linguistic structures, combined in more or less complex patterns across different languages, relate to building and negotiating mutual understanding that the participants achieve with their social actions; and how this process and the resources involved in it are shaped by co-occurring nonverbal conduct. To do so, analysts can have two points of departure (cf. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018: 15): (i) starting from a practice or an action format and investigating how these are implemented and interpreted through linguistic means. In other words: “What interactional function or conversational structure is furthered by particular linguistic forms and ways of using them? Because language is first and foremost a tool for interaction” (Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001: 3); (ii) starting from linguistic resources to look at how they are mobilized to implement certain actions and practices: “What linguistic resources are used to articulate particular conversational structures and fulfil interactional functions?” (*ibidem*)³⁶.

How does IL conceptualize clauses, sentences and phrases, or in Schegloff’s (1979) words “syntax-for-conversation”? How does IL combine an incremental reading of syntax with the *post hoc* categories of formal linguistics? IL draws on the following linguistic methods³⁷: (i) typological word order models, as these enable an understanding of the different projective types of languages (early, late, mix) (Tanaka 2000; Kim 2001; Hayashi 2004; etc.), utterance-trajectories and possible projection fulfillments (see chapter 4); (ii) typological field models that individuate the position of certain elements in the linear progression of an utterance to accomplish different tasks (cf. Auer 1991, 1996; Lindström, 2006); (iii) online syntax (cf. Auer, 2005, 2009a), a take on syntax that highlights the real-time emergence of grammar in spoken production; (iv) emergent and interactive grammar (cf. Goodwin, 1979; Hopper, 1987, 2011a). Among these methods, (iii) and (iv) are utilized in my thesis, and to these the next sections are dedicated.

³⁶ This thesis combines both (i) and (ii) in the analysis.

³⁷ For a more detailed discussion on models at the basis of IL conceptualization of grammatical resources, see Couper-Kuhlen & Selting (2018).

3.1.1 Sequentiality: Turn-taking

When Sacks et al. (1974) provided the description of the turn-taking machinery, they set out to define: “the most fundamental organizations of practice for talk-in-interaction” (cf. Schegloff, 2007: 1). The authors started by proposing fourteen observations (e.g., speakers-change recurs, one party talks a time, etc.) based on every-day conversations, followed by an account of how these mechanisms occur and the systematicity behind their occurrence. Through turn-taking model is the resource that participants use to coordinate human interaction, achieve routinely certain outcomes, and hold each other “accountable” (cf. Garfinkel, 1967)³⁸ for their sayings and doings. The fact that participants hold each other accountable reveals that there are social expectations in play, within a normative dimension (cf. Schegloff, 2007), which make understanding each other possible. This is also why the turn taking machinery reveals the order behind the interactions. But how does this model that “provides for the distribution of opportunities to talk” (Enfield, 2013: 67) work?

The turn-taking machinery comprises two components. First, a turn-constructive component: the basic unit of conversation is the TCU, which can constitute single-unit or multi-unit turns. Second, a turn-allocation component: the distribution of turns-at-talk when TCUs reach a possible completion. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting (2018: 31), who also cite, Levinson (1983) and Sidnell (2010), explained that the turn taking machinery is “context-free”, adaptable to all communicative situations, but also “locally managed”³⁹ according to the necessities and contingencies of a certain contexts, and thus also “context-dependent”; finally, it is “party-administered”:

The character and organization of the rules that constitute it as a local management system themselves determine its more particular organization in not only allowing and/or requiring turn-size and turn order to vary, but in subjecting their variability to the control of the parties to any conversation. (Sacks et. al., 1974: 726)

³⁸ See the contributions in Robinson (2016) for a complete understanding of the importance and pervasiveness of “accountability” in different aspects of social interaction.

³⁹ Bergmann (1990: 207) defined the speakers’ local sensitivity as follows: “Local sensitivity is meant to capture the tendency built into every topic talk to focus on elements of the encounter’s context which are situated or occur in the participants’ field of perception but have not been topicalized so far.”

Before a speaker reaches the end of a TCU, a recipient can already foresee the likely end point by analyzing all possible trajectories the speaker has opened while talking: TCUs are therefore projectable. A TCU is not predetermined in size, content or format, and the way in which speakers can foreshadow its unfolding relies on their knowledge of the grammatical formats and resources available in a given community, on the one hand, and of the routinised social mechanisms and practices situated in a given society, on the other. Nonetheless, Stivers et. al. (2009) have argued that turn-taking for conversation applies to every language, and that the machinery captures universal mechanisms behind (informal) conversations⁴⁰.

That formats of TCUs may vary is shown by the different linguistic features (morpho-syntax, semantics, pragmatics, prosody) that constitute them: Sacks et al. (1974) specify that TCUs can be composed of all kinds of units, from phrases to sentences. A TCU is treated as complete when it has reached grammatical, pragmatic, and prosodic completion, i.e., a syntactic trajectory is complete, the action accomplished is pragmatically complete, and intonation is final (cf. Selting, 1996) (see excerpt 3.1):

Ex. 3.1 Mi13DIN2-44, 13:22-13:23

01	RIN	<i>prendo un coltello.</i> <i>I take a knife</i>
02	GIU	<i>perché?</i> <i>why?</i>

In l. 01, Rino (RIN) utters an independent main clause composed of a main verb, *prendo*/'I take', expressing the first person singular subject in its morphologic ending (the morpheme *-o*)⁴¹, followed by a direct object *un coltello*/'a knife' (that fulfills the argument of the transitive verb *prendere*/'to take'). The utterance is pragmatically complete: Rino informs Giulio that he is about to take a knife; the turn is uttered with final intonation.

When speakers have reached the possible end of a TCU, a transition-relevance place (TRP) occurs, and speakership can change. TRPs are therefore moments in the interaction around which turn-allocation is coordinated. However, these moments of completion are also among the more discussed in the literature. For instance, TRPs have been reconceptualized as a "complex transition relevance places" (cf. Ford & Thompson,

⁴⁰ Cf. Goodwin, C. (2002: 24): "The use of structures that provide for the prospective monitoring of movement within utterances toward a point of recognizable completion is a generic property of units used to build action within human interaction."

⁴¹ See §4 for a description of Italian as a pro-drop language.

1996; Selting 1996), to draw attention to the fact that the transition does not happen on a specific point or moment, but in a stretch of time:

When the relevance of incoming talk and speaker transition is high. It builds up gradually, and there are also practices for a current speaker to close, or even prevent, this window and project their own continued talk while the TRP is building up. (Barth-Weingarten & Ogden, 2021: 542)⁴²

Ford (2004) noticed that precisely because TCUs are projectable. This projectability can be used in non-convergent ways, which can be interactionally relevant. Barth-Weingarten's (2016) "cesura" approach – where cesuras are "all kinds of discontinuities in the flow of talk produced by prosodic and phonetic parameter changes" (Barth-Weingarten & Ogden, 2021: 536) – introduced the idea of fuzzy boundaries in talk: some prosodic units have a complex relationship with (incomplete) syntactic units (cf. also Pekarek Doehler, 2021). Grammatical and pragmatic (and prosodic) completion does not match at all times and not all TCUs end in TRPs (cf. Selting, 2000). Grammatical and pragmatic completion can, in fact, mismatch: a turn can be designed with incomplete syntax for interactional purposes (Li, 2016), and can be left pragmatically incomplete, for example, to invite completion (e.g., "fill-in-the-blank utterances" analyzed by Persson, 2017). A turn can also be syntactically complete, formed of all the grammatical elements, but pragmatically incomplete as part of a larger package (e.g., storytelling, or list formation). TCUs that are part of these larger packages do not project TRPs. Speakers postpone the TRPs by means of prosodic and interactional resources until the end of the activity. These TCUs compose multi-unit-turns (cf. Selting, 2000). In light of these studies, it becomes clear that the coordination of turn-allocation around TRPs is a dynamic set of possibilities that arise according to interactional contingencies.

According to Schegloff (2007: 2), turn-taking is a type of sequential organization as "it concerns the relative ordering of speakers, of turn-constructive units, and of different types of utterance." He differentiated between "sequence organization" and "sequential organization": the former refers to a group of actions (as we will see in the next section)

⁴² Cf. Barth-Weingarten & Ogden's (2021) special issue: "Weak cesuras in talk-in-interaction" for a discussion on chunking in interaction and fuzzy unit boundaries that participants can use for interactional purposes. In the special issue, TRPs are considered "windows of opportunity" that emerge fuzzily (*ibidem*: 542).

with an internal organization that justifies these actions following each other; the latter is a broader label – according to Schegloff most of what CA is concerned with is “sequential organization” – which concerns where utterances and actions are positioned in a conversation. Some types of utterances/actions have a routinized position occurrence in conversation (e.g., greetings are produced in the opening of an interaction), others can occur at any moment. However, each element in an organized system (a turn, an utterance, etc.) is expected to come after the preceding one. This order is also guaranteed by some principles that participants orient to in order to display their understanding of the prior turn and respond accordingly: adjacency or nextness, contiguity, and progressivity. Adjacency or nextness are fundamental: “because of the way turn-taking for conversation works; namely, one turn at a time – and, specifically, exclusively next turn allocation” (Schegloff, 2007: 15). What comes before projects what can follow not only linguistically but also pragmatically: a certain action (first pair part) makes conditionally relevant another action (second pair part). The first and the second action constitute an adjacency pair, i.e., a minimal sequence (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Examples of adjacency pairs include greetings or question-answer sequences. The following excerpt shows the moment of greetings at beginning of a dinner among friends.

Ex. 3.2 Mi13DIN2-40, 06:01-06:03

01	GIO	ciao pierina. <i>hi pierina</i>
02	PIE	ciao. <i>hi</i>

Piera (PIE) has just arrived at Giulio’s (GIU) house, who greets her by using a diminutive form of her name at l. 01. In the immediate next turn, at l. 02, Piera provides what is expected next: a greeting following the prior greeting.

The nextness of a turn does not mean that an element has to always directly follow another: “side sequences” (cf. Jefferson, 1972) or insertions can be uttered after a first pair part (so that turn contiguity is not action contiguity). However, there are cases in which other elements emerge between a turn and what should be expected next, and these elements can be perceived as halting the progressivity of the interaction (cf. Stivers & Robinson, 2006).

The work that the participants have to do to ensure a successful coordination shows how all the levels (and semiotic systems involved) are intertwined in conversation: the linguistic, the pragmatic, the embodied and the sequential. But how do these levels relate? Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen (2005) and Couper-Kuhlen & Selting (2018: 25) have shown that participants orient to the linguistic categories of sentence, clause, phrase, etc. when producing their turns:

the category of sentence or clause can be warranted by showing that speakers and recipients orient to it by timing their follow-up TCU and actions accordingly, by waiting for even pursuing its completion, and/or by interpreting its break-off or abandonment as a source of interferences. It is thus crucial in interactional linguistic research to show participant orientation to the phenomenon under analysis.

Concretely, a participant B who is monitoring co-participant's A talk follows in real time the grammatical units as they unfold, and the possible action, the "main job", that the speaker A is doing with the turn. This allows B to respond to, continue, complete, extend A's talk, by placing the immediate next relevant action, by opening a new course of action, or by interrupting the contiguity of a sequence by inserting a non-projected element and halting the progressivity of the interaction etc. All these "next" elements can be provided by overtly drawing on a co-speaker's grammar while A is uttering a turn or leaves a turn incomplete (what I call "co-constructions"). They can also be provided after A utters a potentially complete turn (what I call "other-extensions"), by reusing latent open grammatical slots in A's turn (cf. Auer, 2014) (for second pair parts: e.g., an answer, speaker can also reuse latent grammar of the first pair part, e.g., the question). Hence, speakers orient to grammar and grammatical formats as they actively monitor what is complete or incomplete and evaluate the possibilities to extend or complete what is being said with grammatical resources. Speakers thus actively deploy grammar to implement these mentioned practices. Finally, participants orient to contiguity, in their timing, to make relevant that the next action is a response to what comes before. For these reasons, CTs are a proof for the turn-taking machinery (cf. Lerner, 1991; Bolden, 2003 and Auer, 2009a): they allow us to see how the monitoring works, how the placement of TCUs is carefully negotiated among the participants, and how grammar is deployed to show and ensure collaboration.

3.1.2 Actionality: grammar in (inter)action

IL takes from CA tools (and terminology) that enable linguists to analyze practices and resources of social (inter)actions. But what are the practices speakers implement with linguistic resources? Couper-Kuhlen & Selting (2018: 28) introduce a conceptual and terminological distinction between a set of “concepts”:

(i) “Action” constitutes a turn. It is what a speaker accomplishes with embodied and linguistic resources while speaking, and what the interlocutor has to respond to in order to provide the relevant next turn (action). In other words, an action is “the main job” of a turn (cf. Levinson, 2012). A TCU is an action unit (cf. Selting, 2000), and an action can be extended by other TCUs, producing multi-unit turns: turn continuation by the same speaker is an interactional achievement (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1982). Examples of actions are requests, offers, complaining, teasing, claiming understanding, etc.

(ii) “Sequence” refers to an ordered course of action implemented by adjacency pairs: e.g., question-answer, request-acceptance/refusal, etc. Sequences can be prefaced, expanded after the first pair part, or extended after the second pair part.

(iii) “Activity” refers to a big package of actions, which compose a larger chunk of talk: e.g., storytelling, descriptions, etc. It is also used to refer to parallel or intertwined undertakings in which the participants are simultaneously involved, e.g., eating and talking, cooking, and talking, etc. (cf. “multiactivity” in Haddington et al., 2014)⁴³.

(iv) “Practice” refers to “the recurrent use of particular forms or formats in particular sequential contexts” Couper-Kuhlen & Selting (2018: 28) for specific purposes, e.g., organizing turns, initiating a repair, extending another participant’s turn, etc. According to Heritage (2011), a practice has distinct traits from other practices in that it gives a specific meaning to the action achieved and it occupies a specific location in a sequence. The following example from Heritage (1998: 6) shows an *oh*-prefaced response as a dispreferred response:

(7) Ann: How are you feeling Joyce.

Joy: Oh fi:ne.

(v) “Resource” refers to all the means available to the interactants describable with respect to their use and their structure. They can be single, multiple or combined (cf.

⁴³ Levinson (2012: 124) defined “activities” as the “set of practices that guides action formation and ascription within specific settings.”

Ccouper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018): from a phoneme to a biclausal unit (e.g., the first ‘part’ of a pseudo-clefts, or *wh*-clefts in English, projecting turn continuation, cf. Lindström, Henricson & Huhtamäki, 2022).

Excerpt 3.3, taken from a dinner among friends, illustrates these concepts. The participants have just discussed illicit practices of their professors at the university. They say that some of these stories are more or less verified, while they describe others as urban myths (see chapter 5, for a complete analysis, as excerpt 5.2.8):

Ex. 3.3 Mi13DIN2-42, 05:53-06:01

01	GIU	son belle	le leggende urbane.
		<i>they are beautiful</i>	<i>(the) urban myths</i>
02		(0.5)	
03	ANG	[bo]:h	
		<i>dunno</i>	
04	GIO	[sì]	
		<i>yes</i>	
05	ANG		[comunque:.]
			<i>anyway</i>
06	GIO		[però sono leggende.]
			<i>but they are myths</i>
07		(0.5)	
08	RIN	urbane.	
		<i>urban</i>	
09	ALL	((laugh))	

This episode closes down the activity of storytelling. At l. 01 Giulio (GIU) assesses⁴⁴ urban myths (lit. in Italian *leggende* ‘legends’) by saying they are beautiful. Assessing is the main job of l. 01, the action carried out. After a pause in l. 02, Angela (ANG), in l. 03, expresses doubt, thereby not providing the preferred response, a second agreeing assessment (cf. Pomerantz, 1984). Giorgio (GIO) provides instead a minimally agreeing second assessment (*sì* ‘yes’; l. 04). At l. 06 Giorgio refers back to legends by other-repairing l. 01 and by attaching a coordinate adversative clause – a clause introduced by an adversative conjunction in Italian, *però* ‘but’ – and disaligns from the positive assessment by specifying that they are just myths. The sequence could end here. However, at l. 08 Rino other-extends Giorgio’s talk by adding the adjective *urbane* ‘urban’, thereby creating a comic effect, as shown by the participants’ laughter (l. 09). Other-extending talk by using integrated (see chapter 2) grammatical resources and formats to subvert prior talk (or disalign with it) is a practice that has been documented (cf. Calabria & De Stefani, *under*

⁴⁴ The grammatical design of Giulio’s turn, a right dislocation of the subject, is one of the formats used to implement the practice of assessing (cf. Pekarek Doehler et al., 2015 for French).

review). A change in “footing”⁴⁵ (Goffman, 1981) occurs: from a shared storytelling that negatively depicted their professors, it becomes a jocular moment shared among all participants who are now also addressed.

Turns are specifically designed in a way that enables recipients to recognize what kind of action is being carried out (Schegloff, 2007; Levinson, 2012; Couper-Kuhlen, 2018). This “sensitivity to the particular other(s)” (Sacks et al., 1974: 727) is called “recipient design” and applies to all elements of the above-mentioned set: in designing actions, in managing sequences, in moving forward activities, when implementing a practice, and when using specific resources. The ways interactional resources are deployed so they can be recognized as implementing a specific action has been called by Levinson (2012) “action formation”; how those turns are actually recognized by participants as carrying out a specific “major action” has been called “action ascription” (cf. Levinson, 2012; but also Couper-Kuhlen, 2018; Deppermann & Haugh, 2021). Whether an action is recognized by co-participants or not becomes evident in following turns, therefore the main job in constructing a turn is projecting what the relevant next action might be and making that understandable. As Schegloff (1992: 1299) puts it: “[a] convergence between the ‘doers’ of an action or bit of conduct and its recipients, as co-producers of an increment of interactional and social reality” (Schegloff 1992:1299) has to occur. When this process happens, “intersubjectivity” is established (cf. Couper-Kuhlen et al., 2021; Haddington, 2007; Kärkkäinen, 2006; Sidnell, 2014; Stivers, 2008; among others). Sorjonen et al. (2021) pointed out that intersubjectivity has to be maintained in the course of the interaction, as this is crucial for ensuring the co-interactants’ mutual understanding:

Particular aspects of particular bits of conduct that compose the warp and weft of ordinary social life provide occasions and resources for understanding, which can also issue in problematic understandings. And it is this situating of intersubjectivity that will be of interest here. (Schegloff, 1992: 1299)

⁴⁵ “A change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance. A change in our footing is another way of talking about a change in our frame for events” (Goffman, 1981: 5).

The collaboration and mutual orientation of two or more participants to negotiate a common understanding are made visible in the configuration of participation frameworks. Co-participants negotiate their relation to each other with their utterances and actions, in other words, by producing their mutually accountable turns (cf. Goodwin, C., 1981). A hearer can become the next speaker, a non-ratified participant can become ratified, two people can constitute “colloquy” (Sacks et al., 1974) even in a multiperson configuration, and so on. A participation framework is an epiphenomenon of interaction and is shaped by the actions speakers accomplish. Therefore, it can change and be renegotiated throughout the entire interaction (e.g., parties of two or more people can be made relevant and then irrelevant again in the course of the conversation). This is even more relevant in multiperson settings and in practices of collaborative grammar, where the actions accomplished involve demonstrating participation. Showing participation and claiming understanding or knowledge⁴⁶ from non-addressed participants can require more work, when more participants are involved (cf. Stivers, 2021). Moreover, taking the floor when not being addressed can be treated as competitive (cf. Stivers, 2021, but also Sacks et al., 1974). CTs then provide speakers with effective ways to openly engage in and display collaboration.

The actions carried out in CTs can be grouped in three types:

- (i) turn management actions that concern the organization of turns in the alternation of talk, e.g., speaker selection, initiating other-repairs;
- (ii) social actions implemented through a linguistic act (Enfield & Sidnell, 2007), such as, question, answer, order, request, informings, etc.;
- (iii) intersubjective actions (e.g., the display of a “stance”⁴⁷) that concern how what the speaker is saying has to be interpreted, e.g., a laughable episode.

Speakers can achieve multiple actions in a turn. Thus, actions can be “double-barreled” (Schegloff, 2007), i.e., one action is the “vehicle” through which another action is accomplished (cf. Rossi, 2018: 381), e.g., a speaker can both respond to prior talk, and do something else/more. Actions can also be “composite” (Rossi, 2018: 379), i.e., “a

⁴⁶ Cf. Heritage (2012) for epistemic status: speakers can display knowing (K+) or unknowing (K-) positions.

⁴⁷ For epistemic stance cf. Sidnell (2006), for affective stance cf. Stivers (2008), for deontic stance cf. Stevanovic (2013). Already Goodwin, C. (2007) distinguished five types of “stances” or the participants’ positioning toward what has been said. A shared stance contributes to the achievement of collaborative activities and the creation of intersubjectivity.

combination of more than one action" (e.g., making a request, while also conveying a criticism). In the CTs analyzed in this thesis, speakers often accomplish composite actions, as excerpt 3.4 shows. At dinner, Rino (RIN) is telling the story of when in high school his marks in Ancient Greek went from 0 to 7, as he learnt how to copy the translations from internet. Therefore, his professor became suspicious and started enquiring about it (see chapter 6, for a complete analysis, as excerpt 6.1.1):

Ex. 3.4 Mi13DIN2-44, 05:32-05:39

01	RIN	°le faccio° (.)	↑professoressa ho studiato.=
		<i>I say (do) to her</i>	<i>professor I studied</i>
02	ANG	=mi sono impegnato.	
		<i>I applied myself</i>	

At l. 01 Rino reports with the quotative *faccio* 'I do' used as 'I say' (cf. Calaresu, 2000; Fiedler, Calabria & Polak-Yitzhaki, *in preparation*) the (fake) response to the inquisitive professor: *ho studiato* 'I studied'. At l. 02, Angela (ANG) joins Rino in collaborative reported speech⁴⁸ (cf. Calabria, *in preparation*). She reenacts Rino by using masculine morphology (*impegnat-o* in Italian is masculine singular) and changing voice quality to mirror Rino (cf. Cantarutti, 2020). She extends Rino's potential complete turn joining him in reported speech: by doing so, she demonstrates understanding of his story and co-creates with Rino a jocular dimension. Her turn is not invited or the next relevant action; nonetheless, it contributes to Rino's narration and to the general achievement of intersubjectivity. This excerpt shows how grammatical resources available in a language (the Italian gender morphology) are deployed for practical purposes: while, demonstrating her understanding of Rino's story, Angela turns it into a jocular one.

The next paragraph focuses on the temporal aspect of grammar-in-interaction, which is a key element in interaction, also for action formation and ascription.

3.1.3 Temporality: Emergent Grammar and Online Syntax

In a lecture on time and temporality, Paul Hopper (2011b)⁴⁹ – after providing an overview on these concepts from Ancient Greek to modern philosophy – stated: "Linguistics is the last field to have taken temporality seriously"⁵⁰. He attributed this to the fact that the

⁴⁸ Reported speech that is achieved by multiple speakers by means of co-constructions or other-extensions.

⁴⁹ Plenary lecture titled: "Time for a change: temporality in Linguistics", delivered at the conference *Chronos*, held at Birmingham University (18-20/04/2011).

⁵⁰ For a collection of studies on temporality in interaction, cf. also Deppermann & Günthner (2005).

father of structuralism, Ferdinand de Saussure, was more interested in synchrony as the only way of accessing *langue*, than in change, which belongs instead to the realm of *parole*. According to Hopper, it took linguistics a few decades to turn to time and temporality, where this is not to be intended anymore as language ‘and’ change, but as language ‘in’ change, language that evolves every moment, hand in hand with social structures. In this dialectic process, grammar emerges and is constantly shaped as, according to Hopper, linguists start learning from Derrida (2010 [1967]) and Foucault (1969). Speakers in face-to-face interactions use language in a way that unfolds in time, and it needs to be considered in its constant unfolding, not as a system that changes over time but as a system that constantly emerges through time. Hopper calls the moment in which linguists adopt a temporal view on language “the temporal turn”⁵¹ and counts interactional linguists (e.g., Couper-Kuhlen and Auer) as part of this group⁵².

In Hopper’s view, a backward-looking (anaphoric) approach to language, instead of a forward-looking (cataphoric), presupposes a “bird’s eye view” (Hopper, 2015: 125) of talk. This is a simultaneous view of the beginning, middle and ends of unit, which corresponds to a view of language as a written semiotic system. But how can linguists adopt a forward-looking approach to language in their analysis? By conceiving grammar as an emergent epiphenomenon of interaction.

By “emergent grammar”, Hopper meant “the fact that a grammatical structure is always temporary and ephemeral” (2011: 26) and emphasized a conceptualization of grammar as “a stable system of rules and structures, which may ‘emerge’ (i.e., come into existence) out of a less uniform mix” (*ibidem*). Hopper’s work in the 1980’s lays the foundation for interactional linguists (cf. Auer & Pfänder, 2011; Maschler, 2018; Pekarek Doehler et al., 2015; Pekarek Doehler, 2011; Thompson, 2019; among others). The need to take a different approach from the traditional views on grammar (formal, structuralist, even functionalist), which Hopper deems “indispensable”, comes from the consideration that as soon as the focus of studies becomes interaction, these views are not exhaustive anymore. In fact, as noticed by Breyer et al. (2011: 195): “when co-constructing the actual

⁵¹ See Enfield (2013) for a discussion on the time of conversation as “enchronic”, a time for co-relevant actions to occur and for a series of behaviors of “moves” to fit in contingent sequences.

⁵² He also mentioned Traugott’s theory of grammaticalization (cf. Hopper & Traugott, 2003) among the approaches that consider change as an operationalizable element of language that can be traced and studied in its diachronic (and, I would add, longitudinal) development.

conversation in real time, speakers do not only choose ready-made constructions from a ‘basket’ of previously heard utterances.” The basic idea is that, in contrast with traditional views that consider grammatical productions as detached from the interactions and the settings in which those take place, a view of grammar as emergent regards grammatical categories as “unfinished and indeterminate” (Hopper, 2011a: 26). Emergent Grammar is less interested in defining certain categories as prototypical and self-contained (i.e., explicable without the communicative situation in which they occur), than, instead, exploring “the boundaries of categories” (*ibidem*).

Since grammar is inextricably intertwined with its conversational occurrence and is an “epiphenomenon” of social interaction (cf. Hopper, 2011a), an emergent view of grammar means considering language as a way to organize these interactions. In other words, Emergent Grammar starts from assuming the “inextricable embeddedness of language and action” (Pekarek Doehler, 2011: 45), and goes on to approach language as something shaping these actions and unfolding bit-by-bit. The ways actions unfold through language is traced by looking at projections, i.e., the range of possible trajectories that every utterance can open. In this sense, Emergent Grammar is an “on-line phenomenon” (Auer & Pfänder, 2011:14).

What does “online” mean? When Peter Auer (2005, 2009a, 2015) developed “Online Syntax”, he stated that an online reading of grammar meant considering it as a cognitive and interactional process, based on the possibility for speakers to make and draw on linguistic projections while interacting: “Grammar is a conventionalized set of formal ways of making projections possible” (Auer, 2009b: 180). Online, thus, means a process development that follows a linear trajectory and whose linearity enables both participants in the process, and external observers, to interpret it. In this case, the process is syntax, the participants are interactants, and the external observers are linguists and analysts. Although Hopper observed that de Saussure was not interested in the temporality of language *per se* (imprinting this view on structuralist approaches to linguistics of the subsequent years), Auer remarked that he had already emphasized the linear, and therefore temporal, nature of the signifier, while other linguists neglected it:

The signifier, being auditory, is unfolded solely in time from which it gets the following characteristics: (a) it represents a span, and (b) the span is measurable in a single

dimension; it is a line. While Principle II is obvious, apparently linguists have always neglected to state it, doubtless because they found it too simple; nevertheless, it is fundamental, and its consequences are incalculable. (De Saussure, 1983 [1916]: 132)

The temporal nature of spoken language entails at least three distinctive characteristics according to Auer (2009a):

- 1) its “transitoriness”, i.e., the provisionality of linguistic material that fades after a certain time span due to our short-term memory. This has interactional consequences for the limited responsibility that speakers and hearers have over what they produce as it always involves an additional process of ‘remembering’ that has its costs. The implication is that to avoid forgetting, interactants prefer simpler (i.e., shorter) structures (e.g., stand-alone phrases or sentences over relative clauses) that unfold in the time they are expected to. However, this is not always the case. Auer remarked that in “right-branching” languages, where grammatical units unfold to the right⁵³ (e.g., a relative clause comes after a main clause that contains its referent), grammar follows the time, therefore speakers do not need the whole unit to be produced before interpreting it;
- 2) its “irreversibility”, i.e. the fact that what has been said cannot be unsaid or deleted. Interactionally, however, what has been said can be repaired or reformulated;
- 3) the “synchronization” between hearer and speaker needed in face-to-face interactions. Producing and receiving are not separate processes, they influence each other all the time in a constant interactive process (cf. Goodwin, 1979), where the parties have to coordinate and collaborate while constructing their dialogue. However, Auer noticed that, for obvious articulatory and auditory reasons, times of production and of reception cannot be perfectly synchronized. Speaker and hearer can only be synchronized asymptotically: emergent units are processed with short delays (in contrast with written communication where the production and reception can be separate moments)⁵⁴. Auer (2009a: 4) concluded: “Research on spoken language has often ignored these aspects and their ramifications; this is still reflected in the terminology we use (and for which we have no replacements) which is often explicitly based on the visual, written word.”

⁵³ More details about Italian as a right-branching language will be provided in § 4, which will be useful to understand the role of projection in collaborative turns.

⁵⁴ Cf. also Voghera (2017: 79) “Tuttavia mentre la ricezione di un testo scritto avviene con tempi e modi indipendenti dalla produzione, nel parlato di norma la ricezione quasi simultanea alla produzione.”

The linear nature of spoken language can be operationalized following three operations, which are not exclusive to spoken language but are “very distinctive” (Auer, 2009a: 4) of it: (i) “projection”, (ii) “expansion”, and (iii) “retraction”.

(i) Auer (2005) argued that projection is pervasive and fundamental in coordinating human action. Similarly, other scholars also demonstrated the importance of projection in organizing human communication (cf. Streeck, 1995; Tanaka, 2000; Hayashi, 2004; Mondada, 2006; among others) and an essential element of syntax. Through projections, speakers foreshadow at every moment what comes next in the linguistic unit shaping the unfolding turn, thereby opening trajectories that can be fulfilled. This creates expectations in the co-participants about the further development of talk and the possible completion of TCUs, and this predictability facilitates the interpretation for the hearers. The hearers (as already pointed out by Goodwin, C., 1979) stop being “passive recipient[s]” (Goodwin, C., 2002: 24) and become “co-actor[s]” who can produce the next relevant action at any moment. Since projection can be fulfilled with predictable material, and the hearer can become the next possible speaker: “projection fulfillment may be monological or dialogical (i.e., the projected items may be delivered by the same speaker who projected them or by a co-participant). Points in an interaction in which no projections are “in play” any longer, and all previous projections have been fulfilled, can be seen as “unit completion points” (Auer, 2009b: 182). Projection trajectories can be also abandoned, or misunderstood, or deferred (cf. Günthner, 2011): speaker A can refuse the candidate fulfillment of a trajectory provided by a contributing speaker. Projection has effects on even simple actions and the smallest of grammatical units (Goodwin, C. 2007; Auer 2009a). Projection is also involved in the sequential organization of talk. Auer (2005, 2015) speaks of two types of projection: syntactic projection, which is the grammatical projections, and interactional projection, i.e., projection trajectories of certain actions (e.g., projecting a list that contains certain items). Interaction and grammar overlap fuzzily at all moments, as they share similarities, and are organized following the same principles: “[this] strengthen[s] the idea of interactional structure becoming sedimented into grammatical structure” (Auer, 2005: 27). In addition, De Stefani (2021) integrated the notion of projection showing how what is presented as projecting grammatically (e.g., an *if*-clause) can actually also project a next relevant action.

Excerpt 3.5 provides an illustrative example of dialogic grammatical and interactional projections overlapping. A specific grammatical format (→1), ‘a quotative’, projects the possible grammatical next element (→2) ‘a quote’ (Lerner, 1991 described, “quotation in conversation”, as a compound TCU). In direct reported speech in Italian, the quote is said not to have an overt syntactic relationship with the quotative frame (cf. Calaresu, 2000). It is said to be normally uttered in present tense and to contain possibly anaphoric elements to preceding talk (see chapter 6). Two co-participants fulfill the interactional and grammatical projections by providing a quote in the formats required. During their business meeting, Paolo (PAO) is informing the co-presents (Ezio, EZI, Annina, ANN, Pamela, and Vania) about a situation he had to supervise where a customer asked the opinion of the company’s technician, but actually overstepped in the expert’s field (see chapter 5, for a complete analysis, as excerpt 5.1.5):

Ex. 3.5 Mi13PRO1-45, 05:31-06:04

01	A→PAO	↑e dall'altra parte [<un tecnico che dice[va>]] <i>and on the other side a technician who was saying</i>
02	B→EZI	[sta] <i>be</i>
03	EZI	[attento:- <i>careful</i>
04	ALL	[((laugh))
05	C→ANN	[°tu° ^h c:he ca↑zzo ^h] [fai <nel mio ↑cam]po.> <i>what the fuck are you doing in my field</i>
06	ALL	[((laugh))] [((laugh))]
07	PAO	[> ^h e ^h che ^h cosa ^h fai-<] <i>and what are you doing</i>
08	ANN	[eh sì. ^h] <i>well yes</i>
09	PAO	[^h e- e > ^h che] ^h cosa ^h fai< nel mio <u>campo</u> . <i>and what are you doing in my field</i>

After having spoken about the client’s behavior and the technician’s annoyance, at l. 01 Paolo starts introducing the technician’s response to the client, by projecting direct reported speech framed by the quotative verb *diceva* ‘was saying’, conjugated in the imperfect tense as part of an ongoing narration, in 3rd person singular. At ll. 02-03, Ezio produces a quote slightly in overlap, *sta attento* ‘be careful’, showing early understanding of Paolo’s projection and fulfilling it by uttering a turn in 2nd person singular containing the possible warning of the technician to the client, in the present tense of the RS. That Ezio’s TCU is not referred directly to Paolo or other co-present persons is shown by everybody’s reaction, including Paolo’s laughter (l. 04). That a quote is the next relevant

action is also confirmed by l. 05, where another participant, Annina, produces yet another candidate quote, in the present tense and again in 2nd person singular, as talk from the technician addressing the client. While the others laugh, Paolo ratifies this candidate quote, first in overlap with the laughter (l. 07) and then partly in overlap and partly in the clear (l. 09), by partially repeating it. By articulating the quotes, both Ezio and Annina are producing the next relevant action projected by Paolo, while also respecting the constraints of the grammatical projectability of quotative verbs in Italian. By co-constructing they are also claiming and displaying a specific understanding of Paolo's story and general understanding of facts concerning their companies, as well as their participation and engagement. Indeed, they obtain a choral laughter, and Annina obtains explicit ratification of her contribution. The projection here is successfully fulfilled and confirms Auer's (2005: 2) remark: "Perhaps the most striking 'in vivo' evidence of projection in dialogical syntax and the temporal alignment of speakers and hearers are co-constructions, i.e. when a unit initiated by one speaker is completed by another speaker."

Further relevant elements are the time span and strength of projection. Auer (2009b and 2015) noted that there are not enough empirical studies about the timing of a projection trajectory, or, in other words, about how long a trajectory can remain open to be fulfilled before it is forgotten. He also claimed that more studies are needed to understand the strength of projections, most of all in languages with loose morphology. Small-scale projections, which operate on a local morphosyntactic level (e.g., after a feminine singular article in Italian, what is expected to come is a feminine singular noun), are easier and more "recipient-friendly" (Auer, 2009: 4). While larger-scale projections (e.g., after an *if*-clause, what is expected to come is a *then*-clause⁵⁵), are less predictable, as the combination trajectory can also remain unfulfilled. Nonetheless, the latter are not uncommon in spoken language, according to Auer (2009).

(ii) Expansions are not projected or projective elements, but, nonetheless, expand preceding talk, before an open trajectory is fulfilled. An example is provided from business meeting I, where Annina (ANN) is discussing the target budget to reach.

⁵⁵ Cf., for instance, De Stefani (2021) for cases of *if* clauses in Italian and French and German, where protasis and apodosis do not form "content conditional", i.e., they do not follow the projected trajectory.

Ex. 3.6 Mi13PRO1-42, 26:09-26:24

01	A	ANN	.h se lo facciamo s-^invece sul (.) risultato if we instead do this on the result
02	B		del nostro piano, (0.5) >piano che poi vedremo dopo< of our plan that we will see later
03			(1.3)
04	C	ANN	a questo punto, əh: °s-° (0.6) at this point
05	D	ANN	avremmo raggiunto quota cinquanta per cento, we will have reached 50 per cent

In I. 01 she projects with an *if* clause *se lo facciamo*/'if we do this', "lo" being an anaphoric pronoun referred to *il calcolo*/'the calculation': if they (Annina and her colleagues) do the calculation based on their plan (part A), they will have a different result. The projected element, however, is not produced until I. 05 (part D). In II. 02-03 and 04 she inserts two elements (parts B and C) concerning the plan (anticipating that they will look at it later). Expansions, according to Auer, can be produced to hold a turn, most of all in right-branching languages, as they delay a projection that has started and which the speaker could eventually fulfill.

(iii) Some elements in a projection can also be changed, they do not fulfill it but take some parts and reactivate it, e.g., self-repairs. Retractions occur when a speaker reuses a slot available in prior talk. Thus, this contribution is symbiotic with prior talk. This idea of reusing and recycling⁵⁶ elements previously used is also linked to structural latency (Auer, 2014). Grammatical structures already produced in prior talk can remain latently available (e.g., the valency of a verb) beyond the duration of a turn: this allows the same or another speaker to use these structures and to produce new syntactic material integrated with or dependent on prior talk. This syntactic material is then a "symbiont" of the preceding talk, with which it entertains a unilateral relationship of "analepsis" (Auer 2014): most elements are not repeated but can be omitted because they are latently available in what precedes. An example from dinner among friends where kindergarten teacher Giorgio (GIO) is telling the others about the instructions he gives to his students during lunch time (see chapter 5, for a complete analysis, as excerpt 5.3.4):

⁵⁶ Cf. Goodwin, C. & Goodwin, M.H. (1987: 216): "participants frequently tie not only to the type of action produced by last speaker but also to the particulars of its wording." They call this through "format tying".

Ex. 3.7 Mi13PRO2-42, 18:38-18:51

01	GIO	>io gli chiedo< di mettere a posto il tavolo, di non <i>I ask them to tidy the table, not to</i>
02		sbriciolare per terra, e di non rovesciare l'acqua. <i>drop crumbs on the floor and not to spill the water</i>
03	ANG	di non buttar via il cibo. <i>not to throw the food away</i>
04	GIO	e di <u>non-</u> (.) <i>and not to-</i>

At l. 01, he explicitly states what he asks the children to do with the verb phrase *io gli chiedo*/'I ask them' followed at l. 02 by a list-like series of three indirect interrogatives (Italian complement clauses with the verb in its implicit form, the infinitive, l. 02) that fulfill the argument structure of the verb 'to ask'. But the verb argument structure can still be fulfilled: indeed, at l. 03, Angela extends Giorgio's turn with an utterance grammatically constructed like in Giorgio's previous potentially completed turn: the complementizer *di*/'of' + the negation *non*/'no' = not to X, followed by the infinitive form of the verb *buttare*/'to throw away'. Angela reuses an open latent structure available in prior talk. In this way, even though extending a potentially completed turn, her contribution is accepted and included in the list as an additional element by Giorgio, who at l. 04, starts repeating her TCU by adding an *e*/'and', used to introduce the last item of a list (cf. Jefferson, 1990).

Introducing temporality in the study of language involves examining linguistic structures as they emerge and unfold in time in every moment, turn by turn, but also morpheme by morpheme⁵⁷. Temporality is an intrinsic characteristic of spoken language and can be accounted for by looking at how speakers produce grammatical units incrementally and how hearers/next potential speakers interpret them, in a process of synchronic coordination. Operations like projections, expansions and retractions show how speakers arrange emerging elements in certain structures and hearers interpret what is likely to come next, making even the smallest grammatical unit an interactional achievement and showing that there is "order at all points".

⁵⁷ Or one intonation unit at-a-time (cf. Ono & Thompson, 1995).

3.1.4 Multimodality: Embodiment, with a focus on gaze

A fundamental component of IL is the attention to ‘bodily’ conduct (cf. already Goodwin, C., 1979 and Goodwin, M.H. & Goodwin, C., 1986) as co-occurring with the ‘verbal’ conduct of participants. More specifically, embodiment plays a role in grammar production, which, in turn, is sensitive to embodiment and the bodily orientation of speakers (cf. Pekarek Doehler, Keevallik & Li, 2022).

The idea that actions are produced with an array of resources, or ‘multimodal packages’ (cf. Hayashi, 2005), and that all these resources constitute ‘complex multimodal gestalts’ (cf. Mondada, 2014, 2016) leads to a multimodal analysis of interactions. Specifically, IL investigates how linguistic structures in use interface with gaze, body posture, gestures, etc. Mondada (2019: 47) defined multimodality as: “the diversity of resources that participants mobilize to produce and understand social interaction as publicly intelligible actions, including language, gesture, gaze, body postures, movements, and embodied manipulations of objects.” This view implies moving away from a logo-centric approach toward a more holistic view, which considers the space the interactants inhabit and their surroundings (objects, but also other sensorial stimuli that interactants have access too, cf. Mondada, 2019).

Interactional linguists have investigated different aspects of the participants’ bodily conduct, focusing both on particular bodily resources or rather on the interface between talk and embodiment, in a specific language or within specific practices: Kendon’s (2004) and Streeck’s (2008) influential work on gestures; Stivers (2008) and De Stefani (2021) on nodding; Ruusuvuori & Peräkylä (2009) and Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori (2012) on facial expressions; Rossano (2012, 2013), Pekarek Doehler (2019) and Weiß (2020) on gaze; Stec, Huiskes, & Redeker (2016) on multimodal quotation (also Sidnell, 2006 for gestures in reenactments)⁵⁸; Keevallik (2018) and Pekarek Doehler, Keevallik & Li (2022) on the “grammar-body interface”, among others.

Two crucial issues for multimodal analysis, intertwined with each other, are (i) how to deal with logo-centric practices of data transcriptions; (ii) how to approach analytically the non-discrete nature of bodily resources and the multiple temporalities that are implicated in gesturing and talking at the same time. In other words, how to deal

⁵⁸ In chapter 2, studies that are specifically dedicated to embodied completions, i.e., the multimodal accomplishment of collaborative turns, e.g., Bolden (2003) and Olsher (2004), have been presented.

with the complexity of embodied conduct. Concerning (i), Goodwin, C. & Goodwin, M.H. (2004) had discussed the need to represent multimodality in a way that prioritizes embodied action over talk. For instance, Rossano (2013) designed a way of transcribing gaze orientation that starts from gaze as the main *locus* of investigation and accounts for the direction of gaze, toward participants or the surroundings. Solutions like these show that it is indeed difficult – without a reference unit that is as discrete as talk – to clearly identify a “phenomenon” (e.g., gaze for reciprocity vs gaze to surrounding; or gaze vs head movement; or gaze while hand gesturing or pointing, etc.). Embodied conduct also co-occurs: how can different manifestations of embodied conduct be represented in relation to each other? Which ones are relevant, and which ones are not? These questions can only find answers within specific sets of data and practices. De Stefani (2015) raised the issue of taking talk as the main modality of reference when transcribing multimodality, which does not only mean taking the “timing” of the unfolding talk as reference, but also that actions that are not verbal end up being descriptions or comments of talk. Multimodal gestalts are organized in time and space and emerge in the interaction, in a certain embodied ecology (cf. Selting, 2013; Mondada, 2016). But then, how can the analyst capture the emergence of a multimodal gestalt with different temporalities?⁵⁹ The (ii) second issue is related to this. Hayashi (2005) and Iwasaki (2009) have provided conceptualizations of units and actions as multimodal embodied actions, within larger packages of semiotic resources, focusing on the meaning of an embodied action *per se* and within a TCU, which is considered a unit of verbal action. More recently, Mondada (2016) and Deppermann & Streeck (2018) have dealt with the issue of the different temporalities involved when considering gestures. Gestures, gaze, and body orientations are, in fact, non-discrete and often they cannot be accounted for by themselves. Nonetheless, they relate to the sequentiality of turns and the unfolding of TCUs, and embodied resources are used in managing turns-at-talk (e.g., pointing for turn-allocation; gaze at addressee for inviting talk, etc.). Moreover, some bodily actions cannot co-occur with talk (e.g., swallowing, cf. Ogden, 2021), especially when they are carried out with the mouth and impede each other (cf. Mondada, 2014). Hence, they may halt the progressivity of talk (cf. Hofstetter et al., 2021). However, participants

⁵⁹ Mondada (2016: 341) defined a multimodal gestalt as “multiple simultaneous sequentialities.”

successfully coordinate their talk with specific body practices. A bodily practice, e.g., a gesture, can constitute a turn, accomplishing the next relevant action (e.g., turning the body, head and gaze in the direction in which someone is pointing, cf. De Stefani, 2021; co-completing a speaker's turn, cf. Olsher, 2004). Therefore, besides the issues of representation and temporal situated analysis of bodily resources, the contribution of ILCA research on multimodality consists in bringing the body into the study of grammar⁶⁰:

One effect of the way in which human action is constituted and shaped within a rich multimodal ecology of sign systems is that participants orient to multiple orders of temporality simultaneously. Within talk-in-interaction, linguistic structure provides resources that can be used simultaneously to (1) structure time in the world being represented through talk and (2) provide hearers with resources for projecting future events in the current and future interactions. Such structure in the stream of speech is framed by the participants' bodies. Through interactively organized gesture and posture, participants display crucial information about the temporal and sequential organization of their joint participation in the current interaction. (Goodwin, C., 2002: 19)

That being so, I examine embodiment as a set of resources intertwined with syntax, shaping its emergence, and forwarding, halting and changing the progressivity of grammar production and turns unfolding. I specifically focus on gaze, since gaze behavior emerges in the data as an active component in the practices of continuing, completing, extending a turn and collaboratively combining each other's utterances. Even more so in the case of multiperson interactions, where unaddressed speakers may (re)complete a co-speaker's turn-in-progress, or a (re)completion can be ratified by a participant who is not the speaker of the completed turn. Gaze, then, is a device for speaker-selection resolution or overlap resolution (cf. Auer, 2021; Auer & Zima, 2021). Gaze becomes relevant when speakers negotiate participation and collaboration, together with grammar

The role of gaze has been widely documented⁶¹, although mostly in dyadic or triadic interactions. For instance, gaze has been described as a resource for turn-

⁶⁰ Cf., for instance, Keevallik (2018) who, looking at grunts and body postures, asked the question of what 'belongs' to grammar and what to body, questioning if these two can be disentangled at all, or the vocal is one of the channels of bodily communication.

⁶¹ Degutyte & Astell (2021) provide an overview of qualitative and quantitative studies on gaze in turn-taking.

management: speakers identify recipients (Goodwin, C., 1979) and select next speakers (Stivers & Rossano, 2010; Weiß, 2018) with gaze, and recipients display reciprocity by establishing mutual gaze with speakers. Gaze has been described as a fundamental dimension participants orient to in the identification of potential turn- and TCU-boundaries, in the course of activities such as tellings, and question/answer sequences (cf. Rossano 2012). Participants may shift their gaze when recognizing upcoming TRPs (cf. Holler & Kendrick, 2015; Beukeleers, Brône & Vermeerbergen, 2020). During word searches, gaze aversion can prevent co-participants' intervention (cf. Goodwin, M.H. & Goodwin, C., 1986), or mutual gaze can facilitate intervention (cf. Dressel, 2020). The direction of gaze can both index a preferred response or a dispreferred one (cf. Kendrick & Holler, 2017; Pekarek Doehler, 2021). More specifically, Rossano (2012) found three areas in which gaze plays a role: in displaying participation (redisplaying reciprocity, transitioning from speaker to hearer, etc.); in regulating turn-taking (holding the floor, eliciting response, etc.); and in action formation (gaze as display of stance, gaze in re-enactment, etc.).

However, studies on how gaze specifically relates to the grammatical features of turn construction are still scarce. Kärkkäinen & Thompson (2018) talked about “grammar-body-packages,” recurrent combinations of grammatical constructions with embodied conduct (e.g., cf. Pekarek Doehler et al., 2021). In his 2019 talk “Gaze and the syntax of co-constructions”⁶², Auer (2019b) suggested three ways in which syntax and gaze are related: (i) gaze can be independent from syntax and a specific gaze behavior can be an action by itself. It is interpreted as such with regard to the sequential slot in which it occurs; (ii) gaze is integrated in syntax production in recurrent, routinized ways, for instance in demonstratives, where it also co-occurs with other features, like prosody; (iii) gaze has a contextualizing function with respect to an emerging syntactic format, like in co-constructions, where gaze is a resource for inviting or discouraging a candidate contributions.

My emphasis (resembling this third way) is on the role of gaze in turn management (inviting a speaker to collaborate) and in the co-production of talk (gazing at a common recipient to display being a party), further evidence of the collaborative nature of

⁶² Delivered at the workshop “The grammar-body interface”, University of Neuchâtel, 23-24/10/2019.

grammar (cf. Goodwin, C., 1981). The turn-at-talk is taken as reference when looking at the temporality of gaze, as I investigate gaze in relation to TCU and utterance construction⁶³. An example is provided in excerpt 3.8, where gaze is analyzed with respect to the grammar of other-extensions. A speaker produces an other-extension prefaced by the conjunctions *e anche*/'and also'. The excerpt is taken from Calabria & De Stefani (*under review*), where the authors are looking at cases in which speakers other-extend by means of *prima facie* collaborative grammatical resources, additive conjunctions, accomplishing more or less cooperative actions (from affiliation to disaffiliation). They found that sustaining mutual gaze with the prior speaker facilitates more complex syntactic other-extensions (clausal units), which deal with delicate actions (managing disalignment and disagreement). During business meeting II, Paolo (PAO) and Duilio (DUI) are discussing a delicate issue: everybody involved in a transaction with one of their clients earned money except for the account manager, who happened to be Duilio (see chapter 5, for a complete analysis, as excerpt 5.3.1):

Ex. 3.8 Mi13PRO1-51, 01:02–01:17

```

01      DUI      *%>e meno male< che^ero io. (.) se^era un account,*
          and thank goodness it was me if it had been an account manager
          PAO      *gazes down----->*1.03
          DUI      %gazes at PAO-->1.08
02      (0.9)
03      PAO      *sì quattroggi retail* s[i. eh. lo so.
          yes ((company name)) yes uh I know
          PAO      *gazes at DUI-->1.05
04      DUI      [;>se^era un account<
          if it had been an account manager
05      vagli a spiegare >che* li hanno guadagnato*
          go explain him that there everybody earned
          PAO      -->*gazes down----->*
06      *tutti meno che lui.<*
          something except him
          PAO      *gazes at DUI----->*
07      *(0.8)
          PAO      *gazes down-->
08      PAO      sì.*(ah no; hano) (.) Δha guadagnatoΔ chi ha scrittoΔ
          yes they have- those who have written
          PAO      -->*gazes at DUI-->1.12
          DUI      Δnods----->Δ
09      #%la no:ta.
          the note have earned something

```

⁶³ Cf. Brône & Oben (2018) for the advantages of studying spoken language using eye-tracking technology. The precision that the instrument allows is useful when looking at an embodied resource in a systematic way and when starting from the embodied resource itself. A future investigation using eye-tracking could also be beneficial for a study like this thesis (cf. also Auer, 2021). At the moment, however, it goes beyond the scope of this work. On eye-tracking in interaction cf. also Kendrick & Holler (2017), Stukenbrock (2015), and Weiß (2020), among others.

```
DUI      %gazes at PAO-->>
fig      #fig.1
```



Fig. 1 Duilio and Paolo sustain mutual gaze.

```
10    DUI      e anche >chi è andato in aula.<
        and also those who have gone to court
11
12    PAO      eh?*
        huh?
        PAO      -->*
13
        * (0.7)
        PAO      *gazes down-->
14    PAO      e anche *chi^è andato in aula.
        and also those who have gone to court
        PAO      -->*gazes at DUI-->>
```

At ll. 01-06, Duilio builds a criticism about the management of this client. At l. 08, Paolo gazes at Duilio, then down, while asserting that those who earned something were the persons who wrote ‘the note’ (ll. 08-09), with a turn that is syntactically, prosodically, and pragmatically complete. Duilio nods during Paolo’s turn-in-progress, at the end of which both participants establish (and maintain till l. 13) mutual gaze (fig. 1). At this point, Duilio self-selects and extends Paolo’s turn with a clausal *e anche*-extension (l. 10). Duilio uses a latent (Auer, 2014) grammatical structure available in previous talk, the complement clauses l. 08, *chi ha scritto* ‘who have written’, to which he grammatically coordinates *chi è andato* ‘who have gone’. Duilio depicts Paolo’s words as not fully correct and carefully displays disagreement with Paolo. At l. 12, Paolo initiates a repair, but, after a pause, at l. 14 he repeats Duilio’s words, thereby ratifying his extension. This excerpt shows how syntax and gaze are interrelated and emerge to manage practical issues. A participant implements a certain practice – other-extending a prior speaker’s turn – with a complex syntactic TCU – a coordinated embedded clause – while sustaining mutual gaze with a co-participant, displaying disagreement and obtaining ratification from the other person. This analysis already shows how grammar, actions and embodied conduct form holistically the fabric of every-day interactions.

3.2 Practices and formats: preliminary empirical description

Four studies underpin my conceptualization and new taxonomy of CTs. From Blöndal (2015) and Luke (2021), I adopt the procedure of looking at the reflexive relationship between grammar and action in CTs. Neither the grammatical formats (phrases, clauses, sentences, etc.), nor the actions (displaying understanding, subverting prior talk, etc.) are the focus, but rather the combination of these. From Luke (2021), I also take the concepts of voices and parties (see chapter 6). Finally, Blöndal (2015) and Luke (2021) are among the first to have considered other-extensions and co-constructions together, as phenomena of shared syntax. From Helasvuo (2004) and Biazzi (2009), I derive the reflection on grammatical integration.

For a candidate contribution to be treated as collaborative by the prior speaker, it must be produced as integrated with the prior turn. The integration I consider is both grammatical and action-pragmatic. Grammatical integration occurs when speakers deploy resources that overtly show the syntactic relationships between the grammatical units involved in jointly-built turns, e.g., coordinative or subordinative conjunctions, complementizers, etc. Grammatical integration can be cataphoric, when the resources uttered foreshadow what may come next (e.g., a complement-taking predicate and a complementizer in A's TCU can be followed by a complement clause in B's TCU); or anaphoric, when the resources uttered re-anchor a unit to the prior one (e.g., using a relative pronoun that links a unit to a referent in the prior clause). Pragmatic integration refers to what speakers do with their turns, the social actions they achieved. A unit is integrated with the prior one if the action achieved continues, extends, completes or recompletes that prior action. Pragmatic integration is also based on the semantic content of the host turn and how a contributing speaker orients to it when providing a candidate contribution. I only considered cases where B's turn shows some degree of integration with A's. In Italian the difference between a unit that is integrated with prior talk and a unit that is not cannot always be disambiguated by syntax alone. The action carried out in the turn, its sequential position, and prosody all converge in speakers' usage to ensure this integration.

In CTs, turn completion is a collaboratively achieved rather than given by the structural design of TCUs: speaker A can design a turn as grammatically incomplete but as complete for all practical purposes (cf. Li, 2016; Persson, 2017a); speaker B can treat a potentially grammatically complete unit in speaker A's turn as in need to be

(re)completed. Specifically, grammatical completion is negotiated as an interactional achievement that speakers achieve by being able to predict the ending of a syntactic emerging gestalt: “conversationalists are able to assess potential points of turn completion before any actual completion or pause has been reached.” (Ford & Thompson, 1996: 135). Speakers can also still wait until the end of the prior speaker’s turn to extend or complete an element of it. Therefore, timing and the temporal placement of candidate contributions are relevant to speakers (cf. chapter 5), and complex syntax emerges incrementally for practical purposes (cf. chapter 6).

As already stated in chapter 2, the decision to use collaborative turns as an umbrella term, rather than “CT sequences” or “co-constructions” (cf. Lerner 1991, among others), is motivated by two reasons. First, it allows me to use a broader term that covers cases of both candidate completions and candidate continuations by other-speakers, who expands a prior ongoing or incomplete turn, along with cases of candidate recompletions and candidate extensions of an already potentially completed turn. Second, it enables me to tease apart the dimension of collaboration in grammar and discuss it empirically.

The following sections provide an illustration⁶⁴ of the different formats in which candidate contributions (i.e., B’s turns) occur. I consider the grammatical design of A’s and B’s turns, their syntactic relations to each other, and the interplay of syntax and prosody. I refer to the speaker of the prior turn as “A”, and to the speaker that provides a candidate contribution as “B”. I speak of “formats” for the types of contributions, i.e., continuations, extensions, (re)completions, and of “practices”, for what speaker B undertakes in (re)completing, continuing or extending a prior turn.

3.2.1 Co-constructions

This set of practices includes cases in which A’s turn is syntactically or prosodically incomplete. That is, A’s turn can either be 1) syntactically incomplete and projecting more to come prosodically; or 2) syntactically complete and projecting more to come prosodically. B’s turn can be syntactically or prosodically incomplete, in which case I speak of “candidate continuations” (i). Or else, B’s turn can be syntactically or

⁶⁴ A fine-grained interactional analysis of the excerpts presented here is carried out in chapters 5-6.

B: syntactically incomplete and prosodically non-projective

Ex. 3.16 Mi13DIN2-44, 18:38-19:39

- 01 A ANG =paga l'affitto per leggere:[:]
he pays rent to read
- 02 B GIU [per] passare la giornata
to spend the day
- 03 [a leggere libri e fumar le canne.]
reading books and smoking joints

3.2.2 Other-extensions

This set of practices includes cases in which A's turn is potentially complete or treated as such, both syntactically and prosodically. B's turn can be formatted as syntactically incomplete and prosodically projective, in the case of "candidate extensions" (iii); or syntactically incomplete and prosodically non-projective, in the case of "candidate recompletions" (iv). B's turn is a TCU formatted as a dependent clause (e.g., a relative clause), or, at any rate, the speaker draws on latent, available grammatical slots in A's turn to make the other-extension heard as still 'about' or dependent 'on' some element(s) in A's host turn.

3) CANDIDATE EXTENSIONS

Only one format belongs to this category: A's turn is neither prosodically nor syntactically projective as it is complete. B's turn is neither prosodically nor syntactically complete. As B does not recomplete A's turn, I define B's turn a candidate extension.

(i) A: syntactically complete and prosodically non-projective

B: syntactically incomplete and prosodically projective

Ex. 3.17 Mi13PRO1-51, 24:04-24:11

- 01 A PAO cercheremo di (.) di aggiustare la co[sa].
we'll try to fix the thing
- 02 B ANN [si troveranno delle
we'll find some
- 03 fo:rme [(insomma di)]
ways well of
- 04 PAO [si. troveremo delle forme] per:
yes we'll find some ways for
- 05 MAR certo.
sure
- 06 PAO per: dare: questa cosa.
to give this thing

4) CANDIDATE RECOMPLETIONS

This category also contains one format: A's turn is not prosodically nor syntactically projective as it is complete. B's turn is syntactically incomplete drawing on the grammar of A's turn but is prosodically formatted as non-projective as recompleting A's turn.

(i) A: syntactically complete and prosodically non-projective

B: syntactically incomplete⁶⁵ and prosodically non-projective

Ex. 3.18 Mi13PRO1-49, 31:01-31:20

01	PAO	.hh il <u>budget</u> >che c'eravamo fissati< all'inizio dell'anno, <i>the budget that we had set at the beginning of the year</i>
02		(1.5) non verrà raggiunto. <i>will not be met</i>
03		(1.2)
04	A ANN	°°mh°° vi ricordo che^era: due mi[lioni novecen [to::^e]& <i>mh I remind you that it was two million nine hundred and</i>
05	DUI	[s:i. n:::~::~[°:::~::~-] <i>yes n-</i>
06	MAR	[s:i:] <i>yes</i>
07	ANN	&(rotti) [mila] euro. <i>something thousand euros</i>
08	PAO	[sì.] <i>yes</i>
09		(0.3)
10	DUI	[(era o-)] <i>it was</i>
11	B MAR	[che^era] che ^era rispetto al consuntivo precedente <i>which was which was compared to the previous balance</i>
12		più:: quattrocento per cent. <i>plus four hundred per cent</i>

3.3 Practices and formats: summary

By taking as the departure point the format of a candidate contribution (B's turn), I have individuated four types of contributions that, in combination with A's turn, result in CTs. I examined the potential syntactic and prosodic completion of A's turn-so-far at the moment in which B's candidate contribution is provided. I differentiated between contributions provided while the prior turn is still in progress or is left incomplete (co-constructions 3.2.1), and contributions after a TRP (other-extensions, 3.2.2). I further

⁶⁵ L. 11, excerpt 3.18, shows how completion is not linked to well-formedness, but rather to the dependence or independence of the grammatical unit from what precedes: "the subordinate clause cannot stand alone only because there is a conjunction signaling that it is linked to another clause" (Cristofaro 2003: 20).

distinguished between those candidate contributions formatted as completing the ongoing or prior turn (candidate completions and candidate recompletions), and those which are not (candidate continuations and candidate extensions). This distinction comes from the interplay of projection (of A's turn), completion (of A's and B's turns) and re-anchoring (of B's turn to A's). Bolden (2003: 1091) called the device used to extend a quote beyond a first TCU in direct reported speech (cf. chapter 6) "re-anchoring". She, however, looked exclusively at same-speaker's TCUs. Here, I use the term to mean the syntactic anaphoric tying of one grammatical unit to another, by another speaker.

Projectability, completion and re-anchoring are relevant for the clausal formats participants orient to when they provide a contribution. Namely, when co-constructing, speaker B draws on cataphoric projections by speaker A, fulfilling the grammatical trajectories that A's turn opens and B is analyzing in real-time. When other-extending, B provides a turn that is re-anchored to A's turn, which is not projective. A clausal candidate contribution provided after a projective turn is designed as the format 'expected' to fulfil the projection (which can be complement, relative and adverbial clauses). For instance, in excerpt 3.10 B provides the complement clause that follows the complementizer *che*/'that' in A's turn. A clausal candidate contribution provided after a TRP, can either be introduced by an open marker of subordination, which re-anchors the turn to the prior host turn, such as *che*/'that', 'which', *perché*/'because', *per*/'for', 'to', etc. (cf. excerpt 3.18); or the speaker can draw on latent grammar in the prior turn. These contributions can take the shape of complement, relative and adverbial clause. Completion does not only concern with A's talk. B's turn can also be left incomplete. When B's turn is designed as incomplete, speakers B can still be seen to orient to clausal formats. They may leave, however, clauses potentially missing some elements (cf. again excerpt 3.10, where the third argument of the verb *salvare*/'to save', the beneficiary, is not expressed, although the clause can be considered overall complete). Grammar is not the only resource that signals to the co-participants that B's turn is not complete: prosody is deployed to signal that B's contribution could be followed by more-to-come or is not final. Finally, interactional projection, i.e., projecting the expected action that could follow A's turn, tends to be fulfilled in the case of candidate (re)completions (even if they are not always accepted by speaker A). While, on the other hand, in candidate

continuations or extensions, speaker B does not fulfil an interactional projection but only provides a possible expansion of the talk (of one specific item or of the overall topic).

The distinction between completions and continuations shows that grammar is shaped for specific purposes. Speakers systematically design their contributions to be heard as continuations or completions, they systematically use resources to show the grammatical and/or pragmatic integration of their turns with prior talk and organize their contributions to be heard as belonging together with prior talk. This has implications for turn-taking and for turn-allocation, and for the conceptualization of grammar as incrementally complexified in conversation (cf. Maschler et al., 2020)⁶⁶. Moreover, it shows that completion is a negotiated achievement. The way speakers achieve CTs shows how they monitor and build grammar and complex syntax in real time, i.e., how they visibly do clause combination. Some linguistic structures are systematically privileged over others (e.g., coordinative *e//and'*-prefaced clauses, relative or complement *che*-clauses, etc.) to accomplish specific actions and implement specific practices. This has implications for syntactic concepts like “coordination”, “subordination”, “parataxis”, “hypotaxis”, and the like. As we will see, the timing of the contribution, i.e., where it is provided in relation to A’s turn in the unfolding of the conversation, also plays a role in the types of clausal patterns and linkages that emerge. The analytical parts of this study will show how collaboration, temporality, and grammar are intertwined.

⁶⁶ Cf. also Hayashi (1999: 1): “Joint utterance construction here refers to a domain of practices by which a speaker produces an utterance that is designed to grammatically continue (and sometimes complete) an ongoing utterance initiated by another speaker. An example of one type of joint utterance construction, i.e., ‘co-participant completion’ (a term adopted from Lerner & Takagi 1999).”

4. DATA AND METHOD

It is a capital mistake to theorize without any data.

Insatiably one begins to twist facts to suit theories

instead of theories to suit facts.

Conan Doyle (1892) *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*

4.1 The corpus; 4.2 Three to tango: multiperson interactions; 4.3 Analytical procedure; 4.4 Notes on Italian grammar and Italian terminology

As the main theoretical and methodological frameworks that inform my analyses are CA and IL, I focus on naturally occurring data, adopting an empirical, qualitative, data-driven and emic approach, privileging what the participants make relevant through their practices and their understandings. This empirical foundation of my research is a central contribution to the way grammar can be conceptualized (Auer, 2005; Hopper, 1987, 2004, 2011a). In this chapter, I go over the composition of my corpus in detail and focus on its multiperson composition; I explain the procedure behind the constitution of my collection of CTs and the criteria used, as well as the syntactic annotation; finally, I provide some notes on Italian and Italian terminology used to refer to technical concepts. These remarks will hopefully lead to a better understanding of the syntactic and interactional analysis.

4.1 The corpus

This thesis uses the *ALIAS* corpus (*Archivio di LinguA Spontanea*), collected by Dr. Maria Eleonora Sciubba as part of an educational project funded by KU Leuven (project number OWP2012/08) and directed by Professors Stefania Marzo, Elwys De Stefani, and Bart Van Den Bossche (2012-2014). The data have been collected using two fixed cameras for each setting from and two lapel-microphones clipped to participants or positioned on a table. All participants have given their informed consent to the recording and publication of the data in which they are visible. All proper names and sensitive information have been pseudonymized or changed.

From the approximately 60 hours of video recordings that compose the *ALIAS* corpus and have been scrutinized, I chose 4 interactions, recorded in Milano (Lombardia)

and Tortona (Piemonte), documenting a total of 11 hours and 52 minutes of present-day Italian in institutional (2 business meetings) and ordinary stationary settings (1 table dinner and 1 aperitif among friends). The total number of participants is 15 (ANN and PAO, are presents in two events) as shown in table 4.1. The interactions are all multiperson (from 3 to 5 participants) and happen ‘around a table’:

SETTING	N° OF PARTICIPANTS	NAMES IN EXCERPTS
DINNER 2:50	5	GIU = Giulio; ANG = Angela; PIE = Piera; RIN = Rino; GIO = Giorgio
BUSMEET1 4:23	5	PAO = Paolo; ANN = Annina; VAN = Vania; PAM = Pamela; EZI = Ezio
BUSMEET2 3:31	4	PAO = Paolo; ANN = Annina; DUI = Duilio; MAR = Mario
APERITIF 1:08	3	ALI = Alice; FLA = Flavia; SER = Serena
TOT = 4	11:52	TOT = 17 BUT *15

Tab. 4.1 Metadata: settings, number and names of participants

I selected four events happening around a table for reasons of comparability of the participants’ disposition in the space: all settings presents stationary interactions, the bodies are disposed around the table, with the participants facing each other (figures 4.1-4.4). Because of the seating arrangements, sometimes speakers have to turn their body to gaze at a specific co-participant, while some participants sit in front of each other.

The participants have not been asked to touch upon particular topics and have not been provided any instructions on how to behave or dispose themselves in the space/around the table: “the distribution of participants around the table is not arranged for the camera but is kept as it is ordinarily” (Mondada, 2009: 560). The interactions are recorded in their natural unfolding, from beginning to end (including the arrival of the guests or the members of the company in the house/room of their gathering). The video recordings capture all participants, their talk, gestures, gaze, and the space they share and move in (as much as possible).

The choice of including both institutional and ordinary settings is motivated by an interest in documenting collaboratively-built turns in different contexts and activities. All these settings are characterized by multiactivity: participants are faced with different tasks while talking: they are cooking, eating, drinking, smoking, washing dishes, taking notes, typing, answering the phone, reading out loud, etc.



Fig. 4.1 Dinner among five friends – Milan 2013



Fig. 4.2 Aperitif among three friends – Tortona 2013

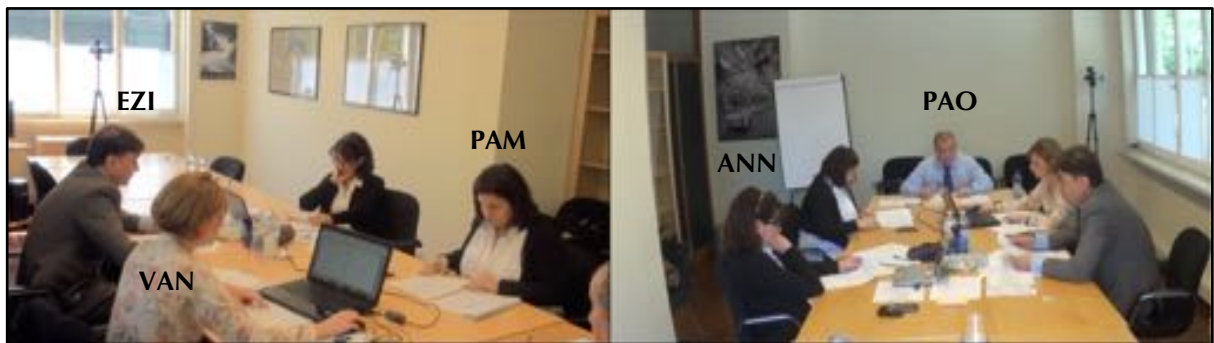


Fig. 4.3 Business meeting I among five colleagues – Milan 2013



Fig. 4.4 Business meeting II among four colleagues – Milan 2013

I proceeded with a detailed transcription of the data, using a ‘vertical’ representation of talk. Additionally, I deployed ELAN⁶⁷ when a ‘horizontal’ transcription method was analytically preferred, for instance when investigating multimodal aspects. I used the CA conventions established by Jefferson (2004) for talk, and Mondada (2018) for embodied conduct (see above *LIST*)⁶⁸; the lines in the original language, in the transcripts, are translated into colloquial English, additional glosses⁶⁹ are provided where necessary for the purposes of the analyses (see fig 4.5).

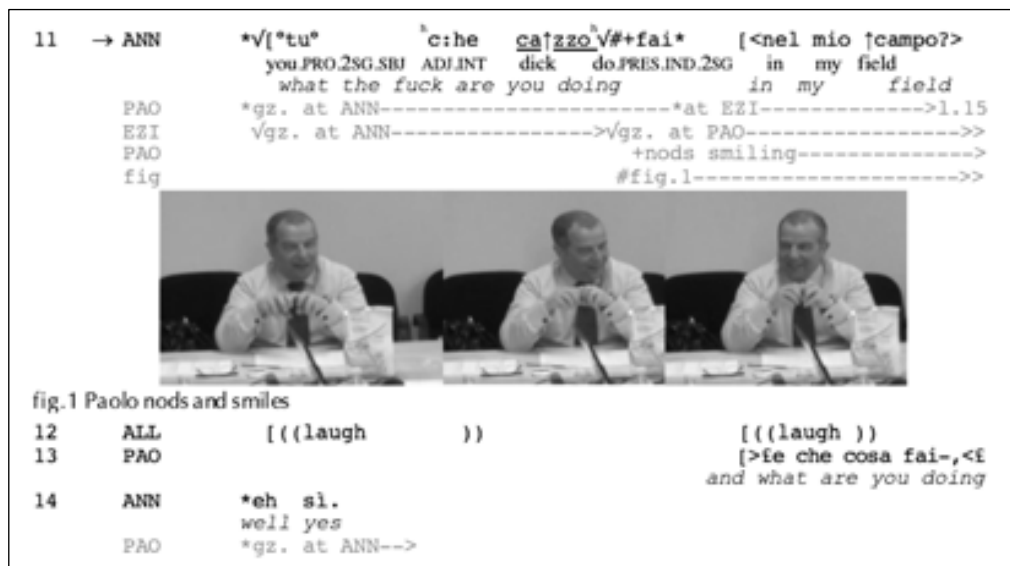


Fig. 4.5 Verbal transcript, glosses, translation, embodiment transcript and figures

The Jeffersonian conventions are designed for representing details that contribute to the organization and intelligibility of talk. They help to retain features of prosody, voice volume, speed of talk and turn organization in the transcription:

The transcript does not represent speech production at the level of its mechanical reproducibility (the etic approach that is typical of phonetics). Rather, the transcription provides an empirically reliable approximation of the interpretative assemblies that participants in talk are working with (the emic approach). (Mazeland, 2006: 153)

⁶⁷ ELAN (Version 6.0) [Computer software]. (2020). Nijmegen: Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, The Language Archive. Retrieved from: <https://archive.mpi.nl/tla/elan>

⁶⁸ Goodwin, C. (2000: 216) remarked: “[A]ny transcription system must attend simultaneously to two separate fields, looking in one direction at how to accurately recover through a systematic notation the endogenous structure of the events being investigated, while simultaneously keeping another eye on the addressee/reader of the analysis by attempting to present relevant descriptions as clearly and vividly as possible. [...] different stages of analysis and presentation will require multiple transcriptions. There is a recursive interplay between analysis and methods of description.”

⁶⁹ For the Leipzig Glossing Rules: <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf>

In the institutional setting, i.e., the business meetings, some specificities stand out compared to the ordinary settings, i.e., the dinner and the aperitif (cf. Mondada, 2013). First, the discussions are goal-oriented and proceed according to an agenda; new topics and activities are prompted by the chairperson, but not always initiated by them. Second, as Kangasharju (2002) remarked, in goal-oriented activities, the turns are mostly addressed to all co-present participants (which is not necessarily the case in other multiperson conversations, cf. Goodwin, 1981). Third, the participants orient to the institutional character of the interaction by treating the topics in accordance with specific goals and forming ‘oppositional alliances’ to display their common agreements or disagreement⁷⁰; 4) co-participants’ opportunities to participate in the discussions seem equal, however some hierarchical asymmetries can emerge in the interaction (due to the pre-established roles within the company, i.e., the chairperson, the vice, the employees); 5), in institutional settings, speakers orient to the “seriality” of the meetings:

[T]he character of the interactions is also influenced by the fact that every single meeting is part of a series of meetings (conversation-in-a-series; cf. Button, 1991). Both the previous and the following meetings are reflected in the discussions in many different ways. (Kangasharju, 2002: 1450)

In ordinary settings, by contrast, other elements than the agenda, the seriality, or the goal-oriented type of activity play a role in shaping the interactions, e.g., orientation to couplehood can be made relevant, in co-storytelling (cf. “spouse talk” in Sacks, 1992 and Lerner, 1992), or in other choral activities (Lerner, 2002).

In both types of setting, temporary ‘parties’ are made relevant and dissolved again, in an ongoing process of negotiation of the participation framework (Goodwin, C. & Goodwin, M.H., 2004; Stivers, 2021; among others).

⁷⁰ Cf. Deppermann et al. (2021: 295): “Forms of alignment and disalignment, fittedness and unfittedness, agreement and disagreement, affiliation and [...] are all vectors through which dynamic interactional relations are configured between participants [...]. The informal or institutional nature of the encounter materializes through types of first actions and specific constraints on second actions, as well as through who has the right and obligation to perform these actions; these elements can be considered the building blocks of social order and institutions.”

4.2 Three to tango: multiperson interactions

I refer to above described settings as “multiperson” (cf. Schegloff, 1995; Egbert, 1997; Kangasharju, 2002) rather than “multiparty” (cf. Sacks, 1992, among others) interactions. Following Schegloff (YEAR), ‘parties’ are aggregations of people that can vary, be contingent (can be made relevant and irrelevant again in the course of an interaction) and be fewer in number than the participants in a conversation (a party can be composed of one individual, a dyad, or be multiperson): “for some particular phase or topic or sequence within some occasion of talk-in-interaction, the aggregate of persons [...] are organized into parties, such that there are fewer parties than there are persons” (Schegloff, 1992: 33). It is methodologically clearer, thus, to separate the term multiparty, which refers to the number of parties made relevant at a certain moment in a conversation, from multiperson, which refers to interactions between more than two individuals.

Two phenomena of interest can arise in multiperson interactions and are observable in my data. The first occurs when the conversation splits and the participants simultaneously engage in parallel sub-conversations in smaller groups or “dyads” (Simmel, 1902; Stivers, 2021), occasioning “schisming” (Egbert, 1997) or “byplay” (Goodwin, M.H. 1990). The second, seemingly opposite, concerns the aggregation of participants into parties or “alliances” (Kangasharju, 2002). The multiperson composition of the settings has consequences for turn-taking and speaker-selection, for the orientation of speakers to their recipient (cf. Sacks, 1971), for the reorganization of the participation framework, for sequence organization, for the orientation of bodies in the space, and, for the co-construction of activities, such as tellings, lists, etc.. For these reasons, maintaining a multiperson interaction has been said to require additional interactional work for the participants than maintaining a dyadic conversation (cf. Stivers, 2021).

The literature (cf. Egbert, 1997; Kangasharju, 2002; Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007) has highlighted that co-constructed episodes, sequences, turns and utterances are among the most effective practices to make relevant the formation of a party (cf. Luke, 2021). As Sacks (1992: 421) noted, one way of taking someone’s side is to co-construct utterances with them. Sharing syntax (see chapters 5 & 7) and/or sharing a multi-unit turn (see chapters 6) show the participants’ orientation to cooperativeness (cf. Enfield & Levinson, 2006 and Goodwin, 2018; among others), in a context, a multiperson interaction, where one might expect strong competition for the floor (cf. Sacks et al., 1974).

A question arising from examining how parties become contingently relevant and how grammar contributes to forming parties is the one of “authorship” attribution of a turn, already raised by Lerner (1999, 2002, 2004). In other words, if a turn is completed by someone else and accepted by the initiating speaker, who is the “original author” (cf. Goffman, 1981) of the turn? The literature has linked authorship attribution of a turn to progressivity (cf. Hayashi, 1999 and Sidnell, 2012). If contributing speakers do not use the opportunity to pursue their own project, hijacking the original speaker’s TCU, then the authorship remains with the initiator of the project. The progressivity is not interrupted, and the speaker who had initiated the project keeps the floor. On the other hand, if the contributing speaker is only apparently providing a collaborative TCU but does something else with it (e.g., subverting the prior talk, as shown by Bolden et al., 2019), this can cause the progressivity to be halted and a different interactional project to be started. Although reflecting on authorship goes beyond the scope of this thesis, an investigation of collaborative grammar leads to the question whether speakers can be non-collaborative while using *prima facie* collaborative grammar. Or also, can speakers be skillfully un-cooperative, if they format their contributing turns as grammatically integrated with what precedes?

Additionally, in interactional contexts where more than one person can potentially self-select and become the next speaker, co-constructing and other-extending are effective ways of “demonstrating” and not only claiming (cf. Sacks, 1992 and Mondada, 2011) participation in and contribution to the ongoing activity:

One problem a participant in a multi-person setting has to face is not only how to self-select as the next speaker without having to compete with another participant who also starts a turn in the same transition space, but also how to design the turn so that it will be understood from its outset as a coherent contribution to the ongoing discussion. (Mazeland, 2019: 398)

Deploying certain grammatical resources, fulfilling grammatical projections or reusing latent grammatical slots to integrate an other-extension ensure, then, the coherent integration of candidate contribution with what precedes.

How certain grammatical formats arise from the need to ensure collaboration, why speakers orient to collaborative turns and what they can actually achieve through collaborative practices (cf. Lerner, 2021) can be unveiled by analyzing multiperson data.

4.3 Analytical procedure

In this section, I describe step-by-step the constitution of the collection, and the analytical criteria that link together clause combining and collaborative turns.

(i) After I fully transcribed the four chosen interactions, I selected all the instances of jointly-built turns among two or more participants. I identified turns where a speaker B uses different types of grammatical resources that make their turn heard as building on the prior turn's grammar. Specifically: (a) morpho-syntactic (e.g., gender and number agreement, subordinate or coordinate conjunctions, etc.); (b) lexical-deictic (e.g., anaphoric pronouns or references); (c) semantic-pragmatic resources (e.g., recalling a referent in A's turn, without repeating it explicitly, but referring to it grammatically, i.e. by uttering a verb that takes as subject this referent in A's turn). I built a collection, at first without distinguishing between the formats of contribution B provides to A. I kept in my collection all turns by B formatted as a clausal unit, by which B fulfils A's interactional projection (e.g., providing a third item of a list), but whose grammatical integration with the prior turn is not openly shown. I excluded, however, turns linked by conditional relevance, as in the case of adjacency pairs (e.g., an answer to a question)⁷¹. Candidate contributions are, in fact, not necessarily "the relevant next" action (although they can be, e.g., in word searches), nor do they form a sequence⁷² with A's turn (nor are they always "invited"⁷³ by prior speakers). Thus, I collected a total of 185 CTs⁷⁴ with the following distribution across settings:

- 59 in Dinner among friends

⁷¹ Auer (2014) showed that answers can also be formatted deploying latent grammar already present in the question, i.e., speakers can avoid repeating in their answer some elements of and in the question.

⁷² Lerner (1991), however, considered compound TCUs a type of sequence, so he calls jointly produced utterances "collaborative turn sequences."

⁷³ The criterion of self- vs. other speaker selection (i.e., is a candidate contribution invited and is this relevant for the participants at all times?) will be investigated in this thesis, particularly in relation with gaze behavior. Gaze orientation plays a crucial role, as it can favor candidate contributions (see excerpt 4.1).

⁷⁴ This thesis does not present a quantitative analysis, in line with the qualitative methods of its disciplines. Occasionally, some numbers are provided when relevant to strengthen a specific argument that shows a tendency in the data. Cf. Schegloff (1993: 118) on quantitative vs. qualitative methods: "They are not simply weaker and stronger versions of the same undertaking; they represent different sorts of accounts"

- 71 in Business meeting I
- 48 in Business meeting II
- 7 in Aperitif among friends

(ii) I distinguished co-constructions from other-extensions as explained in chapter 3. Of the 185 total occurrences of CTs in the corpus, I found the following types of candidate contributions:

- 147 co-constructions (79.45%)
- 33 other-extensions (17.83%)
- 1 co-construction completed by a gesture (cf. Olsher, 2004) (0.54%)
- 4 hybrid cases (2.16%)

For co-constructed continuations and completions, I considered every instance where a turn is syntactically projective and the grammatical projection is fulfilled by another participant, exploiting different timings and different positions (see chapter 5); and every instance where a turn is prosodically projective, despite the syntax of the turn being uttered as a complete grammatical unit (e.g., a clause). I distinguished between candidate completion, when a candidate contribution brings the host turn to a potential TRP, and candidate continuation, when a candidate contribution is formatted as a potential continuation but not as a completion of the host turn. For other-extensions, I considered cases where although a prior turn is treated as having reached a potential TRP, a TCU is provided to extend the potentially complete turn, recompleting it. I distinguished between candidate extensions, which are not deployed to recomplete the prior turn, and candidate recompletions, where a TRP is re-occasioned.

(iii) I proceeded to annotate the syntactic relationships between B's candidate contribution and A's host turn, the relationship linking B's turn to A's. B's contribution can either make the jointly built turn result in a monoclausal structure (103 CTs, 55.97%), or in a multiclausal structure (81 CTs, 44.02%). I included all the jointly-built instances, including monoclausal structures, as, on the one hand, I was interested in the resources deployed by B to make their turn integrated with A's, and on the other, I was interested in the timing in which all B's contributions were provided (see tab. 4.2). All formats of CTs (monoclausal and multiclausal structures) provide evidence for the role of projection and latency in the integration between grammatical units, and for the real-time mutual analyses of each other's turns that the speakers do while interacting (see § 7.3).

In the multiclausal set, I looked at the syntactic type of clauses provided by B. I annotated whether B's turn was formatted as a main clause (M), or a subordinate clause (S) (embedded clauses are part of subordinate clauses). When the relationship linking A's clausal turn and B's clausal turn was parataxis, I also annotated whether there was syndetic or asyndetic coordination. I included cases of asyndetic coordination and complementation (cf. Mazzola, Cornillie & Rosemeyer, 2021), as in a language like Italian (see § 4.3), lexical markers can be omitted (e.g., *che* in complement clauses), word order and morphologic marking are not strong indicators of syntactic relationships (as they are in German or Dutch), but instead latency and projection, on which speakers draw to integrate their turns are more relevant. When the relationship emerged as hypotaxis, I considered whether B's turn was formatted as subordinated from the beginning by means of a lexical item (e.g., a subordinator, a complementizer, etc.), or instead B's turn fulfilled the projection of a complementizer uttered by A. or other types of subordination emerged.

(iv) I annotated the turns involved in CTs on the basis of their prosodic realization, as the integration of the grammatical units in spoken language lies at the prosodic/syntactic interface, since speakers do not exclusively orient to syntactic resources, when projecting, drawing on projections and negotiating completion. I specifically looked at whether the host turn was uttered with projective prosody or with final prosody (and how this interrelated with syntactic completion). Then I considered whether the candidate contribution was uttered with final prosody (and was therefore treated as a completion), or with continuative prosody (and, therefore, designed/oriented to as a candidate continuation).

(v) I analyzed each CT and annotated the different actions speakers carry out when providing a candidate contribution (e.g., displaying understanding, displaying agreement, teasing, co-constructing a story, etc.). I associated certain actions with certain grammatical formats (see § 7.2). I paid particular attention to three elements. First, how a candidate contribution is treated by speaker A as not competing for the floor but as part of speaker A's host turn. Second, whether the ratification of the candidate contribution is provided by speaker A openly (verbally or embodiedly accepting the contribution), or by including the candidate contribution in the next turn (by repeating it, or by integrating it in the talk). Third, whether the speaker and the contributor(s) have the same recipient (cf.

(vi) I annotated all the occurrences for format of contributions (co-constructions vs other-extensions), syntactic formats of B's turn and relationships with A's (as well as mono- and multi-clausal overall formats), resources deployed to ensure B's integration with A's turn, prosodic realization of both turns, and actions achieved with a candidate contribution. After the annotation, I divided the candidate contributions based on their temporal placement compared to A's turn. I individuated 4 temporal categories (tab 4.2 shows the distribution of CTs in these categories): 1) collaborative contributions provided **early**, even before the co-constructed trajectory has been fully projected by A, in overlap with A's turn; 2) collaborative contributions provided **latched** to a "target" item in A's turn (that is co-constructed) or immediately **following** it; 3) collaborative contributions provided **following a pause**, which directly follows A's turn; 4) collaborative contributions **following other lexical and non-lexical items**⁷⁵, which are uttered either by A (post-other-talk, in Schegloff's, 2007, terms), or by B, or by both.

TIMING	MONOCLAUSAL	MULTICLAUSAL
EARLY	3	7
LATCHED	27	28
FOLLOWING A PAUSE	44	25
FOLLOWING OTHER ITEMS	29	21

Tab. 4.2 Distribution of monoclausal and multiclausal contributions according to temporal placement

In chapter 5, I will analyze CTs interrelating syntactic formats and temporal placement of the candidate contributions. I will explain, for each category, what this placement entails and how it relates to grammar. This will show how clause combining is occasioned when speakers implement the practices of co-constructing or extending an other speaker's turn, and how speakers use clause combination patterns (e.g., what can be recognized as relative clauses, complement clauses and adverbial clauses) to implement specific actions in specific sequential environments. Furthermore, clause combining emerges from the interplay of projection and completion, which are interactional achievements of speakers who use them for specific interactional goals.

⁷⁵ The choice of "item" to include verbal and bodily conduct that occurs between a target unit and a candidate contribution was motivated by the need for an inclusive term that could signal all possible interactional and verbal emergent productions. However, I am aware that the vagueness of the term leaves open the question of its suitability for non-discrete phenomena, such as laughter or gaze, which are not necessarily itemizable.

4.4 Notes on Italian grammar and Italian terminology

In this section I first provide some notes on the grammar of Spoken Italian, which will be useful in understanding the analysis. I then present some reflections on using terminology coined for English for a study on Italian.

Italian is a Romance language spoken by about 68 million people⁷⁶. It is the official language spoken on the Italian peninsula, including the two microstates Vatican City and San Marino, in parts of the Canton Ticino and Canton Grigioni in Switzerland, and in some municipalities of Croatia and Slovenia (as a minority language). As a language of migration, it is spoken in many countries worldwide. On the peninsula it coexists with diverse regional varieties⁷⁷, with Italo-Romance, Franco-Romance, Ibero-Romance and German dialects, among others⁷⁸, in relationship of diglossia (cf. Ferguson, 1959), as the language spoken in formal contexts, or, as formulated by Berruto (2012) of “dilalia”, for a case like Italian where: “a clear functional differentiation exists (with a High variety and a Low variety), as in (classic) diglossia, but unlike diglossia, there is a functional overlap in spoken domains, with both L and H varieties used in ordinary conversation and primary socialization” (Berruto, 2018: 497).

Italian is a flecional and subject null or pro-drop language (cf. Rizzi, 1986), i.e., the morphologic subject can be expressed in the flexion of the verb, without an overt subject pronoun being necessary. Italian has no case marking on nouns, but pronouns do inflect for case. Italian has a two-gender (masculine and feminine) and a two-number (singular and plural) system. Nouns and personal pronouns follow inherent⁷⁹ gender. Pronouns in general, determinants (both definite and indefinite) and adjectives – in agreement with the nouns they refer to – follow contextual gender inflection (Thornton, 2005: 54). The past participles (as part of a verb complex form with the auxiliaries

⁷⁶ According to *Ethnologue* consulted in 2021: <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/ita>

⁷⁷ In this thesis, the sociolinguistic background of the speakers – who are all Italian native speakers – will not be considered in detail but is available. However, their regional origins play a role in their spoken idiolectal Italian, most of all in their intonation, since all of them have a regional accent (cf. Crocco, 2017).

⁷⁸ For an overview of the relationships between different language varieties on the Italian peninsula cf. Dell’Aquila & Iannaccaro (2009) and Berruto (2012).

⁷⁹ Cf. Boij (1996: 2): “Inherent inflection is the kind of inflection that is not required by the syntactic context, although it may have syntactic relevance. Examples are the category number for nouns, comparative and superlative degree of the adjective [. . .] Contextual inflection, on the other hand, is that kind of inflection that is dictated by syntax, such as person and number markers on verbs that agree with subjects and/or objects, agreement markers for adjectives ”

essere/'to be' and *avere*/'to have')⁸⁰, when they are used as adjectives, have contextual gender inflection. The verbal system in Italian is conventionally divided into three conjugations. Verbs are transitive (followed by direct object) or intransitive (followed an indirect object). In declarative sentences, the unmarked Italian order is (S)VO. However, word order is said to be relatively⁸¹ free (cf. Bazzanella, 2014). Despite not presenting subject and verb inversion as in V2 languages, such as Dutch and German, the verb and the subject are always inverted after a question word (e.g., *cosa*/'what', *come*/'how', *quando*/'when', *dove*/'where') with the exception of *perché*/'why' (cf. Rossano, 2010). Following (S)VO word order, Italian is said to be right-branching (cf. Amici, et al. 2019) with derivational suffixes, modifiers, relative and adverbial clauses being uttered more often “on the right” of the unit they depend on.

The key components of an Italian main clause, with an unmarked word order, are observable in the following co-constructed, monoclausal CT (see excerpt 4.2):

Ex. 4.2 Mi13DIN2-40, 02:18-02:34

01	GIU	la ci::↑po:lla:: stava an↑dando::
		<i>the onion was going</i>
02		(0.3)
03	GIO	a quel paese.
		<i>to hell</i>

The overall monoclausal structure Giulio and Giorgio co-construct starts in l. 01 with the grammatical subject-*cipolla*/'onion' (and first argument of the verb), followed by the complex predicate-*stava andando*/'was going' (with the verb *andare*/'to go' in the progressive form conjugated in imperfective tense). In l. 03 Giorgio provides the second argument of the verb, the locative indirect object-*a quel paese*/'to that country' (*andare a quel paese* is an idiomatic expression, corresponding to the English 'go to hell' that expresses angrily dismissal⁸²).

⁸⁰ “Split intransitivity” occurs in Italian (Bentley, 2011) with two perfective auxiliaries, *essere*/'to be' and *avere*/'to have' (Sorace, 2000).

⁸¹ Cf. Lahousse & Lamiroy (2012) for a comparison of Italian, Spanish and French. They showed that a continuum can be traced, from Spanish, being the less grammaticalized language, since it has all types of word order but SOV (i.e. SVO, VOS, OSV, VSO and OVS), passing from Italian that lacks SOV and VSO, to French that lacks SOV, VSO, and OVS orders.

⁸² The utterance in l. 01, left incomplete by Giulio, is interpreted by Giorgio in l. 02, who provides a candidate completion, as meaning that the onion has almost gone bad. Instead of adding *a male*/'bad' (*andare a male* is also the idiomatic expression used for rotten food), Giorgio adds in l. 02 the missing piece from another idiomatic expression that still conveys the interpretation of going badly. This is indeed the correct interpretation that will be accepted by Giulio.

Four types of main clauses are conventionally described in Italian: declarative, interrogative, exclamative and imperative. Polar interrogatives in spoken Italian are produced by means of prosody, namely with rising intonation; cf. Rossano, 2010). Subordinate clauses in which the main verb is conjugated in an infinitive form (infinitive, participle, and gerund) are called “implicit” (see excerpt 4.3); subordinate clauses in which the main verb is conjugated in a finite form (indicative, subjunctive, conditional, and imperative) are called “explicit” (see excerpt 4.4) (cf. Renzi, Salvi & Cardinaletti, 1997). Subordinate clauses follow *consecutio temporum et modorum*, e.g., complement clauses in dependence on the complementizer *che* take the verb in the indicative or subjunctive mode in different contexts, or the three types of conditional sentence or *periodo ipotetico* (reality, possibility, unreality) are related to the tenses used in apodosis and protasis; etc. The marking of syntactic relations, syndetic coordination and subordination, is also constructed by means of adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions, which mark from the onset if a clause is a main or a subordinate.

In interactional data, the syntactic relationships between the clauses are emerging and depend on what precedes. A clause that can appear as independent in isolation, can, on the contrary, be dependent on a clause in a prior turn. This is illustrated in excerpt 4.3 (see chapter 5, for a complete analysis, as excerpt 5.2.4). In l. 03 Giorgio’s turn, which starts out as a VP, emerges as the implicit complement clause dependent on and grammatically fitted to the projection of the preposition *a* ‘to’ in Giulio’s turn in l. 01.

Ex. 4.3 Mi13DIN2-40, 18:08-18:36

01	GIU	invoglia la gente a:- (he) encourages people to
02		(0.5)
03	GIO	impugnare le armi contro:: il sistema:: giudiziario take up arms against the legal system

Similarly, in excerpt 4.4 (see chapter 5, for a complete analysis, as excerpt 5.2.5), l. 03 could constitute, grammatically speaking a main clause, but it is, in fact, an explicit complement clause dependent on the complementizer *che* ‘that’ in l. 01:

Ex. 4.4 Mi13DIN2-42, 05:32-05:43

01	GIU	ma dicevano che una volta: but they were saying that once
02		(0.4)
03	GIO	ha salvato la vita, (he) saved the life

In this sense, it is through the lenses of projection and projectability (Auer 2005, 2009b) that the relationships among clauses in the unfolding of turns can be understood in spoken language. The literature does not show agreement on whether Italian is an early or a late projection language (i.e., whether speakers can draw on projective trajectories already from the beginning of a turn: “the point at which the emerging shape of a turn can be known”, Tanaka, 2000: 1; or if this shape emerges later in the unfolding of the turn and can only be understood “delayed”), also due to the scarcity of studies on this topic in Italian talk-in-interaction. Projections are also language-specific, and that Italian is considered an SVO language, like English and Icelandic, does not explain the extent to which projection in Italian is strong, weak or similar to other languages (cf. Blöndal, 2015). Other than Biazzi (2011: 321), there are no accounts of what type of projective language Italian is:

Although it is premature to establish whether Italian is an early or late projection language or whether it belongs to yet a third type, [...] completion units often come after a cue (e.g., hesitations, pauses, rising intonations), which would place Italian closer to a late projection language. [...] in the data unsolicited co-constructions are not so rare, which may suggest that the turn allocation format in co-constructions may be ‘early’ or ‘late’ according to the different social action they perform.

Based on Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen’s (2005) comparison of English and Japanese as two different projective types, respectively “early projection” and “delayed projection” (cf. Hayashi, 1999 and Tanaka, 1999), Italian would rather fall in between, as a third type (see § 7.3). However, the core question is not what type of projective language Italian is, but how easy it is for speakers to determine the projectability of elements when they are monitoring unfolding turns-at-talk and provide contributions in collaboration.

To different grammatical traditions correspond different terms and conceptualization of similar phenomena. When deploying labels such as utterance, sentence, clause, clause combining, etc. to describe Italian data, one is confronted with the lack of correspondence between the Anglo-Saxon tradition these terms come from and the Italian grammatical phenomena being analyzed.

Italian grammars differ in their usage of labels such as *frase*/'clause, sentence', *proposizione*/'clause', *clausola*/'clause'. The main distinction lies in whether the authors

adopt a more structural approach, with a higher bias toward a written language conceptualization, or a more textual approach with a focus on discourse and pragmatics. Sometimes the approaches can collide. For example, providing a similar conceptualization, both Dardano & Trifone (1997) and Sensini (1997) considered *testo*/'text' as an overarching category (fig. 4.6). They both used de Saussure's dichotomy between *langue* and *parole* to distinguish between, respectively, the level of the *frase* (Lat. *phrasis*, from Gr. *φράσις*, from *φράζω* 'to say'; corresponding at once to English 'proposition', 'clause' and 'sentence'), and the level of the *enunciato*/'utterance' (past participle of *enunciare*/'to enunciate'). They elaborated on the *frase* level only, where they distinguished a *proposizione semplice*/'simple clause', which is a main independent sentence, from a *periodo* (Lat. *periōdus*, a temporal and grammatical chunk of time, from Gr. *περίοδος*, 'circuit, tour'; not matching 'clause combination', as closer to 'sentence combination'). This is the combination of multiple *proposizioni* in of coordination or subordination relationships, constituting an independent unit grammatically and logically.

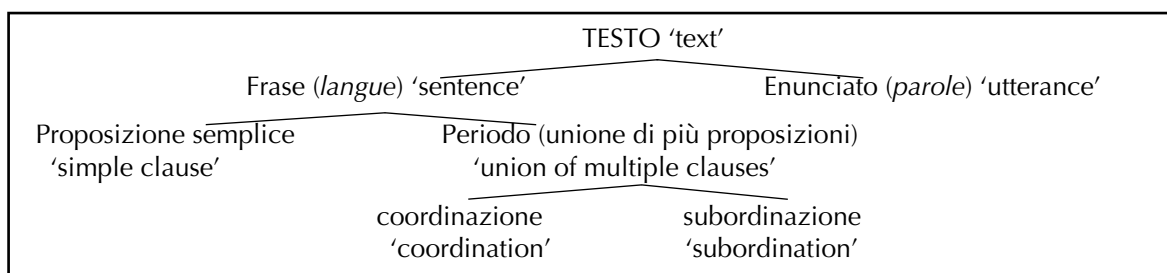


Fig. 4.6 Labels for grammatical units and their relationships according to Dardano & Trifone (1997) and Sensini (1997)

Serianni's (1989) account goes deeper into syntactic relationships (fig. 4.7). Taking the *frase* as overarching category, he distinguished between a *proposizione*, which he also called *frase semplice* or *clausula*/'clause' on the model of English clause, and a *periodo* or *frase complessa*/'sentence'. The side of *frase semplice*/'clause' does not have further ramifications; the side of *periodo* contains four types of relationships that constitute a *frase complessa*/'sentence': parataxis (coordination); hypotaxis (subordination), juxtaposition (asyndetic coordination⁸³) and para-hypotaxis (a blend of the first two types).

⁸³ cf. Haspelmath (2004: 2): "If one or more coordinators occur in a coordinating construction, it is called syndetic. Asyndetic coordination consists of simple juxtaposition of the coordinands."

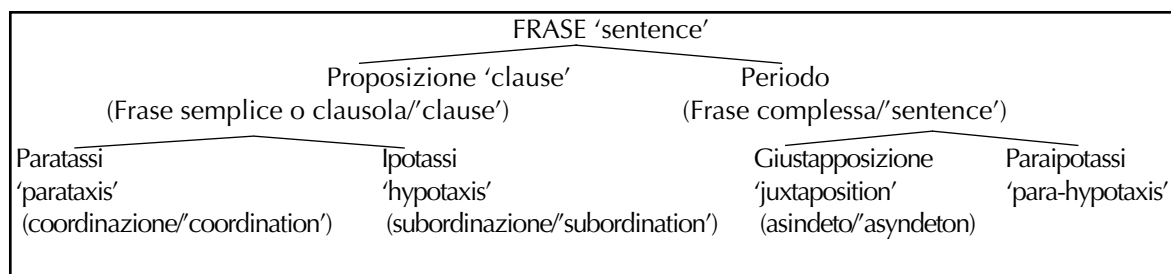


Fig. 4.7 Labels for grammatical units and their relationships according to Serianni (1989)

Similarly, in the usage-based *Grande grammatica di consultazione* Renzi, Salvi & Cardinaletti (1997) distinguished *frase semplice* from *frase complessa*, i.e., a combination of *proposizioni* in coordination and subordination patterns (fig. 4.8). Renzi et al. also specified that *frase semplice* is composed of the combination of multiple *sintagmi* (Gr. *σύνταγμα*, 'order, composition', from *συντάττω* 'to order', compare *syntax*; corresponding in English to *phrase*).

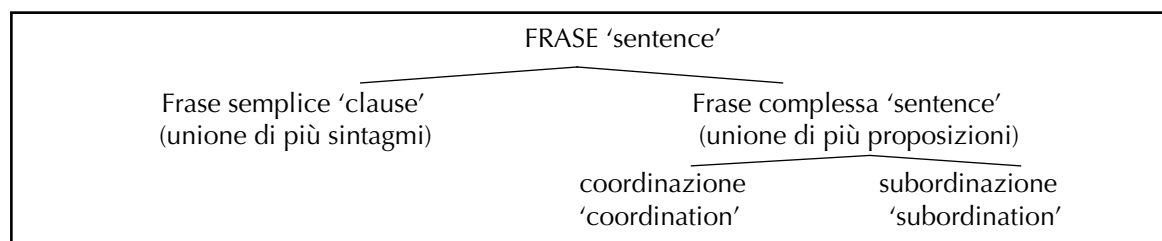


Fig. 4.8 Labels for grammatical units and their relationships according to Renzi, Salvi & Cardinaletti (1997)

While these are all definitions coming from grammars, more textual approaches are provided by studies and handbooks of linguistics. Prandi, Gross & De Santis (2005) and Berruto (2012 [1987]) focused on the importance of the predication in defining a *frase*. The former define *frase complessa*/'sentence' as a *frase* (not translatable directly) that has to contain two predicates of different ranks (one carrying the main information, while the other having a secondary meaning compared to the first), each one with its own argument structure. Subordination is a possible relation between *frasi complesse*, but coordination is excluded here as the predicates have to be on the same rank for *frasi* to be coordinated. Prandi, Gross & De Santis (2005) called the relations – cause-effect, concession, finality – between *frasi*: transphrastic relationships, adopting a semantic definition. Berruto (2012) considered *frase* the main unit of syntax as it constitutes a message, or an independent communicative chunk because it contains a predicate; for Berruto, *frase semplice* is equivalent to the English clause.

In the tradition of studies focusing on the grammar of spoken language, Voghera (1992) defined *frase*/'sentence' as the syntactic unit with the widest scope, while

proposizione corresponds to the English ‘clause’ (note that this is one of the few explicit references to a comparison of terms), a portion of *frase* that has the same shape as a *frase*; and *enunciato* is an independent portion of talk⁸⁴. She considered *frase* a theoretical abstract category, useful for explaining the syntax of an utterance, whose minimal conditions are predication, autonomy, and intonation contour. Similarly, Graffi (1994) defined *enunciati* as *atti* ‘acts’, always bound to actions, as in producing *enunciati*, speakers always do something, e.g., promising, ordering, judging, describing, etc.

When starting from *frase* as a unit of description, there seems to be confusion in the literature as to what can be combined in a more complex unit, a *periodo*, and what is a simpler not combined unit. In certain cases *frase semplice* refers to clause and *periodo* is then the combination of clauses into a *frase complessa*. In others, *frase* corresponds to sentence, and *periodo* to both clause and sentence combination, including independent sentences that are “logically” bound together (cf. Dardano & Trifone, 1997). This terminological variation shows there is no one-to-one match between Italian and English, for both labels and concepts. Terminological and conceptual choices, thus, need to be made when describing Italian clause combining in talk-in-interaction, and English terms have to be problematized and sometimes dismissed.

One cause of the terminological variation can be found in the fact that some grammatical approaches adopt a conceptualization of language as a finite linear process, and a retrospective view of clauses and sentences as complete in their production, where a *frase semplice* and a *frase complessa* are not online processes, but static structures. Indeed, Voghera (2017) remarked that written languages (cf. Linell, 1982), once developed, became the reference to build the ‘norm’ in grammars. Therefore, the grammatical sets of rules of reference for a given language are often based on the written norm⁸⁵. With Functional and then Interactional approaches (cf. Ochs et al., 1996; Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001), on the contrary, the focus was put on the dynamic processes of spoken language as emerging from and sedimenting in conversation, through and for

⁸⁴ “Userò il termine *frase* per indicare l’unità sintattica di maggiore ampiezza e il termine *proposizione* per indicare ciò che in inglese si chiama *clause*, cioè una porzione di frase che abbia la forma di una frase. [...] il termine *enunciato* nell’accezione comune, non tecnica, indica qualsiasi porzione di discorso indipendentemente dalla sua struttura e dalla sua estensione.” (Voghera, 1992: 121)

⁸⁵ “At one level that is true, for all languages have a grammar. But ‘grammars’ occur only in societies with writing” (Goody, 2000: 144, quoted in Voghera, 2017: 23).

the speakers' actions (cf. Voghera, 2017). Moreover, an interactional linguistic approach to grammar, as taken in this thesis, remains careful not to assume a retrospective viewpoint on grammar, but to keep a perspective view on the actual speaker's productions as they emerge:

By privileging anaphoric over cataphoric relationships we unconsciously accede to the view that texts are simultaneously available to us in all of their phases, beginning, middle and end, the bird's eye view. We risk, otherwise, to fall into the written language bias. (Hopper: 2011)⁸⁶

In this thesis, I use 'grammatical unit' when it is not relevant or yet defined in the turn-in-progress whether a structure is emerging as a phrase or a clause. When talking about the syntactic combination that emerges from the turns of multiple speakers, I prefer the term 'monoclausal unit' to clause or in Italian *proposizione*, which covers both independent (syndetically or asyndetically coordinated, and juxtaposed) and dependent units (subordinated or embedded). I prefer 'multiclausal unit' to *sentence*, or in Italian *frase complessa* (the combination of more than one *clause* in a *periodo*; or one stand-alone independent clause). When specific phrasal elements within a clause are made relevant, I use 'phrase' to refer to an Italian *sintagma*, as shown by the PP at l. 03 of the co-constructed, monoclausal CT in excerpt 4.5 (see chapter 5, for a complete analysis, as excerpt 5.3.11):

Ex. 4.5 Mi13DIN2-44, 19:33-19:59

01	ANG	.h ma (sarai) praticamente::, but you'll be basically
02		(0.4)
03	RIN	da solo. on your own

I deploy clause in the sense explained in § 2.1.1 for a clausal turn. Occasionally, I use 'utterance', for Italian *enunciato*, when I do not emphasize the type of syntactic format produced in a turn – a phrasal, clausal, or sentential turn, etc. – but I refer in general to

⁸⁶ Plenary paper given at the conference *Chronos*, Birmingham (UK), 2011, available at: https://www.academia.edu/9876662/Time_for_a_Change

speakers' turns (in line with Voghera, 1992)⁸⁷. I adopt the Italian term *periodo*⁸⁸ in cases where what I am showing are instances where units more complex than clauses are combined. In Italian, clause combining can also be sentence combining, as shown by my data. The term *periodo* includes, indeed, both relationships between clauses and between sentences. Not only is *periodo* more suited to Italian data, but it also encompasses a rigid binary or ternary subdivision into coordination, (in)subordination and embedded relationships, as it is used to describe a broader sets of relationships linking the clauses, from syndetic or asyndetic parataxis to hypotaxis, and insubordination (cf. Evans, 2007; D'Hertefelt & Verstraete, 2014; Maschler, 2020; among others.). Excerpt 4.6 shows a *periodo* where a main clause **1** (l. 01) is followed by a dependent explicit complement clause **2** (ll. 01-02) and completed (l. 04) by an implicit complement clause **3** embedded in the complement clause 2:

Ex. 4.6 To13APE1-52, 19:57-20:12

01	ALI	no >ma allora 1 mi dicevi<	<stassera> 2 che quindi:?
		no but then 1you were telling me tonight 2that thus	
02		(0.2) andate , ((to FLA))	
		you go	
03		(0.3)	
04	FLA	3 a mangiar la ↑ pizza	
		to eat pizza	

The following approximate correspondences can be now drawn:

sintagma = phrase;

proposizione or *clausula* or *frase semplice* = clause or monoclausal unit;

⁸⁷ Cf. also Sacks (1992: 647): "the notion of 'utterance' has been very productive for research, [...] If you look at pretty much any study in descriptive linguistics [...] you'll find that they propose that the utterance is the basic unit for linguistic research." He uses "utterance-construction" when referring to CTs.

⁸⁸ The terminology comes from the Italian grammatical tradition. The choice of using this term is motivated by the scope of the term that includes units that are linked together by larger pragmatic relationships, as well as by grammatical ones. However, *periodo* might recall the use of *période* in the tradition of macro-syntax of spoken French by Claire Blanche-Benveniste and the *Groupe de Fribourg* (cf. Berrendonner, 2011). They consider "*période*" as a "tonal paragraph", using a prosodic and praxeological criterion: "J'ai accoutumé d'appeler périodes ces complexes praxéologiques caractérisés par leur propriété de clôture exhibée" (Berrendonner, 2011: 11). Micro-syntactic prosodic units (Unités d'actualisation, UA) form a macro-syntax level, grouping hierarchically in "*périodes*". *Periodo* in this thesis is not deployed following Berrendonner's framework. Nonetheless, it is worth noticing that in describing the spoken syntax of related languages like French and Italian, syntacticians feel the need to move away from the Anglo-tradition. *Periodo* and *période* may constitute then useful terminological and conceptual alternatives.

frase complessa = (complex) sentence, clause combination, or multiclausal unit⁸⁹;

enunciato = utterance;

periodo = clause combination or sentence combination.

The preference for monoclausal and multiclausal units is motivated by the need to move beyond the descriptive limits of studies on relationships beyond clauses. Some TCUs are produced, *prima facie*, as fragments⁹⁰ which cannot have a grammatical category 'assigned' until they are completed. Finally, *periodo* has to be understood as a descriptive category for the syndetic and asyndetic grammatical relationships that characterize the loose syntax (cf. Auer, 2009b for German) of spoken Italian. A caveat is necessary here:

[T]he (or one) key unit of language organization for talk-in-interaction is the turn constructional unit, its natural habitat is the turn-at-talk; its organization we are calling "grammar". And we are beginning with the premise that grammar as an organizing device is expectably formed up by reference to the habitat, "the turn." N.B.: the issue here is not one of terminologies: the aim is not to replace terms like "sentence" or "clause" with "turn constructional unit." Talking in turns means talking in real time, subject to real interactional contingencies. Whether articulated fluently or haltingly, what results is produced piece by piece, incrementally, through a series of "turns-so-far." These features support the openness of talk of interactional import and reactivity, recipient design, moment-to-moment recalibration, reorganization and recompletion, and to interactional co-construction. (Schegloff: 1996, 55)

As Schegloff (1996) warned, the point is not to substitute terms and labels, but rather to clarify the relationships between the concepts and the relevance of them in work carried out in the framework of grammar-in-interaction.

⁸⁹ Cf. also a discussion of linguistic and discourse units in Houtkoop & Mazeland (1985), and in Steensing (2011) and Steensing et al. (2013), which also constitutes the basis for the grammar of spoken Danish that the Danish talk-in-interaction group at Aarhus University is building, drawing on CA & IL.

⁹⁰ Auer (2009b), in order to explore the scope of grammatical and interactional projection, distinguished a micro-syntactic dimension, which has to do with grammar at the sentence level, from a macro-syntactic dimension, which has to do with grammar at the text-dialogical level, beyond a sentence. This allowed him to argue that some syntactic fragments, on the surface incomplete turns, are possible projective elements, e.g., semantically, as the projection can still be picked up after insertions and expansion turns (cf. Auer, 2009a). He warned, however, that there may be a time span for projection, and more empirical research is needed to understand how long a projection remains active before it is forgotten.

PART II

5. ANALYSIS I: COLLABORATIVE GRAMMAR

The fascination of joint productions lies precisely in their status as something of a grammatical curiosity – in that one and the same sentence is built by two or more speakers in collaboration with each other.

Luke (2021: 24)

5.1 Collaborative contributions following other lexical and non-lexical items; 5.2 Collaborative contributions provided following a pause; 5.3 Collaborative contributions provided latched; 5.4 Collaborative contributions provided early; 5.5 Summary: the temporality and emergence of clause combining in collaborative turns

In this chapter, I analyze the grammatical design of the components of a CT. Because this is not the only element that plays a role in the ways participants cooperate and build CTs, the following seven aspects will also be considered:

1) Temporal placement of a candidate contribution. The grammatical patterns and formats that emerge in the analysis are linked to the temporal and sequential placement of the candidate contributions in relation to their host turns or turns-in-progress: “participants display their understandings of a previous action by responding to it [...]. Understanding is not merely a cognitive internal private process, but it is materialized in the next action” (Depperman, Mondada, Pekarek Doehler, 2021: 295). Therefore, I have grouped the candidate contributions into four temporal categories for the purposes of this analysis. These categories are partially defined by adapting those provided by Schegloff (2007) for increments. However, I do not only consider at which enchronic point (i.e., the time of the conversation, cf. Enfield, 2013) B provides a contribution in relation to A’s prior turn or turn-in-progress. I also look at the point in the unfolding of A’s talk, after a specific grammatical “target unit”, at which B provides a contribution. Thus, I distinguish between collaborative contributions provided after other lexical and non-lexical items following speaker A’s turn, similar to post-other-talk (cf. Schegloff, 2007) (5.1); collaborative contributions provided after a gap, which follows A’s turn (5.2); collaborative contributions uttered latched to the “target” unit in A’s turn or immediately following A’s talk (5.3); and collaborative contributions provided early, even before the potential grammatical target unit has been uttered in A’s turn (5.4).

Speaker B can co-construct, at every step, any element in A's turn-in-progress while it unfolds bit-by-bit. Indeed, B shows their analysis of A's projections by co-constructing at specific temporal points, after specific "target" grammatical units. I, thus, individuate which grammatical units in A's turn B is co-constructing. But contributions provided as fulfilling a projection (in co-construction) and contributions that come after a TRP (other-extensions) are sequentially different⁹¹. The former (which Lerner called "anticipatory" or "late") are provided at any time a contributing speaker fulfills a grammatical/interactional projection during or after speaker A's talk is unfolding, the latter are provided only after the prior speaker's turn is treated as complete. Therefore, there are no other-extensions provided as early contributions. This has implications for the notion of completion. In the accomplishment of CTs, contributing speakers negotiate what they treat as "complete" or "to be completed" with the original speaker, based on their analysis of the unfolding grammar in the host turn-in-progress, the prosodic unfolding of the talk, the action trajectory, and the embodied conduct. And they show their orientation to completing or to completion through the temporal placement of their contributions.

I will show that speaker B can provide candidate contributions directly after a grammatical target unit that allows their turns to be integrated with A's; or speakers B can deploy overt marks of grammatical integration or more integrated grammatical formats when some time has passed from A's projection. In other words, after A has opened a syntactic trajectory with their turns, it is relevant for B to provide the syntactic fulfilment of it before other elements are uttered either by A or by another speaker⁹². This will demonstrate that grammatical integration, and the clause combining patterns that emerge from the linkage of clausal turns, are sensitive to speakers' orientation to temporality.

2) Formats of collaborative turns. While building a collection of CTs, it became clear that the prosodic, grammatical, and sequential design of the candidate contributions varies. Specifically, candidate contributions can be left incomplete grammatically, uttered with projective prosody and designed not in fulfilment of an action trajectory. They can be provided while the ongoing host turn is unfolding, or after what is treated as a TRP. Thus,

⁹¹ Cf. Lerner (1996: 266-267): "Projected and unprojected opportunities for entry into another's turn space are not mutually exclusive. Retarding the progressivity of a TCU can occur in conjunction with preliminary component possible completion - as an extension of it."

⁹² Cf. Auer (2009: 2): "The 'present' of spoken language is limited to the time span within which the speaker and the hearer can retain it in memory." Spoken language fades rapidly: the more turns are uttered between a host turn and a collaborative contribution, the less an other-speaker's turn is heard as collaborative.

I individuated four formats (see chapter 3): candidate continuations, candidate completions, candidate extensions and candidate recompletions.

3) Mono- and multiclausal structures. Both phrasal and clausal contributions can either occasion multiclausal sentence (or clause) combination or expand an already complex multiclausal host turn. Namely, if by means of a phrasal contribution a contributing speaker continues, extends, or (re)completes a monoclausal host turn, the overall structure emerges as monoclausal. If, instead, a phrasal contribution is provided after a multiclausal structure it expands that multiclausal structure. If a clausal contribution expands a mono- or multiclausal host turn it occasions a multiclausal structure. However, occasionally a multiclausal contribution is provided after a phrasal segment in the host turn, and in this case it occasions an overall monoclausal structure. Multiclausal structures are grammatical units combined in paratactic and hypotactic relationships; in this sense they are instances where clause combination patterns emerge. In the emergence of combinatory patterns, the co-participants' analysis of turns-in-progress in real time becomes evident. And this analysis enables combinatory patterns to emerge, i.e., it enables candidate contributions to be heard as syntactically integrated with their host turn. In contrast, when phrasal contributions are provided, the integration of the components of CTs is even less clear-cut for the speakers themselves, who do not always treat what precedes as a contribution to their talk. Evidence of this is that I did not find in my data any phrasal candidate extensions, the least integrated format in candidate contributions (which are designed as prosodically incomplete and not fulfilling interactional trajectories). Speakers orient to clausal turns to integrate their contribution with the host turn. Since clausal contributions occasion multiclausal CTs (in most of my occurrences), clause combining is then emerging from the speakers' need to show each other they are collaborating.

4) Syntactic relationships between the components of a CT. Based on an emergent grammatical unit in speaker A's TCU at the moment a contribution is provided by B, and on the emergent grammatical unit that B provides, the overall structure emerges retrospectively as a shared syntactic project. I annotated the types of clause combining patterns (*periodi*) that emerged based on whether the TCUs composing a CT are tied together by paratactic (M to M: main to main clauses, both syndetic and asyndetic parataxis) or hypotactic relationships (M to S: main to subordinate; S to M; or S to S; including embedded clauses; I considered both cases where a lexical marker of

subordination is uttered in A's TCU and/or in B's TCU). Not all grammatical combinations are available for all formats of CTs in any category (see § 5.5).

5) Prosodic design of the TCUs. As stated in chapter 2, voice quality and prosodic contours have been considered defining elements in classifications and definitions of increments (cf. Auer, 1996, Selting, 1996; Couper-Kuhlen & Ono, 2007; among others.) and other-increments (cf. Sidnell, 2012); but also in co-constructions, specifically in collaborative completions (cf. Szczepek 2000a; Local, 2004; Brenning, 2012). These studies have underlined the role of prosody in TCU projection: namely, how speakers can give "contextualization cue[s] for a projected turn ending" (Brenning, 2012: 77; cf. also Selting, 2005) that contributing speakers orient to when providing a completion. The prosodic design of each component is relevant for speakers in their projections and re-anchoring and in their action formation and ascription processes. As the above-mentioned research shows, a speaker A utters a TCU with continuative or final intonation, with projective or non-projective prosody, and in this way speaker A provides clues to the possible grammatical and interactional trajectories of the TCU. This allows another speaker to self-select and contribute at fitting times and with fitted grammatical and pragmatic contributions (in the case of (re)completions, most of all). Speaker B can also provide a candidate contribution formatted as prosodically projective, left prosodically incomplete (as well as grammatically). These are still collaborative contributions but they are deployed to provide continuations or extensions of speaker A's host turn. Speakers can orient to practices of jointly-building someone else's turn not to complete it but to suggest additional elements or join the speaker's voice without bringing that voice to completion.

6) Embodied actions and gaze. Gaze is a systematically deployed resource in the accomplishment of CTs, as discussed in chapters 3-4. The type of contribution provided is sensitive to the interplay between body conduct, specifically gaze orientation, and timing: speakers try to minimize long overlaps when contributing, and if gazed at, they orient to their contribution as more legitimate (or as "invited") and therefore can provide a clausal (as opposed to phrasal) type of grammatical unit.

7) Actions, activities, and ratification. Prior research has widely documented the array of actions speakers achieve in CTs (cf. King, 2018 and Luke, 2021, for overviews). But the reason why speakers sometimes deploy new TCUs and sometimes co-construct or extend

prior TCUs is still not entirely clear. One thing that is evident, however, is that grammar plays a crucial role in action co-formation: “Participants use visible structures in the immediate past, including the details of syntax, as a resource for the collaborative construction of future action” (Goodwin, C., 2002: 24). This means some grammatical formats are deployed to fulfill an action trajectory, following the grammatical trajectory also projected (cf. De Stefani, 2021). Evidence for this claim comes from speaker A’s ratification of a candidate contribution. Lerner’s argument for calling the retrospective accomplishment of candidate completions and their ratification “collaborative turn sequences” was the observation that there is a system to what comes in third position after the completion: speaker A takes the turn to ratify the completion, accepting or declining it. Ratification provides evidence that candidate contributions are collaborative rather than competitive. After a candidate contribution, the floor returns to speaker A in the majority of cases (i.e., the contributing speaker does not continue talking), who can carry on their activity or bring it to an end again. CTs are, then, an accomplished practice that re-shapes the participation framework, as they result in shared turn-production and joined voices.

I present the data starting from excerpts that show more integration between the components of a CT, and then gradually move to instances of less clearly integrated turns: from late with respect to the host turn to early contributions; from candidate recompletions to candidate continuations; from multiclausal to monoclausal structures, and within the overall multiclausal CTs, from contributions provided to a host turn as S(ubordinate) to S > S to M(ain) > M to S, M to M syndetic > M to M asyndetic. I consider hypotactic relations more integrated than parataxic ones (following Haiman & Thompson, 1984; Laury, 2008; Hopper & Thompson, 2008; Auer, 2009b), in the sense that more overt morphosyntactic resources are mobilized in these types of relationship.

Are other-extensions more overtly grammatically integrated than co-constructions? And are (re)completions more integrated than continuations or extensions? What does grammatical integration between the components of a CT tell us about clause combining? These are some of the questions that the following analysis aims to answer.

5.1 Collaborative contributions following other lexical and non-lexical items

This category contains candidate contributions provided not only after another speaker’s turn, laughter or other lexical/vocal items, but also “late” in relation to a target grammatical unit (e.g. a verb; a conjunction, etc.) in the host turn that the contribution depends on or is integrated with. It is, thus, a broadening of Schegloff’s (2007) definition of post-other-talk, from turns to grammatical units uttered in a turn-in-progress. It is also an extension of Lerner’s (1989) definition of “delayed completions” to other-extensions and continuations. Some of these contributions result in overlap with the original speaker’s unfolding TCU or another speaker’s turn.

I will tackle the issue of integration of the syntactic design of the components of a CT, in this category, by showing eight cases, from the most integrated to the least. The first case is a candidate recompletion formatted as a subordinate clause and provided to a subordinate clause in the host turn, resulting in a highly integrated structure⁹³.

Ex. 5.1.1 S to S candidate recompletion - Mi13PRO1-49, 30:29-30:44⁹⁴

Taken from business meeting II, the following excerpt shows an other-extension constructed using grammatical material that is overtly integrated with prior talk. The overall turn results in a multiclausal structure where the clauses are in a hypotactic relationship (subordinate to subordinate clause). Annina (ANN) is about to introduce the next topic on the agenda, when Paolo (PAO) says they first need to do “a general overview of the corporate situation” to update the others: Mario (MAR) and Duilio (DUI).

01	PAO	*€eh:: io: credo però per- pe:- >che prima bisognereb-*	
		<i>uh I believe nevertheless that first it'd be necess-</i>	
	PAO	*gazes down in front of him----->*	
	ANN	€gz. at PAO--->	
02		*\$si si debba< fare€#ə+un inqua[dramento]€*gene\$rale&+€ə#	
		<div style="text-align: center;"> overview.N.M.SG general.ADJ.M.SG <i>it has to be done a general overview</i> </div>	
	PAO	*gz. at ANN----->*gz. down-->	
	PAO	+nods----->+	
	ANN	€gz. down----->€closes eyes---€	
	ANN	\$nods----->\$	
	ANN	əmakes circles that end in palm-upə	

⁹³ In the excerpts’ subheadings, the first letter refers to the clausal unit in B’s turn and the second to the clausal unit in A’s turn to which B provides a contribution. M stands for main and S for subordinate clause.
⁹⁴ The analysis of this excerpt is included in Calabria & De Stefani (2020).

fig

#fig. 1----->



fig.1 Annina's semi-circle movement with her left hand that ends in a palm-up gesture

03 ANN [certo.]
of course
04 PAO &€[della situazione, (0.5) bo- (0.7) societaria.*
situation.N.F.SG corporate.ADJ.F.SG
of the corporate situation
PAO ----->*

ANN &€gz. at PAO-->1.07
05 MAR [°certo. °]
of course
06 MAR *°certo.°=
of course
PAO *gz. at ANN---->
07 ANN &€\$=si cer[to.]*\$$
yes of course
PAO ----->*

ANN &€gz. down-->1.10
ANN \$nods----->\$

ANN $shrugs----->$

08 PAO *[che:^]è stata fatta ieri nel board.
RELAT to do.REC.PST.IND.PASS.F.SG
which has been done yesterday during the board
PAO *gazes down in front of him-->>

09 (0.3)
10 PAO &€allora,
so
ANN &€gz. at MAR-->1.12
11 •(0.2)
PAO •writes in papers in front of him-->>

12 → ANN che è una novità.
RELAT to be.PRES.IND.3SG a.ART.INDF.F.SG news.N.F.SG
which is (a piece of) news
ANN ----->€gz. down-->>

13 #\$(0.2) \$#

ANN \$tilts head lx shrugs\$

fig #fig.2----->#

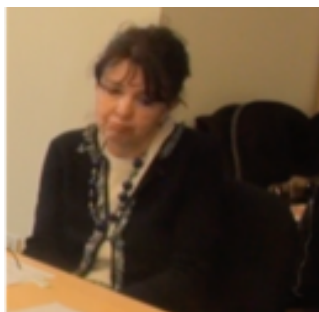


fig.2 Annina's face expressions closed lips moved forward, head tilted to left, slight shrug

14 PAO è una novità.

it's (a piece of) news

In response to Annina's suggestion, Paolo utters at l. 01 *eh*, a particle that can be used in pre-sentential position "mitigating the illocutionary force of an utterance" (Dascalu Jinga & Vanelli, 1996: 393), which allows Paolo to introduce a dispreferred response (cf. Hellermann, 2009) to the proposed action (as also confirmed by the hesitations in uttering the rest of l. 01, and by *io credo*'I believe', mitigating a possible counterproposal). Paolo's counterproposal is uttered as a complement clause following the verb *credere*'to believe', introduced by the complementizer *che*'that': they first need to do a general overview. Annina's embodied response comes early: already on *fare* at l. 02, she starts making a semi-circular movement with her hand (fig. 1), a gesture that seems to depict tracing/going over a wide area and culminates in a "palm-up/open-hand" (cf. Müller, 2004, for whom this gesture displays obviousness) and possibly matches the lexical item uttered by Paolo at the end of l. 02, *inquadramento generale*'general overview'. Her embodied conduct is also accompanied by an explicit agreement with *certo*'sure', at l. 03. These are all indications that Annina has understood and agrees with the counterproposal.

Paolo's turn, however, is only completed at the end of l. 04, with *situazione societaria*'corporate situation', as final intonation shows. The grammatical unit (the complement clause after the main verb) is complete and the action is pragmatically complete as well, as shown by other speakers self-selecting to display agreement (Mario at ll. 05-06, and Annina agreeing again with a nod at l. 07, accompanied by a shrug). At l. 08 Paolo self-increments his prior talk by means of a relative clause, i.e., he extends his own turn after a TRP with the relative pronoun *che*'which, that' referring back to an antecedent (cf. Calabria & De Stefani, 2020; Stoenica, 2020). However, the identification of the exact antecedent is semantically and morphologically problematic: the feminine form of the conjugated participial form *fatta*'done' (l. 08) could agree with the NP *situazione societaria*'corporate situation' (l. 04), but it clashes semantically with the verb 'to do', as in Italian a corporate situation is not 'done'. The relative pronoun *che* could also refer to the NP *inquadramento generale*'general overview' (l. 02), which can be 'done', but the gender agreement would not be respected as this NP is masculine. However, this is not treated as problematic by the participants, and indeed after a pause

(l. 10), Paolo self-selects again, and with *allora/so'* he signals closing the prior activity and transitioning to the next one (cf. Bazzanella & Borreguero Zuloaga, 2011).

However, at l. 12, Annina self-selects and other-extends Paolo's talk, by providing a candidate recompletion formatted as a subordinate relative clause (in structural symmetry with Paolo's turn at l. 08; cf. Mazeland, 2019) dependent on Paolo's previous subordinate complement clause (ll. 01-04). She also utters a *che*-relative clause⁹⁵ that lacks a clear grammatical antecedent, but pragmatically refers to the corporate situation being a piece of news for some people at the table (Duilio and Mario). She indeed looks at Mario, thereby addressing the news to him. Paolo and Annina attended the prior meeting, but Duilio and Mario did not, so Annina knows some matters are new for some of those present. By using the same grammatical format as Paolo, she makes it unambiguous that she is still talking about what has just been said, despite also not elaborating on a specific antecedent. She produces her other-extension after Paolo was already transitioning to something else, but before it is too late. By self-selecting with an overtly dependent clause, which starts out as dependent because of the "increment initiator" (cf. Lerner, 2004b) *che*, she secures the interpretation of her turn as still referring to what has previously been said (cf. also Stoenica, 2020), while also re-negotiating the closing of Paolo's activity, while it is still possible. Paolo ratifies Annina's other-extension by partially repeating it in the shape of a main clause assertion (without *che*, which Annina needed to integrate her turn with Paolo's). While uttering her turn, Annina is also achieving a 'double-barreled' action (cf. Schegloff, 2007): she is displaying shared knowledge with Paolo about the topic at hand, treating it as in need of a specification, while also expressing her stance toward it (cf. fig. 2 where she makes a facial expression that Streeck, 2009 has described as "spread lips", and Debras, 2017 as "mouth shrug", and they have associated with displaying skepticism): Paolo's counterproposal might be news, but maybe the corporate situation is not.

To sum up, Annina and Paolo use the same grammatical format to extend prior talk: a relative clause designed with an anaphorical relative pronoun *che/which, that'* (overtly marking the syntactic dependence of the talk on a previous host turn) followed by the

⁹⁵ Calabria & De Stefani (2020) noticed that relative clauses attached with *che* in Italian are a practice for turn-management: they define *che* a 'multiple' resource, available both for the speaker-in progress (l. 8, self-extension), and for co-participants (l. 12, other-extension) to extend an ongoing topic and activity.

verb ‘to be’ without a specific referent. They also orient to common recipients, their unknowledgeable (K- in Heritage, 2012) participants: Paolo does so at the beginning of the excerpt, Annina when joining him, by extending the activity he has started. To which specific item or antecedent in Paolo’s TCUs Annina is referring anaphorically is not as relevant (for Paolo who ratifies her contribution) as the fact that she is unambiguously talking about the same topic as Paolo. The grammatical structure that emerges is a multiclausal unit where clause combining is overtly exploited: a subordinate clause is provided to another subordinate clause. This other-extension comes late with respect to the host turn, and after a TRP (the prior speaker is not projecting a grammatical and action trajectory to draw on). Moreover, the speaker is not referring to a specific antecedent. A relative clause is, then, an effective format to ensure a speaker is heard as still referring to the same topic in prior talk. When speakers B are not fulfilling a projected trajectory, they can still reuse prior latent grammar. In other-extensions, speaker B draws on latent grammatical material still available in prior talk (see chapter 3), which is why *che* ‘which’ is still heard as elaborating on an antecedent element.

This excerpt shows that speakers orient to specific grammatical formats for implementing specific practices and manage speakers’ interactional needs. Relative clauses, however, are a rather clear case of subordinate grammatical unit used to achieve particular actions. But in the next sections, I will present fuzzier instances.

Ex. 5.1.2 S to M candidate recompletion - Mi13PRO1-49, 31:01-31:20

This excerpt starts a few seconds after 5.1.1. It shows an other-extension formatted with grammatical material that emerges as overtly integrated with prior talk. It results in a multiclausal structure, with the clause in hypotactic relationship (S to M). Paolo (PAO), in accordance with Annina (ANN), has just communicated to Mario (MAR) and Duilio (DUI) that the board of the company has taken new decisions.

01	PAO	* .hh il budget >che c'eravamo fissati< all'inizio the.ART.DET..M.SG budget.N.M.SG the budget that we had set for ourselves at the beginning
02	PAO	* gazes at DUI----->1.04 dell'anno, +(1.5) non+ verrà €raggiunto.€ of the year will not be met
	PAO	+shakes head+
	ANN	€gz. at PAO€
03		(1.2)

04 ANN €°°hm°°€ vi ricordo che^era: *due mi[lioni @novecen[to:^e&
that.COMP be.PAST.PST.IPFV.IND.3SG
hm I remind you that it was two million nine hundred and
PAO *gz. at MAR-->1.07
ANN €,,,,,€gz. at MAR-->1.13
MAR @gz. at ANN-->1.06
05 DUI %[s:i.
n:.....°[:.....°- %
DUI yes n-
06 MAR %gz. at phone in front of him%
[s:i: @
yes
MAR -->,,,,,@
07 ANN &(rotti)*+[mila] euro.
something thousand euros
PAO ----->*
08 PAO +[si.]
yes
PAO +shakes head-->1.10
09 (0.2)
10 PAO [no. +
no
PAO ---->+
11 DUI [(era o-)
it was o-
12 → MAR @\$[che^era- @che era rispetto al\$ •consuntivo precedente+
which.RELAT be.PAST.PST.IPFV.IND.3SG
which was which was compared to the previous final balance
ANN \$nods slightly-----\$
PAO ----->•moves hands away-->+
MAR @gazes ANN---@gazes at PAO----->
13 più::€@ \$•quattrocento per •ce@nto.\$
plus four hundred percent
ANN ---->€
ANN \$shakes head----->\$
PAO ----->•moves rx hand up-down•
MAR ----->@gazes at ANN----->@at PAO->1.18
14 (0.3)
15 MAR #®€\$[((sniffles))\$ ®
ANN €gazes up----->
ANN \$nods----->\$
MAR ®tilts lx hand lx and rx®
fig #fig.1

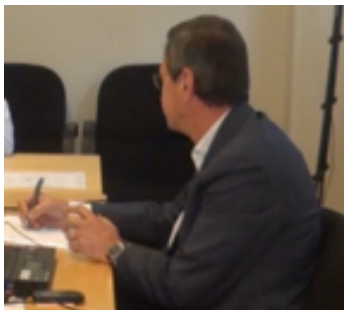


fig.1 Mario tilts his left hand with open finger left and right

16 ANN [si.€
yes
ANN ----->€
17 PAO •+(0.2) •
PAO +shakes head-->
PAO •moves rx hand to lx•

18	PAO	@\$+nonə:- (.) no- nonə:-@®non+\$ verrà raggiunto. it will no- not be met
	PAO	----->+
	ANN	\$nods----->\$
	MAR	@gazes at ANN----->@
	MAR	®writes on papers in front of him-->>

At l. 01 Paolo starts articulating an informing about why some things will change: the company will not reach the target budget. This is not good news as also shown by him shaking his head during a long pause during his turn at l. 02 and in co-occurrence with uttering *non*. His turn is complete at the end of l. 02. He gazes at Duilio, during his turn at ll. 01-02, and then at Mario at l. 04, which is when Annina self-selects while gazing at Mario, too. Annina and Paolo's common gaze orientation is displays their selection of recipients. They are also the two speakers informed of the facts (as they had both attended the prior meeting of the board), while the other two are not. Annina starts at l. 04 reminding the others about the size of the budget (communication that she is finishing, at l. 07), claiming shared (prior) knowledge with Paolo. She starts a new TCU with the verb *vi ricordo* 'I remind you' but the following complement clause, introduced by the complementizer *che*, draws also on latent grammar in Paolo's talk, as the verb *era* 'it was' refers directly to *budget* without repeating the lexical item. Annina provides a piece of information that is not new as shown by the verb 'to remind' (a verb that indexes a symmetric epistemic status among all the people that can display remembering but can signal epistemic superiority of the person that is reminding others something), and by the early confirmation displays by Duilio (l. 05) and Mario (l. 06). At l. 12, with some delay compared to either Paolo's (ll. 01-02) or Annina's (ll. 04 and 07) turns, Mario self-selects and provides a candidate recompletion. His turn is built as a relative clause with a referent not clearly expressed, but is probably, as in Annina's case, the budget. In structural symmetry with Annina, Mario provides a subordinate clause, recycling some grammatical material from Annina's turn, namely the *che* and the verb *era* 'it was' in 3rd person singular at the imperfective tense. But while Annina's turn unfolds as a main verb followed by an embedded complement clause, Mario's turn is a relative clause. In Italian *che* is a "polyvalent" resource (cf. Fiorentino, 2010; Berruto, 2012) which can be used as a conjunction or as a relative (or, e.g., an interrogative) pronoun. What is relevant for the participants here is not what type of clause they are building with *che*, but rather that

ANN əshrugs with
rx shoulder, open closes rx handə



fig.1 Annina's shrug with right shoulder and open and closes her right hand

```

fig                                     #fig.1#
03      (0.9)€ (0.6)%      €
ANN      ---->€glances at PAO€
PAM      ----->%
04      ANN      €%a fine anno€dovremmo əricorda%rci che: questa [è una partita&
          at the end of the year we should remember that this is a match
ANN      €gz. down-->€at PAM----->1.06
ANN      əmoves rx hand away and toward her->1.06
PAM      %gz. sideways----->%at ANN----->
fig      #fig.2----->1.06
05  → PAM      Δ[di%fatturare.Δ
          to file invoices
          PAM      ---->%gz. down-->
          PAM      Δnods----->Δ
06      ANN      &che va €ri- (.) €recuperata rispetto%Calla^hm:-→#Δ(0.6)Δ%
          that goes re- has to be recovered with respect hm
ANN      ----->€at PAO--€at PAM----->€gz. down-->>
ANN      ----->ə
PAM      ----->%gz. at ANN----->%
PAM      Δnods-Δ
fig      ----->#
    
```



fig.2 Annina's right-hand gesture, away and toward her, opening and closing two fingers

```

07      %alle provvigioni maturate.
          to the accrued commissions
PAM      %gz. at papers in front of her---->>
    
```

At l. 01, Annina reads the next topic of discussion from the documents in front of her. She orients to elaborating on it at l. 02 with *allora*/'so' continues with the deictic *qui*/'here' further referring to the upcoming elaboration on the topic at-hand. But her explanation continues with what Italian grammars call an "adjunctive clause" (*proposizione aggiuntiva*, in Serianni, 1989): *oltre a fare un discorso*/'besides discussing'. This

introduces the main clause to which it “adds” information (in functional terms). At the end of l. 02 Annina leaves the clause incomplete since an adjective referring to *discorso* ‘discourse’⁹⁶ is expected after *molto* ‘very, a lot’. She lengthens the last syllable of *molto* ‘very’ and hesitates. (*hm:*) Hence, her action is also left incomplete. She makes a gesture with her right hand (fig. 1), while at the same time shrugging with her right shoulder. Only Pamela, who is also Annina’s main gaze recipient, is looking at Annina at this time. A long pause follows at l. 09, during which Annina glances at Paolo, who is looking down at some papers in front of him (not in the transcript). Nobody self-selects, and Annina continues her turn (l. 04), uttering the projected main clause. She provides a reminder, projecting that the main informing is still to come. Pamela claims understanding by nodding and self-selecting at l. 05 to provide a candidate completion in co-construction with Annina. That this is a completion is shown by Pamela’s design of her TCU: she utters it with final intonation, drawing on Annina’s action trajectory, an instruction about what they need to remember, and she withdraws her gaze while uttering the verb. Pamela might also be displaying shared expertise and responsibility. This would be all relevant actions here as Annina’s reminder is also an instruction to be remembered by all those present as shown by the 1st person plural of the verb. Providing a candidate completion allows Pamela to effectively claim her reception of Annina’s informing and of the instruction, while she is also the gaze-recipient of Annina. Indeed, Pamela and Annina are at this point, just before l. 05, sustaining mutual gaze. Moreover, Pamela is monitoring Annina’s talk from the beginning. As Lerner (2004: 164) noticed: “[i]f a deficient reference is produced in a turn that does not mandate a response (especially in multiparty conversation), it may not be necessary to resolve the problem at just that point, as subsequent talk may help to solve the puzzle.” It is possible Pamela is indeed “solving the puzzle” with her completion.

Pamela’s TCU, however, is uttered slightly late in relation to the grammatical item in Annina’s TCU that it is drawing on, namely the verb phrase *dovremmo ricordarci* ‘we should remember’. In Italian, speakers mainly construct complement clauses (CCs) in two ways: with infinitive forms of the verb, implicit CCs; or with finite forms of the verb, explicit CCs. Different complementizers are used: *di* ‘of’, *a* ‘to’, *per* ‘for’ in the former

⁹⁶ The verbal phrase *fare un discorso* is translatable in English ‘to discuss’.

cases, and *che*/'that' in the latter. Annina has already uttered *che* projecting that an explicit complement clause might follow, but Pamela provides an implicit subordinate CC, *di fatturare*/'to file invoices'. The completion comes later in relation to the target unit on which Pamela is drawing, namely, the verb *ricordarsi*). Pamela utters her completion in overlap with Annina's unfolding TCU. This is thus a case of what Lerner (1996) called "late-placed anticipatory completions":

The onset of the final component by the current speaker does not close down the possibility of an interposing speaker beginning their own completion. However, in this case the preliminary component completion and not the point of actual onset still can be seen to have been the target that was aimed for - and missed, thereby rendering the anticipatory completion as "late". (Lerner 1996: 245)

The format of this TCU is a subordinate clause provided as embedded in the main clause (S to M) in the host turn, with an overt marker of subordination, namely the conjunction *di*/'of', which introduces an infinitive verb. But Annina does not ratify Pamela's candidate completion; while she still gazes at Pamela, Annina goes on with her informing. She orients to the progressivity of the interaction, which is multimodally packaged (cf. Hayashi, 2005), as shown by her hand movement (fig. 2). Pamela nods again at l. 06, still displaying her understanding of Annina's talk, but Annina is already gazing down, and eventually Pamela gazes down at the documents in front of her.

Although the contribution is not openly ratified, the contributing speaker shows a common orientation with the original speaker, in a multiperson setting, where providing a candidate contribution is a highly effective way to do so. This excerpt highlights a different aspect from what has been shown thus far (which is why it is worth including it): syntax is the most effective way of formatting an integrated turn, however, other interactional contingencies might prevail and other-speakers can still not be treated as contributing. Nonetheless, this excerpt also clearly shows the online monitoring of each other's grammar in which speakers are engaged and that allows them to deploy clause combining for their contingent needs.

Ex. 5.1.4 S to M candidate continuation - Mi13PRO1-43, 26:18-26:50

This excerpt, from business meeting I, shows a candidate continuation provided post-other-talk. The clauses in the contribution and in the host turn emerge as a multiclausal structure in hypotactic relationship (subordinate to main clause), marked by a syndetic coordinative marker. Paolo (PAO) explains to Annina (ANN), Vania (VAN), Pamela (PAM) and Ezio (EZI) the “background” for the official communication he is going to deliver to the company. This concerns recent changes in response to financial difficulties due to unpaid taxes and budget goals that the company has not met.

01 PAO *@allora (.) l'antefatto. quello che noi su-@@suggeriamo
 so the background what we suggest
 PAO *gazes at papers in front of him-->1.06
 VAN @gazes at PAO----->@at computer in
 front of her-->>
 VAN @takes notes
 on computer-->>

02 è .hh (0.4) •duplice.
 is twofold
 PAO •writes on papers in front of him-->>

03 (0.3)
 04 VAN sì.
 yes
 05 (1.1)
 06 PAO da una parte, (0.4) una fiscalità pregressa da mette*re a posto.
 on the one side a deferred taxation to settle
 PAO ----->*at ANN---->

07 (1.7)*
 PAO ---->*gz. down-->1.20

08 EZI ((clears throat))
 09 VAN °sì°
 yes
 10 (1.1)
 11 PAO da: eh: conciliare
 to uh reconcile
 12 VAN [eh: sì
 well yes
 13 EZI [((clears throat))
 14 PAO da conciliare.
 to reconcile
 15 PAO dall'altra parte, (.) un budget,
 on the other side a budget
 16 (0.9)
 17 VAN °esatto.°
 exactly
 18 ANN mmm
 mhm
 19 → VAN #ed obiettivi di budget \$che non sono^in linea [co:n-\$
 and budget goals that are not in line with
 VAN \$shakes head----->\$

fig #fig.1-->>



fig.1 Vania types on computer in front of her, while Paolo writes on papers in front of him

```

20      PAO                                     *[non in
                                                not in
      PAO                                     ---> *at ANN-->

21      linea:* (1.3) con gli obiettivi assegnati.*
      line          with the assigned goals
      PAO          -----> *at EZI-----> *
  
```

At l. 01 Paolo transitions to a new topic, with *allora/so'* (cf. Bazzanella & Borreguero Zuloaga, 2011): *l'antefatto/ 'the background'*. He uses final prosody after this word and then starts articulating a pseudo-cleft, which can be used as a resource to transition to a new action: *quello che noi suggeriamo è duplice/ 'what we suggest is twofold'* (ll. 01-02) (see De Cesare & De Stefani 2022: 10). At the end of l. 02, the pre-announcement of the topic has been completed and is acknowledged by Vania (l. 04). And at l. 06 Paolo can move on to laying out the components of the background. At the end of l. 01 Paolo starts writing on papers in front of him, and Vania, who was gazing at Paolo until that moment, starts taking notes on the laptop in front of her. They will remain engaged in these activities, while talking, for the rest of this excerpt. At l. 06, Paolo launches a compound TCU structure: they have an issue with unpaid taxes to settle. A long pause follows, and at l. 09 Vania acknowledges Paolo's turn with *sì/ 'yes'*. Thus, at l. 11, Paolo self-extends his turn adding another verb phrase, which could also be a self-repair, referring to *fiscalità progressa/ 'deferred taxation'*, first as something *da mettere a posto/ 'to clear'* (l.06), repaired now in *da conciliare/ 'to reconcile'*. Vania agrees and Paolo repeats at l. 14, while they are both engaged in at least two courses of action (Haddington et. al, 2014). Vania's acknowledgments show her capacity to both orient to the content of Paolo's talk and also write down what is being said. While communicating with his co-participants, Paolo is also reading what he just wrote, in l. 14. At l. 15, he continues with the second part: the budget. This is uttered with projective prosody and a pause follows, Vania acknowledges again at l. 17 and so does Annina. Paolo had glanced at Annina at the end

of l. 06, but Annina was looking down (not in the transcript). Annina is involved in the preparation of this communication alongside Paolo, as has been made relevant in prior parts of the meeting.

At l. 19 Vania self-selects and provides a candidate continuation in co-construction with Paolo's TCU at l. 15. Her contribution is timed at the last possible moment, before Paolo goes on and it is designed as a continuation of Paolo's turn, an addition to it to which is lexically added by the additive conjunction *e*/'and'. Not only does she add a second element to budget, *obiettivi di budget*/'budget goals', but she continues it with what emerges as an overall relative clause – therefore as a multiclausal structure, with a subordinate clause that draws on an already complex paratactic correlative structure *da una parte e dall'altra parte* (cf. De Roberto, 2010) – 'budget and budget goals which are not in line with'. But she leaves her TCU grammatically incomplete. Vania does not provide a completion to Paolo's talk, she is suggesting a possible continuation, through which she claims understanding of the topic, and possibly, as she is taking notes, she puts forward a suggestion for what she is going to write down. Vania's candidate continuation at l. 19 is left incomplete, prosodically, pragmatically, and grammatically. Moreover, she is not fulfilling an open projection by the prior speaker. However, Vania exploits the timing, the presence of a pause, and the last item uttered in Paolo's turn, (budget) to coordinate her clause to Paolo's clause, in co-construction. While uttering her turn she also shakes her head but does not receive Paolo's gaze. Paolo does ratify her contribution by embedding it in his own turn, in completion with Vania's continuation. He then brings his turn and the overall activity to an end in l. 21.

This excerpt shows a candidate continuation where the grammatical unit in the candidate contribution starts out as incomplete as the speaker builds on prior grammar to make the TCU heard as integrated with it, and it is also left incomplete. This practice of suggesting a potential continuation is less documented (and never systematically, to my knowledge) than completions. A way to be heard as continuing prior talk is to add an element to it, and indeed Vania deploys an additive conjunction that introduces a second item to prior talk. Only then does she extend the item with a clause, showing how syntax incrementally complexifies for specific local contingences.

Ex. 5.1.5 M to S candidate completion(s) - Mi13PRO1-45, 05:26-05:48⁹⁷

This excerpt presents two candidate contributions in co-construction, provided with different timing. Main clauses are provided to a subordinate clause in the host turn. However, they do not emerge as the main clauses of the *periodo*. During business meeting I, Paolo (PAO) is talking about one of their clients, a bank, which had requirements that were difficult to meet for the members of the company (ll. 01–04). He utters a quotative frame (cf. Buchstaller & van Alphen, 2012) and both Annina (ANN) and Ezio (EZI) orient to it as introducing direct reported speech, and provide completions formatted as quotes.

```

01    PAO    *√€lì ci trovavamo con un^account .h che (.) əh o con un
        there we were with an account      who  uh or with a
        PAO    *gazes at ANN----->1.07
        EZI    √gazes at PAO----->1.09
        ANN    €gazes at PAO----->1.15
02    <u>client</u> meglio [(0.2) che:^eh- ] (0.2) aveva&
        <u>client</u> better      who uh          had
03    EZI    [((clears throat))]
04    PAO    &pretese: (0.2) <u>tecniche</u> (0.2) molto p- p- precise.
        technical expectations      very      precise
05    PAO    fper cui andava^a invadere il campo tecnico.f
        so that he was going to invade the technical field
06    ALL    [((chuckle))
07    PAO    ↑[e dall'altra parte <un tecnico che di*[ceva>]]
        RELAT say.IMPERF.IND.3SG
        and on the other side a technician who was saying
        PAO    -----*at EZI----->1.09
08    → EZI    [sta ]&
        stay.PRES.IMP.2SG
        be
09    EZI    &[attento:-]*√€
        careful.ADJ.M.SG
        careful
        PAO    ----->*
        EZI    ----->√
10    ALL    +[((laugh ))]+
        PAO    +nods slighty+
11    → ANN    *√[°tu° h c:he ca↑zzoh√##+fai* [ <nel mio ↑campo?>
        you.PRO.2SG.SBJ ADJ.INT dick do.PRES.IND.2SG in my field
        what the fuck are you doing in my field
        PAO    *gz. at ANN-----*at EZI----->1.15
        EZI    √gz. at ANN----->√gz. at PAO----->
        PAO    +nods smiling-----
>

```

⁹⁷ The analysis of this excerpt is included in Calabria (*under review*).



fig.1 Paolo nods and smiles

12 ALL # [((laugh)) [((laugh))
 fig #fig.2-->>



fig.2 All participants laugh

13 PAO [>Ee che cosa fai-
 , <E and what are you doing
 14 ANN *eh si.
 well yes
 PAO *gz. at ANN-->
 15 PAO E^he- e >^hche^h cosa^h fai<* nel mio campo, E* .hE+
 and what you are doing in my field
 PAO -----*gz. at EZI----->*
 ANN ---->E
 PAO --->+

At ll. 01-04⁹⁸, Paolo tells his co-participants about a situation in which he was involved, whereas they were not: the deictic *lì* 'there' anchors his telling to the specific situation. At l. 05 he self-increments his prior turn by adding the controversial part of the story (the technician of the bank was overstepping in the company's technical field), with a laughing voice. Affiliating with Paolo, all the others chorally orient (cf. Lerner, 2002) to this as laughable. At l. 07, Paolo further extends his turn in a grammatically coordinated way. By means of *e* 'and', he ties *dall'altra parte un tecnico che diceva* 'and on the other side a technician who was saying' to l. 01 *lì ci trovavamo con un account che* 'there we were with an account who'. The relative pronoun *che* 'who' refers to the technician and is followed by the quotative verb *diceva* 'said', resulting in a relative clause. The verb, in third-person singular imperfective past tense, is integrated in the telling, but projects

⁹⁸ In the language use observed in this group, both the words *account* and *client* seem to refer to the costumers of the company 'Schema', and the other companies for which Schema provides consultancy.

cataphorically the format of a quote. Namely, Paolo projects a compound TCU structure of the type “quotation in conversation” (Lerner, 1991: 446): according to Lerner, if a speaker utters a *verbum dicendi*, they project the content of it. By projecting more to come they can hold the floor. But when the projection is so strong, it can also be fulfilled in co-construction by other co-participants. Indeed, at ll. 08-09, displaying early recognition of the quotative frame, Ezio self-selects, in overlap, and articulates a candidate contribution formatted as the quote (*sta attento*/'be careful'). Ezio's TCU, although grammatically complete, is uttered with projective prosody, and lengthening on the last syllable, which suggests more to come (as showed by Annina's turn l. 11). Ezio utters, thus, a candidate continuation, using a “distinct voice quality” (Nissi, 2005: 10), which makes his turn recognizable as a quotation. Paolo turns from Annina to gazing at Ezio and starts nodding while the others laugh (l. 10). Paolo does not treat Ezio's TCU as changing the directionality of his talk – i.e., directed to himself – he does not respond to the admonition and does not orient to it as problematic, but treats it rather as an “affiliating utterance” (Lerner, 2004)⁹⁹, as shown by his nodding, therefore as fulfilling Paolo's projection at l. 07. Ezio demonstrates his understanding not only of the event but also of its ‘tone’: he affiliates with Paolo, while aligning with his activity of telling. At l. 11, Annina self-selects and receives the other participants' gaze. She also utters a quote – *tu che cazzo fai nel mio campo?*/'what the fuck are you doing in my field?' – formatted as a direct question containing a high pitched swear word. Her quote is provided after other people's talk and formatted as a candidate completion of Paolo's turn and continuation of Ezio's turn. In her TCU she also uses the present tense of the quotation, and explicitly utters a deictic pronoun *tu*/'you' that according to Holt (2000: 428) relates to “the point of view of the original speaker”; moreover, by deploying *campo*/'field', she ‘re-anchors’ lexically this quote to the situation described by Paolo in l. 05. Annina uses more overt markers of grammatical re-anchoring to prior talk (cf. Calaresu, 2000) than Ezio. Her contribution is provided later and as a completion, which confirms the correlation of the progression of “enchronic time” (Enfield, 2013) – the time of the conversation – with the morphosyntactic integration of grammatical units. And her contribution is also the one Paolo ratifies openly by repeating it. She seems engaged in a

⁹⁹ “Affiliating utterances [...] are treated as candidate versions of what was about to have been said” (Lerner, 2004: 229).

two-folded action: displaying to Paolo her affiliation and understanding of the situation, while also aligning with Ezio's treatment of Paolo's story as laughable. Her contribution is also treated as part of the reported speech in the telling and not as directed to Paolo: Paolo nods and smiles while Annina is still uttering the quote (l. 10, fig. 1), and the others chorally laugh (l. 12, fig. 2). At l. 13, Paolo already overlaps Annina's TCU, and then, at l. 15, repeating Annina's quote in the clear with a laughing voice, openly ratifies it. Annina's quote is uttered later and contains more indications (open deixis, direct question, recycle of lexical material in Paolo's turn, cf. Auer, 2014) that re-anchor her quote to prior talk. She formats it as a completion and in effect, even if Paolo ratifies bodily both contributions (nodding and smiling), he openly uses Annina's suggestion in his talk as the final turn that closes the activity. While Annina's turn is a direct interrogative, as the initial question-word *che*/'what' and the interrogative intonation show, Paolo's ratification is produced as a declarative sentence, without the swearword which contributes as a "theatrical device" (Günthner, 2002: 351) that makes Annina's TCU recognizable as a quote. In Italian, DRS is said to be composed of a quotative verb and a quote, not linked by a syntactic relationship of dependency¹⁰⁰, but are pragmatically linked by deictic and lexical elements present in the quote (Calaresu, 2000). The two quotes here (l. 08-09 and 11) are two main clauses in fulfilment of the projection of a quotative verb uttered in an emerging relative clause (M to S) but are not overtly linked to the host turn, neither by being the main clause of the subordinate host turn containing the quotative verb, nor by being syndetically in coordination with the host turn (confirming the observations by Calaresu).

To sum up, during his story about one of their clients, Paolo projects the reported speech between an employee of another company and the technician of their own company. However, he does not fulfill this projection himself, as two co-participants provide direct quotes early in overlap and then post-other-talk. They are not knowledgeable about the facts Paolo had made relevant before the beginning of this excerpt, but they still self-select and contribute to Paolo's story, treating it as laughable, and in this way claiming shared stance with Paolo who was already projecting the tone of the story at l. 05 (deploying laughing voice). Annina and Ezio both use deictic lexical

¹⁰⁰ No syntactic "indicators of integration" are present between the quotative frame and the quote are present (cf. Calaresu, 2000: 77).

resources, voice quality and the present tense in their TCUs, thereby orienting to the grammatical and pragmatic make-up of direct reported speech to format their co-constructions as quotes. In this way, they occasion collaborative reported speech (Calabria, *in preparation*)¹⁰¹. By co-constructing with laughable quotes, Annina and Ezio are not only ‘seen’ as overtly engaged in his telling, but they build with him the jocular ‘tone’ of the narrated event, aligning, and enhancing the speakers’ voice (cf. Luke, 2021) and the others’ choral laughter. This shapes the participation framework in the direction of a choral and shared stance among all the participants.

This excerpt shows that more than one participant can orient to co-constructing, most of all in cases of projective compound TCUs, and all the contributions can emerge as complex syntactic multiclausal formats. Moreover, timing and grammatical integration are intertwined, and their relationship becomes evident in the format (continuation, completion, extension) of the contribution the speakers deploy.

Ex. 5.1.6 M to M candidate extension and recompletion - Mi13DIN2-45, 27:23-27:35

This excerpt, taken from the dinner, shows a multilayered construction of collaboration, where multiple participants provide other-extensions. I focus on two M to M multiclausal candidate recompletions, provided post-other-talk. A candidate extension is provided as well, after a gap (cf. § 5.2). Thus, three participants, Angela (ANG), Giorgio (GIO) and Giulio (GIU), contribute to Piera’s (PIE) story. They are discussing games they used to play as children: Piera used to make ‘potions’, mixing herbs from her garden with oil and wine.

01	RIN	@e*√%e le	be@vevi?
		<i>and would you drink them?</i>	
	PIE	@gazes at GIU-->	@at RIN-->1.06
	ANG	€gazes at PIE----->	1.10
	GIU	*gazes at PIE----->	1.14
	RIN	√gazes at PIE----->	1.14
	GIO	%gazes at PIE----->	1.14
02	GIO	[(
03	ANG	[<anch'io le face:[vo.]	
		<i>I was doing them too</i>	
04	PIE		[NO.
			<i>no</i>

¹⁰¹ CRS emerges as a type of CT, where the deictic and pragmatic re-anchoring of a quote provided in co-construction to a frame in the host turn allow speakers to build together reported speech. When collaboratively reporting speech, participants enhance a speaker’s story, by treating it as worth pursuing and taking the active role of co-builder of the story, joining the teller’s voice. It is also an effective way to align and affiliate (Stivers, 2008) with a speaker’s stance and in the activity of telling.

05 GIU @e?=
and?
PIE ->@gz. down at the cigarette in her rx hand-->1.08
06 PIE =no le facevo bere alle galline.
no I was making the hens drink them
07 (0.9)
08 PIE @[(laughs))
PIE @at GIU---->
09 → ANG [fε po:i€@non facevano più uo:va @per^{h-},f€ ((laughs))
and then they didn't lay eggs anymore per-
PIE ----->@at ANG----->@at GIO----->1.14
ANG ----->€at RIN----->€at PIE->1.12
10 (0.3)
11 → GIO stra[mazzavano al€f\$uolo.f
they fell heavily to the ground
ANG ----->€at GIO----->
12 PIE [no. avevo deciso-^{hh} €[avevo deciso che^{h-}]
no I had decided I had decided that
ANG ----->€at PIE----->>
13 → GIU ((mimics high-pitched voice)) [fMAMMA*€%perché quest'*]Vuovo è
mom why is this egg
PIE ----->@at GIU----->1.15
GIU ----->*gz. at RIN---->*sideways
RIN ----->√GIU1.16
GIO ----->%at GIU----->
14 ve:rde?f€@*%
green?
PIE ----->@down-->1.17
GIU ----->*down-->1.17
GIO ----->%at PIE-->>
15 ALL ((laughs))
16 GIU √°no.°
no
RIN √at PIE-->>
17 PIE .hh che: (.) avevo trovato la pappa*#pe@rfetta@per le galline,
that I had found the perfect din-dins for the hens
PIE ----->@at RIN@at ANG----->>
GIU ----->*at PIE----->>
fig #fig.1 everybody gz. at PIE->>

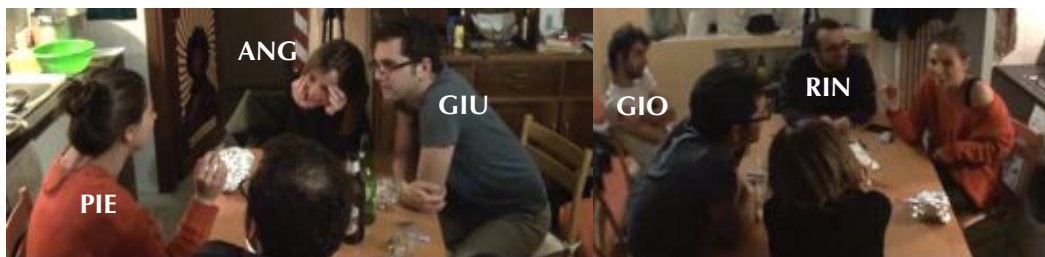


fig.1 All participants gaze at Piera, she gazes at Angela

At l. 01 Rino asks Piera if she would also drink the “potions” she was making: the feminine plural pronoun *le* ‘them’ refers anaphorically back to the feminine plural noun *pozioni* ‘potions’. Piera who was gazing at Giulio previously, gazes now at Rino. All participants are gazing at Piera who has secured an audience with her story. At l. 02 Giorgio says something inaudible while Angela affiliates with Piera by saying she was

also making potions as a child at l. 03. At l. 04, Piera provides a negative answer to Rino with *no*, and in response Giulio (l. 05) solicits Piera to continue the story with *e'and'*. At l. 06 Piera asserts she was feeding them to the hens, responding to Rino with a complete turn. At l. 07 a pause follows and Piera can be heard laughing at l. 08. At l. 09 Angela self-selects and provides a candidate extension to Piera's answer. She uses the coordinative conjunction *e'and'* followed by *poi'then'* and draws on the same subject as Piera *galline/'hens'* (without repeating it), saying *non facevano più uova*. There are multiple indications that Angela is providing an other-extension to Piera's answer (l.06): the timing, after a pause that follows the host TCU; the grammatical formatting of the turns, a main clause syndetically coordinated to a main clause that draws on the same subject without repeating it; the pragmatic link of Angela's TCU explicitly made relevant with the consequential *and then* and that refers to the activity of laying eggs typical of hens; the gaze orientation, from gazing at Piera she then gazes at Rino who was the recipient of Piera's answer. She also does not complete her TCU, leaves it grammatically incomplete at *per-* and utters it with projective prosody. She laughs orienting to Piera's story as a fun episode but also, as she had already displayed her participation in many ways, she can now seize the opportunity to overtly display her affiliation and understanding of the tone of the story and even co-build with Piera the jocular dimension that Piera is projecting with her laughter already at l. 08. Piera turns to gaze at Angela until Angela utters *per*, when Piera moves her gaze to Giorgio, who is gazing at her too. After a small pause (l. 10), Giorgio, possibly prompted by the exchange of mutual gaze, self-selects too, and provides a candidate recompletion of Piera's turn (l. 06) or a completion of Angela's turn (l. 09). He also draws on the same grammatical subject, 'the hens', and utters l. 11 with smiling voice (on 'ground'). His contribution can be heard as a main clause that recompletes the story of the hens, being even an upgraded version of Angela's extension: the hens go from not laying eggs, to dying. Piera and Angela both gaze at him. But Piera overlaps with him at l. 12 and first replies with 'no' to this interpretation of the story, showing that she is treating Angela and Giorgio's contribution as teasing her. She begins saying she had decided (something), but she interrupts her turn laughing as she has heard Giorgio's contribution to her story. She starts again (l. 12) but again interrupts herself again laughing, this time because in overlap and with high

volume Giulio self-selects at l. 13 and stages a “constructed dialogue” (Tannen, 1986)¹⁰² between Piera and her mom. Little Piera (Giulio mimics the voice of a young girl) asks her mom innocently why the hens’ eggs are green. As observed by Günthner (2002: 351): “[d]irect quoting is always a stylized, theatrical device used for dramatization that creates involvement and invites the recipient to display co-alignment and indignation.” Giulio, by subverting it, is now part of Piera’s story too, and indeed he receives everybody’s gaze. This seems *prima facie* a disaligning action: however, Giulio joins in with the others in the co-construction of a fun shared dimension. Everybody laughs including Piera at l. 15, and she takes the floor again at l. 17. At this point, all participants are gazing back at Piera (fig. 1) and she can bring her story to an end, by self-completing her TCU in l. 12. Joining in storytelling, deploying latent grammar used in the turns of the main teller, is an effective way to demonstrate overt participation in a story, but also to co-build its tone: in this case by teasing or subverting Piera’s story the participants only apparently disalign with her, but they actually treat her story as fun and worth narrating (and Piera laughs too, showing her ratification of the situation) and they let Piera pursue it after they have contributed. Reusing the original teller’s grammatical structures is a way for speakers to be heard not as pursuing their own story but as co-building the same story, jointly building a collaborative multi-unit turn (cf. chapter 6).

I now move to two cases of candidate contributions which are formatted not as clauses, but as phrases. They bring more empirical evidence to the fact that grammar emerges contingently from the online analysis of the interlocutor’s unfolding talk, and that speakers deploy situated grammatical resources to make visible the integration of their TCUs together and ensure the success of their collaborative endeavor.

Ex. 5.1.7 Candidate recompletion - M13PRO1-45, 04:21-05:04¹⁰³

This excerpt shows a candidate recompletion provided after a TRP, whereby the speaker is renegotiating the closing of an activity. The TCU is designed as a phrasal candidate contribution, but is attached to an already multiclausal structure in the host turn. Paolo (PAO) is talking to Pamela (PAM), Annina (ANN), Vania (VAN) and Ezio (EZI), about

¹⁰² Tannen (1986) defined “constructed dialogue” as reported speech that is not based on the authenticity of the report, but it is rather a fictional reconstruction.

¹⁰³ The analysis of this excerpt is included in Calabria & De Stefani (*under review*).

issues with the “psychological profiles” of some employees, which prevents them from working well in a team. He mobilizes the metaphor of an opera company, where tenors and sopranos take the lead as prima donnas (ll. 03-04), while other company members are only the supporting cast (l. 02).

01 PAO ∞*gli altre: ^əh↓:*m: (0.2) son*tutte^əh *delle ↑ottime-
the others um are all some great
 PAO *gz. at EZI-----*gz. at ANN-*gz. at VAN*at EZI-->
 EZI ∞slightly nods smiling-->1.03

02 degli ottimi cantanti .h ma^ əh: sono comprimari
some great singers but uh they are supporting actors

03 @rispe*ttto: a:: un tenore∞a:^una^əh soprano che fanno da
relative to a tenor a uh soprano that act as
 PAO ----->*at ANN-->
 EZI ----->∞
 VAN @-->1.08

04 PAO prima donna.
prima donna

05 PAO .h perché* quelli *hanno poi il camerino
because those have then the dressing room
 PAO ----->*glances at EZI*gz. at ANN----->1.06

06 [più*bel*lo]∞: fe∞^e:* tutti *gli agi* m:- m:i*gliori.*£
nicer and all the other better comforts
 PAO -->*...*gz. at EZI----*at VAN-*at EZI-*at ANN--*at PAM-*
 EZI ∞smile∞

07 [h h (h)]
 EZI *h °ma*ggiori.°@
 08 PAO *greater ones*
 PAO *gz. at ANN*closes eyes-->
 VAN ----->@

09 PAO €√magari,* .hh ecco bisogna sta[re un attimo-]*
possibly so it's necessary to be a bit
 PAO -->*gazes at ANN----->*

ANN €gz. at PAO-->>
 EZI √gz. at PAO-->1.12

10 → EZI #†[e anche *un] applauso
and also (a) more thunderous
 PAO *gz. at EZI-->>
 EZI †moves hands in the air in
 fig #fig.1----->

11 → €più scrosciante,#+ alla [fine.£ (h) (h)†#
applause in the end
 PAO +tilts head to rx smiling-->
 EZI circle with index fingers up----->†
 fig ----->#
 fig #fig.2----->



fig. 1 Ezio moves his hands in the air in circle with index fingers up

12 PAO [ʔe anche (√ scroscianti)ʔ+√#
 and also thunderous
 PAO ----->+
 EZI ----->√gz. at PAM----->√
 fig ----->#



fig. 2 Paolo nods tilting his head to the right and smiling

Paolo addresses his talk to all participants, as his continuing gaze reorientation shows (l. 01), who display reciprocity by keeping their gaze oriented to Paolo, and by intermittent smiling and nodding (see Ezio at ll. 01-03). Paolo's turn reaches a possible TRP at the end of l. 04, but he immediately produces a subsequent TCU (l. 05) with which he self-extends his metaphor. He comments that *prima donnas* 'have the better dressing room' (l. 05), and they can enjoy *agi migliori* 'better comforts' (l. 06). Ezio responds by smiling (as well as Vania) and can be heard to softly laugh (l. 07). Paolo subsequently self-repairs (cf. Schegloff et al., 1977) his previous expression *agi m:- m:-iglori* (l. 06) by replacing the adjective *migliori* 'better', with a softly spoken *maggiori* 'greater' (l. 08). At this point he briefly closes his eyes, thereby possibly indexing the end of his metaphorical description of the relationships among employees. That Vania can be seen to stop smiling at precisely this point (l. 08) provides evidence for this. Indeed, Paolo's subsequent TCU (l. 09), which he articulates while looking at Annina, projects factual talk again. It starts with language material (*magari* 'possibly', *ecco* 'well') that does not deploy any grammatical link with the preceding tal and continues with what becomes progressively recognizable as a request or instruction: *bisogna stare un attimo* 'it's necessary to be a bit' (l. 09). That Paolo is about to abandon his metaphorical talk is recognized by Ezio, who has continuously directed his gaze to Paolo. And he now produces an *e anche*-prefaced other-extension with which he further develops the metaphor: *e anche un applauso più scrosciante alla fine* 'and also a more thunderous applause in the end' (ll. 10-11).

Not only is Ezio's TCU provided late, as Paolo is already orienting to the closing of the ongoing activity, but it is also uttered after a TRP (l. 08). To be heard as still extending

prior talk and re-negotiating the opening of the prior activity (the metaphor), Ezio's TCU has to be produced as recognizably integrated with prior talk. The TCU, which emerges as a candidate recompletion, is produced in syndetic coordination with l. 08 through the cluster of additive conjunctions *e* and *anche*. Ezio exploits the grammatical trajectory of Paolo's talk as emerging from l. 05. Paolo has articulated two commodities *prima donnas* have (the 'most beautiful dressing room' and 'greater comforts'; ll. 05-08) and Ezio now adds a third item – they also get 'more thunderous applause' (ll. 10-11). This *e anche*-prefaced other-extensions introduces a third phrasal contribution that becomes recognizable as the third item of a list (Jefferson, 1990), thereby re-completing the metaphor (and the list). While uttering his TCU at ll. 10-11, Ezio makes a circular gesture with both his hands in the air, with his index fingers up (fig. 1). The gesture and Ezio's TCU catch the other participants' gaze (not transcribed) including Paolo's, who abandons his turn-in-progress and to direct his gaze to Ezio. That Ezio self-selects in overlap is relevant to the action he is accomplishing, indeed, he seizes a late opportunity to display understanding and affiliation with Paolo, by collaborating in the metaphor Paolo was evoking and manifestly contributing to it, as shown by the lexical choice *applauso più scrosciante*/'more thunderous applause', which is readily associable with theatre and opera performances. Had Ezio not self-selected at this moment, in overlap, and let Paolo continue, he would have missed this opportunity, as Paolo was recognizably going to engage in factual talk again. And indeed, Paolo already in mid-TCU at l. 08 nods smiling (fig. 2) and then in overlap with Ezio ratifies Ezio's contribution, confirming Ezio's understanding of the metaphor, and of its jocular tone.

Grammatically speaking, Ezio's candidate recompletion is not fitted to the immediately prior turn (l. 09), but to the end of Paolo's TCU at l. 6 (and to the self-repaired alternative at l. 08). It illustrates, therefore, an occurrence of skip-connecting (Sacks, 1992). Also, it exploits a latently available construction Paolo launched at l. 05 with the verb *hanno*: 'they [the *prima donnas*] have'. Although Ezio's other-extension is a phrasal contribution, the overall structure he is extending results is a multiclausal unit, as it was already a complex syntactic project in Paolo's host turn (ll. 05-08). The integration between the candidate contribution and the host turn is shown from the onset of Ezio's AdvP by the additive conjunctions. These resources also allow the contributing speaker to display affiliation with the prior speaker. Grammatical complexification is a

negotiated emergent phenomenon susceptible to timing and interactional contingencies and not only to lexical and syntactic choices.

Ex. 5.1.8 Candidate completion - Mi13PRO1-42, 40:46-41:16

This excerpt, from business meeting I, presents a candidate completion provided in co-construction as a suggestion to a word-search. The TCU is designed as an NP, occasioning a monoclausal overall structure. Annina (ANN) has just introduced the next topic on the agenda: *voci di costo* 'cost items'. A communication about it is ready (l. 01).

01 ANN €%αla comunicazione è già pronta ed è scritta.€
the communication is already ready and it's written
 ANN €gazes at PAO----->€
 PAM %gazes down at papers in front of her----->1.06
 PAM αwrites on papers--->1.05

02 ANN €hm€ pamela *ce l'ha.€
hm Pamela has it
 ANN €, ,€gz. at PAM----->1.04
 PAO *gazes at PAM--->1.06

03 (0.2)

04 ANN €già stampata.€
already printed
 ANN €gz. at PAO---->€

05 € α(2.5)€
 ANN €gz. down€
 PAM -->α

06 ANN €%dove:^*əh:%€sostanzialmente €lasceremo (.) a discrezione
where uh basically we will leave at the discretion
 ANN €gz. at PAO--€at VAN----->€at PAO----->
 PAM %, , , , , , , , , , , %gz. at ANN----->
 PAO ----->*

07 e %decisi€ione se (0.6) effettuare o meno %il mese di:%° əhm::°
and decision whether to give or not the month of um
 ANN ----->€at VAN----->1.09
 PAM ->%gz. down in front of her----->%at ANN->at VAN---->

08 PAM mmm%€
mhm
 ANN ---->€
 PAM -->%gz. down-->>

09 €(0.5)
 ANN €gz. at PAO-->>

10 → PAM °preavvi[so°.]
notice

11 ANN [pr]eavviso.
notice

After informing the other participants that the communication is ready and written (l. 01), while looking at her main gaze recipient Paolo, Annina says that Pamela has it (l. 02), and briefly gazes at her while uttering her name. Just before the beginning of the excerpt, Annina had said “we are going to make a communication today”. By now mentioning

Pamela at l. 02, Annina shows that the “we” refers to herself and Pamela as the people in charge of making the communication. Further evidence is provided by Paolo, who turns to gaze at Pamela in l. 02 (while Annina is still gazing at him). At l. 04, Annina self-extends her talk, adding that the communication is also already printed, and closes this part of the informing by reaching another TRP and withdrawing her gaze. There is no response, and a long pause follows at l. 05 while Pamela, who was writing on papers in front of her, turns to gaze at Annina. At l. 06 Annina self-extends again adding the content of the communication. But at l. 07, she leaves her TCU incomplete and hesitates, as shown by the lengthening on *di* ‘of’ and the hesitation *ahm* ‘um’. As Lerner (1991) noticed, an incomplete TCU with markers of hesitation can be treated as a word search, and co-participants tend to self-select after a pause to provide the missing item. Indeed, Pamela, who first displays her agreement with the communication at l. 08, at l. 10 orients to Annina’s TCU as a word search, and provides in co-construction a candidate completion, *preavviso* ‘notice’. In overlap already, Annina ratifies by repeating Pamela’s candidate (l. 11). Pamela is directly involved and knowledgeable about the facts that she is stating, as shown by Annina’s referring to her, openly. Her candidate completion occasions a monoclausal structure as it is designed as an NP part of the collocation (cf. Firth, 1951) *mese di preavviso* (lit. ‘month of notice’). In this case, the integration of the completion with the host turn is not shown by means of overt lexical resources, such as conjunctions or adverbs, but the contributing speaker treats the prior speaker as searching for an item and provides the item after a pause, which is also part of a fixed expression, in this way the contribution is accepted as the missing word, and the contributing speaker can also show her direct involvement in the informing provided by her co-speaker.

When providing a contribution following other items, contributing speakers show the integration of their TCUs with the host turn more overtly. They deploy grammatical resources that show this grammatical integration : relative clauses (see excerpts 5.1.1-5.1.2), complement clauses (see excerpt 5.1.3), syndetic coordinate clauses (see excerpt 5.1.6), syndetic coordinate NPs (see excerpt 5.1.7), syndetic coordinate units with recycled lexical material (see excerpt 5.1.4), and parts of a fixed expression (see excerpt 5.1.8). These resources allow participants to display this integration from onset. Displaying from onset that a turn is provided as a contribution to a prior host turn is more relevant the more time has passed from this host turn. This demonstrates how timing and

the grammatical design of the components of a CT are inextricably linked, as speakers need to ensure the success of their collaboration. The candidate contributions in the next section are also not provided after the host turn. However, no other verbal element is present between the host turn and the candidate contribution, but rather a pause occurs.

5.2 Collaborative contributions provided following a pause

Adapting Schegloff's (2007) definition of "post-gap increments" to candidate contributions, this category contains instances of contributions provided following a pause that follows A's turn. A's turn can be left incomplete, speaker A can hesitate, or A's turn can be potentially complete. Lerner (1996: 242) defined the gap between the components of a CT (specifically, in word searches) as a: "socially organized site for possible silence", which is not treated as problematic by participants. This category contains the highest number of monoclausal contributions in all the corpus, which are for the most part word-searches. I will present eight excerpts.

King (2018: 7) noticed that no studies have been carried out that focus only on pauses in collaborative completions, but many scholars have indeed pointed out the presence of a gap between the two components of CTs (e.g., Hayashi, 1999; Helasvuo, 2004; Kim, 2003; Lerner, 1987, 1991, 1996, 2004; Local, 2005; Sacks, 1992; Szczepek Reed, 2000a, 2000b; among others). However, in all these studies there is no distinction between co-constructions and other-extensions. Most of all the temporal placement of the contribution has not been studied in relation to the grammatical format deployed. No subordinate to subordinate relationship emerged after a TRP in this category, so I start with a S to S relationship in a candidate completion.

Ex. 5.2.1 S to S candidate completion - Mi13PRO1-51, 32:52-33:13

Taken from business meeting II, the following excerpt illustrates a candidate completion provided after a small pause in the host turn. It is formatted as a VP in hypotactic relationship with an already complex multiclausal structure. Mario (MAR) presents a dossier containing sales pitches and guidelines for the company's clients. Paolo (PAO) looks at the document and concludes that it should not take long to revise it now, as the purpose of the document is to contain instructions in plain language (l. 01).

Collaborative Grammar

01 PAO *allo*ra, devi dirle: le cose (.)*in-* con un*linguaggio
so you have to tell them stuff with a plain
 PAO *,,,,,*gazes at papers in front of MAR*at MAR--->*at dossier

02 piano: e:: .h e soprattutto devi- .h eh:*
language and most of all you must uh
 PAO in his hand----->*

03 PAO *essendo account *e non essendo (.)*client leader, (.)**
being account and not being client leader
 PAO *at MAR----->*sideways----->*at MAR----->*

04 *@e non essendo consulente.*
and not being consultant
 PAO *at dossier in his hands-->*

05 PAO *.h devi essere in grado di* pronunciare *delle parole
must.PRES.IND.2SG be.INF of.COMP pronounce.INF words.DOBJ.F.PL
you have to be able to spell out some words
 PAO *at DUI----->*at ANN----->*at MAR->1.08

06 che +sei in grado di:
that.COMP be.PAST.PST.IPFV.IND.3SG
that you are able to
 PAO +nods----->1.09

07 (0.2)

08 → MAR #@\$sostenere.* ®
sustain.INF
live up to
 PAO ----->*

MAR \$nods----->

MAR @moves forward lx hand opening fingers®
 fig #fig.1



fig. 1 Mario gazes at Paolo, nods and moves his left hand from his mouth forward opening fingers

09 PAO *sostenere+ poi.*\$
live up to then
 PAO *gz. at dossier in his hand*
 PAO ----->+
 MAR ----->\$

10 PAO *perché altrimenti* ci fai la figura* dell'inane.
because otherwise you look like (you're) useless
 PAO *gz. at ANN----->*glances at AR----->*down at dossier-->>

After having directly addressed Mario before the beginning of the excerpt, Paolo now starts what will emerge as a multi-unit turn (ll. 01-06). He elaborates on the fact that the dossier he is holding is a type of document that is not addressed to professional figures (client leaders, consultants), but to their client accounts who are not experts (and seek advice at their company). Thus, it has to be written in plain language. At ll. 05-06, gazing

at everybody around the table (first Duilio, then Annina and then Mario) and using the generic *tu* pronoun, he delivers what could be both a general instruction and a factual statement: not only must the language be simple, but whoever writes it has ‘to be able to spell out words that you are able to’ (ll. 05-06). Here (l. 06) he leaves his TCU incomplete, nods and gazes at Mario, who after a small pause (at l. 07), self-selects treating Paolo’s gaze, and incomplete TCU as an opportunity to provide a contribution. He does so by uttering a candidate completion in co-construction with the end of the host TCU (ll. 05-06), designed as the VP dependent on the preposition *di* ‘of’. In this way an implicit complement clause emerges, occasioning a multiclausal combination of a complement clause embedded in a relative clause in Paolo’s TCU, *delle parole che sei in grado di* ‘some words that you are able to’. Mario’s TCU is also in structural symmetry with the grammatical structure in Paolo’s host TCU (ll. 05-06) that unfolds as an already complex sentence: *devi* ‘you have to’ as a main clause, followed by *essere in grado di* ‘be able to’. This latter is an implicit complement clause¹⁰⁴ that projects another implicit CC, *pronunciare* ‘spell out’, followed by the object *delle parole* ‘some words’ relativized with *che sei in grado* ‘that you are able’ (repeated again). Mario, having analyzed the prior unfolding TCU, can add the projected grammatical unit: an infinitive VP. While uttering his candidate completion, he gazes at Paolo, nods and moves his left hand forward (which he was keeping closed on his mouth), opening his fingers (fig. 1) in a gesture that seems to encode an evident or known fact. Mario, treating Paolo’s verbal and bodily behavior as an invitation to contribute (a sort of word search), is displaying his understanding but also claiming his knowledge of Paolo’s instruction/statement, in that specific moment. His integrated TCU fulfills both the grammatical and interactional trajectory projected by Paolo, and sustained mutual gaze allows Mario to self-select after Paolo’s hesitation. Paolo, at l. 09, ratifies Mario’s contribution by repeating the VP, integrating it in his turn, and goes on by providing an account of why you need to live up to the words you write (l. 11), gazing again all around the table, before withdrawing his gaze, bringing his turn and the activity to an end.

¹⁰⁴ In Italian, if a complement clause emerges in dependence on a main (matrix) clause containing a modal verb, the CC is formatted in the implicit form (i.e., with an infinitive verb form) and without complementizers. In this case, *devi* ‘you must’ is followed directly by *essere* ‘to be’, without prepositions/conjunctions (i.e., asyndetically).

The candidate completion illustrated in this excerpt is provided in fulfillment of both grammatical and interactional projections. The multiclausal structure that emerges is already unfolding in the prior TCU as a complex multiunit turn, which is why Mario can only seize the opportunity to contribute when Paolo leaves his TCU incomplete, hesitates, nods gazing in Mario’s direction and pauses (similarly to the structure of invited word-searches, cf. Lerner, 1991). By providing an integrated contribution (a subordinate clause to a subordinate clause in the host turn), he contributes successfully to Paolo’s talk, who can now bring the activity to a close (being also the one who had started it).

Ex. 5.2.2 S to M candidate recompletion - Mi13PRO1-50, 08:28-08:38

This excerpt is taken from business meeting II. It illustrates a candidate recompletion provided as a subordinate to a main clause, occasioning a multiclausal structure. Paolo (PAO) is talking about assigning one of their employees a reduced set of tasks while giving the remaining tasks to an intern.

```

01    PAO    *@la si inserisce [nel knowledge105* (.) e fa *l'interfaccia,
        we place her in the knowledge and she does (the) interface
        PAO    *gazes at ANN----->*at MAR---->*at ANN---->1.05
        MAR    @gazes at PAO----->>
02    MAR    #$(si certo. $
           yes sure
        MAR    $nods and leans back$
        fig    #fig.1
    
```



fig. 1 Mario gazes at Paolo, nods and leans back spreading his arms

```

03    PAO    .h €e li si mette uno stagista€al cento per cento.
        and there we place an intern at one hundred percent
        ANN    €gazes at PAO----->€down----->1.05
04    (0.3)
05    → MAR    che già oggi*€io l'ho messa^a interfacciarci il knowledge.€
        that.RELAT I.PRO.SBJ.1SG her.PRO.PERSDOBJ.F.3SG put.RECPAST.IND.1SG-PTCP.F.SG
        that already today I placed her to interface (for us) the knowledge
        PAO    ----->*gz. at MAR----->>
        ANN    ----->€at MAR----->€
    
```

¹⁰⁵ Knowledge is a shortening of *knowledge management*, which refers to processes of management and development of the information (and knowledge) about and within the company.

06 MAR [°in pratica.°
basically
 07 PAO +[esa:tto.
exactly
 PAO +nods-->>

At line 01, *la* 'her' refers to the employee whose responsibilities Paolo wants to reduce. He makes a proposal about what they can do, while gazing at Annina to whom he is directing his suggestion. Mario displays a clear understanding of the content of Paolo's proposal, as shown by his double confirmation *sì certo* 'yes sure' (l. 02), and his body orientation: he nods and leans back spreading his arms, while gazing at Paolo (fig. 1). Paolo goes on at l. 03, with the deictic *lì* 'there' that refers to the other employee's role, which can now be assigned to an intern instead. Paolo's turn is complete, his proposal ends and he gazes down. After a small pause, Mario self-selects and, providing a candidate recompletion, informs the others that he has already placed *her* to interface the knowledge (ll. 05-06). Mario's TCU is designed as a relative clause without a specific antecedent, the *che* is not anaphorically referring back to a specific element. Nonetheless, his TCU is formatted from onset as belonging to the same activity, namely as a way of re-opening this activity by adding useful, first-hand information to Paolo's talk. *Che* 'that', which makes Mario's TCU recognizable as a subordinate clause, comes after a series of three syndetically coordinated main clauses in Paolo's turn (ll. 01-03: (i) *la si inserisce nel knowledge* 'we place her in the knowledge', (ii) *e fa l'interfaccia* 'and she does the interface', (iii) *e lì mette uno stagista* 'and there we place an intern'), occasioning a multiclausal sentence combination. In his turn, Mario also refers to *la* 'her' (*l'ho messa* 'I placed her'), recalling back the *la* (the colleague), and to *interface the knowledge* in Paolo's turn at l. 01.

Mario formats his TCU as a candidate recompletion. He uses a polyvalent *che* resource, providing a relative clause-like unit, where he could have instead used an independent grammatical unit. In this way, he makes his turn heard as unambiguously integrated with prior talk (see excerpts 5.1.1-5.1.2) and not as independent. He places his displays of knowledge as part of Paolo's proposal, enhancing the proposal, and in this way showing being on Paolo's side. Paolo ratifies Mario's TCU by gazing, nodding, and saying *esatto* 'exactly'. It is mainly Annina who Paolo is trying to 'convince', or to whom,

at any rate, he addresses his proposal, and Mario is able to successfully support Paolo in this endeavor.

This analysis demonstrates that using integrated grammatical material, such as starting a TCU with a relativizer, allows speakers to place their contributions as part of what precedes, siding with a speaker, enhancing a speakers' voice. Most of all in cases where the activity is already closed, after a turn TRP, designing a TCU from onset as part of a collaborative turn allows contributing speakers to re-open the activity claiming that what they say is still part of the "same" talk: the boundaries among speakers become fuzzier, as a participation framework where multiple voices converge in one is built. In other words, clause combination, or sentence combination, emerges from participants' collaboration.

Ex. 5.2.3 S to M candidate extension - To13APE2-52, 34:45-35:20

This excerpt shows a candidate extension. The clausal unit is in hypotactic relationship with the host turn (S to M). During their aperitif, Flavia (FLA), Alice (ALI) and Serena (SER) are discussing the differences between physical books and eBooks. Although they all prefer books, Flavia has just offered an eBook reader to a colleague who has little space for bookshelves. But now she worries about what would happen if it broke (l. 0.1).

01 FLA anche perché se ti si rompe cosa-, perdi tutto?
also because if it breaks what do you- you lose all?
 02 (0.9)
 03 ALI °eh sì.° [puoi fare un backu:p, (.) >o qualcosa.<
huh yes you can do a backup or something
 [...] ((omitted 34:52-35:05))
 04 FLA €vabbè prenderai:€^agli hard-disk este:rni.
well you'll take some external hard-disks
 FLA €gazes down----->€at ALI-->1.22
 FLA €shrugs and moves rx hand forward
 opening two fingers--->1.21
 05 # (0.3)
 fig #fig.1



fig. 1 Flavia shrugs and moves her right hand forward toward Alice, opening two fingers

06 → ALI ↑che ce l'ho già per le foto e tutti^i [miei documenti,*
that.RELAT it.PRO.OBJ have.PRES.IND.ISG

ALI *that I already have for pictures and all my documents*
 ----->*
 FLA ----->ə
 07 FLA [E:H.
 exactly
 08 FLA [li metterai tutti li.€
you'll keep them all there
 FLA ----->€

After Flavia has expressed her preoccupation about the eBook (*si//it*, reflexive pronoun) in the shape of a question (l. 01), Alice, at l. 03, first replies with 'yes' but then she suggests a solution: *puoi fare un backup o qualcosa*'you can do a backup or something'. In the omitted lines Flavia and Alice discuss the issue of having to do a backup for books, as well as other things, and of the possible lack of storage space. At l. 04, Flavia, who had previously resisted Alice's solution at l. 03, now suggests something similar to Alice: you can get some external hard-disks. She uses *vabbè*'well', an evidential marker that can index obviousness, while shrugging and moving her hand with open fingers in a gesture of explanation (cf. Streeck, 2009) and obviousness (cf. Jehoul et al., 2017) (fig. 1). Flavia displays that this could be an obvious solution for Alice. She also claims some independent knowledge about the storage system, in answer to Alice's solution. Flavia's turn at l. 04 is complete: grammatically as a main complete unit, prosodically uttered with final intonation, pragmatically as a solution, and even gaze-wise as Flavia looks down and then directly at her recipient. After Alice had provided a solution to Flavia's preoccupation (l. 03), Alice had proceeded to launch a complaint (in the omitted part) to which, in symmetry, Flavia now provides a solution (l. 04). In this way Flavia finally aligns with Alice. At this point, after a small pause (l. 05), Alice provides a candidate extension (l. 06) that confirms this is something she had thought herself: she already owns a hard-disk for her images and documents. So Flavia at the end (ll. 07-08) can suggest that Alice would put everything (including digital books) in there.

Alice's extension at l. 06 is formatted as a relative clause introduced by *che*, which takes as its antecedent *hard-disk* in l. 04. But with this relative clause, Alice does not add more about this antecedent, and instead says something about herself (*ce l'ho già*'I have it already'). There is a semantic relationship between the possible antecedent *gli hard disk* and the clause following *che*. However, the grammatical link is not direct, as shown by Flavia using the single *ce l'ho*'I have it', and not the plural (cf. l. 04 *gli*). The *che* here,

as in the prior example, does not introduce a subordinate relative clause (in a functional sense), but rather it is used to make a TCU heard as integrated with what has been said before (and it is a multiclausal structure, where S to M clause combining emerges). This extension is deployed to claim, after a TRP, that a topic is not closed and more about it has to be said. But Alice's extension does not recomplete what has been said before: it is uttered with higher pitch on *che* and a stress on 'already' (there is a change in her voice quality), signals Alice is resisting the suggested solution as something new to her.

The last two excerpts have some notable implications. First of all: grammatically speaking, linguists working on Italian (e.g., cf. Lombardi Vallauri, 1994) generally described three types of relative clause (RC): "restrictive" RCs, where the RC specifies and identifies, restricting the antecedent among other items; "appositive" RCs, which add more information about an already known antecedent; and "weak" RCs (typical of spoken language) where polyvalent *che* is used to relativize all antecedents, in the place of more morphologically integrated relative pronouns (e.g., *il quale*, *la quale*, etc.) (cf. Cinque, 1988; Fiorentino, 1999). In this example, a contributing speaker utters a relative clause that introduces a new predication, with a polyvalent *che* that, although it could refer anaphorically back to 'hard-disk', is not semantically used to talk about hard-disks. The relative marker is used then to integrate the extending TCU with the original speaker's turn. Second: this confirms then that speakers orient to collaborative grammatical resources to deal with contingent interactional needs (recompleting, extending, etc.), and that the interaction shapes the content and "function" of the resources and formats deployed. Third: CTs are not only achieved when speakers align and agree, as already noticed in prior studies (Lerner, 2004a; Bolden et al. 2019; Luke, 2021; etc.). They are also achieved when speakers provide talk not formatted as a response to prior talk, as a new TCU. Speakers orient to the practices under the umbrella CTs for different reasons, including dealing with *prima facie* disagreement, or disalignment, and re-using the other-speaker's talk. Formats such as RC-like clauses are the most commonly deployed after TRPs, as they allow speakers to signal from the beginning that more needs to be added to the prior speaker's talk/activity/voice (whether in 'agreement' or in 'disagreement'). As Luke (2021: 22) puts it:

By extending a just-completed TCU, non-current speakers can maintain the ‘appearance’ of continuing the turn and joining the team (by keeping the syntax on course) but in the meantime steer the ongoing action in some other direction (by adopting a different voice). Such a move is most effective when next speakers put themselves forward as members of the same party and position themselves as though they were collaborating to ‘sing the same tune’, but in reality bend the direction and transform the character of the ongoing action.

Ex. 5.2.4 S to M candidate completion - Mi13DINFULL, 33:23-18:36

This excerpt, from the dinner, shows a candidate completion provided after a pause following the host turn. A multiclausal structure emerges as a hypotactic relationship. Giulio (GIU), Giorgio (GIO), Piera (PIE) and Rino (RIN) are discussing politics.

```
01      GIU      #•%NOTIZIA DI ATTUALITÀ SCOTTANTE.          #•
                hot news
        GIU      •GIU is down picking up something from fridge
                with back to table then goes toward the table•
        GIO      %gazes at GIU----->1.11
```



fig. 1 Giulio picks up something from the fridge: he has his back to the table. He comes back toward table

```
fig      #fig.1----->#
02      GIU      <silvio berlusconi> (0.3) ha creato il sito esercito della
                Silvio Berlusconi      has created the website army of
03      liber[tà,
                freedom
04      PIE      @[AH^HO VISTO.
                I've seen it
        PIE      @gz. at GIU-->1.07
05      PIE      *l'esercito di silvio.*
                the Silvio's army
        GIU      *gazes at PIE----->*
06      *(0.7)+ (0.4)
        GIU      *at GIO----->
        GIU      +nods-+
07      GIU      INVOGLIA*      LA GENTE*      A:::-@
                entice.PRS.IND.3SG people.N-DOBJ.F.SN to.COMP
                he entices people to
        GIU      ----->*sideways----->*at GIO->1.09
        PIE      ----->@
08      (0.5)
09 → GIO      impu*gnare le armi      contro[: il&
                take up.INF the-weapon.ART-N-DOBJ.F.PL
```


are discussing is very well known, providing the group with shared access and knowledge about facts concerning the politician.

Giorgio provides a candidate completion that fits both Giulio's grammatical and interactional projections: he provides in co-construction an implicit complement clause embedded in and dependent on *a*'to' in Giulio's TCU (l. 07), designed with the verb *impugnare*'take up' at the infinitive, and goes on saying that Berlusconi entices people to take up weapons against the judicial system¹⁰⁶. At l. 12 in overlap, as Giorgio hesitates too at l. 09, Piera co-constructs Giorgio's turn with him providing a candidate completion designed as a prepositional phrase *contro i giudici*'against the judges'. And then she tilts her head (l. 13) in a nod while Giorgio is finishing his turn at l. 11. By doing so, Piera, who had shown herself to be K+ about the news, confirms Giorgio's understanding and ratifies it, while Giulio does not, since he is again looking at the kitchen with his back to the table. At l. 13 Rino asks Giorgio for a phone, saying at l. 15 that he wants to see the website (displaying that he did not know about the website, as already shown by his question at l. 10), while Giulio continues the announcement at ll. 14 and 16 with the VP *a prendere parte* *a*'to take part', which confirms that an implicit CC was the grammatical follow up; and *Silvio's army*, orienting to Piera's repair as correct. Interestingly, Giulio repeats the complementizer *a*, probably because his own turn is now a few turns back.

This excerpt shows a candidate completion formatted as a subordinate clause. It follows the ending of the host turn, which contains the overt marker of subordination, after a pause. This format is only available when 1) speaker A's TCU is left incomplete to be completed/continued with a clause; 2) speaker B provides a TCU either after a pause following A's turn or following the end of A's turn. When these two conditions are met, the candidate contribution is formatted not from onset as a subordinate unit (i.e., the clause is not introduced by a lexical subordinator), but it is treated as fulfilling the emerging clause combination pattern (complement clauses embedded in main clause are commonly deployed in these interactional sequences). Giorgio is Giulio's gaze recipient, he sustains mutual gaze with Giulio, and treats Giulio's hesitation as an invitation to demonstrate reciprocity. He does not necessarily provide the actual content of Giulio's announcement. Nonetheless, he displays his understanding based on well-known facts

¹⁰⁶ One of the most well-known facts about Berlusconi is that he is always at odds with the judicial system.

about the topic, and gets ratification from Piera, who has formed a party of K+ participants with Giulio. Parties can transiently be formed during an episode, reshaping the participation framework – in this case based on K+ (GIU and PIE) vs K- (GIO and RIN) – in ways that are only possible in multiperson interactions, where not only can multiple participants co-construct, but a party can ratify the collaboration.

Ex. 5.2.5 S to M candidate continuation - Mi13DIN2-42, 05:32-05:43¹⁰⁷

Taken from the same dinner, the next excerpt illustrates a candidate continuation provided in co-construction as the subordinate clause embedded in a main clause in the host TCU, which contains the complementizer. Before the start of the excerpt, Angela (ANG) was talking about one of her university professors who illegally sold books and collected money directly from his students (not reproduced). At l. 01, Rino (RIN) states that he cannot understand who protects the professor.

```

01   RIN      non      capisco   chi:: lo protegga.
      I do not understand who protects him
02   ANG      °mmm°
      mhm
03   (0.3)
04   GIU      *ma      dicevano   che      una volta:
      say.PAST.PST.IPFV.IND.3PL that.COMP
      (but) they said that once
      GIU      *gazes at plate in front of him----->>
05   •(0.6) •
      GIU      •swallows•
06 → GIO      #%ha      salvato    la vita,
      save.RECPAST.IND.3SG the-life.ART-N.DOBJ.F.SG
      (he) has saved the life
      GIO      %gazes at the plate in front of him-->>
    
```



fig.1 Giulio and Giorgio gaze at their plates in front of them while eating

```

      fig      #fig.1
07   RIN      [((laughs))]
08   GIU      [no:      ] sì ha salvato l'esame hm di >↓non so se< di
      save.RECPAST.IND.3SG the-exam.ART-N.DOBJ.M.SG
    
```

¹⁰⁷ The analysis of this excerpt is included in Calabria (under review).

09 no yes he saved the exam of I don't know if in
 maturità >o qualcosa del genere< al figlio
 high school or something like that the son
 10 di^un:- (0.2) di qualcuno potente a roma.
 of a of someone powerful in Rome

At l. 01, Rino produces a negative assertion, displaying his puzzled stance, the pronoun *lo*/'him' (l. 01) refers anaphorically to the professor. His turn is complete, Angela agrees at l. 02 and a small pause follows (l.03). At l. 04, in response to Rino, Giulio self-selects with the turn-entry-device *ma*/'but' and articulates the quotative frame *dicevano*/'they said', the complementizer *che*/'that', followed by *una volta*/'once'. He projects sequentially that what comes next is the content of a past rumor (as shown also by *una volta* that displays the beginning of a narration; cf. Jefferson, 1978), and grammatically a complement clause dependent on the verb *dicevano* and the complementizer *che*. Giulio leaves his TCU incomplete not only pragmatically and grammatically but also prosodically, the last syllable of *una volta* is uttered with lengthening and is projective. A pause follows (l. 05), possibly because Giulio is eating and swallowing, which are competing activities with talking (cf. Mondada, 2014). As noted by Lerner (1991), using a projective first component, such as a complement taking verb that projects the second component and the following grammatical unit, the complement clause, can be a way of maintaining speakership in cases of transient articulatory unavailability (cf. Hoey, 2020). However, another speaker can also self-select and fulfill the projection: at l. 06, Giorgio self-selects and provides a candidate continuation in co-construction with Giulio's TCU. Giulio orients to the *verbum dicendi* + complementizer as projecting indirect reported speech and provides a possible candidate indirect quote (cf. Calabria, *in preparation*). Giorgio's TCU (l. 06) is not formatted as a completion, the fulfilment of Giorgio's trajectory: it is not the actual content of the rumor, but rather a hyperbolic suggestion with a fixed expression *salvare la vita (a qualcuno)*/'to save someone's life'. This may be an indirect generic quote, treated as laughable by Rino at l. 07. Giorgio utters his TCU with continuative prosody and leaves the grammatical unit incomplete (the object and beneficiary of the verb *salvare* is missing). *De facto*, Giorgio's TCU could *prima facie* be analyzed as a grammatical new unit (therefore as a new TCU) as there is no subordinative marker, and the explicit indicative verb form is the same for main clauses. But it is, in fact, fitted to the complementizer in the host TCU (l. 04). That Giorgio's TCU is a continuation of Giulio's is shown by at least two points. First, the

design of the turn itself: the verb *salvare* is conjugated in the 3rd person singular of the recent past indicative, *ha salvato*/lit.'has saved', fitting the *consecution temporum* of Giulio's TCU, and referring unambiguously back to the professor object of the rumors. The 3rd person singular contrasts with the grammatical subject of Giulio's TCU marked in the 3rd person plural on *dicevano* (cf. Salvi, 1988: the 3rd person plural is used to refer to an impersonal subject that excludes the speaker and the hearer). Second, Giulio's ratification: he accepts, even if only partially, Giorgio's candidate, by first starting a possible repair at l. 08 with 'no', but then continuing with 'yes'. Moreover, Giulio reuses the verb 'to save' used by Giorgio at l. 06: *ha salvato l'esame*'he saved the exam' is indeed the content of the rumor, a more concrete, empirical fact in opposition to the general almost formulaic candidate provided by Giorgio.

The highly projective resource *che*'that' plays a significant role in the combination of the two parts of the multiclausal structure: according to Mortara Garavelli (2001), it ensures the indirect quote is subordinated to the main clause constituted by the quotative frame. *Che* is cataphorically oriented to by the participants to grammatically fit their contributions to a turn-in-progress, making them recognizable as co-constructions. Grammatical projectability is highly relevant in this excerpt: since Giulio and Giorgio do not look at each other and their gazes remain fixed on the plates from which they are eating (fig.1) during the whole episode, verbal clues, especially syntax, become the most relevant analyzable clue to which they orient to in providing a fitted candidate contribution.

Ex. 5.2.6 M to S candidate completion - Mi13PRO1-51, 23:34-23:45

The next excerpt presents a case where a candidate completion is provided in co-construction as the main clause to a subordinate, occasioning a hypothetical multiclausal structure. During business meeting II, Paolo (PAO) is explaining the new configurations of roles within the company; specifically, the share ownership policy has changed.

01	PAO	*@vengono affidate. <i>they are entrusted</i>
	PAO	*gazes at MAR---->1.07
	MAR	@gazes at PAO----->1.03
02	PAO	€per cui se uno si dimette dal board °o esce dal board°,€ <i>so that if one resigns from the board or leaves the board</i>
	ANN	€gazes at MAR----->€

03 €h əh:m@€ (0.2) €@[per- >adesso,<]
 um for now-
 MAR ----->@gz. down--->@at ANN----->
 ANN €at PAO-->€.....€at MAR

04 → ANN #\\$[la quota] torna.€€\\$#
 the share returns
 MAR ----->@
 ANN ----->€
 ANN \\$shrugs and opens fingers-->\\$
 fig #fig.1----->#



fig.1 Annina shrugs and opens the fingers of her hands clenched on her lap

05 PAO @[PA- (.) patti para@sociali, la quota va::-
 pa- shareholders' agreements the share goes
 MAR @closes eyes----->@gz. at PAO----->>
 06 MAR [°°sì°°
 07 PAO * @.h infatti€>non ci saranno nemmeno< intestazioni
 in fact there will not even be registrations
 ANN €at PAO----->1.10
 PAO *at MAR----->1.09
 MAR >>@at PAO----->>>

08 di quo[te.]
 of shares

09 MAR [mmm]* °sì sì.°*
 mhm yes yes
 PAO ----->*at ANN->*

10 PAO *è (.) È [proprio un *affidamento,
 it is it is really (an) entrusting
 PAO *----->*at MAR----->>
 ANN ----->€gazes at MAR----->>

At l. 01, Paolo starts constructing his explanation about the shares, anaphorically recalled by the 3rd person plural marked on *vengono*/'they are'¹⁰⁸ and the feminine plural (marked by the morpheme -e) on the participle *affidate*/'entrusted'. He is gazing at Mario, who is the main addressee of his explanation, and Mario is sustaining Paolo's gaze. The explanation goes on at l. 02, with a self-extension attached with *per cui*/'so that', followed by an emerging *if*-construction: *se uno si dimette dal board o esce dal board*/'if one resigns from the board

¹⁰⁸ Literally 'they come': in Italian the verb *venire*/'to come' can be used as an auxiliary instead of the verb *essere*/'to be' in passive constructions (cf. Panunzi, 2010).

or leaves the board'. The protasis is syntactically complete, and Paolo breathes and hesitates at l. 03, but his prosody is continuative and Paolo's TCU projects the apodosis. Annina, who starts gazing at Paolo during his hesitation, turns to gaze at Mario, self-selects and provides a candidate completion to Paolo's TCU at l. 04. Fulfilling the grammatical and interactional projection opened by the *if*-clause, Annina co-constructs the apodosis, providing a main clause (subject + main verb) containing the piece of missing information about the share in Paolo's TCU (cf. *if-X then-Y* compound TCU in Lerner, 1991). Annina utters her TCU with final intonation, shrugs and opens her fingers (fig. 1). In this way, Annina displays being knowledgeable about the facts that Paolo is explaining (indeed, unlike Mario, she was taking part in the meeting where this new configuration was decided, giving her the knowledge that comes from attending multiple meetings; cf. "conversation-in-a-series" in Button, 1991). She takes on the role of co-explaining with Paolo, forming with him a party of K+ participants. The gaze orientation is also evidence of Annina and Paolo forming a party, as they orient to the same recipient. Annina, who was looking at Paolo while he was hesitating, comes 'to help' Paolo, turning to gaze at their common recipient, Mario. Retrospectively the TCUs ll. 02-03 and 04 are a multiclausal hypothetical *periodo*, as part of a compound TCU. Paolo does not turn to gaze at Annina, but goes on with his turn at l. 05, not fulfilling himself the projection opened, but taking Annina's TCU as the fulfilling explanation.

After Paolo hesitates and a pause follows (l. 02), Annina provides the apodosis to Paolo's protasis, displaying that she is treating Paolo's turn as a search for more to come (not necessarily a word), namely the content of the apodosis. Even if she is not gazed at, she legitimates her contribution by claiming knowledge of the facts, and by completing Paolo's TCU (grammatically and interactionally) and then yielding the floor to him. In this way she displays she is collaborating in co-constructing Paolo's explanation, forming a party with him. After Mario has displayed understanding and reciprocity by saying yes at l. 06, Paolo provides more evidence for his explanation at ll. 07-08, and at l. 09 he turns to gaze at Annina who gazes at him. While Paolo adds more to this explanation at l. 10, both turn to gaze again at Mario, confirming again the orientation toward a common recipient. The participation framework is reshaped as four persons and three parties (as Duilio is not involved in this exchange and keeps his head down throughout all this conversation).

As excerpt 5.2.5 showed already, a TCU that is grammatically formatted using the same resources as an independent grammatical unit (and in this case what is uttered is an apodosis and, thus, a main clause), when viewed in isolation could be seen as a new TCU. However, when looking at prior turns, and analyzing the practice that the speakers are orienting too, it becomes apparent that grammatical units emerge, and so does complex grammar, out of collaborative interactional contingencies. The emergence of a clause combination pattern here (the *if-then*) plays a crucial role for speakers: by using an openly integrated syntactic format, collaboration is established and ensured.

Ex. 5.2.7 M to M candidate completion - Mi13PRO1-49, 35:58-36:12

Only two cases of contributions following a pause are present in the corpus. The syntactic integration of these co-constructed TCUs is problematic, but CTs emerge, nonetheless. I present one candidate contribution from business meeting II, designed as a continuation of prior talk, occasioning a multiclausal paratactic structure. Paolo (PAO) is explaining how he negotiated with the tax office to pay the company's debts in monthly installments.

```

01     PAO      *ti spalmo^il resto del debito *in sei anni,*
          I split (for you) the rest of the debt over six years
          PAO      -->>slides his rx hand along the table "spreading"-->
          PAO      *gazes at DUI----->*at MAR----->*
02     PAO      *e mi dai delle^↓eh::• (0.6) .h delle↓::*
          and you give me some uh           some
          PAO      ----->•
          PAO      *gz. at DUI----->*
03     PAO      *(1.9)
          PAO      *gz. down sideways-->1.06
04     PAO      €əh::m: €
          um
          ANN     €gz. at PAO€
05     ANN     €(2.3)
          ANN     €gz. down-->1.08
06     PAO      *mensili,
          monthly
          PAO      *gz. at ANN
07     ANN     (0.2)*
          PAO      ---->*down sideways
08     → ANN     mi garantisci: #*$€u:n pagamento$ mensile.
          you guarantee me a monthly payment
          PAO      ----->*gz. at ANN----->
          ANN     ----->€gz. sideways----->
          ANN     $moves rx hand with
                   open palm from
                   herself forward$

```

fig

#fig.1



fig.1 Annina moves her right hand with open palm from her body forward and right

```
09      PAO      >mi gara*ntisci un *pagamento *mensile.< h.
          you guarantee me a monthly payment
          PAO      ----->*at DUI--->.....*at MAR-->>
```

At l. 01, Paolo uses direct speech (indexed by the deictic 2nd person plural and a gesture that co-occurs with the verb *spalmare*/'to spread' l. 01) to report to his co-participants what the tax office said to him about their debt (this had already started before the excerpt). The 2nd person singular in l. 01 (*ti*/'to you') indexes that this is the solution the tax office has found for the company: the tax office, which speaks in 1st person singular in Paolo's reported speech, can split the debt over six years (l. 01), while the company can give them something. But Paolo displays trouble uttering l. 02: he hesitates after the partitive article *delle*/'some, maybe searching for the word (the object) that follows the article; a short pause follows; he repeats again the article; a longer pause follows (l. 03), then Paolo hesitates again at l. 04 and an even longer pause follows at l. 05. His communication is addressed to Duilio and Mario as he gazes from one to the other during ll. 01-02, as the not knowledgeable people at the table, or the people that need to receive an explanation. Annina starts gazing at Paolo only during his hesitation at l. 04, while she gazes away during the pause that follows. At l. 06, Paolo gives up looking for a word that follows the article and utters instead an adjective *mensili*/'monthly' with projective prosody, gazing now at Annina. After a small pause, she self-selects and provides a TCU, which is not responding to a word-search so much as offering an entire reformulation of what Paolo was hesitating to say: *mi garantisci un pagamento mensile*/'you guarantee me a monthly payment'. She treats *mensili* (a masculine adjective) at l. 06 as the adjective that goes with *payments* (a masculine noun), even though she uses the singular *un pagamento mensile*. In structural symmetry with Paolo, her TCU is uttered in 1st person singular with a 1st person beneficiary *mi*/'to me', *garantisci*/'you guarantee', indexing that

she is also using reported speech¹⁰⁹. Therefore, she is carrying on the same activity as Paolo. She also makes a gesture that spreads outward in three steps (not dissimilar from Paolo's at l. 1), ending in a palm up gesture. Paolo ratifies Annina's TCU at l. 09, by repeating it and gazes again at the addressees of the explanation, Duilio and Mario. The explanation is brought to an end at l. 09.

Annina does not offer a candidate to Paolo's word search but utters instead an entire clause (occasioning a multiclausal structure) that is in a relationship of paratactical coordination with what precedes. As it comes sequentially at this point (and not before), Annina's TCU does not seem integrated syntactically with the host turn, although Annina could be drawing on *e mi/*'and to me' at l. 02 and reusing the beginning of Paolo's TCU again to reformulate his explanation. In any case she provides a coordinated structure M to M that contains morphologic and pragmatic clues that make this the expected contribution (as confirmed by Paolo's ratification by repetition): it is uttered as RS, using the same personal pronouns as Paolo's, it reuses *mensili*, and Annina makes a similar gesture to Paolo. Her turn unfolds with symmetrical grammar to Paolo's hesitating turn: pronoun + verb (in Paolo *mi dai/*'you give me', in Annina *mi garantisci/*'you guarantee to me') + indeterminate article (plural in Paolo's, singular in Annina's TCU) + the word missing in Paolo *pagamento/*'payment' and the adjective *monthly*, in other words a payment in installments. Finally, Paolo ratifies her TCU confirming that Annina's contribution was the expected ending of the explanation.

This excerpt shows how the timing of the contribution, the occurrence of a pause between the TCUs that compose the CT, correlates with gaze behavior and speaker-selection: when a current speaker gazes at the co-participant that will become the next speaker, their contribution can be heard as more legitimate than a contribution where no gaze is exchanged among the participants. This is confirmed by the fact that in my data contributing speakers provide more complex turns (clausal) when they are gazed at, and their contributions are treated as more "legitimate". Examples like this one provide even clearer evidence that grammatical choices are "situated" (cf. Calabria & De Stefani, 2020) in the interaction in which they are uttered, as grammatical structures emerge from prior talk and are oriented to in the formats the participants "need" to achieve specific actions in

¹⁰⁹ In Italian, the quote is syntactically independent from the quoting frame: "la citazione diretta costituisce infatti una porzione sintatticamente indipendente dal co-testo citante" (Ferrari & De Cesari, 2011: 85).

specific timings. It also shows how speakers orient to CTs to form and make relevant temporary parties, e.g., the people informed about certain facts, vs the people that need information. And through the practice of providing a candidate completion, the belonging to the party is accomplished and ensured by all the members

Ex. 5.2.8 Candidate recompletion - Mi13DIN2-42, 05:54-06:01

Taken from the dinner, this excerpt illustrates a candidate recompletion provided as an adjective phrase. It is uttered after a TRP and a pause, other-extending and re-occasioning a monoclausal structure. The participants had just discussed the illicit practices of one of their professors at the university, never punished by the authorities. Some of these stories are more or less verified rumors, others become urban myths.

```

01      GIU      *€@son belle          le leggende urbane.
           they are beautiful (the) urban myths
           GIU      *gz. at plate eating----->>
           ANG      €gz. at plate eating----->>
           PIE      @gz. at plate eating-->1.08
02      (0.5)
03      ANG      [bo]:h
           dunno
04      GIO      [si]
           yes
05      ANG      [comunque:.      ]
           anyway
06      GIO      %√[però sono leggende.]%√
           but they are myths
           GIO      %gz. at plate eating---%
           RIN      √gz. at plate eating---√
07      (0.5)
08      → RIN      √€urb@ane.€      @
           urban
           RIN      √gz. at GIO-->1.11
           PIE      ---->@at RIN->@down at plate-->>
09      $%(0.3)#%(0.4)
           GIO      %,,,,,%gz. at RIN-->
           PIE      $smiles----->>
           fig      #fig.1
    
```



fig.1 Piera smiles while gazing down at her plate, Rino and Giorgio gaze at each other

```

10      GIO      [ma dai?      ]%
           really
    
```

	GIO	----->%
11	RIN	[((laughs))]√
	RIN	----->√
	GIO	----->>

This episode follows a few seconds after ex. 5.2.5 where the participants were engaged in the “competing” activities of eating and talking (cf. Rossano, 2012). A few seconds earlier they were discussing the illicit businesses of the professor who, according to a rumor, saved a student from failing their high-school exam and gained protection from a politician. After this Angela had said that some of these rumors are urban myths. At l. 01, Giulio assesses that urban myths are a beautiful thing. Angela expresses her skepticism with an assessing *boh/‘dunno’* (l. 03) disaligning with Giulio and orients instead to change the topic with *comunque/‘anyway’* l. 05 (defined as a ‘topic-shift discourse marker’ by Borreguero Zuloaga, 2018). Giorgio at first seems to align with Giulio by saying *yes* (l. 04), but then, as the rest of the turn unfolds, it becomes clear that this *yes* prefaces a ‘but’ and therefore projects a dispreferred response, or a disagreement (cf. Steensig & Asmuß, 2005). Giorgio other-repairs Giulio’s statement with an *adversative* coordinate clause (introduced by the adversative conjunction *però/‘ma’*) *però sono leggende/‘but they are myths’* (lit. ‘legends’). Giorgio’s turn is grammatically complete (formatted as a main clause), pragmatically complete, as a repair of Giulio’s turn and uttered with final prosody. At this point a pause follows during which all participants are gazing at their plates (l. 07). However, at l. 08 Rino self-selects, gazing now at Giorgio, and other-extends Giorgio’s completed turn with an AdjP, recompleting it. With a smiling voice, Rino adds the adjective that composes the collocation *leggende urbane*, which is heard as integrated with an extension of the preceding NP (and had been uttered by Giulio at l. 01). Giorgio moves his gaze from the plate in front of him to Rino (halfway through l. 08), the two participants sustain mutual gaze while a pause follows, and Piera (who had turned to glance at Rino too at l. 08) smiles. At l. 10, Giorgio, in an expression of sarcastic surprise, reacts to Rino’s recompletion with the question *ma dai?*. Rino laughs. Rino’s phrasal recompletion changes the footing of the episode (see chapter 3), from a negative description of illicit practices to a jocular scene shared among the participants (as shown by Piera’s smile, Rino’s laughter, and Giorgio’s answer). This phrasal candidate contribution is heard as integrated with the host turn since the contributing speaker recycles structures already available in prior turns and provides part

of a fixed expression, *leggende urbane*. In this way, by adding an “expected” lexical item (also as a repetition), Rino ensures the build-up of a comic effect.

When providing a contribution following a pause, contributing speakers can orient to the host turn as a direct grammatical antecedent. They can format their contributions without repeating a complementizer (cf. excerpt 5.2.5) or deploying asyndetic coordination (cf. excerpt 5.2.7). This confirms that pauses in CTs are a systematic phenomenon, which is not treated as a delay. They are, in fact, part of collaborative and not competitive turn-management. The candidate contributions provided in the next section followed immediately a target unit in the host turn, or the ending of it.

5.3 Collaborative contributions provided latched

Adapting Schegloff’s (2007) definition of “next-beat increment” from the same to another speaker’s contribution, this category contains candidate contributions provided latched or immediately after the end of the prior turn without hearable gaps. Contributions provided immediately after the target grammatical unit in the host turn (hence resulting in overlap with the current speaker’s unfolding turn), and contributions provided in transitional overlaps (Jefferson, 1984) with A’s turn are also included. I present my argument through the analysis of eleven cases. I start with a candidate recompletion formatted as an S clause to a clause in the host turn already formatted as subordinated.

Ex. 5.3.1 S to S candidate recompletion - Mi13PRO1-51, 01:02-01:20¹¹⁰

Taken from business meeting II, the following excerpt illustrates a candidate recompletion provided after the end of the host turn. The other-extension is formatted as a subordinate clause coordinated to a subordinate clause in the host turn, occasioning a complex multiclausal structure. Paolo (PAO) and Duilio (DUI) are discussing a business event in which everybody involved earned some money except Duilio.

01	DUI	*%>e meno male< che^ero io. <i>and thank goodness it was me</i>
	PAO	*gazes down-->1.03
	DUI	%gazes at PAO-->1.09
02	DUI	se^era un account, <i>if it had been an account</i>
03		(0.9)*
	PAO	---->*

¹¹⁰ The analysis of this excerpt is included in Calabria & De Stefani (*under review*).

04 PAO *sì quattrogi retail* s[i. eh. lo so.
 yes ((company name)) yes well I know
 PAO *gz. at DUI----->1.06
 05 DUI [se^era un account<
 if it had been an account
 06 vagli a spiegare >che* li hanno guadagnato
 go explain (to) him that there everybody earned
 PAO -->*gazes down----->*gz. at DUI----->
 07 tutti meno che lui.<*<
 something except him
 PAO ----->*<
 08 *(0.8)
 PAO *gz. down-->
 09 PAO sì.*hanno- (.) #•Δha guadagnato%Δ chi ha scritto%Δ la no:ta.
 yes they have- those who wrote the bill have earned something
 PAO -->*gz. at DUI----->1.12
 PAO •spreads both arms and opens hands----->1.14
 DUI ----->%glances sideways%gz. at PAO-->
 DUI Δnods----->Δ
 fig #fig.1

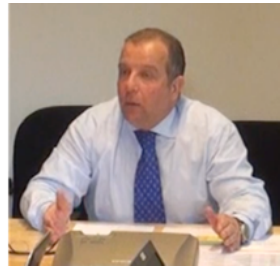


fig.1 Paolo spreads his arms and opens his hands

10 → DUI #e anche >chi è andato in aula.<
 and also those who went to court
 fig #fig.2



fig. 2 Paolo and Duilio sustaining mutual gaze during Duilio's other-extension

11 (0.5)
 12 PAO eh?*<
 huh?<
 PAO -->*<
 13 *(0.7)
 PAO *gz. down-->
 14 PAO e anche *chi^è andato in aula. •
 and also those who went to court
 PAO ----->*gz. at DUI-->1.17
 PAO -----> •
 15 PAO però il tema è (0.4) for[se eh-
 but the subject is maybe uh
 16 DUI [lo ↑so
 I know
 17 che c'ha per*so l'azienda.

PAO *that the company has lost out*
 ----->*gazes down-->>

At l. 1, Duilio articulates a comment about the event they are discussing, while looking at Paolo, who is gazing down in front of himself. With his l. 01 *e meno male che ero io* 'and thank goodness it was me', he already orients to a potential problem that could have emerged during the event they discuss. At l. 02 he continues but leaves his TCU syntactically incomplete while also articulating it with a continuing prosody (*se era una account* 'if it had been an account). L. 02 emerges as an *if*-clause (or protasis) that projects a *then*-clause (apodosis), which is not immediately produced, as the pause at l. 03 shows. Paolo could have produced the apodosis as he takes the turn but actually produces a grammatically unrelated turn by which he claims knowledge of the situation (*lo so* 'I know (it)'; l. 04). In overlap, Duilio, repeats the protasis (l. 04) and then spells out the consequence of the hypothetical situation he is describing (*vagli a spiegare che li hanno guadagnato tutti meno che lui* 'go explain (to) him that there everybody earned something except him'; ll. 05-06). In other words, if an account had been in Duilio's place, it would have been difficult to explain to that person that everybody but him was going to earn something. By doing so, Duilio thus introduces a criticism related to the event (namely, that he did not receive any money for attending it). Subsequently, Paolo asserts that those who earned something were the persons who wrote *la nota* 'the bill' (l. 08), while looking at Duilio. Paolo's turn is grammatically, pragmatically, and prosodically designed as complete. While uttering it, Paolo spreads his arms and open his hands (fig.1). Duilio, who was nodding, during Paolo's turn-in-progress, at the end of it establishes mutual gaze with him (fig. 2).

In this situation, at l. 10, Duilio self-selects and other-extends Paolo's turn with the clausal *e anche*-prefaced other-extension: *e anche chi è andato in aula* 'and also those who went to court'. He formats his TCU as a candidate recompletion (he utters it with final prosody), symbiotic with Paolo's turn, by using a latent grammatical structure, namely the argument structure of the verb *guadagnare* 'to earn' available through previous talk, at l. 08. Whereas Paolo used *chi ha scritto* 'who wrote' (l. 08), Duilio now says *chi è andato* 'who went' (l. 10). According to Italian grammars, these structures are relative clauses headed by the 'double relative pronoun' (Serianni, 1989) *chi*, which is described as combining a demonstrative and a relative component and translates to English as 'those who' or 'the one(s) who'. Although Duilio's candidate recompletion is constructed with a *prima facie*

additive resource *e anche* – and links Duilio’s subordinate clause to the subordinate clause in Paolo’s turn resulting in a multiclausal format – by coordinating his grammar with Paolo’s and by other-expanding Paolo’s words in this way, Duilio depicts them as not fully correct, therefore skillfully disaffiliating with Paolo. The action Duilio accomplishes is not just mentioning a further person who ‘earned something’, but rather introducing a criticism by reporting that contrary to what Paolo claims, not only the person who ‘wrote the bill’ earned money, but also ‘those who went to court’. He thereby depicts an even clearer image of himself as being the only one who did not earn anything during the reported event.

A pause follows at l. 11 and at l. 12 Paolo produces an open class repair initiator (Drew, 1997) while still sustaining mutual gaze with Duilio. The latter does not treat this, however, as inviting self-repair, as the subsequent pause (l. 13) shows, during which Paolo briefly lowers his gaze. He subsequently repeats Duilio’s words at l. 14, thereby ratifying them, while at the same time showing that no problem of understanding was actually at stake. Paolo’s ratification, which comes late, is further evidence that he treats Duilio’s *e anche*-prefaced other-extension as being disaffiliative. Paolo’s continuation with *però* ‘but’ (l. 15) and his shift to a different line of argumentation additionally display the disputatious dimension of the discussion at this point. Moreover, Duilio’s interruption of Paolo’s turn at l. 16 (to stress that he knows the company has lost out), confirms this was not the issue at stake. At l. 17, while Duilio utters his turn, Paolo gazes down.

This excerpt further elucidates three points. First, timing, gaze and grammar are inextricably linked in the unfolding of turns. Paolo and Duilio already engage in mutual gaze prior to Duilio’s self-selection at l. 10, and then through the extension. This enables Duilio to produce his contribution as soon as Paolo finishes his turn by providing a syntactically elaborate extension (in structural symmetry with the host turn). Duilio’s turn is formatted as a subordinate clause, which occasions a multiclausal structure with the subordinate clause in the host turn. This shows that extensions of this kind (when a delicate conflictual dimension is built and the contributing speaker is, in effect, displaying disaffiliation with a co-speaker) are facilitated by sustained mutual gaze (cf. Calabria & De Stefani, *under review*). Second, grammatical resources are deployed exploiting the semantic and pragmatic meaning they carry in and for a specific interaction: a coordinative conjunction can be used to introduce a contrastive action. Third, CTs also emerge when speakers disaffiliate or disagree: one way of managing a conflictual situation is by tying a TCU to the speaker’s turn

to whom the disaffiliation is directed. Reusing the same latent grammar and structure is a way of reusing the co-speakers' words and therefore not overtly going "against" them: collaboration does not necessarily equal agreement, but successful negotiation.

Ex. 5.3.2 S to S candidate completion - Mi13PRO1-44, 17:34-18:03

The following excerpt illustrates a candidate completion provided after the target grammatical unit in co-construction with the host TCU (which ends up in overlap with the co-speaker's TCU). The co-construction is designed as a VP that follows an already subordinate unit and occasions a multiclausal structure. During business meeting I, the participants are discussing the strategies to officially communicate to the press and employees the organizational changes the company is going to soon undertake.

01 ANN €secondo me €i- >vabbè< *il €come vorrei porla,€
in my opinion the- well (the) how I'd like to put it
 PAO *gazes at ANN----->
 ANN €gz. at PAO€at pen in her hands€at PAO----->€

02 €è ovvia€mente •*impo€rtante.
it is obviously important
 PAO -->*gz. down to papers in front of him-->
 PAO •writes notes----->
 ANN €sideways€at PAO---->€gz. down----->1.07

03 ANN perché di nuovo ↑se l'obiettivo è quello:•*di:-
because again if the goal is that of
 PAO ----->*gz. at ANN-->
 PAO ----->•

04 ANN eh*[m:
um
 PAO ->*

05 PAO *[tsk^.h
 PAO *gz. in front of him-->1.07

06 (2.1)

07 ANN ənon €spaventa+re: >cioè,<*€ +
not scaring I mean
 PAO ----->*
 PAO +raises his eyebrows
 while tilting head rx+
 ANN €gz at PAO----->€

08 əopens and closes fingers of both hands----->1.10
 *€əh +avvertire+#€ *spiegare €ma əh:*[come dire in una€€
uh warning explaining but uh how to say in a
 PAO *gz. at ANN----->*gz. down----->*at ANN----->€
 PAO +nods---->+
 ANN €gz. at EZI---->€at PAO---->€up-sideward----->1.10
 fig #fig.1----->1.10

09 → PAO +[ingaggiare.
engaging
 PAO +nods----->

10 ANN &€logica di* <ingaggio>€# esattamente.+
logic of engagement exactly
 PAO -->*gz. down-->
 PAO ----->+

verb phrase *è importante*/'it is important' (l. 02). At l. 03, she starts an account, with *perché*/'because', of the reason why the way they convey the new information is important. *Di nuovo*/'again' refers to something about which they have already talked. The explanation that follows is constructed as an *if*-clause, which emerges over multiple turns, starting at l. 03, with *l'obiettivo è quello di*/'the goal is that of'. This grammatical unit emerges first with a masculine singular determinate article, followed by the noun *l'obiettivo*/'the goal', then the verb *è*/'is' in the 3rd person singular, a demonstrative pronoun *quello*/'that' in gender and number agreement with the noun, and the preposition *di*/'of'. Annina projects more to come, while also hesitating (l. 04) about the unfolding of her explanation, displaying signs of trouble in constructing her turn. A long pause follows at l. 06 (possibly due also to the fact that at l. 05 Paolo opens his mouth and makes a tut-sound¹¹¹, breaths, but does not take the turn, thus Annina goes on with her explanation). At l. 07, Annina repeats twice the negation *non* and adds the VP *spaventare*/'to scare', in the infinitive form. This unit emerges as an implicit complement clause in fulfillment of the grammatical projection of her TCU at l. 03. While she utters the verb, Paolo raises his eyebrows and tilts his head. Annina goes on with the explanation with *cioè*/'I mean'(lit. 'that is') and adds two more items (also as VPs) with the infinitive *avvertire*/'to warn' (at l. 08), on which Paolo nods, followed by another infinitive verb, *spiegare*/'to explain'. While constructing l. 08, she hesitates again with *uh*, she glances sideways, drawing her hands together, opening and closing her fingers in a "grabbing" movement (fig. 1). She utters the lexical expression *come dire*/'how to say' (which potentially indicates a word search), and at this point, Paolo overlaps (l. 09) and co-constructs Annina's TCU. He adds the item that Annina was searching for, the contrasting positive goal. He provides Annina with a candidate completion, as his TCU is uttered fulfilling both Annina's grammatical and interactional projection. Paolo's TCU is an infinitive verb phrase, in agreement with the latent structure opened by Annina at l. 03, coordinated to a series of already subordinate clauses in Annina's turn (in structural symmetry): and, hence, it results in a complex multiclausal structure (starting with Annina's *if*-clause in l. 03). Paolo times his candidate completion to follow the grammatical unit it is completing in co-construction: his TCU is heard as the positive

¹¹¹ The dental laminal click // in IPA.

item that contrasts to the negative preceding series, in fulfillment of Annina's interactional projection. Moreover, the TCU is uttered with final intonation. Paolo is orienting to Annina's opinion as something he understands, and about which he has knowledge as it concerns him directly, but also as something concerning a common issue for all of them. He is also orienting to the hesitation as something to contribute to, a potential word search, as the gaze addressee of Annina, but also the person who will deliver the news. Annina ratifies Paolo's candidate completion by uttering a lexical item that is the noun of the verb *ingaggiare*, *ingaggio*'engagement', and also by explicitly agreeing with Paolo's candidate with *esattamente*'exactly' (l. 09). The first part of the explanation is now complete, as she displays by withdrawing her gaze. Indeed, at l. 11, she transition with *allora*'then' (cf. Bazzanella & Borreguero Zuloaga, 2011) to the second part of the explanation. While concluding, Annina says that *il tono*'the tone', which she self-repairs to *la progressione*'the progression', of how Paolo is going to deliver the news is evident. Paolo starts smiling at l. 13 and tilts his head (l. 14, fig. 2), in agreement with her.

To sum up, by deploying a candidate completion, Paolo displays his understanding of Annina's explanation, while also effectively supporting Annina's talk, composed of a multi-unit turn uttered with many hesitations, contributing to her list making. He also shows his direct knowledge of the topic, the "knowing that" and "knowing how" (cf. Arminen et al., 2021), without stating it directly, which could be perceived as confrontational. He orients to a collaborative progression of Annina's talk, self-selecting only to add an item and letting Annina continue her talk. He does so in both grammatical and interactional fulfilment of Annina's projection, deploying a VP that is integrated syntactically and pragmatically with her turn.

Ex. 5.3.3 S to S candidate continuation - Mi13PRO1-50, 17:32-18:06¹¹²

The final candidate contribution, a co-constructing continuation, is taken from business meeting II. A speaker provides a subordinate clause latched to an already complex multiclausal structure in the host turn. Paolo (PAO) is explaining how to use and manage the company's new communication platform for Customer Relationship Management (or CRM) and declares that someone has to be in charge of it.

¹¹² The analysis of this excerpt is included in Calabria & De Stefani (*under review*).

Collaborative Grammar

01 PAO @.h @*che qualcuno (.) uno strumento come gl-
however that someone should take charge of a
 PAO *gazes at his hands down in front of him-->1.02
 MAR @gz. down at sheets of paper on the table-->1.03
 MAR @writes----->1.03

02 ilə:: il cierremme*.hh *lo debba prendere in carico, (.)
tool like the CRM

03 PAO ----->*,,,,*gz. at ANN----->
 e gestirselo cioè (.) #*alimen↑tarlo* @.h @da una parte
and manage it that is feed it on the one side
 PAO ----->*gz. left at side-->
 MAR ----->@gz. at PAO->1.07
 MAR ----->®
 PAO •moves open hands with parallel arms from lx to rx in stages->
 fig #fig.1

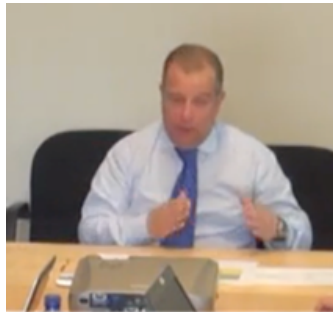


fig.1 Paolo gestures with open parallel hands, stage 1: “alimentarlo da una parte”

04 (.) #*pulirlo #e manutenerlo dall'altra, •=
clean it and maintain it on the other
 PAO --->*gz. at ANN----->1.05
 PAO ----->•



fig.2 Paolo gestures with open parallel hands, stage 2: “pulirlo”



fig.3 Paolo gestures with open parallel hands, stage 3: “e manutenerlo dall'altra”

fig #fig.2 #fig.3
 05 → MAR *=Se# farci le analisi sopra [anche §(° °)
and perform the analyses on it too
 PAO *gz. at MAR----->1.06
 MAR §tilts his head slightly shrugging§

fig

#fig.4



fig. 4 Paolo and Mario sustaining mutual gaze during Mario's candidate contribution

06 PAO *[e farci le analisi sopra,*
and make the analyses on it
PAO -->*gz. right down----->*

07 (0.2) *è @(.) assolutamente necessario.
is absolutely necessary
PAO *gz. at ANN----->>
MAR -->@gz. down at his hands-->>

Paolo is holding the floor from the beginning of the excerpt and is engaged in a multi-unit project (cf. Selting, 2000: 508). His turn starts with a subordinate clause (*che qualcuno* 'that someone'; l. 01), which continues until l. 04, and projects that at some point Paolo will produce a main clause – as he indeed does at l. 07. Paolo is saying that 'someone' will have to 'take charge' (l. 02) of the communication platform, and 'manage' it. This means, as he explains with *cioè* 'that is', *alimentarlo* 'feed it' (l. 03), and also *pulirlo* 'clean it' and *manutenerlo* 'maintain it' (l. 04). He orients to a step-by-step explanation: while uttering his turn (ll. 03-04), he gestures with his arms in parallel position with open hands, moving them in three steps from left to right (from Mario to Annina and Duilio), one step for each verb (figg. 1-3), depicting 'on the one side' (l. 03) and 'on the other' (l. 04). The grammatical formatting of Paolo's subordinate clause suggests it is complete at the end of l. 04, both grammatically and pragmatically: indeed, he has used a bipartite figure of speech (*da una parte* 'on the one side – *dall'altra* 'on the other') to talk about what the person in charge of the communication platform will have to do. However, prosodically, his turn-in-progress is clearly projective, as the continuing prosody on *altra* 'other' shows. Crucially, while he produces these words he turns his head toward the area where Mario is sitting. Mario, who at the beginning of the excerpt was writing and had stopped to gaze at Paolo at l. 03, now seizes the opportunity to catch Paolo's eye just as the latter turns his head toward him. In other words, he manages

to establish mutual gaze with Paolo at the moment in which he self-selects (fig. 4). He does so with an e-prefaced other-extension that ends with the item *anche* (l. 05, as in excerpt 5.3.1). By self-selecting at this moment, immediately after Paolo's turn, Mario skillfully exploits the contingencies of the moment and extends Paolo's turn with an implicit complement clause (with the infinite verb form, *farci*'to make (of it)'; l. 06). Through the use of the conjunction *e*'and', Mario grammatically links his words to Paolo's immediately preceding talk, and in structural symmetry with the already complex syntactic structure, provides another verb at the infinitive (occasioning a hypotactic clause combination and multiclausal structure), adding it to the list of things to do that Paolo was building, and making sure, in this way, to be heard as co-constructing it with him. Namely, Mario's TCU is a candidate continuation, formatted as the next possible item, and projecting more to come.

More specifically, Mario exploits a latent grammatical structure made available by Paolo with the words *che qualcuno debba*'that someone should' (ll. 01-02), hence formatting his candidate continuation as dependent on the verb *debba* (3rd person singular subjunctive of *dovere*'to have to'). Paolo's multiunit turn emerged already as a subordinate clause constructed around the verb *dovere* 'to have to', on which a series of implicit complement clauses are dependent, and these are produced first by Paolo and then co-constructed by Mario. At first glance, Mario's action appears to display affiliation with Paolo's talk – and Paolo's ratification at l. 06 seems to corroborate this interpretation. However, Mario is not just adding a further item to the tasks Paolo is mentioning. Rather, he presents that item as 'missing' in Paolo's enumeration. This is also shown by Paolo tilting his head right and slightly shrugging (as observed in other excerpts too, in my data shrugging seems often associated with 'obvious' statements, or the display of a speaker's stance toward something as 'obvious'). Indeed, rather than just ratifying the extensions, Paolo integrates Mario's words in his ongoing turn, as a parenthetical (l. 06), just before producing the projected main clause of his construction *è assolutamente necessario*'it is absolutely necessary' at l. 07. Mario hence conveys a slight criticism about an item that he deemed relevant, but that Paolo had missed out.

Collaborating in the co-construction of a grammatical trajectory and an activity does not always equal displaying affiliation and support. Co-participants' grammatical structures are exploited to change the footing and to disalign by treating explanations as

missing some important elements (cf. Bolden, 2010). By only self-selecting when Paolo's multi-unit turn could come to an end and he turns his body toward Mario, Mario orients not to completing the explanation with or for Paolo, but to expanding it (cf. Calabria & De Stefani *under review*), by adding what is missing before it is too late.

Ex. 5.3.4 S to M candidate recompletion - Mi13DIN2-42, 18:38-18:51¹¹³

In this excerpt from the dinner, a candidate recompletion is provided after the end of the prior turn, exploiting latent grammar in the host turn. The grammatical unit on which the other extension depends is a main clause followed by other subordinate clauses already forming a multiclausal *periodo*. By providing an additional subordinate clause (S to M), using the same resources as the prior speaker, the contributing speaker is heard to join voices. Giorgio (GIO), who is a primary school teacher, is explaining how he instructed his pupils to behave during lunch at school.

```

01      GIO      %€α>io      gli      €chiedo<      di mettere a posto il tavolo,
I.PRO.1SG.SBJ him.PRO.3SG.M.IOBJ ask.PRES.IND.1SG of.COMP clear.INF
I ask      them      to clear      the table
      GIO      %gazes at PIE----->1.03
      GIO      αrolling a cigarette with both hands----->>
      ANG      €.....€gazes at GIO----->1.03
02      di      non sbriciolare per terra, e di      non rovesciare l'acqua.
of.COMP NEG drop crumbs.INF and.CNJ of.COMP NEG spill.INF
to not drop crumbs on the floor and to not spill water
03 →    ANG      ((mimics low-pitched voice)) %di      non €%buttar via      il cibo.
of.COMP NEG throw away.INF
to not throw away      the food.
      GIO      %gz. at ANG%down at cigarette
in his hands->1.07
      ANG      ----->€gz. sideways----->
04      GIO      +e      di      €non-+ .h
and.CNJ of.COMP NEG
and to not
      GIO      +nods----->+
      ANG      ----->€gz. at GIO-->
05      GIO      min€ch[ia €quando€vedo il cibo &su(1)-
fuck      when I see (the) food on the-
      ANG      -->€at RIN€at PIE€at GIO----->
06      ANG      [((laughs))
07      GIO      ma↑dò:::€ (.) %lì m'incazzo (.) lì m'incazzo.
shit      then I get mad then I get mad
      GIO      ----->%gazes at ANG----->>
      ANG      ----->€down----->>

```

¹¹³ Analyses of this excerpt are included in Calabria & De Stefani (2020); and in Calabria (*under review*).

At l. 01, Giorgio's explanation unfolds: he utters the main clause *io gli chiedo* 'I ask them' with an overt subject, the 1st person singular personal pronoun, followed by the object *gli*/lit. 'to him'. The pronoun is grammatically in the masculine singular form, but this is used in spoken informal Italian as the generalized clitic for the indirect object for both feminine and masculine and for plural and singular referents (cf. Inglese, 2002). Giorgio utters the verb *chiedo* in the present indicative, followed by the preposition and complementizer *di* 'of', which projects the format *interrogativa indiretta* (cf. Fava, 2001 and Robustelli, 2010). An 'indirect interrogative', in Italian, is a type of implicit complement clause. Giorgio follows this up with a first complement clause 'to clear the table', projecting more to come. At l. 02 he adds a second element, as a negative complement clause 'to not drop crumbs', followed by a third element 'to not spill water'. A complete list of the instructions that Giorgio gives to his pupils emerges. Specifically, the complement-taking verb *chiedo* followed by *di* is a grammatical structure that allows him to build a tripartite list (cf. Jefferson, 1990), the last element of which is recognizable through the use of the conjunction *e* 'and'. His turn is a multiclausal *periodo*, both pragmatically and prosodically complete at l. 02. While uttering his turn, Giorgio gazes at Piera and rolls a cigarette. The syntactic resources that Giorgio uses, the argument structure of the verb + the complementizer, remain available, or structurally latent (Auer, 2014) for the interactive purposes of other participants, too. Indeed, Angela at l. 03 self-selects and adds an additional element to the list, using the same resource as Giorgio, i.e., an implicit subordinate complement clause introduced by *di* and *non*: not to throw away the food. She also mimics a low-pitched voice, as she is reporting another of Giorgio's instructions, while doing being Giorgio. Her contribution depends on the verb *chiedere*, but by providing it at the end of Giorgio's turn she can be heard as recompleting it and therefore joining "his voice" (see chapter 6). Giorgio turns to gaze at Angela and then turns to his cigarette, while Angela gazes sideways (till l. 04). At l. 04 Giorgio begins integrating Angela's fourth element in his turn, starting a recompletion of his own list with *e di non* 'and to not' and nods. This shows that he treats Angela's turn as integrated with his. He then suspends his talk and orients at l. 05 to the item Angela has added, the food waste, as something he has a negative stance about (as shown by his swearword *minchia*, cf. Calabria & Sciubba, 2022). Angela affiliates by laughing at l. 06, and at l. 07 Giorgio explicitly states that the waste of food makes him mad (*lì mi incazzo* 'there/then

I get mad'). Giorgio's orientation to Angela's fourth item on the list as something assessable is also evidence of the relevance of her contribution.

Angela's other-extension – formatted using the same resources and format as Giorgio – is provided immediately after his complete turn, so that she can renegotiate the opening of a potentially closed activity. With a candidate recompletion, a speaker can reopen a closed episode: integrating a contribution with what precedes is useful for the contributing speaker to bring the prior speaker on board.

Ex. 5.3.5 S to M candidate completion - Mi13DIN2-42, 06:28-06:44

The next excerpt, from the dinner, shows a subversive candidate completion provided as a complement clause embedded in the main clause in the host turn, occasioning a multiclausal structure. The friends are discussing one of Angela's (ANG) professors, who is known for illicit business (cf. excerpt 5.2.5)¹¹⁴.

01	ANG	€%ma tra l'altro €di mantovani girava sta leggenda,€ go around.PAST.PST.IPFV.IND.3SG this-legend.PRODEM-N.SBJ.F.SG among other things about Mantovani there was this legend
	ANG	€gazes at RIN---->€at GIO----->€
	GIO	%gazes at plate in front of him----->1.05
02		€che poi era €vera. .h which was then true
	ANG	€gz. down at plate€at RIN-->1.05
03	ANG	che lu:i= that.COMP he.PRO.M.3SG.SBJ that he
04	→ GIO	=è frocio.= to be.PRES.IND.3SG.COP fagot.ADJ is (a) fagot
05	ANG	=#€ehm ə€:: ə\$interro€gava le\$perso:ne, interrogate.PAST.PST.IPFV.IND.3SG um he would examine people
	ANG	€at GIO€closes eye-->€at RIN----->>
	ANG	\$smiles----->\$
	ANG	əpoints finger of lx hand at GIOə
	GIO	----->>

¹¹⁴ Readers should also be aware that this excerpt includes a homophobic slur.

fig #fig.1



fig.1 Angela smiles, points her left index finger at Giorgio and closes her eyes

With *among other things*, at l. 01, Angela projects she is going to add another rumor (*leggenda*/'legend') to the others they have been discussing so far about this professor, Mantovani. She first frames it as a rumor at l. 01, but at l. 02 she utters a retrospective insertion (cf. Auer, 2009a) with the relative clause: *che poi era vera*/'which was then true', to reframe what she is going to say as a true story. She goes on at l. 03 with the complementizer *that* in dependence on l. 01 *girava sta leggenda*, and the pronoun *him*, referring to the professor. She gazes first at Rino, then at Giorgio, and then at Rino again, while they keep their gaze on their plates from which they are eating. At l. 04, Giorgio self-selects in latching with Angela's TCU. While still gazing down, he fulfills Angela's projection with the words *è frocio*, a subversive candidate completion (cf. Bolden et al., 2019). He provides a subordinate embedded clause (occasioning a multiclausal structure), drawing on the complementizer in Angela's host turn. His turn is formatted as a copular clause (cf. Mikkelsen, 2005 and Panunzi, 2010 for Italian) formed by the copula verb *è/is* (the auxiliary 'to be') followed by the adjective *frocio* (which in Italian is called *predicato nominale*, 'nominal predicate') This VP is clearly referring to the subject, *lui*, i.e., the professor (the noun and adjective *frocio* agrees morphologically with a masculine, singular referent).

A contribution uttered after a prior TCU (either following a pause or latched to it) that is left incomplete can be uttered drawing directly on the resources available in the host turn without repeating them. But although Giorgio formats his TCU as a completion, and fulfills a grammatical trajectory, his contribution is not the interactional fulfilment of Angela's projection, but rather a joke, a subversive completion:


```

                                the-possibility.ART-N.F.S of.COMP click.INF
MAR      @at PAO----->@down----->@at PAO->1.09
PAO      *gazes at MAR----->1.08
08  → PAO      • [clik#+ca:re;,*
                click.INF
                clicking
                ----->*
                +nods->1.09
                •moves fingers of
                lx hand side to side•
                #fig.1
PAO
PAO
PAO
fig

```

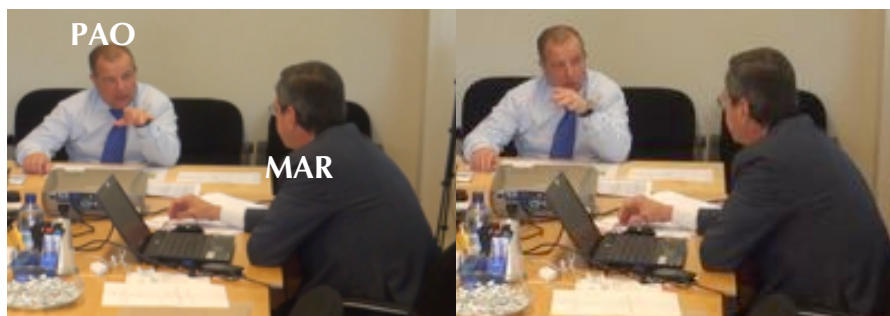


fig.1 Paolo gazes at Mario, nods and moves his hand with open fingers from left to right

```

09  MAR      &e di mandare @il coupon,+
                and to send the coupon
MAR      ----->@at ANN-->
PAO      ----->+
10  >e @quindi avere delle informazioni aggiuntive.<
                and therefore to have additional information
MAR      -->@down----->>

```

Mario has just introduced the next topic on the agenda: the website. He immediately starts his explanation with the demonstrative *questo* 'this', which refers to the specific website he is talking about and the one he is looking at on his screen. He announces at II. 01-02 that the website has been designed for new clients. After a small pause, he extends his talk at I. 04 building a multi-unit turn in which he is going to provide evidence (with the *locuzione congiuntiva* conjunctive phrase *tanto è vero che* 'so much so that'). At II. 04-05 Mario continues with the main clause 'all the pages of the main menu end with the possibility of'. At this point Mario gazes at Paolo, who sustains mutual gaze, and together in overlap they both utter the possible continuation projected by *la possibilità di* 'the possibility of', the VP *clicare* 'clicking', which emerges as a subordinate implicit complement clause. Paolo nods and performs the act of clicking by moving his fingers left to right as on a keyboard. Paolo displays he has perfectly understood Mario: he provides, immediately after the complementizer *di* 'di', the infinitive verb, which fulfils Mario's grammatical projection. But Paolo utters his turn with continuative prosody, as a candidate continuation. Although candidate continuations are not formatted as completing the

ANN points with palm-up hand at screen
 fig #fig.1



fig.1 Annina points with her open hand with palm-up to the screen in front of her

09 ANN €[ce l'ho qua davanti.]€
 that I have here in front (of me)
 ANN €at MAR----->€gz. at screen->>
 10 MAR [del tutto \$di]scordante.\$
 completely discordant
 ANN \$nods----->\$
 ANN moves forward palm-up hand->>

The excerpt starts with Mario announcing the topic, gazing at Paolo as main gaze recipient (ll. 01-02): their external digital platform. At l. 03, he first uses the 1st personal pronoun *io/I'* and starts a TCU that he abandons and self-repairs with a temporal subordinate clause introduced by *quando/when* and the verb *andiamo/we go*, this time in the 1st person plural. At l. 04, Mario utters what emerges as a temporal clause introduced by *quando/when*, with continuative prosody. As part of a compound TCU, this structure projects the main *then*-clause. Indeed, latched to l. 04, in l. 05 Annina, who was gazing at Mario monitoring him from the beginning of his TCU, self-selects and provides the verb of the main clause: *otteniamo/we obtain*. This is formatted in the 1st person plural as well, matching the grammar of Mario's host TCU and – as also shown by Mario's turn at l. 06 in overlap *siamo/we are* – fulfilling the expected grammatical projection. At l. 07 a pause occurs, and Annina then continues to talk (l. 08). During the pause Mario shakes his head. But Annina continues and completes both Mario's and her prior TCUs by uttering the object of the verb *una cosa del tutto discordante/a completely discordant thing*'. While uttering *discordante* she points to the screen with her hand (fig. 1) and then says she sees it on her screen too. At l. 10, Mario ratifies her contribution by repeating Annina's candidate completion and Annina nods and moves her palm-up hand forward in a gesture that indexes obviousness (cf. Müller, 2004).

To sum up, Mario launches an explanation with *when* and the collective 1st person singular. Immediately in latching after the end of Mario's temporal clause, Annina attaches

what emerges as the verb of the main clause. However, in doing so she seems at first to interrupt Mario and to compete with him for the floor. They both indeed stop talking as shown by the pause that follows at l. 07. However, at l. 08 she can indeed go on with her turn, claiming firsthand knowledge of what she is saying, by showing she has the issue in front of her eyes (l. 10). In this way she is actually bringing evidence for Mario's claims, showing that she is collaborating with him. Indeed, at l. 10, Mario accepts Annina's candidate completion, repeats it, and then goes on about other issues with the platform.

This analysis demonstrates how, by monitoring a co-participant's turn, another co-participant can exploit the timing and latent grammar in prior turns for "their advantage". Orienting to candidate completions in co-construction is an effective way to co-construct part of an explanation, to suggest potential upcoming issues that need to be addressed, or to support a co-participant's claim by joining their voice

Ex. 5.3.8 M to M candidate recompletion - Mi13PRO2FULL, 03:07:54-03:08:03

The following excerpt, also from business meeting II, presents a candidate recompletion provided after a TRP. It is formatted as a main clause in syndetic coordination with the main clause in the host turn, occasioning a multiclausal structure. Mario (MAR) and Annina (ANN) are in charge of organizing the company's anniversary party. Mario is drawing on a flip chart the plan of a location they visited. Together with Annina, he explains what the place looks like and some potential issues.

01 ANN *€#sono le rimasugli della ristrutturazione,
they are the remnants of the renovation
 PAO *gazes at MAR drawing on a flip chart-->1.03
 ANN €gazes at MAR drawing on a flip chart->1.03
 fig #fig.1



fig.1 Annina and Paolo gaze at Mario while he draws on a flip chart

02 che poi lui ha buttato lì tanto la neve le aveva cope:rte.
that then he threw there since the snow had covered them

03 ANN e €quindi (.) *durante l' inverno +non si vedeva niente+
 and so during the winter you couldn't see anything
 PAO +nods----->+
 PAO ----->*at ANN----->>
 ANN ->€----->at PAO----->1.06
 04 >assolutamente.=<
 absolutely
 05 → PAO =+e @adesso +si vedono # \$però.
 and now you can see them though
 PAO +tilts head+
 ANN \$opens mouth with
 lips forward, tilts head-->>
 ANN əbrings forward rx
 open hand-->>
 MAR @gz. at PAO-->>
 fig #fig.2



fig.2 Annina tilts her head, opens her mouth, and brings forward her open right hand

06 MAR €sì.
 yes
 ANN €sideways-->>

While looking at Mario who is drawing on a flip chart (fig. 1), Annina explains to Paolo their main issue with the location: first at ll. 01-02 she says that due to some renovation work, some remnants have been left, and the owner (*lui*/'he') had thrown them in front of the main entrance as snow was covering them. At l. 03 she adds that during winter nothing was visible and starts gazing at Paolo. While she utters *durante*/'during' (l.03), Paolo turns to gaze at her too and they sustain mutual gaze. As soon as Annina's turn is recompleted at l. 04, Paolo tilts his head and other-extends Annina's turn adding a candidate recompletion with the syndetic coordination *e*/'and', contrasting *durante l'inverno*/'during winter' with *adesso*/'now' and reusing the verb *vedere*/'to see' in 3rd person plural referring to *rimasugli*/'remnants', the plural subject of Annina's turn. In response, Annina tilts her head, opens her mouth, and brings forward her open right hand (fig. 2), orienting with her body to something obvious, thus ratifying Paolo's recompletion. In the meantime, Mario responds for the party (Annina and Mario are the ones who have seen the location), by confirming Paolo's TCU with *sì*/'yes'. Paolo had

already nodded at l. 03 when Annina had uttered *non si vedeva niente*/'you could not see anything' using the past tense (back in winter), displaying his understanding of the projected interactional trajectory of her turn. He takes the opportunity to claim his understanding of the issue: now the remnants are visible. He does so by using latent grammar and connecting his TCU with an overt syndetic resource, since it comes after a TRP.

In a business meeting, where participants orient to progress the topics in the agenda and to solve the practical issues that arise from their discussion (they orient to take action and not only to affiliate; cf. Calabria & Sciubba, 2022), demonstrating understanding enables the discussion to move forward. Paolo's (who is the main recipient of this communication) claim of understanding allows Annina and Mario to go on with their report. Building a CT, they all collaboratively orient to the progressivity of the discussion.

Ex. 5.3.9 M to M candidate completion - Mi13DIN2-43, 12:04-12:18¹¹⁵

This excerpt, from the dinner, presents a candidate completion provided as a quote (in direct reported speech). The overall grammatical structure emerges as a multiclausal paratactic combination of two main clauses. The friends are talking about tutoring school students while being university students themselves. Previously, Giorgio (GIO) said that when his pupils are studying the same subject in school as he is studying at university, it is easier to prepare the lesson, as he can use his notes, as he exemplifies (ll. 01–02).

01	GIO	dai >l'altra volta son andato lì e	gli ho<
		<i>c'mon the other time I went there and to him/her</i>	
02		ripetuto^il mio esame di storia contemporanea. .hα	
		<i>I repeated my exam of contemporary history</i>	
		exam.N.M.SG	
	ANG		€gz. at GIO->1.09
03	GIO	mi fa	↑eh >dovrei fare la rivoluzione russa.<
		<i>s/he goes uh I should do the Russian Revolution</i>	
04	GIO	#α°appò.	αho tirato fuori gli app[unti e&
		<i>alright I pulled out the notes and</i>	pull.RECPAST.IND.1SG out.PREP
	GIO	αsweeps lx hand lxαmimics taking smth w. both hand	
	fig	#fig.1----->1.11	
05	PIE		[((laughs))
06	GIO	&[il libro, α#	
		<i>the book</i>	
	GIO	from right to tableα	
	fig	----->#	

¹¹⁵ The analysis of this excerpt is included in Calabria (*in preparation*).

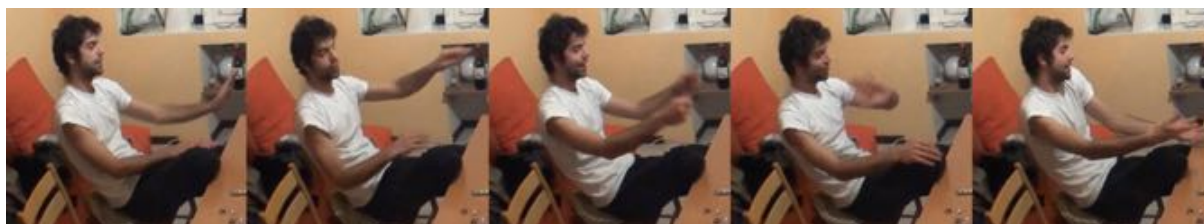


fig.1 Giorgio sweeps his left hand from right to left, then mimics taking something with both hands from the table, holding a book and showing it in front of him

07 ANG [((laughs))
 08 GIO #α[CI PENSO IO:.
 to-it.PRO.DEM think.PRS.IND.1SG PRO.1SG.SBJ
 I (will) handle it
 GIO αsweeps lx hand from rx to lx-->l.11
 09 → ANG €[lo so tu:tto.€
 it.PRO.OBJ.M.3SG know.PRS. IN D.1SG all. PRO.INDEF
 I know it all
 ANG €gz. at RIN/in front of her----->€
 10 GIO €[ci penso io.
 I (will) handle it
 ANG €gz. at GIO-->>
 11 ANG [((laughs))α
 GIO ----->α
 12 GIO αminchia αleggevo le cose di αstoria
 fuck I was reading the stuff from history
 GIO αtaps lx hand on tableαmimics turning pages-----αopens
 13 contemporanea, gli dicevoα delle cose che. .hα
 contemporary I was telling him/her such things that
 GIO hands palms up-----αspreads arms upward in circleα

At ll. 01-02, Giorgio announces his example before expanding on it in l. 03: *il mio esame di storia contemporanea* 'my exam of contemporary history'. *li* 'there', refers to the student's home, while the content of his contemporary history exam is 'the Russian Revolution' (l. 03). At l. 03, he starts "staging" (Yule & Mathis, 1992) his discussion with the student, verbally and with his body conduct. By introducing it with the quotative verb *fare*/lit. 'to do', 'to go' (for *to say*; cf. Buchstaller, 2001; and Fiedler, Calabria & Polak-Yitzhaki, *in preparation*), Giorgio first reports what the student says, with high pitch on \uparrow *eh*. While this is uttered as a rush-trough, it has the same intonation contour of the quotative. At l. 04, he utters a further TCU, explaining both verbally and by re-enacting it with his body that he used his university notes, mimicking the action of taking a book out of something and positioning his body as 'ready' to start (straightening his shoulders and tilting his head slightly forward, fig. 1). This display is treated as laughable first by Piera (l. 05) and then by Angela (l. 07). At l. 06, while mentioning the book, Giorgio gestures putting the book on the table: his turn is projective – as the continuative prosody

shows –, but there are no grammatical or pragmatic clues in his turn about what could come next. At l. 08 he produces what is recognizable as a quote, *ci penso io*/'I (will) handle it'. This is uttered in the present tense, with the deictic personal pronoun in 1st person singular, *io*, and delivered with high volume and lengthening of the last syllable, in concomitance with a swiping hand gesture from right to left. In the meantime, at l. 09 in overlap, Angela anticipates that what might be produced after l. 06 could be a quote, and utters in co-construction a candidate completion quote: *lo so tu:tto*/'I know it all', also in present tense. The clitic pronoun *lo*/'it' refers possibly to *esame*/'exam' (l. 02), with which it agrees in number and gender (masculine singular). The quote, as part of DRS, emerges as a main clause. After gazing at Giorgio already from l. 02 on, and laughing at l. 07, Angela self-selects at l. 09, immediately after Giorgio's turn at l. 06, which results in an overlap with Giorgio's turn continuation at l. 08. She reports what Giorgio might have said, thus showing her possible understanding of the telling, while also demonstrating her engagement. Giorgio's deployment of reported speech confirms Angela's understanding of his interactional trajectory. However, Angela's collaborative reported speech is not overtly ratified, possibly as it is uttered in overlap, which may make it less clearly hearable, considering that Giorgio deploys louder volume in l. 08. At l. 10, while Angela laughs again in overlap, Giorgio repeats his quote in the clear, going back to his telling (ll. 12-13), with verbs in the imperfective tense: *leggevo*/'I was reading', and *gli dicevo*/'I was telling him/her'.

The fact that Giorgio projects DRS, at l. 06, can only be seen retrospectively, in lack of a quotative frame. In this sense, Angela's completion does not fulfill any forward-oriented grammatical projection. She fulfils, retrospectively, Giorgio's interactional projection. As shown by her laughter (ll. 07 and 11), Angela affiliates with Giorgio, while also aligning with him in the activity of quoting. Angela's display of participation is negotiated and emerges incrementally throughout Giorgio's story, by means of different interactional resources. This excerpt shows, then, how in multiperson interaction, providing a candidate contribution, joining the original teller's voice, is an effective way to display being openly engaged in the story (cf. Calabria, *in preparation*).

Ex. 5.3.10 M to M candidate continuation - Mi13DIN2-44, 05:44-06:01

In this excerpt from the dinner, a candidate continuation formatted as a main clause is provided in co-construction with an other-extension, which was already unfolding as a combination of two clauses. The complex multiclausal structure emerges as constructed dialogue. Rino (RIN) tells the story of how he was able to get a better grade in Ancient Greek by copying. When his professor started enquiring about it, Rino did not want to answer yet, since he still has another year of school to go (l. 01).

```

01    RIN    √*€@°fac↓cio° (.) ↑manca ancora un altro anno
        I go          there's still one more year left
        RIN    √gazes on the side----->1.03
        GIU    *at RIN---->1.04
        ANG    €at RIN---->1.04
        PIE    @at RIN---->1.04
02    ne riparliamo l'anno prossimo.
        we'll talk about it next year
03    ALL    #((laughs))√
        RIN    ----->√closes his eyes-->1.10
        fig    #fig. 1
    
```



fig.1 Angela, Giulio and Piera laugh looking at Rino who gazes sideways

```

04    PIE    ↑£@€quando sarò^[in* unive@rsità #∞la verrò a tro@vare∞↑e,£
        when I will be at university I will come to visit you
        RIN    ∞tilts head toward PIE
        ∞rubbing closed eyes∞
        GIU    ----->*at PIE----->1.06
        PIE    ->@gz. down----->@at RIN----->@down-1.06
        ANG    -->€gz. down at smth in her hands----->>
        fig.    #fig.2
    
```



fig.2 Rino turns and tilts his head toward Piera rubbing his closed eyes

```

05    RIN    [£esatt (o)£ ((laughs))
        exactly
06    → GIU    e le con√fesserò @[tutti:- ]
        and I will confess to each one of
    
```



```

RIN      ----->√at GIU----->>
PIE      ----->@at GIU----->>
07  RIN      [eh:˘e le] [confesserò]&
          uh and I'll confess to you
08  PIE      [esa:tto. ]
          exactly
09  RIN      &[tu:tto.
          everything
10  GIU      *•[i miei più zozzi segreti.
          my dirtiest secrets
          GIU      *gz. down in front of him
          GIU      •leans forward from chair toward table
          and adjusts chair-->>

```

At lines 01-02, Rino reports his reply to the professor's suspicious questions, using reported speech: since one more year of school is left, he cannot talk about his strategy yet. At this point, all the participants are looking at Rino in a choral orientation (cf. Lerner, 2002). He had already caught their attention by staging the entire conversation (with the quotative verb *fare*, cf. excerpt 5.3.9, to switch between his own voice and the professor's voice). While reporting the dialogue Rino is gazing away to the side, to a segment of space that belongs to the 'there' of the story (cf. Calaresu, 2000), where his interlocutor in the story (the professor) 'is'. He is not returning the gaze of his co-participants who are present in the 'here' of the interaction and are indeed the recipients of the story but not the direct addressees of his talk (the whole story is told as reported speech). Aligning with Rino, and demonstrating participation in the story, at line 04 Piera starts a new TCU linked with Rino's story as she speaks in the 1st person singular doing being Rino, and continues constructing a fictitious dialogue, namely Rino's further response to the professor. Her turn emerges as a bipartite structure: first she utters a temporal *when*-clause, and then the main clause *la*¹¹⁶ *verrà a trovare*. She, then, utters in high pitched *e//and'* projecting, but also leaving to the inference of others (as she does not carry on) how Rino would possibly continue. At l. 05, Rino laughs and ratifies Piera's dialogue, tilting his head toward her. At this point, at l. 06, Giulio, who was gazing at Piera during her turn, self-selects, repeats *e//and'* in syndetic coordination and continues Rino's possible response. His TCU, which is left grammatically incomplete (*tutti//every'* projects a plural noun) and uttered with projective prosody, emerges as a candidate continuation. Both Rino, as the original teller, at l.07, and Piera, as the co-constructing party, at l. 08 ratify Giulio's TCU: Rino partially repeats Giulio's turn (ll. 07-09) and completes it, Piera

¹¹⁶ The feminine, 3rd person singular, pronoun *la*, is used in Italian as the form of courtesy.

confirms Giulio's interpretation of her projective continuation, with *esatto*/'exactly'. However, at l. 10 Giulio completes his TCU, by adding a teasing element, i.e., the implication that Rino has dirty secrets (confirmed by Rino himself later). In this excerpt, the timing of the contributions (that come immediately after the prior turn) is crucial for main clauses to be heard as integrated with the host turn.

This excerpt, like the prior one, shows that in order to demonstrate participation and build together the tone of a story, participants listening to a story can begin narrating it too and can build "constructed dialogues" impersonating the original teller (cf. Cantarutti, 2020). As noticed by Goodwin & Heritage (1990: 300): "Respondents, for their part, may engage in complex co-narration with figures cited in the story, answering the charges against them." Collaborative turns are often a practice oriented to in the co-construction of these reports, occasioning CRS (Calabria, *in preparation*). Reusing the available grammar and words of the original teller, co-participants build reported speech being heard literally and metaphorically as joining and enhancing the teller's voice (cf. Luke, 2021). Moreover, multiple participants can join voices by means of candidate contributions, occasioning a CT. Rino, Piera and Giulio construct together the 'tone' of the story, in a joined narrating voice, building a shared jocular dimension. Co-constructing in multiperson interactions transforms the participation framework from multiple voices to one.

Ex. 5.3.11 Candidate completion(s) - Mi13DIN2-44, 19:33-19:59

This last excerpt is also taken from the dinner and illustrates two candidate completions that occasion monoclausal structures with prior incomplete TCUs. One is designed as a PP after a pause; the other as a VP following the subject in the host turn. One of Giulio's (GIU) two roommates is leaving. Only Dodi will now share the apartment with Giulio.

01	ANG	€√\$.h ma sarai praticamente,€ <i>but you'll be basically</i>
	ANG	€gazes at spoon in her hands€
	ANG	\$shakes head----->
	RIN	√gazes at GIU----->1.03
02		€(0.4)\$
	ANG	€at GIU-->
	ANG	----->\$
03	→ RIN	√da solo.= √€ <i>alone</i>
	ANG	----->€at spoon-->
	RIN	√gz. at ANG√at GIU-->1.07

04 ANG =spesso solo [°>perch-<°]€
often alone because

ANG ----->€

05 GIU [eh sì] €quando ci sarà dodi,
well yes when dodi will be here

ANG ----->€at GIU----->

06 sarà€ [solo €lui.]
it'll be only him

ANG --->€at spoon--->€at RIN->1.10

07 RIN √[>secondo ↑ME<] <questa qua:> (.) per due,√
in my opinion this one here for two

RIN √gz. away around----->√at ANG-->>

08 → GIU *è [perfetta.]
it's perfect

GIU *gz. at smth in his hands-->>

09 RIN \$[>cioè< ci st]a.
I mean it's alright

ANG \$nods----->>

10 ANG mmm€
mhm

ANG -->€gz. down-->>

At l. 01, Angela addresses Giulio, with the verb in the 2nd person singular *sarai* 'you will be', projecting more to come after *praticamente* 'basically', while shaking her head. At l. 02, a pause occurs, as Angela is eating her yogurt. After her projective TCU at l. 01, she might resume her talk. However, at l. 03 Rino self-selects instead and provides a candidate completion formatted as a PP (as in § 5.2), displaying his understanding of the situation. He utters *da solo* 'alone' (the preposition *da* is optional here, in this case Rino could have just said *solo*), a nominal predicate to the copular verb 'to be' in Angela's host TCU. The adjective *solo* 'alone' is conjugated in the masculine singular, referring to Giulio. He has correctly detected Angela's projective trajectory, as shown by Angela ratifying Rino's completion in co-construction by repeating *solo* (adding *often*, but also leaving out the preposition, used to preface Rino's TCU), at l. 04. She then goes on with *perché* 'because' (l. 04), but at l. 05 Giulio self-selects in overlap and confirms their co-constructed comment with *eh sì* 'well yes'. He also adds that for his roommate Dodi, it would be the same, he would also remain alone. Before Giulio's turn reaches a TRP, Rino self-selects again in overlap, and expresses his opinion with *secondo me* 'according to me'. He starts asserting that the house, to which he refers deictically with the demonstrative *questa qua* 'this one here' and by directing his gaze at his surroundings, is for two people. Here Giulio self-selects at l. 08 and co-constructs the upcoming assessment, providing his own opinion by exploiting Rino's turn: 'it's perfect'. Giulio again provides a copular verb phrase which occasions a monoclausal structure with

Rino's turn, which contains the grammatical subject of the overall main clause *questa qua*, i.e., the house. This is also shown by the agreement in gender and number (feminine singular) of *perfetta* with *questa qua*. Giulio does not gaze at Rino but carries on manipulating an object in his hand. Rino responds by partially ratifying Giulio's TCU: he downgrades 'perfect' to 'alright', orienting to a positive but "weaker" assessment. Angela agrees with Rino, gazing at him.

To sum up, a first candidate completion, formatted as a PP, is provided in fulfilment of an interactional trajectory (i.e., the completion of a question) and is ratified. Later, a second candidate completion (a copular VP, which retrospectively emerges as a main clause with the subject in the host turn), also provided in fulfilment of an interactional trajectory (i.e., as assessment), by a different speaker, is only partially ratified. These cases provide evidence of the inextricable link between grammar, action and temporality in the achievement of a CT. In the first completion, two speakers co-construct a question to a third participant (Giulio) as declarative turn (cf. Margutti, 2006)¹¹⁷. The contributing speaker (Rino) orients to the pause following the host turn as an occasion to demonstrate understanding, but also to support the prior speaker (Angela). Through a collaborative completion, the speakers join in a common orientation to the same addressee, which is then confirmed by the emergent CT. In the second completion, the addressee of the talk (Giulio) instead completes the prior speaker's turn (Rino). Giulio exploits Rino's host turn to provide his own opinion: as the one living in the apartment, he has experience firsthand knowledge of the topic. Providing his completion immediately after Rino's turn, Giulio seizes the opportunity to express his entitlement (Haddington, et al. 2014). A CT emerges as a way to accommodate conflicting or diverging assessments, in the delicate case of superiority of entitlement toward a topic. Both contributions are, retrospectively, grammatically integrated with the host as completions. However, the temporal placements of the two contributions, and the different actions achieved, show that grammar is one element of a complex puzzle that forms collaboration.

When providing a latched contribution, contributing speakers orient to timing more than to overtly marking grammatical resources: the contributions can come directly after the target element in the unfolding host turn, providing proof for the online monitoring

¹¹⁷ "[D]eclarative-formatted turns to accomplish the pragmatic force of interrogatives" (Margutti, 2006: 321).

of grammatical projections that speakers do when providing candidate contribution. Thus, in this category, contributions are mainly formatted as the verb following a subject in the unfolding turns (see excerpts 5.3.5, 5.3.7, 5.3.11), as items of a list (see excerpts 5.3.2, 5.3.4, 5.3.6), or as the missing addition to a target element (most of all in syndetic coordination) (see excerpts 5.3.1, 5.3.3, 5.3.8). As some of these actions are *prima facie* disaffiliate or competitive, it is important to time the contributions after the target item speakers are collaboratively continuing, (re)completing or extending, and to format them as morpho-syntactically integrated with this target unit.

The candidate contributions in the next section are provided earlier compared to the unfolding grammatical trajectory of the host turn. Thus, other-extensions are not present in this category, while completions are the only co-constructed contributions.

5.4 Collaborative contributions provided early

The last category is the smallest, containing only 10 candidate contributions, of which I present three cases. These contributions are provided early compared to a target grammatical unit a speaker pre-emptively co-constructs in the host turn. Contributing speakers orient to the unfolding host turn as already to be completed even before the current speaker has signaled the ‘direction’ of the continuation of their TCU: “while the production of the responded-to turn and action is still under way” (Depperman, Mondada & Pekarek Doehler, 2021: 293). One of the issues with early collaborative contributions is they are provided in overlap and this can be oriented to as either problematic or unproblematic (cf. Deppermann et al., 2021). I argue that by designing an early turn as a candidate contribution, the overlap can be treated as non-problematic, but as occasioning a CT. None of these contributions is formatted as a subordinate clause. Moreover, as none of them is provided after a TRP, there are no “early” other-extensions.

Ex. 5.4.1 M to S candidate completion - Mi13DIN2-44, 11:05-11:32

This excerpt is taken from the dinner and illustrates a case where a speaker provides the main clause to a subordinate unit, occasioning a multicausal structure. The candidate completion is provided early compared to the target grammatical unit in the host TCU. Rino (RIN) is talking about one of his professors who would not hide having favorite students.

Collaborative Grammar

01 RIN √€@lei era sfacciata proprio.√
she was shameless really
 RIN √gazes at ANG----->√
 ANG €gz. at RIN----->1.06
 PIE @gz. at RIN----->>

02 \$(0.6)\$
 ANG \$nods-\$

03 RIN √.h >cioè< lei ti- √ti^interrogava la prima volta,
I mean she would examine you the first time
 RIN √gz. at PIE----->√at ANG----->1.06

04 e il voto che pre[ndevi la prima volta,
the-mark.ART-N.M.S.SBJ that.RELAT you.PRO.2SG take.PAST.PST.IPFV.IND.2SG
and the mark that you got the first time

05 → ANG ə[era quello #perə se:mpre.
be.PAST.PST.IPFV.IND.3SG that.PRO.DEM.M.SG
was that one forever
 ANG əmakes a sweeping gesture
 rx to lx withə
 fig #fig.1



fig.1 Angela makes a sweeping gesture with her left hand

06 RIN \$∞te lo saresti∞ portato √indietro€\$ per-
you would drag it behind (you) for
 RIN ----->√gz. at PIE-->>
 RIN ∞nods slightly∞
 ANG ----->€at her hands-->1.08
 ANG \$nods smiling----->\$

07 RIN [indietro per <TRE> anni.]
behind (you) for three years

08 PIE [AH anche €la nostra di inglese.]
same for our (professor) of English
 ANG ----->€at PIE----->>

Rino's assessment at l. 01 refers anaphorically to the professor, *lei*'/she', who was not hiding at all she had some students that she liked more than others. Angela nods at l. 06, displaying her understanding. At l. 03, Rino goes on with a clarification of the reasons he found her shameless, with *cioè*'/I mean, that is': she would test you (the verb for oral examinations in Italian is *interrogare*/lit. 'to interrogate') the first time she met you (despite drawing on personal experience, Rino uses the inclusive generic *tu*, fishing for the co-participants' affiliation), and the mark she would give you that one time would be the one you'd receive for all successive exams (l. 04). Even before Rino finishes uttering the

verb *prendevi* (as a relative clause introduced by the relativizer *che* following the subject *il voto*/'the mark'), at l. 05 Angela self-selects and provides an early candidate completion, claiming her understanding of the experience (as something shared) and indeed affiliating with Rino by smiling, and making a sweeping gesture indexing a big amount of time (while she also says *per sempre*/'forever'). Her TCU is built as the main clause that makes the overall structure emerge as a multiclausal unit with the subject (and the specificational relative clause) in the host turn *il voto che ti prendevi*, and the equative copular clause with the verb to be *era quello*/'it was that one' in Angela's TCU. She reuses the imperfective tense as in Rino's RC, conjugating the verb in 3rd person singular (in agreement with the subject *il voto*) and then utters the demonstrative *quello*/'that (one)', in masculine singular, referring anaphorically to 'mark' (as part of the copular structure) followed by *per sempre*. Her TCU is integrated with Rino's host turn as a candidate completion but is uttered when Rino's turn is still unfolding. Rino gazes at Angela and slightly nods in ratification, while he goes on uttering his turn until l. 07. At l. 06 Angela nods, smiling, still displaying her affiliation with Rino. Rino's own completion emerges as a downgraded version of Angela's: from *forever* to three years (the school years), uttering *tre*/'three' slowly and loud. He is also providing a more specific "realistic" amount of time compared to Angela's general, exaggerated suggestion, which can be seen as an agreeable-with candidate completion. Drawing on the target item *voto*, and on her own experience as a student (as does Piera at l. 08), Angela displays that she has understood Rino's interactional projection. As demonstrated by Orletti (2008), participants can analyze each other's projected trajectories and co-complete them when they share common knowledge: this favors the emergence of co-constructed utterances. In the case of early contributions, the context (e.g., the common experience of being students) the activity (e.g., informal conversation) and the equal epistemic stance projected by all the participants favors an anticipated completion by an other-speaker.

Ex. 5.4.2 M to M candidate completion - Mi13PRO1-45, 07:45-07:52

Taken also from business meeting I, this excerpt shows a similar case to the previous one, where a main clause is provided as candidate completion in co-construction with prior talk (occasioning a multiclausal structure). However, as the timing is early it is not easy

to determine whether the speakers orient to recompletion or to co-construction. Annina (ANN) is expressing her opinion about a new strategy for interfacing with clients which involves pairing two people together when meeting clients.

```

01    ANN    €*però (.)$il meccanismo€$Δcosì*+fun[ziona$Δ$
        but      the mechanism   like this works
ANN    €gazes at EZI----->€at PAO----->l.03
ANN    $nods----->$
VAN    $nods----->$
PAM    Δnods----->Δ
PAO    *gazes at ANN----->*sideways----->
PAO    +tilts head-->
02    → PAO    [c'è un *media.+
                there's a mediator
                ----->+
                ----->*at ANN->
03    ANN    c'è un me*dia.€
                there's a mediator
ANN    ----->€at VAN-->>
PAO    ----->*closes eyes-->>
04    PAO    +come sem[pre.+
                as always
PAO    +shakes head+
05    ANN    [c'è un me↑dia.
                there's a mediator

```

At line 01, Annina is orienting to closing the topic. She wraps up the explanation and opinion she had provided before (as shown by the contrastive *però*/'but') with the TCU *il meccanismo così funziona*. While she utters her TCU, Vania and Pamela smile and nod at her, displaying their agreement and understanding of Annina's opinion. Before Annina's TCU has come to an end, Paolo, who had already tilted his head and was preparing to talk, self-selects at l. 02 in overlap and spells-out how the mechanism works: there is now a mediator. Annina ratifies by confirming this at l. 03, there is a mediator, and Paolo adds the adverbial phrase *come sempre*/'as always', making a shake-like movement with his head with closed eyes. He is continuing his own TCU or Annina's TCU: that is now irrelevant as he has joined her voice in her closing words, and she will bring this episode to an end at l. 05.

The possibility of providing a candidate completion early before the speakers can orient to the prior turn as concluded or not, comes from participants monitoring both the micro-projectability (Auer, 2009b) of an unfolding TCU and the overall interactional activity. Paolo targets *meccanismo*/'mechanisms' and co-constructs, after this item, his understanding of how the mechanism works. Although Paolo's TCU is not grammatically

integrated with the host turn, as it is a main clause provided paratactically without markers to a prior main clause, he detects the interactional trajectory. Shared common knowledge might help him to successfully attach this early completion as part of Annina's talk, building talk together with Annina.

Ex. 5.4.3 Candidate completion - Mi13PRO1-49, 36:58-37:11

Taken from business meeting II, this last excerpt shows a candidate completion formatted as an NP, which occasions a monoclausal structure. Paolo (PAO) is explaining that due to the debts the company has accumulated with the tax office, Equitalia, everything the company earns goes to Equitalia.

01 PAO *questo vuol dire per la proprietà della società .h*
that means for the ownership of the company
 PAO *gazes in front of him----->*

02 *non avere utili per i prossimi anni.
to not have profits for the next years
 PAO *gz. at DUI----->1.05

03 >cioè< (.) #•tutt- gli utili va-
that is all the profits go-
 PAO •moves arms forward, backward
 with palm-down open hands->> fig
 fig #fig.1



fig.1 Paolo moves his arms forward and backward to his chest with palm-down hands

04 i- i- il <socio> .h di maggioranza
the the the majority shareholder
 05 PAO *che §prende tu[ttto, §*è equitalia.
who take everything is equitalia
 PAO *gz. at MAR----->*at DUI----->>
 MAR §tilts head, smiles§

06 → MAR [°°equitalia.
 equitalia

Paolo spells out the implications of their debts, namely what it means for the company (l. 01) not to have any profit in the upcoming years (l. 02). Paolo's gaze recipient is Duilio. Paolo's turn is complete, but he carries on at l. 03 with a clarification projected by *ciòè*/'I mean, that is'. Paolo's turn at l. 03 unfolds with some troubles, as this is a delicate topic

for Paolo; he makes a gesture he will carry out for the rest of the episode, moving his arms forward and to his chest (with palms down, as shown in fig. 1). He starts saying where all the profits go but then he interrupts himself and self-corrects with ‘the majority shareholder’ at l. 04. He then goes on, saying that everything now goes to Equitalia. At l. 05 Paolo turns to gaze at Mario briefly. Mario seizes the opportunity to display his understanding and affiliation with Paolo: he tilts his head and smiles sympathetically, and in overlap early before the verb projects an object, he utters in low voice Equitalia (l. 06). This is indeed what Paolo is going to say in l. 05. Although Paolo does not provide a ratification, Mario orients to collaboratively constructing Paolo’s troubled talk. The effective way he finds to do so is by joining his voice to Paolo’s, anticipating the outcome of Paolo’s turn. Thus, he demonstrates he has understood who the *socio di maggioranza* is, displaying as well that he knows about Equitalia. As in the preceding two excerpts, shared common knowledge seems necessary for the participants to anticipate another speaker’s inter-actional trajectory.

All three excerpts show candidate completions, the most frequent format in my corpus. This is also the only format I found in early contributions. Contributing speakers, by co-constructing early, show they have understood where the current speaker’s TCU is going to end, effectively orienting to these TCUs as to be completed: “The timing of an early response shows when and how its producer develops and displays their understanding the previous turn or action; it opens up a window on the precise moment when the point of a turn or action becomes recognized in the course of its very production” (Deppermann et al., 2021: 299). This understanding presupposes shared knowledge. The above three excerpts all present ending parts of ongoing activities. This might also explain why the interactional projection, which spans over the entire course of the activity and emerges gradually, can be fulfilled even when there are not enough morphosyntactic clues. Finally, these excerpts show how these early turns, by virtue of their formatting as candidate contributions, are heard as collaborative and not as intrusive or competitive overlaps.

5.5 Summary: the temporality and emergence of clause combining in collaborative turns

In this chapter I set out to show how the grammatical design of candidate contributions and the emergent overall syntactic structure of a CT are sensitive to temporality. From

the relationship between timing, grammar and actions, clause combining takes shape. Specifically, I started from the point at which speaker B provides a contribution in relation to A's turn, i.e., after which element in A's ongoing turn, or after what other elements at the end of A's turn. I showed that speaker B, at risk of overlapping, can provide a candidate contribution directly after an element that emerges as the co-constructed target unit or to which a contribution is re-anchored. Providing a contribution before speaker A has moved on with a new turn or a new activity is relevant for the grammatical integration of the candidate contribution to the host turn. Specifically, B tends to format their contribution as more integrated, i.e., as an embedded or subordinate clause, and deploys overt marks of integration (for instance, coordinative or subordinative conjunctions) more often when other elements, or other speakers' turns, occur between the target grammatical unit in A and B's turn. Clause combining patterns that emerge from the linkage of clausal turns are sensitive to speakers' orientation to temporality. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 show a simple quantitative overview of monoclausal and multiclausal CTs that emerge from providing a type of contribution with a specific timing.

MONOCLAUSAL CTs				
	FOLLOWING OTHER ITEMS	AFTER A PAUSE	LATCHED	EARLY
CANDIDATE RECOMPLETIONS	5	3	3	0
CANDIDATE EXTENSIONS	0	0	22	0
CANDIDATE COMPLETIONS	19	27	2	3
CANDIDATE CONTINUATIONS	5	14	2	0
TOT CTs	29	44	27	3

Tab. 5.1 Formats of contributions occasioning monoclausal structures for temporal categories in the overall corpus

Phrasal contributions, especially PPs and AdvPs appear to be less symbiotic with grammatical units in the host turn (cf. Ford & Fox, 2002; Couper-Kuhlen & Ono, 2007; Calabria & De Stefani, 2020; among others). However, speakers' orientation to temporality and sequentiality shows how relevant phrasal contributions are in specific contexts.

Multiclausal structures are also represented according to the syntactic relationships of parataxis and hypotaxis. Hypotactic multiclausal relationships are more frequent than paratactic. In my data, lexical markers displaying grammatical integration are more

common in subordinate and embedded than in coordinated grammatical units. Moreover, candidate completions are the most frequent, showing they are the preferred practices in jointly building turns. Given that those are the ones where both grammatical and interactional projections are fulfilled, they provide evidence that participants are constantly analyzing, online, unfolding turn trajectories.

MULTICLAUSAL CTs									
	PARATAXIS				HYPOTAXIS				TOT FORMATS CTs
	FOLLOWING OTHER ITEMS	AFTER PAUSE	LATCHED	EARLY	FOLLOWING OTHER ITEMS	AFTER PAUSE	LATCHED	EARLY	
CANDIDATE RECOMPLETIONS	4	0	8	0	3	1	3	0	19
CANDIDATE EXTENSIONS	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	3
CANDIDATE COMPLETIONS	4	2	4	3	7	14	7	3	44
CANDIDATE CONTINUATIONS	0	1	1	0	1	5	3	0	11
HYBRID CASES	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	4
TOT CTs	9	4	15	4	12	21	13	3	81

Tab. 5.2 Formats of contributions occasioning multiclausal structures for temporal categories in combination with syntactic relationships in the overall corpus

Looking in more detail at the four categories used in the analysis, I found 29 monoclausal and 21 multiclausal CTs emerging from collaborative contributions provided following other lexical and non-lexical items (§ 5.1) Of this latter type, 9 are grammatical units that occasion paratactic clause combining, i.e., the candidate contribution is formatted as a main clause and provided after a main clause in the host turn. 12 occasion hypotactic clause combining, which involves three possibilities: a candidate contribution emerges as a subordinate clause to a main clause in the host TCU; a candidate contribution emerges as the main clause expected after a subordinate clause in the host turn; or the contribution is formatted as a subordinate clause to a subordinate clause in the host turn. The most frequent grammatical formats are relative clauses, both with a clear antecedent, and with a referent that cannot be retrieved grammatically (cf. *relative indipendenti* in Cinque 1988) (see excerpts 5.1.1, 5.1.2). Complement clauses are also present, but the complementizer is always in B or repeated by B (see excerpt 5.1.3). No adverbial clauses emerged in contributions provided after lexical and non-lexical items. In syndetic coordination, a mark of coordination, e.g., the conjunction *e'and'*, is present in B's contributions (see excerpts 5.1.4, 5.1.6 and 5.1.7), and no asyndetic parataxis is

occasioned. Alternatively, compound TCUs (cf. Lerner, 1991) emerge, such as *quotation in conversation* (see excerpt 5.1.5) or *if-X then Y*. As shown by Lerner, the turns that occasion compound TCUs are formatted with a high degree of grammatical integration. Finally, I showed a case (excerpt 5.1.8), where a monoclausal CT emerges from an NP contribution: the contribution *preavviso* is part of the multiword combination, or collocation, *mese di preavviso*. The elements of a collocation are highly projective of what comes next, as they are uttered together as part of a multiword combination where the words are strongly integrated (cf. Piunno, 2016). The emerging combinatory patterns show that clause combining (and sentence combining) is sensitive to temporality, sequentiality and turn construction practices: when speakers utter other elements between the host turn and the contribution, the contributing turn is less likely to be heard and treated as collaborative (e.g., ratified, or implemented in the continuation of their activity by speaker A), unless it is formatted as grammatically integrated with the prior turn. Not all clause combinations (M to M; M to S; S to M; S to S) and syntactic formats are found in contributions that follow other items (see table 5.3).

	MONOCLAUSAL	MULTICLAUSAL
CANDIDATE RECOMPLETIONS	✓	✓
CANDIDATE EXTENSIONS	x	x
CANDIDATE COMPLETIONS	✓	✓
CANDIDATE CONTINUATIONS	✓	✓

Tab. 5.3 Formats of monoclausal and multiclausal CTs, in collaborative contributions following other lexical and non-lexical items

Collaborative extensions are not present in either multiclausal or monoclausal CTs. This is not a surprising finding. As other elements are uttered in between A's and B's turn, for B's turn to be heard as integrated with a specific host turn, speaker B has to provide either a turn that fulfils A's syntactic projection; or a grammatical format that from the onset links back the candidate contribution to the target host turn (e.g., a relative clause); or a turn that pragmatically is an action that fulfils speaker A's interactional trajectory. Collaborative extension is a format where a contribution is provided after a TRP and therefore it is not designed to fulfill a grammatical projection. Moreover, candidate extensions (differently from recompletions) are also not designed to recomplete pragmatically a prior closed action, or to negotiate the closing of an activity. They are formatted as turns through which contributing speakers provide a candidate possible expansion of the prior

speaker's turn, reusing latent grammar in prior talk. In contributions following other items, more than in the other temporal categories, contributing speakers openly ensure the overt integration of their TCU, with grammatical, pragmatic, prosodic and even bodily resources. Moreover, as remarked by Calabria & De Stefani (*under review*: 36-37) for *e anche* expansions, applicable to other collaborative productions : “the distance that separates the *e anche*-prefaced other-expansion from the host-turn cannot be substantial, since self-selecting other-speakers must ensure that their recipient can recognize which host- turn they target.” The more time has passed from the host turn or from the closing of an activity, the less likely a contribution is to be heard as integrated with a host turn and, therefore, as collaborative with a prior speaker.

In the overall corpus, I found 44 monoclausal contributions provided after a pause and 25 multiclausal structures (§ 5.2). Of these, only three emerge in paratactic combinations, and 22 form hypotactic *periodi*. This is the richest category for variety of formats found, and the category that contains the highest number of contributions and of combinations across all formats of CTs, showing it to be the one preferred by participants. Specifically, the most common format is complement clauses (CCs) embedded in the main clause. Contributions formatted as CCs can either be uttered repeating the complementizer, or, more commonly, without the complementizer uttered by A. CCs can, thus, emerge as verb phrases (in case of implicit complement clauses, e.g., an infinitive verb) (see excerpts 5.2.1, 5.2.4), or as an independent clause (in case of explicit CCs) (see excerpt 5.2.5). Relative clauses emerge as well, more commonly without a clear antecedent (see excerpts 5.2.2, 5.2.3). Main clauses following subordinate clauses are also present in this temporal category (the *apodosis* after the *if*-protasis, see excerpt 5.2.6). Contributions provided in coordination to the host turn exploit structural symmetry (cf. Mazeland, 2019) (see excerpt 5.2.7), and both asyndetic and syndetic parataxis emerge. In the case of monoclausal contributions, similarly to before, the contributions are compound TCUs (e.g., *if-then*, and excerpt. 5.2.6) or part of a collocation (see except 5.2.8 *leggende urbane*). The inventory of combinatory patterns is here enlarged (although not all grammatical combinations are available for all the four formats). This reinforces the idea that gaps between the components of CTs can be systematic (cf. also Biazzi, 2009). These contributions are not following other items, they are provided after a gap from the target, often after a gap following an

incomplete turn A. The speakers are, therefore, exploiting the next relevant moment to co-construct. An implication of this is that B's turn can be uttered with *prima facie* less integrated grammatical material (such as complement clauses without complementizer, or asyndetic coordination). Moreover, in line with Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974) it provides evidence for the "one-speaker-at-a-time" principle according to which speakers try to minimize the overlap time of their turns. Collaborative, non-competitive turn-taking is favored by leaving gaps between the different speakers' turns. Multiclausal structures emerge in all formats, while no collaborative extensions were found in monoclausal CTs (see tab. 5.4).

	MONOCLAUSAL	MULTICLAUSAL
CANDIDATE RECOMPLETIONS	✓	✓
CANDIDATE EXTENSIONS	x	✓
CANDIDATE COMPLETIONS	✓	✓
CANDIDATE CONTINUATIONS	✓	✓

Tab. 5.4 Formats of monoclausal and multiclausal CTs, in collaborative contributions provided following a pause

This is for the same reason as in contributions following other items: it takes more interactional work for a speaker to be heard as collaborating with a prior speaker, with phrasal turns proved after a TRP (and after a gap). Indeed, phrasal units are formatted, already, as less grammatically integrated than clausal ones.

Collaborative contributions provided latched or following the target grammatical unit in the host turn (§ 5.3) are the second biggest category. These contributions occasion an almost equal number of latched monoclausal (27) and multiclausal (28) CTs. This latter group contains 15 grammatical units that occasion paratactic clause combination, and 13 that occasion hypotactic clause combination. Moreover, more paratactic than hypotactic combinations emerge here than in contributions following other items or following a gap (even if the difference in the numbers is rather small). Complement clauses are the most frequent type of clausal contributions (see excerpts 5.3.1, 5.3.2, 5.3.2, 5.3.4, 5.3.5, 5.3.6). There are no CCs uttered by B that present the complementizer, i.e., all the CCs in this category are directly provided as fulfilling projective resources (e.g., complementizers) in A's turn. These contributions emerge as *prima facie* either VP or independent clauses, but as they are provided directly after the host target turn or unit, speakers immediately treat them as dependent or referring to the

target. In excerpts 5.3.1 and 5.3.3, subordinate clauses are syndetically added to the host turn by means of coordinative conjunctions (e.g. *e anche* 'and also'). Syndetic and asyndetic coordination is occasioned by these contributions (see excerpts 5.3.8, 5.3.10), and structural symmetry is oriented to by speakers in formatting their paratactic clauses. Similarly to before, direct reported speech is co-constructed, but, no quotative frame is provided in A, therefore the candidate completion emerges as a main independent clause. This contribution is heard as collaborative for reasons of interactional projection, embodiment and voice quality, thus showing that syntax is not the only cue speakers orient to when integrating their turns. The monoclausal contributions provided in this category furnish further evidence of the interrelation of grammar, time and action: excerpt 5.3.11 is indeed a completion, in fulfillment of the prior speaker's interactional trajectory. Specifically, this contribution is prompted by the prior speaker as recompleting an answer to a question.

In this temporal category, all formats of CTs occasion multiclausal structures, but not all grammatical combinations are available. Monoclausal extensions and continuations do not figure in this category (This is in line with the overall corpus, where there are fewer continuations and extensions than recompletions (see table 5.5)).

	MONOCLAUSAL	MULTICLAUSAL
CANDIDATE RECOMPLETIONS	✓	✓
CANDIDATE EXTENSIONS	x	✓
CANDIDATE COMPLETIONS	✓	✓
CANDIDATE CONTINUATIONS	x	✓

Tab. 5.5 Formats of monoclausal and multiclausal CTs, in collaborative contributions provided latched

All four formats of CTs emerge as M to M relationships. This confirms the observation that the bigger the time window from the host contribution, the more integrated a contribution needs to be. Therefore, reversing this, if there is no gap between the components the integration can be less overt. In this sense, the contributions in this category show that hypotaxis is a more integrated grammatical relationship than parataxis.

The last category, early contributions (§ 5.3), contains only 3 monoclausal and 7 multiclausal contributions (4 paratactic and 3 hypotactic combinations). Most of the contributions are formatted as main clauses, which is not surprising: if speaker A's turn is formatted from the onset as a subordinate, adverbial clause (e.g. protasis or *if*-clause, final

clause or *because*-clause, temporal clause or *when*-clause), speaker B can provide the main clause expected even before speaker A's turn is complete. (see excerpt 5.4.1). The same holds for clauses provided in coordination with a target item already individuated in A's unfolding turn before the turn is complete (see excerpt 5.4.2). The monoclausal CTs are all candidate completions and the multiclausal CTs are one M to S completion and one M to M completion (see table 5.4). Candidate completions are the only type of contributions provided when a TRP is still not projected in speaker A's TCU.

	MONOCLAUSAL	MULTICLAUSAL
CANDIDATE RECOMPLETIONS	x	x
CANDIDATE EXTENSIONS	x	x
CANDIDATE COMPLETIONS	✓	✓
CANDIDATE CONTINUATIONS	x	x

Tab. 5.6 Formats of monoclausal and multiclausal CTs, in collaborative contributions provided early

Apparently in contrast with timing predictions, completions are also preferred over less integrated continuations. This is, however, not a contradiction if an “early” contribution is provided in overlap with the ongoing turn, which can be a more competitive turn taking move than speaking in the clear. To be heard as collaborative, it is more relevant for speakers to minimize overlaps than to show early understanding of the host turn. In early contributions, parataxis is also slightly preferred over hypotaxis. This corresponds to the fact that some of the contributions are provided before a grammatical target element emerges in the host turn, but most of all they are provided drawing on semantic and pragmatic resources more than on morphosyntactic resources to ensure TCU-integration. Dividing the collection according to the temporal placement of the contributions has proven useful to investigating how speakers overtly orient to timing, i.e., how they use more overtly integrated grammar when other elements or turns are uttered between the contribution and the host turn (e.g., if the original speaker is moving on with a new topic or activity). However, it is worth noting that timing is also susceptible to the different courses of action that speakers have to manage while interacting. Some strands are mutually exclusive, such as eating, swallowing, drinking and talking.

The excerpts analyzed have, in general, shown that clause combining emerges from different interactional practices (which has theoretical implications for clause combining; see chapter 7). Other-extensions are formatted as more overtly integrated grammatical units than co-constructions, and within these categories, completions are

more integrated than continuations-extensions. By more overtly grammatically integrated, I mean that contributing speakers design their turns with subordinating or coordinating markers to a host turn, or as part of compound TCU structure (as in reported speech) or as part of a multiword combination. The overall collection presents fewer cases of candidate extensions and continuations than candidate (re)completions: completing seems a preferred practice when jointly building turns and utterances. Co-constructions are larger in number than other-extensions, and a larger array of actions is associated with co-constructing. Other-extensions are mainly deployed by speakers to negotiate re-opening an activity, add more to an element, or contribute something “missing” to prior talk (either to affiliate with or disaffiliate from it). Among the grammatical formats mobilized for these purposes in other-extensions, relative clauses are preferred. This confirms observations from typological studies (e.g., cf. Comrie, 2002), and interactional studies (e.g., cf. Stoenica, 2020) that relative clauses can add further specifications or clarifications to a prior-mentioned element. RCs can also be used to refer to what has been said at large rather than to a specific antecedent (cf. also Lombardi Vallauri, 1994). The most frequent grammatical patterns that have emerged in B’s turns provided in co-constructions are relative clauses and complement clauses following complement-taking predicates. For example, using a *verbum dicendi* can project, in Italian, both direct and indirect speech: the first type is said, structurally and functionally, to have no grammatical relationship with the quotative frame (cf. Calaresu, 2000 and Mortara Garavelli, 2001), the second type to take the shape of a complement clause. Finally, contributions formatted as adverbial clauses are rather infrequent for all four formats in all temporal categories. However, as mentioned above, speaker B can provide the main clause that follows an adverbial clause in A’s turn.

Grammar in action formation also plays a role in speaker-selection and turn management: taking the turn in someone else’s space or instead of the current speaker or after a TRP is a practice that can be seen as interactionally competitive (cf. Stivers, 2021) and disaligned: however, taking the turn with someone else, using the grammatical structures provided by their turn (as well as orienting to the prosodic design of the turn and to the body orientation of the current speaker) is an effective way of showing collaboration and not being heard as competing. When providing a candidate contribution, speakers do not keep the floor, which goes back to the original teller for

ratification (in the third turn), or to a common recipient for response, laughter, etc. Ratification does not only take the shape of overt acceptance, but may also be a token of refusal, yes or no. It can be given by (partially) repeating the contribution and/or by embedding the contribution in the third turn before continuing with the turn: It can be given *in absentia*, i.e., speaker A does not fulfill their own projection, but gazes at the contributing speaker and carries on in third position, showing they are using the contribution as a fulfillment (this happens mostly in cases of shared explanation).

Although candidate contributions occasion multiclausal CTs in all the temporal categories, contributing speakers are susceptible to the original speaker's gaze conduct. Contributing speakers may "catch the eye" (Calabria & De Stefani, *under review*) of the original speakers when other-extending a closed activity, and sustaining gaze increases the chances of being heard as collaborating and receiving ratification. Current speakers use their body to project the stance that a contributing speaker can interpret by providing a candidate contribution. An effect of the spatial arrangement of the participants, around a table, is that speakers that have displayed their involvement in a story by, for instance, nodding (cf. Stivers, 2008), but do not receive the teller's gaze (which happens more frequently in multiperson settings than in dyadic interactions, cf. Auer, 2021), can self-select and provide a TCU in co-construction as a way of effectively displaying their participation. Finally, there are gestures that recur in the data that accompany a current speaker's: not only does a contributing speaker orient to these when co-constructing and extending turns, but speaker B can also reuse speaker A's gestures in a process similar to lexical and syntactic recycling of material, thereby aligning with the original speaker in words and body (cf. Goodwin, C. & Goodwin, M.H., 1987). When providing a candidate contribution, speakers recycle elements from prior turns systematically (cf. Auer & Pfander, 2011; Pekarek Doehler, 2011; Hopper, 2011a): lexical material that signals the semantic and pragmatic integration of their contribution to a prior host turn; the marker of subordination in the host turn as an introductory element of their contribution; and gestures. This is in line with findings from Lerner (1996) who had already noticed that when speakers provide a late-placed anticipatory completion, they can start it by reusing the last element uttered by the prior speaker in the host turn. Moreover, this also agrees with observations by Mazeland, (2019) on other-continuations (see chapter 3), according to whom the continuations are often built in structural symmetry with the host turn (e.g.,

a declarative clause can be other-continued with another declarative clause). Reusing (latent) grammatical material available in prior turns, uttering a candidate contribution in structural symmetry with the host turn, and embedding or designing a candidate contribution as overtly subordinated to a grammatical unit in the host turn are all ways of making a turn syntactically integrated with prior talk and therefore heard as collaborative. According to when in the enchronic time of the interaction (cf. Enfield, 2013), and in which sequential actional slot a candidate contribution comes, the integration of the turns composing a CT needs to be more overtly expressed, by means of lexico-morpho-syntactic resources. Clause combining patterns visibly emerge in these practices, and are shaped by these practices, while also shaping them.

6. ANALYSIS II: GRAMMAR IN ACTION(S)

To be socially meaningful, the meaning of actions must be shared

Heritage (2011: 3)

6.1 Joining voices: Collaborative reported speech; 6.2 Forming a party: jointly-built explanations; 6.3 Turning the prior turn into a laughable; 6.4 Verifying while displaying one's own understanding; 6.5 Summary: inter-actional clause combining

In the cases I have shown so far, I have used the term collaboration in a fairly narrow sense: "In co-completing a TCU, or extending a just-completed one, non-current speaker is indeed collaborating, but collaborating in the specific sense of completing or re-completing a TCU, i.e., *collaborating in the active construction of a single turn.*" (Luke, 2021: 13). In this chapter, I extend collaboration to jointly-built multi-unit turns, by means of grammar that the speakers deploy collaboratively. The pragmatic integration of linguistic units and TCUs/turns is the starting point. The following cases will be at the borderline between CTs and clause combining illuminating the boundaries rather than the prototypicality of the phenomena (cf. Hopper, 2011a). I will show, nonetheless, how clauses can be combined through pragmatic-action relationships in interaction.

In prior research, Lerner (2004b), Sidnell (2012) and Mazeland (2019) aimed at drawing the outline of different collaborative contributions based on how integrated these TCUs and turns are, grammatically and actionally, with the prior, host turn. For instance, Sidnell (2012) made a distinction between the formal and the action design of a turn continuation (see fig. 6.1). He found that there are cases where speakers format a candidate contribution (self- or other- 'continuation' in his words) as an action dependent on the prior turn but as a unit that is grammatically independent from it; vice-versa candidate contributions can be grammatically dependent on the host turn but speakers can achieve new actions (or reversing the directionality of the prior turn).

Action-Based and Form-Based Distinctions Among Turn-Continuations

	<i>Dependent</i>	<i>Independent</i>
<i>Action</i>	Action-elaborating	Action-initiating
<i>Form</i>	Increment-continuation	TCU-continuation

Fig. 6.1 Sidnell's (2012: 318, Table 1) distinction of self- and other- turn continuation types based on the grammatical and action design of the contributing turn continuation

To this, I will add that grammatical integration is also achieved through the specific grammatical resources available in a given language (morphology, deixis, syntactic marking, etc.). Moreover, action integration is also bound to the overall activity being carried out, and larger activities (storytellings, instructions, etc.) emerge through multiple turns. Prior research has documented different grammatical resources through which TCUs are linked together in multi-unit turns: speakers can use conjunctions, adverbs, and discourse markers (cf. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018); etc.¹¹⁸. Clause combining emerges in multi-unit turns, for pragmatic and semantic reasons, ‘for’ and ‘in’ action formation¹¹⁹. Thus, from a binary division (or a tetravalent distinction) between types of grammatical vs action continuations, I move on to include practices of turn-taking where speakers build multi-unit turns together.

Contrary to Stivers (2008), I claim that entering someone else’s turn space, by self-selecting during a multi-unit turn “big package” or “large unit” (cf. Selting, 2000) can be done in a way that is not treated as competitive for the floor, but, on the contrary, is collaborative with respect to the activity carried out. Examples include: co-telling or collaboratively reporting speech and demonstrating participation in a story (6.1); forming a party, joining someone in an explanation (6.2); changing the footing of a story into a jocular, laughable shared dimension (6.3); and verifying and displaying understanding of someone else’s talk, thereby validating it (6.4). These four activities show candidate contributions from the most aligning in the ongoing activity to the least. Aligning with the prior speaker does not only mean supporting the asymmetry of the teller’s rights to pursue their telling (cf. Stivers, 2008), but can also involve pursuing the same activity as the teller. Co-constructing and extending another speaker’s turn is not only about whether an action is continued or not, but whether the activity is pursued and co-shaped. Moreover, by extending after what is treated as potentially complete (not necessary after grammatically completed units, or after a TRP, but after a piece of talk treated as pragmatically “fitting its sequential context”, Ford, Fox & Thompson, 1996: 435), contributing speakers do not orient to “invitation”, or

¹¹⁸ And prosodic resources, e.g., projective intonation in lists (cf. Selting, 2007), compression of the transition-relevance place with rush-throughs (cf. Walker, 2010), orientation to a nucleus accent (cf. Brenning, 2012), etc.

¹¹⁹ Du Bois (2003) stated: “Grammar is meaningless, proudly so; meaning and pragmatic force lie at the heart of discourse. Grammar is pointless in a sense, possibly a good sense; discourse realizes the ends, whether communicative, cognitive, interactional, ideological, aesthetic or otherwise, that its producers seek to attain” (*ibidem*: 47). Du Bois’s *Dialogic Syntax*, if complementary to Conversation Analysis, does not share in its core formulation a view of grammar as an interactional achievement, unit-by-unit. However, Du Bois’ work has brought together syntax and conversation, grammar and speakers, rather than separating them.

overlapping, or “completion” of a trajectory. They add another unit to a multi-unit package. What is co-constructed is not a TCU or a turn but a whole unit.

As Italian is a flectional language (see chapter 4), speakers can orient to morphologic gender and number agreement between nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, articles etc. and deictic anaphoric and cataphoric pronominal references to tie their turns together beyond syntactic relationships. Moreover, Italian has a rather loose word order, it is pro-drop, does not have a case-marking system and some formats are realized by means of prosody rather than syntax (e.g. interrogatives) Integration of grammatical units, in spoken Italian at least, is often not syntactically, overtly expressed, but emerges from the pragmatic relationships among these units¹²⁰. In other words, grammatical units designed as *prima facie* separated elements, are retrospectively integrated with respect to actions and make sense only in their sequential position relative to one another. Utterances cannot be considered in isolation without considering the temporal and sequential position of the turn in which they take shape: what comes before and what follows.

Moreover, collaboration is shown also by reusing and recycling (cf. Goodwin, C., Goodwin, M.H., 1987; Auer, 2014; Bolden, 2019) a co-speaker’s grammatical structures, words and even gestures: “Another related turn-taking practice is for a recipient to proffer a completion of a TCU in progress in a way that reuses elements of the host TCU so that the completion is less grammatically dependent on the preceding talk” (Bolden, 2019: 25). In Italian, reusing “the same” grammatical subject, anaphorical referent, or lexico-semantic items are all ways to re-anchor to a previous item/turn/topic and jointly building on this. When Bolden (2003: 1091) speaks of “re-anchoring”, she is referring to same-speaker’s TCUs, and focusing on direct reported speech. The data, I argue, show that re-anchoring in Italian is also possible for other-speakers and in collaborative turns.

Are the instances of less syntactically integrated CTs more interactionally integrated? Can a multi-unit turn be defined as a *periodo*? How does clause combining emerge in joint multi-unit turns? To answer these questions requires: “moving beyond the single clause and the single action or turn constructional unit to start thinking about clause combinations and multi-unit turns” (Couper-Kuhlen, 2009: 15).

¹²⁰ Serianni (1989) speaks of “functional” and “logic” relationships, besides syntactic linkages of units.

6.1 Joining voices: Collaborative reported speech

The excerpts analyzed in this section show cases where other-extensions – two of which I define as “hybrid” based on the grammatical design of these turns, which grammatically speaking are not formatted as dependent units, therefore they could be new TCUs – are deployed to join a speaker’s voice during reported speech, occasioning “Collaborative reported speech” (Calabria, *in preparation*).

The concept of “voice” as the emotions and judgments of an individual, the expression of their stance, their perspective on the world, and ultimately the expression of their individuality comes from Bakhtin (1984 [1929]: 147): “Take a dialogue and remove the voices, remove the emotional and individualizing intonations, carve out abstract concepts and judgements from living words and responses.” In Goffman’s (1956) work voice is also used to mean the expression of the individual’s stance. He said: “we can see this interaction not as a medley of as many voices as there are participants but rather as a kind of dialogue and interplay between two teams” (*ibidem*: 57). Goffman’s conception of voice became relevant for the distinction Schegloff (1995) would later build on between multiperson and multiparty interactions: there are fewer parties than persons, or fewer parties than voices. But Goffman also used voice to mean the tone of voice, a precious instrument in acting and singing. Building on Goffman’s (1981) work on animation¹²¹, but expanding his approach to the concept to include the interactive scope of doing being someone else, Cantarutti (2020) in her work on co-animations provided an extensive account of “human fusion in talk” (*ibidem*: 435). She showed that “B-animations establish a relation of dependence on the first animation [A-animations] with or without an overt syntactic marker, but what they actually do is to extend the first animation in terms of the action achieved, by introducing accounts, or the next step of a temporal sequence, or a co-member of a list” (*ibidem*: 251).

Assuming the meaning of voice that goes beyond the physiologic/phonetic concept of voice quality, one environment in which speakers have been described as joining their voices is reported speech. Niemela (2005: 245) and Couper-Kuhlen (1999: 8) suggested that conversation participants sometimes “participate in the voicing of a particular figure.”

¹²¹ According to Goffman (1981), when talking of a speaker, it is common to think of a person who animates their own text, who is the author of their own words, and who is the principal figure whose stance and positions are represented by those words. However, as Goffman proceeds to note, the three figures “animator”, “author” and “principal” do not always converge necessary in the same individual.

In other words, they respond to voiced reported speech produced by other interlocutors by chiming in. Szczepek Reed (2001) gave a detailed account of how speakers do this, examining the ways in which interlocutors repeat the prosodic parameters of other speakers, including intonation contour, pitch register, pitch jumps volume and speech rate. She claims that in some cases “[p]rosodic orientation thus seems to create a bridge between two turns that could not be achieved by verbal means alone” (*ibidem*: 41). Couper-Kuhlen (1999: 11) further showed that the prosodic chiming in of another conversation participant functions as a sign of understanding that the teller is speaking in some particular other voice and as a sign of co-alignment with the stance of the teller. Couper-Kuhlen (1999: 8) had also already suggested that: “The ‘reporting’ speaker animates or voices a ‘reported’ figure without necessarily composing the words which this figure is made to utter”, occasioning a shift in the footing of the conversation. While Niemelä (2005: 64) noticed that: “co-conversationalists often respond to voiced direct reported speech by producing a subsequent direct reported speech sequence that applies voicing that is either similar to or somehow congruent with the previous sequence.” She also pointed out that participants recycle each other’s linguistic structures, prosodic and embodied practices for their own interactional needs when talking as someone else. Calabria (*under review*) recently investigated instances in which participants jointly build reported speech through collaborative turns (CTs), i.e., by co-constructing or other-extending prior talk, which she calls “Collaborative reported speech” (CRS). Luke (2021) used this multifaceted concept of voice precisely in relation to collaborative turns:

The relevance of ‘voices’ [...] is that it opens up an opportunity for us to articulate the ‘point’ of joint productions above and beyond syntactic or grammatical ‘fittedness’. It invites us to address the fundamental issue of what in fact is being built in joint production, and for what purposes. Syntax certainly does have a critical role in the building of joint utterances, but it can only tell one side of the story; there are equally questions of persona, stance, perspective, emotional involvement. (Luke, 2021: 20)

He suggested that voices and parties are concepts that allow us to answer the question of what people actually do when collaborating, beyond syntax, or, at any rate, can help provide us with a more complete picture: “With the help of ‘parties’ and ‘voices’, it is

hoped that we can move this field of research forward by integrating the formal side of turn construction much more tightly with the meaning/action side of it" (*ibidem*: 24).

As already suggested by Goffman (1981: 149): "using second or third person in place of first person we can tell of something someone else said, someone present or absent, someone human or mythical. We can embed an entirely different speaker into our utterance." The rich morphologic system of Italian allows participants to mobilize resources to speak as somebody else visibly and audibly.

Ex. 6.1.1 Mi13DIN2FULL, 01:54:46-01:54:57

Taken from the dinner among friends, the following excerpt presents a hybrid other-extension used to join a speaker's voice during reported speech, doing being the teller by orienting to morpho-deictic resources available to Italian speakers. This episode just precedes excerpt 5.3.10. Rino (RIN) tells Angela (ANG), Piera (PIE), and Giulio (GIU) how he got better grades in Ancient Greek in school. As he had only had bad grades before, his suspicious professor starts asking about this.

01 RIN √infatti è arrivata la #√professores]sa e mi fa
indeed the professor came to me and she goes
RIN √gz. at ANG-----√gz. sideways----->1.03
fig #fig.1



fig.1 Rino gazes sideways while building the constructed dialogue with his professor

02 RIN ((mimics high-pitched voice)) €tadessto abbiám già fatto
now that we've already decided
ANG €gz. at RIN----->
RIN †up right
eyebrow†
03 gli scrutini, €me lo puoi dire del piero.√
the final marks you can tell me del piero
RIN ----->√
ANG ----->€gz. down at smth in her hands-->1.08
04 (0.5)
05 RIN √°faccio° ↓cosa?
I go what?
RIN √gz. down----->
06 (0.4)

07 ma come hai√ fatto [quest'anno√ con il greco?]√
but how did you manage this year with Greek?
 RIN ----->√sideways----->√gz. down-----√
 08 ANG [((laughs))]€
 ANG ----->€
 09 RIN √€°le faccio° (.)€√↑profe#↑ssoressa ho stu√di√€ato.=
 le.PRO.OBJ.3SG.F do. PRES.IND.ISG professor.VOC study. RECPAST.IND.ISG
I tell her professor I studied
 RIN √gz. down sideways--->√glances up----->√...
 RIN †moves palm-up hand forward
 from chin to front†
 ANG €glances at RIN€gz. down----->€
 fig #fig.2



fig.2 Rino moves forward his right hand in a palm-up gesture

10 → ANG √€=mi sono impe√gn[ato.] √
 me.PRO.REFL.ISG to be.AUX.IND.ISG-engaged.PARTPP.M.SG-RECPAST.IND.REFL
I applied myself
 RIN √gz. down----->√glances at ANG smiling->√
 ANG €gz. at RIN----->>
 11 RIN √[↑sì va] bene, >e come hai fatt-?<
 yes okay and how did you do?
 RIN √gz. sideways----->>

At ll. 01-02, Rino reenacts, through his embodied conduct, the dialogue between him and his professor: first, he moves his gaze away (cf. Sidnell, 2006 on speakers moving their gaze away during re-enactments) from Angela to a side point (fig. 1), then he utters the quotative *mi fa'/(she) says to me'*, mimicking a high-pitched voice, and starts raising his right eyebrows, at the onset of the report. The teacher's stance, skepticism, "is embedded in the reported speech" (Stivers, 2008: 26). A pause follows (at l. 04), and Rino continues his narration (l. 05) with the same quotative *fare/'to do'* (cf. Fiedler, Calabria & Polak-Yitzhaki, *in preparation*), now used to introduce his response to the professor's question, in *his* voice. The verb is uttered in low volume and followed by the question *cosa?/'what?'* that builds up the comic effect of the story: the student Rino in the story is "playing dumb" with the professor, pretending not to understand the reasons behind the teacher's suspicion. After a pause (l. 06), Rino voices the professor again, asking the core question *ma come hai fatto/'but how did you manage?'* at l. 07. In overlap

with this turn, Angela laughs (l. 08), treating Rino's story as funny and displaying her alignment with him (cf. Stivers, 2008). At l. 09, Rino reproduces his reply to the professor (*le faccio*'I tell her'). A micro-pause follows and then Rino delivers the line *professoressa ho studiato*'professor I studied' with a palm-up gesture (fig. 2) that indexes the obviousness of his response (cf. Müller, 2004). His turn is syntactically well formed, uttered with falling prosody and pragmatically complete as a second pair part of a question-answer sequence. Rino does not project more to come. However, Angela self-selects at l. 10 and produces a latched turn-extension, using a deeper voice, thereby mirroring Rino's. Beyond voice quality, this extension is also morpho-syntactically formatted to be heard as anaphorically integrated with what precedes: although her turn is grammatically formatted as a main clause, she deploys specific morphologic resources to produce her turn as an additional quote. She uses the 1st person singular (shown by the pronoun *mi*) and the masculine form of the past participle, *impegnato*, that in Italian has to agree with the person it refers to, in this case a male referent, Rino; syntactically she also attaches her quote symbiotically in dependence on the projective quotative verb, *fare*'to do' (l. 08), which remained latent (Auer, 2014) from Rino's turn. This is, according to Bolden (2003) "re-anchoring", but to another speaker's turn:

"[o]ne of the distinguishing features of DRS [direct reported speech] is that indexical expressions within the quotation (such as pronominal, temporal, and locational references) are anchored in the context of the reported situation—and not in the context of the current reporting situation. This feature of the quoted speech can be used to clearly mark a TCU occurring after a quote as part of the quote even without a repeated grammatical frame. Thus, it may be clear that a particular utterance is an extension of the quote because of the pronominal choices and other contextualizing devices anchoring the talk within the reported frame" (Bolden, 2003: 1091).

Although she is not recruited to co-author the story (cf. Obana & Haugh, 2015), Angela seizes an opportunity by providing her TCU immediately after Rino's turn is complete, in this way orienting to not overlapping or interrupting. Thus, Angela, who had already aligned with Rino and displayed her involvement in his story, now demonstrates to Rino her understanding and shared knowledge. Rino gazes at Angela and smiles at her, before going on with his story at l. 11. The Angela extends Rino's turn, by doing being him, is

confirmed by the fact that Rino can just go on with his telling. Not only does Angela align with Rino's story, but she demonstrates her affiliation with him through her latched extension and her morpho-lexical choices, taking Rino's side in the dialogue between him and his professor. If formally this turn seems to be a main clause, thus potentially a new TCU, the morphologic resources mobilized in this hybrid other-extension show that Angela is indeed orienting to 'speaking as' Rino, extending his turn.

The clausal hybrid other-extension in this excerpt form a *periodo* with the clause in the host turn: the clauses *professoressa ho studiato, mi sono impegnato* are linked by a pragmatic relationship in parataxis: clause combination emerges here from an inter-actional endeavor.

Ex. 6.1.2 Mi13DINFULL, 01:59:51-02:00:11

Taken from the same dinner, the following excerpt will illustrate two other-extensions that two different speakers deploy to join a teller's voice during reported speech. Back in high school, Giulio (GIU) had a History of Art professor that he presents as ignorant: during their final exam, the professor contested Giulio's answer, which Giulio knew to be correct, since he had just read it in the book that the professor kept open in front of him.

```

01      GIU      *alla ma- maturità      questo qui m'ha^inter*roga:to *
           during the final exam this guy examined me
           GIU      *gazes down at cigarette box in his hands-->*at PIE->*
02      *co^libro•aperto davanti. •*
           with the book open in front
           GIU      *gz. down in front of him*
           GIU      •opens hands--->•
03      *(0.3) *
           GIU      *at PIE*
04      GIU      *e io dalla parte sua (.) leggevo al contrario
           and me from his side I was reading backward
           GIU      *gz. down at his hands while moving them----->
05      >quello che c'era scri*tto< sul libro..h*
           what was written in the book
           GIU      ----->*gz. at PIE----->*
06      GIU      *↑m'ha chiesto una cosa e gliel'ho* detta. *
           he asked one thing and I replied to him
           GIU      *gz. down -----*at PIE->*
07      *legge:vo..h >cioè^ho fatto finta< di [pensare*un po`. ]
           I was reading I mean I pretended to think about it a bit
           GIU      *gz. down----->*at RIN->1.10
08      RIN      @*[((yawns loudly))]*
           GIU      *gz. at RIN----->*
           PIE      @gz. at RIN----->@,,
09      (0.7)
10      GIU      @oh? (0.2) quando gliel'ho detta m'ha detto* no.
           oh when I gave him the answer he told me no
           GIU      ----->*gz. down-->1.12

```

PIE @gz. at GIU----->1.12

11 non è co*sì.(.)#* °↓come non è co*sì?° •
it's not correct how isn't it like that?
 GIU ----->*at RIN->*in front of him down-->*at RIN----->
 GIU •leans forward, open arms, spread fingers•
 fig #fig.1



fig.1 Giulio leans forward with open arms and spread fingers with right hand palm-up

12 (0.3)*@
 GIU ---->*
 PIE ---->@
 13 → PIE @l'[ho le@tto]
I read it
 PIE @gz. up-->@at GIU->1.16
 14 GIU * [>dovevo dirgli<] [l'ho appena* le:ttto.]*
I should have told him I've just read it
 GIU *gz. down at h. hands moving them*at RIN-->*
 15 → ANG #•€[l'ho letto gua]rdi^h. €•
I read it look
 GIU •moves hands palm-up forward on table•
 ANG €gz. in front of her at her hand€
 ANG əpoints at smth in front of her
 with rx hand-->ə
 fig #fig. 2

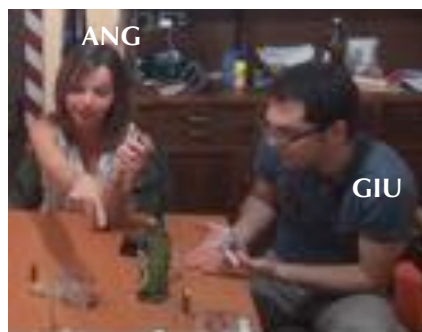


fig.2 Angela points in front of her with her right hands while Giulio moves forward both hands palms-up

16 €(0.4) €
 ANG €gz. at PIE€
 17 GIU *sto €<coglione>€ rincoglionito vera@[mente.]*
this asshole so dumb really
 GIU *gz. at cigarette box in his hands----->*
 PIE ----->@at RIN-->>
 ANG €gz. down----->>

Between lines 01-02, Giulio verbally and bodily presents the situation to the others (as shown by the recent past of the verb *m'ha interrogato*/'he examined me', which actualizes the story, compared to the imperfective tense that sets the episode as a story in the past): during the final exam of high school, the professor, referenced here simply as *questo*/'this one', was examining Giulio with the book open in front of him. While uttering *aperto*/'open' Giulio opens his hands. A small pause follows at l. 03 and at l. 04 Giulio continues with the story, adding with the coordinative conjunction *e*/'and' that he was able to read the answers from the book. At l. 06, Giulio starts the complainable: the professor asked him something and Giulio answered. This TCU is uttered with high pitch on the personal pronoun *me* and while gesturing with his hands. He was reading from the book, he states at l. 07, but then self-repairs that he was pretending to think of an answer. He is building up toward a negative climax of the story, conveying his negative stance: nobody laughs or takes the floor. At l. 08, Rino yawns audibly and attracts the gaze of Giulio, who after a pause, gazing at Rino, spells out the real issue (ll. 08-09): 'oh when I gave him the answer he told me no it's not correct'. He starts with the change-of-state token *oh* (cf. Heritage, 1984) and goes on switching to reported speech as indicated by the present tense of the verb to be: *non è così*/'it's not like this'. At l. 11, Giulio expresses his incredulity both verbally with the question *come non è così*/'how isn't it like that?' and bodily, by leaning forward with open arms and spreading his fingers with the right hand palm-up (fig.1). Müller (2004) has associated the palm-up hand paired with spread arms with the expression of incredulity. At this point Giulio is expressing his negative stance. After a small pause at l. 12, at l. 13 Piera self-selects and spells-out an inference she draws from Giulio's prior turns: [*how is possible that it is not correct since*] *I read it*. Piera animates Giulio, using the first person singular 'I', and aligns with Giulio's activity by using reported speech, extending his complete turn. Indeed, she is orienting to the right continuation. Piera detects both the right follow up and Giulio's stance, making the 'correct' inference. This is shown by Giulio uttering, in overlap, a quotative frame (l. 14) and following it with *l'ho appena letto*/'I just read it'. This is paired with another movement of his hands, with palms-up toward a point in front of him. In overlap with Giulio, extending Piera's turn, Angela self-selects at l. 15 and repeats Piera's turn adding the imperative *guardi*/'look' (pointing in front of her, fig. 2) in 3rd person singular, which is the form of courtesy in Italian and shows that Angela is still doing being Giulio

talking to the professor. She utters her TCU ending in contained laughter, while she also speaks using the 1st person. Piera and Angela do not receive ratification, but Giulio gets the floor back and closes this episode with a very negative climactic assessment: ‘this asshole so dumb really’ (l. 17). Piera and Angela join Giulio’s voice, showing: 1) that they have understood the tone of the story; 2) they support Giulio’s negative stance, aligning and affiliating with him, and taking his side in the episode, against the professor; 3) they have shared knowledge that allows them to fill in the inferences and claim their understanding of the possible follow up of Giulio’s turn.

Similarly to the prior excerpt, Piera and Angela “re-anchor” (Bolden, 2003) their TCUs, formatted as reported speech to Giulio’s, orienting to morphologic and deictic resources that make their TCUs recognized as reported speech. The lack of ratification can be seen as the teller’s orientation to share his turn space: *l’ho letto, dovevo dirgli l’ho appena letto, guardi* emerges incrementally as a retrospective shared multi-unit turn, where the TCUs are shared among the voices that collaborate rather than compete for the turn. Grammatically speaking, the multiunit turn is composed of a quote, a frame, and another quote, with the frame in a pivotal position that together compose a paratactic *periodo*, a frequent structure in Italian reported speech (cf. Mortara Garavelli, 2001).

This other-extension only appears to be a new TCU, but when starting from actions, it becomes clear that speakers audibly integrate their turns together.

Ex. 6.1.3 Mi13DINFULL, 01:30:56-01:31:26

In this excerpt, from the same dinner, two speakers, who are not the original teller, co-build and re-enact a constructed dialogue (Tannen, 1986) between the original teller and his interlocutor. They both use lexico-morphologic resources that re-anchor the dialogue to the teller’s story. When he was young, Rino’s (RIN) parents did not give him money to go out with his friends (ll. 01-04). However, on his way he used to stop by his granny (l. 08).

01	RIN	io andavo in fuori con hm diecimila lire figa √quando::- I used to go out with ten thousand lire shit when
	RIN	... √gz. PIE->
02		diecimila lire no.√ .h cinque eu√ro ((swallows)) √quando::- ten thousand lire no five euros when
	RIN	----->√,,,,,,,,,,,,,√gazes at PIE--->√gz. down-
>		
03		quando uscivamo †mi davan cinque euro† che when we used to go out they gave me five euros that
	RIN	----->

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04      RIN                                     †waves hand gesture->†
        †co:n cinque euro nemmeno una birra: mi prendo† figa:,.h
        with five euros not even a beer I get fuck
        RIN ----->>
        RIN †puts hands together/moves them away f. himself†
[...] ((omitted 01:31:08-01:31:12))

05      GIU      povero tatu.
        poor tatu
06      RIN      sì.
        yes
07      GIO      vabbè però è [vero, è così. ]
        well but it is true it is like this
08      RIN      %*€@√£[però passavo dalla no√nna.]£%
        but I'd stop by granny
        RIN      ...√glances at GIO----->√
        PIE      @gazes at RIN----->
        ANG      €gazes at RIN----->
        GIU      *gazes at RIN----->
        GIO      %gazes down----->%
09      ALL      %√((laughs))√@€*%
        RIN      √gz. down->√
        PIE      ----->@
        ANG      ----->€
        GIU      ----->*
        GIO      %gz. at RIN----->%
10      GIO      √però è ve[ro. ]√
        but it is true
        RIN      √gz. at GIO----->√
11 →    PIE      @ciao €nonna. √tutto bene oggi?@
        hi granny everything alright today?
        RIN      .....√gz. at PIE----->
        PIE      @gz. at GIO----->@
        ANG      €gz. at PIE----->1.09
12      RIN      @[((laughs))]√
        RIN      ----->√
        PIE      @gz. beyond GIO->
13      PIE      √£è una se€[ttimana che@ non√ passi. come mai?]£
        you haven't stopped by for a week. how come?
        RIN      √gz. at ANG----->√
        PIE      ----->@
        ANG      ----->€
14 →    ANG      √#£[£sono venuto^a trovart-@√tuo√nipote]
        preferito$£
        to be.AUX.IND. I SG-come.PARTPP.M.SG-RECPAST.IND.REFL
        your.ADJ.POSS.M.SG grandchild.N.SG favorite.ADJ.M.SG
        I came visiting you your favorite grandchild
        RIN      √gz. at ANG----->√,,√gz. at ANG----->
        PIE      @gz. at ANG----->
        ANG      $shakes head w. rx hand in hair----->$

```

fig

#fig. 1



fig.1 Angela shakes her head dramatically with her hands in her hair

```

15    RIN      €((laughs))@ € ((laughs))
      RIN      ----->>
      PIE      ----->@,,,,,,,,,,,,,
      ANG      €gz. at RIN->€,,,,,,,,,,,,,

```

Between lines 01-04, Rino launches a multi-unit narrative with the imperfective tense of an event set in the past. His parents would give him so little money he could not even afford a beer (l. 04). In the omitted part, he compares his situation to his friends' who would get much more money from their parents, making him feel poor. At l. 05, Giulio, with a teasing voice, calls him *povero*/'poor', which in Italian (as in English) can have the ambivalent meaning of "without money" and of "pitiable". Rino agrees with Giulio, at l. 06, while Giorgio, at l. 07, displays his agreement with Rino's story by stating that what Rino just said is true. However, at l. 08, Rino contrasts the somewhat negative picture he had portrayed before with the utterance *però passavo dalla nonna*, prefaced by the contrastive conjunctions *però*/'but' saying he would stop by granny. He also does the climax of the story, fishing for a different reaction, with an element "nonna", which seems more agreeable, as it is a shared experience (compared to his individual experience as a "poor" person to which Giulio had oriented). Indeed, he does not need to spell out what he means (his turn is even uttered with closing intonation), his statement is enough for the others to laugh and for Giorgio to repeat at l. 10 *però è vero*/'but it is true', displaying understanding of the inferable meaning from Rino's words. Their choral orientation (cf. Lerner, 2002) toward laughter shows that they have all understood the reasons for Rino's visit to his granny, making relevant the category of bound activity: this is what grannies do in Italy, they give money to their grandchildren, and this is a shared experience between all participants, even if they never witnessed the scene between Rino and his granny. So much so that at l. 11, Piera self-selects and starts a reenactment of a constructed dialogue between Rino (l. 11) and his granny (l. 13), changing her voice

accordingly. She does not utter a quotative frame, nor is she aligning with prior constructed dialogue started by the original teller, Rino. Nevertheless, Piera animates Rino (cf. Cantarutti, 2020), as shown by the deployment in her turn at l. 11 of lexical and deictic resources that re-anchor l. 11 to Rino's turn at l. 08. Specifically, Piera re-uses the lexical item *nonna*, changes the tense actualizing the time of narration to the present of the direct speech, and displays doing being Rino. She obtains Rino's laughter at l. 12. Thus, she can go on at l. 13 and, using a teasing voice, does being granny and scolding Rino for not visiting her for a week. Piera produces more inferences and a shared sense of mutual understanding, which is not explicitly uttered (which could be: *you only pass by once a week when you need money*). In overlap with l. 13, at l. 14, Angela self-selects and other-extends Piera's turn at l. 11. She joins in with her voice in a twofold direction: aligning with Piera in the present activity of constructing a fictitious funny dialogue between Rino and his granny, and with Rino in doing being him. Angela reenacts a theatrical Rino (cf. Günthner, 2002), using laughing voice, shaking her head while holding it in her hands (fig. 1) and stressing *preferito*/'preferred', thereby obtaining laughs and the other participants' gaze. Angela uses morphologic and lexical resources that allow her to display she is talking as Rino, and that she is extending Piera's initiated-dialogue, aligning in her activity: at l. 14 she uses the masculine form of the past participle *venuto*/'come' and she refers to herself as *tuo nipote preferito*/'your favorite grandchild', agreeing the two adjectives (possessive and qualificative) at the singular masculine. She orients toward a male participant, Rino (*nipote* in Italian is gender-invariant).

Deploying the shared experience of having a "nonna", the participants jointly construct a way of being together, a shared dimension of convivial playfulness, beyond one turn, one story and one character, bringing together multiple voices¹²². While Piera starts a constructed dialogue, not building on Rino's prior turn, but rather re-anchoring her talk to the overall story and building a new trajectory for Rino's story, Angela other-extends Piera's TCU, thereby aligning and co-building a multi-unit turn with her. Namely, the constructed dialogue emerges retrospectively as a multi-unit turn achieved by two speakers, in which the utterances (*ciao nonna tutto bene oggi? sono venuto a trovarti, tuo nipote preferito*) follow each other in a paratactic relationship.

¹²² As Barbara Fox told me, in a private communication about this excerpt, it is in moments like this that we can see "how culture happens".

6.2 Forming a party: jointly-built explanations

The excerpts analyzed in this section show cases where speakers co-construct or other-extend turns to constitute a party with the prior speaker, to jointly-build an explanation with them.

The concept of party in the context of joint-explanations is used for a transient “alliance” (cf. Kangasharju, 2002) between two or more participants, who overtly display speaking together about the same topic, directing their talk to the same recipients. Kangasharju (2002) widely documented how participants form parties, and alliances, in institutional contexts, such as corporate meetings. She has stressed how, in multiperson institutional settings, after actions that call for possible disagreements – matter-of-fact statements, stance-taking utterances, and proposals – forming a party is a rewarding and useful interactional achievement, most of all when it comes to decision-making. According to Kangasharju (2002: 1453), participants use first-hand knowledge of events when forming “oppositional alliances” during disagreements. Collaborative completions (Lerner, 1987) are among the most common devices to display alignment in disagreement (Kangasharju 2002: 1466), i.e., to display agreement with a participant who is expressing disagreement with another speaker. But what specific interactional goals do participants achieve when displaying “knowing that” and “knowing how” (cf. Arminen et al., 2021) by forming parties with co-participants? What verbal and embodied resources do participants deploy in CTs to claim epistemic access to (cf. Koole, 2010) and demonstrate shared knowledge of facts and instructions provided by more knowledgeable speakers (cf. Monzoni & Drew, 2008), while positioning themselves as “members of an institutional committee who are supposed to treat the topics at hand in accordance with specific goals” (Kangasharju, 2002: 1449)?

Chapter 5 has shown that co-constructed completions and continuations are effective ways of displaying both alignment and agreement, adding to Luke (2021: 21):

In other-increments, next speakers’ move to extend a just-completed turn must also be described as an act of teaming up and creating parties. However, unlike co-completions, other-incrementations tend to be more complicated in terms of the resultant actions that they implement. In addition to showing understanding and

agreement and affiliation, which is certainly possible, they can also be employed as a special device to transform, re-direct, derail or subvert an ongoing course of action.

Other-extensions (Luke refers in a narrower sense to other-increments) are double-barreled actions (Schegloff, 2007): even when extending the same action as in a prior turn, a contributing speaker adds another layer to the action, another voice. Luke (2021: 21) makes a useful distinction between ‘one party, one voice’ in cases of fulfilled co-completions, and ‘one party, multiple voices’ in cases of other-increments. In the prior section, I showed how a multi-unit-turn activity, such as constructed dialogue, can be shared by multiple voices that merge into one (cf. ‘doing being’ the teller). Here, I show how another multi-unit-turn activity, explanations, can be shared by multiple speakers that have formed a party. To share the role of co-explainer with another speaker, participants orient to grammar, to the temporal placement of their contribution, to their shared knowledge, and to body and gaze orientation. Moreover, the original speaker and the contributing speaker form a party, based on their common display of K+ stance that emerges as a K+ status: they select the same recipients, with gaze and body orientation and are gazed at and responded to by the recipients as a party.

By deploying collaborative turns, participants form parties both with speakers who they treat as having “expertise and epistemic superiority” (cf. Heritage & Raymond, 2005; van Braak & Huiskes, 2022), claiming shared professional knowledge with them; and with speakers who are not more knowledgeable, but share the same epistemic stance. This is an effective way for participants to manage their “relative authority” in a process of interactional negotiation of “differential rights and responsibilities” (Stivers, Mondada & Steensig 2011: 3; cf. also Van de Mierop, 2020), typical of institutional multiperson settings.

Ex. 6.2.1 Mi13PRO1-51, 23:46-23:53

Taken from business meeting II, the following excerpt illustrates a TCU provided in co-construction with the host turn through which another speaker takes the role of co-explainer with the prior speaker. The episode continues the one in 5.2.6, where Paolo (PAO) was explaining the new configuration of roles within the company and their new policies about shares. Now he explains how the share system works.

01 PAO * @.h infatti€>non ci saranno nemmeno< intestazioni

```

                                in fact there will not even be   registrations
ANN                                €at PAO----->1.04
PAO                                *at MAR----->1.03
MAR                                >>@at PAO----->>
02                                di quo[te.]
                                of shares
03    MAR                            [mmm]* °sì sì.°
                                mhm yes
                                ----->*at ANN-->
04    PAO                            *è (.) €è [proprio un *affidamento,
                                it is it is really (an) entrusting
                                ----->*at MAR----->1.07
                                ----->€gz. sideways in MAR's direction->1.07
05    → ANN                            [(è come) una specie #$di patto: ,=          $
                                (it is like) a sort of agreement
                                $shrugs, opens fingers$
                                #fig.1
ANN
fig

```

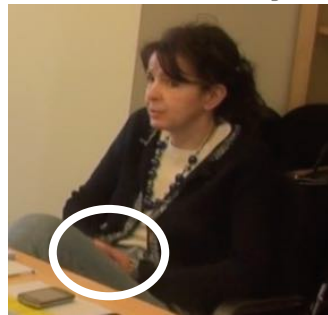


fig.1 Annina shrugs and opens the fingers of her hands clenched on her lap

```

06    MAR                            §[°°sì°°§
                                yes
                                MAR                            §nods->§
07    PAO                            =[LORO: ,€ (0.9)* di fatto viene fatto.€*
                                they                            de facto it is done
                                ANN                            ----->€gz. at PAO----->€
                                PAO                            ----->*at ANN----->*

```

At II. 01-02, Paolo with *infatti* 'in fact, indeed', further clarifies the prior explanation about the change in the shares policy (cf. excerpt 5.2.6). At I. 03 Mario, the recipient of this explanation, acknowledges Paolo's explanation with *mmm sì sì*, showing he understands it. While he does so, Paolo reorients his gaze from Mario to Annina and then takes the floor again with *è* '(it) is', projecting more to come. Crucially, while Mario is gazing at her Annina starts gazing in front of her sideways and self-selects. Annina selects when gazed at, orienting to joining Paolo in his explanation by providing a main clause formatted as fulfilling the pragmatic trajectory of Paolo's, a reformulation of the process: it is not a matter of registrations of shares, it is a sort of agreement. While uttering *patto* 'agreement', she makes a similar gesture to the one she had made a few seconds before while co-constructing Paolo's explanation (in excerpt 5.2.6): she shrugs and opens the fingers of her hand (fig. 1), embodiedly orienting to an explanation (cf. Streeck, 2009).

When gazed at, Annina takes on the co-explaining role with Paolo, forming a K+ party with him: she knows how this works and can support Paolo's words while explaining it to a K-participant: Mario. Besides co-constructing Paolo's turn, Annina is also orienting to providing a TCU to an emergent multi-unit turn, the explanation. The grammatical projection trajectory opened by the verb 'to be' è can be fulfilled by a wider range of grammatical units – compared to the *if*-clause in excerpt 5.2.6, which Annina had oriented to with her *then*-clause. However, she still provides an NP and so does Paolo, providing the correct possible follow up of Paolo's turn at l. 04. Mario acknowledges this at l. 06, but Annina does not get a ratification to her co-construction from Paolo, who goes on with the explanation. The fact the Paolo does not ratify Annina's turn, in third position, but that Annina's and Paolo's common recipient responds, provides evidence for the shared multi-unit explanation. Annina's and Paolo's utterances are bound together by emerging in TCUs that are part of a multi-unit turn. Moreover, the fact that Annina starts speaking when Paolo gazes at her and they both direct the explanation to the same recipient is proof that not only is Annina taking the role of co-explainer, but Paolo accepts the role, or even invites her to take it: in this sense they both momentarily form a party.

Ex. 6.2.2 Mi13PRO2-51, 24:04-24:11

The following excerpt (a few seconds after 6.2.1) shows a hybrid other-extension, through which a speaker joins a co-speaker's explanation, forming a party. After having discussed some financial issues of their company and the reorganization of certain components of it, Paolo (PAO) closes the difficult subject on a positive note (l. 01).

01	PAO	*è@	ce*rcheremo: di- (.) di aggiu*stare la co[sa. we'll try to fix the thing
	PAO		*gazes at ANN->*at DUI----->*at ANN---->1.04
	ANN		ègazes up sideways----->1.04
	MAR		@gazes at PAO----->
02	→ ANN		[si
03		troveran@no delle fo:rme [ə(insiomma di) poi ə some ways will be found well of then	
	ANN		əopens palms of her hands with crossed fingers, shrugsə
	MAR	----->@at ANN->	
04	PAO		*[sì. •troveremoè#@delle formeèper*:.• yes we'll find some ways for
	PAO		*at MAR----->*... •moves open hands in circle in front of face•
	ANN		----->ècloses eyes->ègz. up->

MAR
fig----->@at PAO----->
#fig.1

fig.1 Annina opens the palms of her hands with crossed fingers, shrugs with closed eyes; Paolo moves his open hands in circle in front of his face gazing at Mario, who is gazing at Annina

```

05    MAR    *ce€@rto.      *
          sure
          PAO    *in front of him*
          ANN    -->€gz. at MAR--->
          MAR    --->@down----->>
06    PAO    *per::€ (.)* da:re:
          to          give
          PAO    *gz. at ANN*at DUI-->1.08
          ANN    ----->€gz. up sideways-->
07    ANN    °questa cosa°.
          this thing
08    PAO    *ecco. *
          that's it
          PAO    *down->*
```

At l. 01 Paolo states, with the verb *cercheremo* 'we'll try' in the future tense and in 1st person plural, that they will try to fix the 'thing' (referring to their accumulated debts). He has delivered bad news and now needs to reassure his co-participants. Paolo's addressees are sitting around the table and orients his gaze to them in turn: first to Annina, then Duilio and then to Annina again (l. 01). At l. 02, Annina self-selects, entering Paolo's space (cf. Local, 2004). Annina gazes up and sideways and joins Paolo, restating what he said (ll. 02-03). However, she switches to the impersonal 3rd person singular *si troveranno*/lit. 'they will be found' and adds 'some ways'. She does so with a creaky voice, closing her eyes and with her fingers clenched together, while moving her hands in an explanatory gesture. Annina displays being K+ and having shared knowledge on the situation, as well as the right to co-explain with Paolo¹²³. She formats her TCU as a main clause, not orienting to any specific grammatical resource to integrate her turn grammatically with Paolo's. However, her turn is a candidate contribution that forms a

¹²³ She also displays not taking responsibility (cf. Stivers Mondada, & Steensig, 2011), and not having the deontic authority (cf. Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012) to use "we" as Paolo (cf. Van de Mierop, 2020).

CT with Paolo, through which she aligns with him in the activity of co-explaining. Annina is, indeed, aligning with Paolo, as shown by her stopping talking when he takes the floor back at l. 04. Moreover, Paolo treats Annina's hybrid other-extension (ll. 02-03) as collaborative, by explicitly agreeing with her using *sì*'yes' (l. 04), and by recycling lexical elements in her turn, e.g., the verb *trovare*'to find'. Their turns emerge as a paratactic combination of two pragmatically combined clauses: *cercheremo di aggiustare la cosa. si troveranno delle forme*.

They address their talk to the same recipient, Mario, who, at l. 05 agrees with both Paolo and Annina. At l. 06, Paolo extends his own turn at l. 04, uttering the final clause projected by the preposition *per*. He hesitates, and at l. 07, Annina, co-constructs his turn with him by providing a candidate completion that re-anchors lexically the explanation to l. 01 *cosa*'thing'. Annina's co-construction provides further evidence that she and Paolo are sharing an explanation that emerges as a multi-unit-turn. They constitute a K+ party. At l. 08, Paolo can close the topic with *ecco*'that's it'.

In this excerpt, the clausal turns at l. 01 and 02-03 are not grammatically integrated. However, they emerge as TCUs in a multi-unit turn explanation. As such, the clauses are in pragmatic, inter-actional combination, and therefore form an inter-actional *periodo*.

Ex. 6.2.3 Mi13PRO1-45, 04:54-05:04

Taken from business meeting I, the following excerpt illustrates how a participant joins a co-speaker in an explanation by means of a candidate completion. Lexico-morphologic resources are deployed to integrate the candidate contribution to the host turn. Paolo (PAO) and Annina (ANN) are discussing with Pamela (PAM), Ezio (EZI) and Vanna (VAN) some incompatibilities among some employees that make work harder (cf. excerpt 5.1.7, which happens a few seconds before this excerpt). A solution must be found.

01	PAO	€+sì comunque:+ *troveremo alcuni accorgimenti.* yes anyway we'll find some adjustments
	PAO	->>closes eyes-->*gazes at ANN----->*
	PAO	+nods----->+
	ANN	€gz. at PAO----->1.04
02	ANN	*[sì:. yes
	PAO	*closes eyes with head oriented to his hands----->
03	PAO	•[>dobbiamo sempre<#[mettere °a punto•*queste cose°. we always have to fine-tune these things
	PAO	----->*gz. down-->1.07
	PAO	•moves first lx then rx hand

fig back/forth with pinched fingers--->•
#fig.1



fig.1 Paolo moves first left and then right hand with pinched fingers back and forth, gesturing “fine-tuning”

04 → ANN €[ədobbiamo#un po' mettereə a punto.€
yes we have to fine-tune a bit
ANN €gz. at EZI----->€
ANN əmoves first lx then rx hand
fig back/forth with pinched fingersə
#fig.2



fig.2 Annina moves first left and then right hand with pinched fingers back and forth, gesturing “fine-tuning”

05 ANN €perché >questo fatto può verificarsi.<
because this fact can occur
ANN €gz. down----->
06 e non si€verifica €per una respo€nsabilità specifica,
and it doesn't occur because of a specific responsibility
ANN ----->€at VAN----->€at EZI----->€at VAN----->
07 si verifica per€ché la *natura€ (.) è quella lì.€
it occurs because that one is the nature
PAO ----->*at ANN----->
ANN ----->€at EZI----->€at PAO----->€

Before the beginning of this excerpt, as shown in excerpt 5.1.7, Paolo had mobilized the opera metaphor to explain the difference in psychological profiles among the employees. After closing the metaphor, at l. 01 Paolo states that in any case they will find some adjustments. He gazes at Annina, who replies at l. 02 with *sì* ‘yes’. At l. 03, Paolo goes on saying they have to fine-tune certain things, while gesturing it (fig. 1). In overlap, Annina self-selects again at l. 04 and provides a candidate completion to Paolo’s turn. She reuses the verb *dovere* ‘must, have to’, in 1st person plural (it is a matter that concerns them all), and utters a turn which emerges as very similar to Paolo’s unfolding turn: ‘we

have to fine-tune a bit'. Not only does she utter the same words as Paolo, but she also makes the same gesture him (fig. 2), confirming that the crucial point is fine-tuning. She launches an explanation of the reasons why *questo*/'this' can happen. The deictic demonstrative pronoun refers back to what they were discussing previously: the mismatch of personalities between people working together. At this point, at l. 04, she takes over the explanation altogether, and Paolo lets her. Indeed, he does not ratify Annina's contribution. Unlike prior excerpts, the contributing speaker, Annina, takes the floor from the original speaker, and goes on with the multi-unit turn.

Annina selects the same addressees as Paolo: before the beginning of the excerpt, Paolo was gazing at Ezio and Vania; during Annina's turns from l. 04, he closes his eyes; Annina re-orientes her gaze from Paolo to Ezio and Vania, alternating between the two. Gaze is here a resource for recipient-selection: gazing at the same recipients while sharing a multi-turn unit co-explanation is a way of forming a party.

Annina uses the same person (1st plural) and the same lexical choices as Paolo to unambiguously integrate her turn, not as a response but as an extension of Paolo's explanation. Her collaborative completion at l. 04, allows her to display that she is also K+ and can (indeed will) co-explain, forming a party with the other K+ participant.

6.3 Turning the prior turn into a laughable

The following excerpts show cases where speakers provide an unexpected candidate contribution, extending or co-constructing a story, which turns the story into a comic or laughable one.

In providing an account of self- and other-increments in Italian, Calabria & De Stefani (2020) described an instance of self-increment that is similar to the description by Haugh & Obana (2015) of "transformative continuations": speakers can extend their own turn or another speaker's turn, with grammatically fitted material, through "format tying" (cf. Goodwin, C. & Goodwin, M.H., 1987), thereby transforming an utterance and the action into something different. Specifically with format tying, participants can achieve "taking the words of the other and using them against him or her in a reciprocal action" (Goodwin, C. & Goodwin, M.H., 1987: 218). In the example reported by Calabria & De Stefani (2020), a speaker self-increments their own prior turn, adding an element that transforms the prior turn into a joke, producing a laughable. In the case of Haugh &

Obana (2015: 597), the transformative continuations, in Japanese: “are invariably disaligning, they may nevertheless implement both affiliative and disaffiliative stances.” Bolden et al. (2019) documented a practice that they call “subversive completion” whereby a speaker, using grammatically fitted material, completes another speaker’s unfolding turn, subverting the action carried out by providing an unexpected, surprising counter-action that may be either refused or “appreciated with laughter” (*ibidem*: 20). They also listed other resources for subverting an action in progress: “recipient increments” (subverting extensions after a TRP), “turn-internal increments” (subverting turn-internal extensions); “framed completions” (subverting completions of potentially incomplete ongoing turns), showing how the temporal placement of the contribution also plays a role in the subversive effect.

The following candidate contributions do not subvert the content of the prior turn and are not disaffiliative. The contributing speakers transform the prior action and the overall footing of an event, which unfolds in a multi-unit-turn. In this way, the speakers collaboratively re-set ‘the tone’ of a story without necessarily disrupting its content.

Ex. 6.3.1 Mi13DINFULL, 00:27:23-00:28:01

Taken from the dinner, this excerpt illustrates an other-extension provided as a joke in a constructed dialogue. Rino (RIN) was telling the others that in the morning there was a plainclothes ticket inspection at one of the bus stops. Although he tried to escape, he was fined in the end. At line 01 he starts explaining how it happened.

01	RIN	@son sce:so: e: questo fa: (.) bigli <u>etti</u> : bigli <u>etti</u> :	
	PIE	<i>I got off and this one goes tickets tickets</i>	
		@gazes at papers in her hands----->1.07	
02		siamo:^hm: √l'attiemme[:^in-	
		<i>we are hm the ATM</i>	
	RIN	√gazes at GIO----->1.05	
03	→ PIE	[me ne dia quattro, [grazie.]	
		to me.PRO.ISG.M.IOBJ of it.PRO.PTV give.PRES.IMP.3SG	
		<i>give me four of it please</i>	
04	GIO	[in borche] se=	
		<i>plainclothes</i>	
05	RIN	=in borghe:se, √ bigli [↑] etti.	
		<i>plainclothes, tickets</i>	
	RIN	----->√at GIU--->1.08	
06	RIN	↑io: (.) [>quando ho visto che una tipa<	
		<i>I when I saw that a woman</i>	
07	GIU	*+[(laughs)) £>me ne dia grazie.<£*@\$(laughs))	
		<i>give me of it thanks</i>	
	PIE	----->@at GIU-->	

```

    PIE                                     $smiles-->>
    GIU          *gz. at PIE----->*
    GIU          +smiles----->>
08  RIN          .h quando@ la ti- (.) quando una √tipa:-
           when  the ti-   when  a woman
    RIN          ----->√.....
    PIE          ----->@at papers in her hands----->
09  RIN          √∞£ah @ah£
           ah  ah
    RIN          √gz. at PIE----->1.11
    RIN          ∞smiles----->1.11
    PIE          ----->@at RIN--->1.11
10  GIU          *(1.3)
           *gz. at RIN----->>

11  RIN          >l'ho capita ades-.< perché $>sembrava bigliie-<.$√@∞ +.hh +
           I got it now      because it sounded like tickets
    RIN          ----->√in front->
    RIN          ----->∞
    PIE          ----->@hands->>
    PIE          $nods----->$
    GIU          +nods+

12  GIU          ↑BIGLI√∞ETTI:
           tickets
    RIN          ----->√at GIU-->>
    RIN          ∞smiles-->>

```

Rino's explanation at l. 01 is prompted by a clarification question from Giorgio. After he got off the bus, *questo*, which presents a negative referent (cf. Villani 2010), namely the ticket inspector, starts asking for tickets. Rino reports the event through direct reported speech, introduced by the quotative *fare*. He starts mimicking the ticket inspector of the bus company ATM, shouting *biglietti, biglietti siamo l'attieme*/'tickets, tickets, we are ATM¹²⁴. At this point, Piera self-selects at l. 03 orienting to a potential TRP and adds a potential response to the tickets request *me ne dia quattro grazie*/'give me four please'. While doing so she is still gazing at the consent forms she has in her hands and does not orient her gaze to Rino. She formats her TCU as a main clausal quote, using the indirect object pronoun of 1st person singular *me* and the 3rd person courtesy form on the verb *dare dia* conjugated in the imperative as a request directed to the ticket inspector. Her turn is in the present tense of direct speech and selects an external recipient in the constructed dialogue, the same inspector that Rino was mimicking. In overlap with Piera, at l. 04, Giorgio orients to the lengthening of the last syllable of *attiemme* in Rino's turn (l. 02) as a hesitation, and provides a co-constructed completion, which Rino ratifies at

¹²⁴ ATM stands for Azienda Transporti Milanese, the public transport company of Milano.

l. 05 and then repeats *biglietti*. At l. 06 Rino is about to go on with his explanation. However, Giulio, in overlap (l. 07), laughs and turns his gaze to Piera partially repeating but uttering it in a rush-through her quote, thereby displaying he has now come to realize her joke. Giulio treats Piera's turn at l. 03 as a funny other-extension of Rino's story, and smiles. However, at l. 08, Rino is still orienting to the progressivity of his explanation as he repairs l. 06. On the last syllable of *tipa*'woman', Rino hesitates, starts turning to Piera, orients his gaze to her and laughs at l. 09, while smiling too. Piera and Rino exchange mutual gaze and Rino utters at l. 11 a very delayed recognition turn: he says he got it now, as it seemed *biglietto*. Interestingly, even now that Rino has acknowledged the joke, the joke remains inferred and is not spelled out, as the participants have enough shared common knowledge to understand Piera's words without the need for an explicit explanation. 'Tickets' is ambiguous as it refers both to the bus ticket that the inspector was after, and which Rino did not have (hence, the fine); and also to show or movie tickets. Piera's joke lies then in asking the inspector for four tickets (in the latter sense) as Rino could not give him a bus ticket. Piera's joke is then reinforced by Giulio who shouts *biglietti*'tickets'.

Piera's 'doing being' Rino in this constructed dialogue does not serve the purpose of joining Rino's voice supporting his stance, as in the prior excerpt. It rather turns the story into a joke, which on the one hand interrupts the story (being, therefore, potentially, disaffiliative); on the other, Piera, Giulio and Rino build together the jocular dimension, changing the footing of the story (as shown by Giulio and Piera smiling when Giulio recognizes the joke l. 07, and Rino starts smiling when he recognizes the joke, l. 09, and they carry on beyond the end of the excerpt). Piera's turn is an additional action. However, she formats it as an other-extension, targeting the lexical item *biglietti*. *Me ne dia quattro* emerges and is retrospectively recognizable as being in pragmatic/semantic relationship with *e questo fa biglietti biglietti siamo l'attieme*. Piera uses morpho-deictic resources (1st person pronoun, partitive object pronoun *ne* anaphorically referred to *biglietti*, the verb at the imperative of the 3rd person as referred to the ticket inspector) that make her turn unambiguously recognized as a turn that extends the reported speech started by Rino, and a quote uttered while doing being Rino.

Ex. 6.3.2 Mi13DIN2-42, 04:34-04:58

The following dinner's excerpt shows a candidate continuation, introduced by the additive conjunction *e*'and' and formatted as a coordinative clause. The contributing speaker creates a jocular effect. Angela (ANG) explains how she eventually went to the illegal "bookshop" set up by her professor who was infamous for his illicit business¹²⁵.

01 ANG €una cavolo di:: di €libreria che^era v- v- vergognosa
a damn (of of) bookshop that was shameful

ANG €gazes at RIN----->€down at GIU's plate----->

02 perché^in realtà era€una√cucina (.) >cioè< aveva proprio lì::
because actually it was a kitchen I mean it has right there

ANG ----->€at RIN----->1.04

RIN √gz. at ANG----->1.08

03 .h i lavelli eccetera.
the inks etcetera

04 era stata:: €h eh: <adibita> a libr€eria,
it had been huh converted into a bookshop

ANG ----->€gz. down in front of her--->€at RIN-->

05 io ero entrata perché €poi le^hm-%in magi€strale
I had gone inside because then the hm during my master

ANG ----->€down----->€at RIN-->1.11

GIO %gz. at ANG

06 m'ero fatta: (.) √consape[vole e consenzie[nte,]
I had become aware and consenting

07 RIN [feh eh eh]

08 → GIO [e ti] hanno€
and they

ANG ----->€

RIN ----->√down to the plate from which he eats-->

09 €offerta αle melanza:ne,
offered you some eggplants

ANG €at GIO----->1.11

GIO αmoves rx arm and hand palm-up forward-->

10 RIN [((laughs))]

11 ANG [#e mi α%€han dato] €sti libri.
and they gave me those books

ANG ----->€at RIN--->€down----->>

GIO ----->%

GIO ----->α

fig #fig.1

12 ANG ((laughs))



fig.1 Giorgio moves forward his right hand and arm with palm-up, gesturing "offering"

¹²⁵ Cf. excerpts 5.2.5 and 5.3.5.

At l. 01, Angela describes the bookshop to which she refers first as *cavolo di* 'a damn (of)', and then as *vergognosa* 'shameful', showing through her lexical choices her negative stance toward the situation. At l. 02, she provides an account of why it was shameful: it was actually a converted kitchen where you could still see the sinks and the rest (ll. 03-04). At this point she is mostly looking at Rino, who is also the only participant who is gazing at her, while the others are looking down at their plates while eating (not in the transcript). At l. 05, Angela starts with *io* 'I', introducing her personal experience (finally she had gone in). But here she provides a side note, about the awareness she gained during her master (l. 06) of the illicit business carried out by the professor in the illegal bookshop. Her turn is uttered with projective prosody, since more of the story is yet to come. But Rino makes a muffled noise/laugh (while eating) as acknowledgment of Angela's gained awareness. And Giorgio, in a terminal overlap (Jefferson, 1986), completes Angela's story providing a turn that Rino treats as laughable (l. 10). Giorgio mimics the gesture of handing over something (fig. 1) while orienting to the element in the story that has to do with the kitchen and providing a joke about food. Specifically, he completes her *io ero entrata* 'I had gone inside with *e ti hanno offerto le melanzane* 'and they offered you some eggplant'¹²⁶. Angela first turns to glance at Giorgio (l. 09), while orienting to the progressivity of the story, but then laughs as well at l. 12.

Giorgio's turn is timed and formatted to come in the slot where a possible completion or another segment of the story could have been, as shown by the projective prosody at the end of *consenziente* 'consenting'. This candidate continuation is tied to Angela's TCU by a coordinative conjunction that makes ll. 08-09 an addition to line 05 (in a pragmatic *periodo*). Giorgio is, therefore, subverting the trajectory of Angela's story. His contribution is also morphologically formatted as reversing the directionality of Angela's turn as well, as Giorgio refers to *ti* 'to you' in his turn. However, the agent and beneficiary of the action (cf. Couper-Kuhlen, 2014) in Angela's turn are herself, as in Giorgio's turn: indeed, he uses the 2nd person pronoun that from his deictic perspective represents the deictic 'I' in Angela's turn.

Giorgio's TCU emerges as a unit of the multi-unit turn in which Angela's story is unfolding. However, by providing an unexpected candidate continuation (a joke about

¹²⁶ Before they started cooking, Giorgio was cutting eggplants to help Giulio with the dinner preparation.

eggplants in a bookshop that is actually a kitchen) Giorgio turns the story into a shared laughable, as shown by Angela's and Rino's reactions.

Ex. 6.3.3 Mi13DINFULL, 02:12:47-02:12:58¹²⁷

Taken from the same dinner, in the following excerpt a speaker reverses the directionality of the host turn through an other-extension, thereby creating a joke effect. The five friends are talking about how dirty a shared house can get. Piera (PIE) was arguing that if you clean the bathroom a little every time, you avoid it becoming very dirty; she gives the bathroom sink as an example.

```

01    GIO    %@ci vuole uno [che >si mette li< e lo fa di costan[za.
        you need someone that turns up and does it consistently
        GIO    %gazes at PIE----->1.07
        PIE    @gz. at GIO----->1.08
02    PIE    [ESATT-
        exactl-
03    ANG    [mmm
        mhm
04    PIE    [no
        no
05    >ma non ↑è< solo quello.
        but it's not only that
06    PIE    è anche tipo: (.) *le macchioline e gli sputacchi
        it's also like the little stains and the spatters
        GIU    *gz. at PIE----->1.15
07    di dentifricio al quale √si appiccicano∞i pe:li% e le cose no?
        of toothpaste to which hair and stuff get stuck no?
        GIO    ----->%
        RIN    √gz. at PIE----->1.13
        RIN    ∞smiles----->>
08    (0.2)@
        PIE    ---->@
09    GIU    @che [schifo. ]
        that's gross
        PIE    @gz. at GIU----->
10    PIE    [>man mano<] fa#[sch[i@fo.]
        little by little it's gross
        PIE    ----->@...
11    ANG    #ə$[↑e:w[: ] $ ə
        ANG    $disgusted face$
        ANG    əsquirms backward bringing arms
        into body, shiveringə

```

¹²⁷ A version of the analysis of this excerpt is included in Calabria & De Stefani (2020).

fig

#fig.1



fig. 1 Angela squirms backward, shivering, expressing disgust

```

12      RIN                                     @£[a co]sa stai pensando?£@
                                                what are you thinking (of)?
      PIE                                     @gz. at RIN----->@
13      RIN      #S@((laughs)) *[(laughs))      *
      PIE      $pulls funny faces----->>
      PIE      @shrugs, brings rx hand forward palm-up-->>
      fig      #fig.2

```

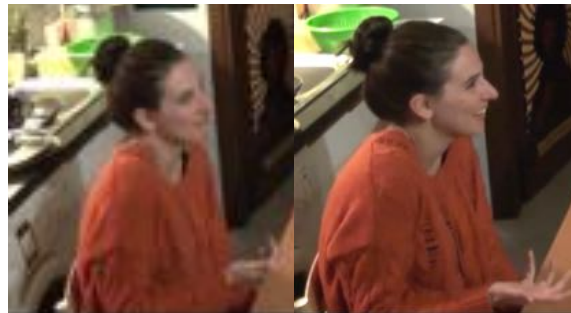


fig. 2 Piera shrugs, makes funny expressions, and brings her right hand forward with palm-up

```

14      PIE      [°°chissà?°°
15      → GIU      *[al √tuo lavan[dino?$
                  of your sink?
      GIU      *gz. at RIN----->>
      PIE      ----->$
      RIN      ----->√gz. at GIU---->>
16      PIE      [tsk
                  tsk

```

At l. 01, Giorgio states that to keep the house clean you need somebody who cleans it constantly. At first, Piera, who is gazing at Giorgio, starts confirming at l. 02, and Angela produces an acknowledgment token at l. 03. But at l. 04 Piera orients to repairing with *no* and then saying explicitly that it is not only ‘that’. At ll. 06-07, she spells out what the issue with the sink is: ‘the little stains and the spatters of toothpaste to which hair and stuff get stuck’. Her graphic description occasions a negative evaluation by Giulio (*che schifo/that’s gross*) at l. 09, who was already looking at her. In overlap, at l. 10, Piera produces a congruous evaluation too. At l. 11, Angela also complies with this assessment by exhibiting a mimicry that denotes disgust (fig. 1). At this point, at l. 12, Rino, who had

already started gazing at Piera and smiling at l. 07, asks with laughing voice the question *a cosa stai pensando?*/'what are you thinking (of)?', to Piera who reorients her gaze toward him. By saying it with a laugh, Rino formats his question as a joke. Indeed, Piera does not provide a conforming answer to the question, but she engages in a complex expressive bodily manifestation (fig. 2), shrugging, making funny faces and bringing her hand forward with palm-up, indexing obviousness (cf. Müller, 2004), while pronouncing, in very low volume, the (rhetoric) question *chissà?*/'who knows?'. With her body conduct, Piera displays that the answer to Rino's question is obvious, so obvious that she does not need to answer explicitly. Specifically, her stance is displayed by her facial expression (cf. Kaukomaa, Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori, 2015). Rino responds to this embodied manifestation with an extended laugh (l. 13), which shows, in turn, that Rino himself treats his question as the start of a joking episode. Piera and Rino share common knowledge: their being in a romantic relationship is manifested. Not only does Rino's question orient to building a jocular dimension, but it also co-build an inferable with Piera. At l. 15, Giulio self-selects by gazing at Rino and asks the question *al tuo lavandino?*/'of your sink?'. Giulio requests confirmation of the inferable he has just spelled out. This other-extension has an ambiguous pragmatic and grammatical status. If Giulio's prepositional phrase *al tuo lavandino* extends the prior action, being the "candidate answer" (cf. Pomerantz, 1988) embedded in Rino's question, it would then be addressed to Piera continuing the recipient directionality (cf. Lerner, 2004) of Rino's turn at l. 12. If, instead, it is a question to Rino, Giulio then reverses the directionality of Rino's turn, using it as a host to attach his contribution, and, in this case, performing a new action. Giulio's gaze orientation (who gazes at Rino and not at Piera) suggests that, in fact, Giulio's TCU is a grammatical extension of Rino's turn but it reverses its directionality (and one could also wonder whether Giulio is verbalizing Piera's facial expressions). This is, thus, at least for Lerner (2004), a new action.

Two aspects of Giulio's TCU are of interest here: first, even though Giulio does not continue the prior action, he does extend the ongoing teasing activity, jointly building the jocular dimension by adding his contribution to Rino's and Piera's. In other words, although Giulio's TCU is a new action, he extends the activity of building the jocular dimension:

Nonseriousness (or seriousness) is a result of negotiation and collaboration between the participants and thus resides in social action" [...]. Holt argued that framing an action as potentially nonserious provides various possibilities for the recipient's response, ranging from orienting to the serious aspects of the turn to approaching it as entirely nonserious. (Kaukomaa, Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori, 2015: 339)

Rino turns to gaze at Giulio and smiles, while Piera smacks her lips (at l. 16) in response, once again displaying that the answer is obvious and Giulio has detected the right inference. Second, Giulio constructs his other-extension as syntactically dependent on Rino's turn: the prepositional phrase exploits a latent structure¹²⁸ (Auer, 2014) made available by Rino, i.e. the argumentative structure of the verb *pensare* 'to think' (which in Italian is followed by the preposition *a* 'of, about' when introducing the indirect object, or second argument of the verb). The same grammatical structure, but uttered with a final descending intonation, would have constituted instead a perfectly formed answer to the question in l. 12 and therefore would not have been formatted as a turn-extension (Fox, 2007 has shown that answers can be built to be symbiotic with the question and that they are "positionally sensitive", using Schegloff's 1996 terminology). Giulio's question is indeed an ironic suggestion to Piera, although asked to the "owner" of the sink, Rino, who becomes Giulio's gaze recipient. Syntactic questions are not always used for seeking new information and questions are commonly used as a vehicle for doing other actions (cf. also Koshik, 2005).

This excerpt shows that starting from the activity that is being carried on, from the sequential slot in which a TCU is provided and from the action achieved, makes apparent how grammar is relevant for speakers to ensure the integration of their TCUs together. This integration is achieved both when the contributing speaker provides a candidate clausal contribution and candidate *phrasal* contribution, like in this case. A TCU that a speaker utters as a new action can still be formatted as a dependent grammatical unit (cf. Sidnell, 2012): the distinction between new and dependent action, independent and

¹²⁸ Auer (2014: 557), in describing phrases which are used also in answers to questions, states: "A high number of the intonational phrases which can be detected in conversational language do not correspond to syntactically self-contained units, i.e., they cannot be assigned external syntax when looked at in isolation. The reason why these intonational phrases are nonetheless unproblematic to understand for hearers is that they borrow their external syntactic structure from a structure activated beforehand, i.e., from a directly or indirectly preceding host."

dependent grammar becomes blurry, as speakers, most of all in multiperson settings, take someone else's words (the latent structure) in order to co-build a specific shared participative dimension.

6.4 Verifying while displaying one's own understanding

The last type of pragmatic turn-combination is made up of cases where another speaker provides a TCU after a problematic turn to verify the understanding of this turn, while at the same time displaying their own understanding. Displaying understanding is a retrospective process as pointed out by Depperman (2015: 70), who already argued that:

Collaborative turn-constructions are especially apt for displaying understanding because they create a common cohesive and dependent structure which consists of *ego's* and *alter's* turn. In this way, intersubjectivity is displayed through the production of a shared structure with a collaboratively constructed meaning. Understanding of prior speaker's intention can be displayed by a second speaker through completing the turn in a way he/she assumes the turn to have been intended by the prior speaker (or at least in a way acceptable to him/her), or by formulating its content more explicitly via turn-expansion. In this way, turn-continuations afford first speakers an opportunity to check recipients' understandings.

He also distinguished completions and continuations (which in his view build on and presuppose the other speaker's prior formulation), from reformulations (cf. Heritage & Watson, 1979). In the latter, a contributing speaker replaces the prior speaker's words demonstrating their understanding by reusing the prior speaker's own words.

The candidate contributions presented in this section, similarly to reformulations, do not reformulate questions in order to avoid answering (cf. Clayman, 1993) or a problematic turn in order to correct what has been said (cf. Stokoe, 2015). They are also different from other-repairs (cf. Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977), or corrections (cf. Goodwin, M.H., 1983), or, at any rate, they are not treated as such. They are designed as grammatically building on the prior speaker's turn, extending it both pragmatically and semantically.

As Lerner (1991) and Bolden (2003) have pointed out, collaborative completions are "the most convincing device" (Bolden, 2003: 188) that speakers have and use to

display understanding of the interlocutor's unfolding turn. However, if this is true for the affiliative nature of co-constructed completions, the candidate contributions presented in this section are used to *do* explicitly verifying one's own understanding. They are timed to come after the problematic turn(s), after a potential TRP, thereby not completing the ongoing turn-in-progress or verifying the understanding of talk while it is unfolding. A contributing speaker verifies their understanding of a potentially complete piece of information. Sacks (1992; 252ff) had already shown that displaying understanding is a temporally and sequentially organized interactive process. In Deppermann's (2015: 59) words: "understanding and intersubjectivity in interaction are thoroughly temporal phenomena." Ha also highlighted a point that is also crucial here for the sequential position of these candidate contributions: "Sequential positions of turns in interaction provide an infrastructure for displaying understanding and accomplishing intersubjectivity" (Deppermann, 2015: 70).

These contributions occasion the least grammatically integrated types of CT (although the speakers still deploy the latent structure available in prior turns). This tests the concept of narrow collaboration (cf. Luke, 2021), i.e., collaboration expressed via the overt deployment of turns linked to a host turn by virtue of grammatical and/or pragmatic resources. These turns are uttered with descendent prosody, being also not appendor questions and are not designed as any type of question (in Italian, questions are designed through prosody). Because of their prosodic design, statement-like, these are double-barreled contributions: contributing speakers re-occasion a TRP adding some elements, both verifying and displaying their understanding of prior talk, and the original speaker treats these turns as something to verify and/or confirm.

Ex. 6.4.1 Mi13DINFULL, 00:08:50-00:08:58

The following excerpt, from the dinner, shows a case where a speaker produces an other-extension to verify, while also displaying, the correct understanding of the host turn. Before the other friends arrive, Giorgio (GIO) tells Giulio (GIU) that he has reconciled with his girlfriend after having a big fight during which he thought they would breakup, but in the end they worked it out.

01 GIO %*#adesso STO RIDENDO perché sono contento+ ca%pito?
 now I'm laughing because I'm happy do you get it?

```

GIO      %lifts head to gaze at GIU----->%down->1.06
GIO      >>smiles----->+
GIU      *gazes at dishes in front of him----->>
fig      #fig.1

```



fig.1 Giorgio, sitting at the table, looks at Giulio, while Giulio washes the dishes with his back to Giorgio

```

02      (0.3)
03      → GIU      °ma° per come è fini:ta.
           but for the way it ended
04      (0.3)
05      GIO      ↑minchia: ma te lo giuro.
           shit but I swear (to you)
06      (0.2)%
           ---->%
07      GIO      %+stavo ma:le di brutto. stavo+ MALE.
           I felt really bad I felt bad
           GIO      %gz. at GIU----->>
           GIO      +shakes head----->+

```

While Giorgio tells Giulio his romantic issues, he sits at the table smoking and drinking while Giulio is washing the dishes and is therefore turned toward the sink with his back to Giorgio (fig. 1). Giorgio orients to the noise of the running water from the tap and the clattering of dishes, by uttering certain words with higher volume. This is a rare occasion, in the selected corpus, where the conversation is actually dyadic.

At l. 01, while smiling, Giorgio says that now he can laugh about the big fight he had with his girlfriend, because he is happy. Giorgio contrasts the present with the past fight, as shown by the lexical *adesso* 'now' and the present continuous *sto ridendo*. He ends his turn with *capito?* 'do you get it?' (lit. 'understood?'), which Bazzanella (1990) has called a "phatic connective." Considering that the participants are not looking at each other and the setting is noisy (Giulio is washing dishes), Giorgio deploys *capito* as a device to verify the interlocutors understanding, both of the story and of the stance that he has explicitly expressed (cf. l. 01 *perché sono contento* 'because I'm happy'). Indeed, Giulio, at l. 03 utters a symbiont TCU 'for the way it ended', which grammatically connects to *sono contento per come è finita* 'I'm happy for the way it ended'. He formats his TCU as an other-extension, specifically a candidate recompletion dependent on l. 01,

as a subordinative final clause. Giulio's TCU is uttered with final prosody, statement-like, and it is prefaced by the adversative conjunction *ma*'but'. In this way, Giulio shows his understanding and can also verify that the reason for Giorgio's present happiness, in contrast with his past sadness, is that the story has a happy ending. The conjunction *ma* does not contrast Giorgio's words but the past and present situations. And at l. 05 Giulio obtains confirmation that his understanding is correct: Giorgio provides a ratification by using an emphatic swearword *minchia*'shit' (cf. Calabria & Sciubba, 2022), uttered with high-pitch. Giorgio follows this up by providing an even stronger expression of his negative stance toward his past feelings. He explicitly states so using the past tense: 'I felt bad' (l. 07) can be compared to 'now I'm laughing' in the present tense (at l. 01).

Unlike prior examples, the contributing participant here is not joining someone else's voice, turning the story into a laughable or forming a party with the original teller: Giulio verifies his own understanding while responding to the *verification phatic* request. And he does so effectively by attaching a grammatically symbiotic turn (l. 03) that continues the host turn (l. 01) and the argument contained in the host turn: *sono contento ma per come è finita*'I'm happy but for the way it ended'. Although with this other-extension, the contributing speaker carries out a new action, not only does the TCU grammatically emerge as an other-extension, but it also builds and extends the argument expressed by the prior speaker, to be heard as the correct understanding of this argument. Giulio's extension is prefaced by *ma*, which keeps the contrastive semantic but is interactionally used to affiliate and demonstrate understanding: the thing he shows understanding of is the contrast between Giorgio's present happiness and the past sad situation.

Ex. 6.4.2 Mi13DINFULL, 02:20:00-02:20:25

Taken from business meeting II, this excerpt shows a hybrid other-extension deployed by a speaker to verify her correct understanding of the topic of discussion. Mario (MAR), as a marketing and communication expert, has been invited by Paolo (PAO) to introduce the next topic on the agenda. Before the beginning of the excerpt, he replies that he has more than one topic to discuss but will start with sales pitches (l. 01).

```
01      MAR      @primo tema è  (.) le argomentazioni @di vendita
                                sales-pitches.F.PL
                                first topic is  the    sales pitches
MAR      @gazes at computer screen----->
```

```

MAR                                     ®touches papers->1.03
02      che mi erano state chieste alla riunione scorsa.@
        that were asked from me      in the previous meeting
MAR      ----->@
[...] ((omitted 02:20:04-02:20:10))
03      @®€*əh:: bisogna che vengano da un lato approvato,
        we need that on the one hand it is approved
MAR      @gz. at documents in his hands----->
MAR      ®skims through documents in his hands----->
ANN      €gz. at MAR----->>
PAO      *gz. at MAR----->1.05
04      e dall'altro: (.) definita la modalità:®(.) <di @utilizzo>
        on the other      defined      the method      of      use
MAR      ----->@at PAO-->
MAR      ----->®holds documents-->
05      e di diffusione @di questi- (.) di@questo strumen@to.=®*
        and dissemination of these      of this tool
MAR      ----->@at documents---->@at PAO----->@ANN->>
MAR      ----->®
PAO      ----->*
06      → ANN      =queste (.) era il primo live-. >c'eravamo detti<
        these.DEM.F.PL
        these      was the first lev- we had said
07      il primo livello [di (.) solution.
        the first level      of      solution
08      MAR      §[>il primo §e il secondo.<
        the first and the second
MAR      §stils head->§
09      ANN      §il primo e il secondo.§
        the first and the second
ANN      §nods----->§

```

In l. 01, Mario introduces the first topic of his list: the sales pitches he was asked for in the prior meeting (l. 02). A few seconds are omitted where he launches a side sequence about the prior meeting, and then in l. 03 he goes back to the first topic. He starts a multi-unit-turn explanation that is projected first by the verb *bisogna* 'it is needed'. The impersonal verb, as complement-taking verb, projects a subject complement clause followed by the complementizer *che* 'that', and by the bipartite *da un lato* 'on the one hand' and *dall'altro* 'on the other'. The morphology of the verbs (the agreement in number and gender) is, however, incongruent: first, the auxiliary verb *vengano* 'they are' lit. 'they would come' is in the plural, which matches the referent *le argomentazioni di vendita* 'the sales pitches' (which is a plural feminine NP), but the participle that follows (and that occasions a passive structure with the auxiliary verb) *approvato* 'approved' is in masculine singular. Then at l. 04, Mario switches subject: he utters another participle *definita* 'defined' in feminine singular, followed by an NP *la modalità* 'the method', which agrees with the participle but is also a switch of the grammatical subject. Finally

at l. 05, Mario self-repairs a plural *questi*/'these' with the singular *questo*/'this' referred to *strumento*/'tool' that he had not mentioned before.

The possible grammatical mismatches have not created ambiguity or misunderstanding in the recipients of Mario's talk. Instead, at l. 06, using an anaphoric demonstrative pronoun *queste*/'these' (feminine, plural), Annina extends Mario's turn. She re-anchors back to *argomentazioni di vendita* at l. 01 but does not follow with the 'expected' plural verb. Instead, she uses the singular *era*/'it was' and a singular subject: 'the first level'. The overall turn emerges as a main clause, introduced by the anaphoric demonstrative pronoun. Annina is orienting to verifying her understanding of the implications of Mario's words: she asks whether this is the first level, adding in a rush-through, *c'eravamo detti*/'we had said', orienting to a prior agreement, and making relevant the knowledge acquired in prior meetings (cf. Button, 1991). She repeats 'the first level' and adds 'of solution'. In overlap, at l. 08, Mario other-repairs her, by replying to her verification with 'the first and the second' (level). Annina nods and repeats (l. 09), displaying her new understanding.

Annina's ll. 06-07 emerge as *prima facie* a new TCU. However, her sentence refers anaphorically back (with the deictic demonstrative *queste*/'these' in the feminine plural) to the topic introduced by Mario, *argomentazioni di vendita* (a feminine, plural NP). Her turn follows Mario's, emerging as a TCU in multi-unit turn. Mario corrects and confirms Annina's understanding at l. 08, even before she has finished her turn. This excerpt shows that verifying one's own understanding is a situated action that serves the purpose of solving localized problems in a prior turn. The target elements can be recalled by speakers, not only by mobilizing lexical resources but also by deploying morpho-deictic resources. These resources shape an unfolding turn through which a speaker can achieve a new action. However, this turn is also unambiguously pragmatically linked to a prior host, extending it.

Ex. 6.4.3 Mi13PRO1-42, 32:24-32:44 - Mi13PRO2-47, 31:52-32:12

Taken from business meeting I, this excerpt shows how a speaker reformulates the prior speaker's turn, verifying their understanding of prior talk that unfolds as troubled, by co-constructing. Ezio (EZI) is giving feedback about one of the company's employees.

01 EZI *√>mi sono reso conto<,
 I realized

Collaborative Grammar

PAO *gazes down at papers in front of him-->l.05
 EZI √gazes sideways to his hands----->

02 EZI tornando anche su alcune cose di più √insieme.
going back also to some things a bit more together
 EZI ----->√at PAO->

03 √che contini√ nell'ultimo mese ha un feedback
that Contini in the last month has a positive
 EZI √sideways-->√eyes half closed----->

04 posi√tivo, hm::
feedback hm
 EZI --->√sideways-->l.06
 05 (0.8)*
 PAO ---->*at EZI

06 EZI .h ha *aumentato in √modo esponenzi*ale,√ (0.3)*hm:√
 07 (he) raised in an exponential way hm
 PAO ---->*down at documents----->*at EZI----->*down->
 EZI ----->√at PAO----->√upward--->√

08 √<la* qualità√ e*la quan√tità* (.)√*#†di rela*zioni+messe,>
the quality and the quantity of relations put
 PAO --->*at EZI----->*down----->*EZI-*sideways-*at EZI-->l.10
 PAO +nods l.10
 EZI √gz. in PAM's direction-√sideways-√at PAO----->>>
 EZI †raises open hands->l.11
 fig #fig.1



fig.1 Ezio moves his raised open hands from left to right and vice versa following them with his gaze

09 e::h[:hm:
 um

10 PAO *[sì.+
 yes
 PAO ->*down-->
 PAO ----->+

11 EZI *[°sì è-° †
 sì is-

PAO *at EZI-->>
 EZI moves hands rx & lx following w. his gaze†

12 → PAO [sì è mosso meglio.
 he made better moves

13 EZI .h sì
 yes

Ezio designs his TCU at l. 01 as a personal realization that he also hedges somewhat at l. 02, framing his feedback as a personal opinion rather than an explanation or a report. He is talking to Paolo but switches his gaze sideways and looks at his hands, only glancing at Paolo (at the end of l. 02). At l. 03, he explicitly names the subject of his

feedback, Contini who has had positive feedback. At l. 04 Ezio's turn is still not complete, as shown by the projective prosody and hesitation. Ezio keeps his eyes half closed in a thinking face (cf. Goodwin, M.H., 2017). A pause follows at l. 05 during which Paolo gazes at Ezio. At l. 06 Ezio breaths audibly and goes on talking about Contini (who is anaphorically referred to by the verb conjugated in 3rd person singular), but at the end of l. 06 he hesitates again, before continuing at l. 08, with a slowly-uttered turn that projects more to come. However, at l. 09, the follow up does not come, but instead a long hesitation. At this point Paolo, who had started nodding at l. 08, first expresses his being on board and his understanding vocally with *sì*/'yes' at l. 10, and then at l. 12, reformulates Ezio's turn, verifying his understanding of Ezio's prior troubled report.

Paolo co-constructs Ezio's turn, using the same subject as shown by the verb 'to be' *è*/'is', in 3rd person singular and by the participle of *mosso*/lit. 'moved' in masculine singular, hence referring to Contini. His turn is grammatically formatted as a main clause, however, its interpretation is only possible by looking at Ezio's prior turns, to which Paolo's turn is linked. Paolo does not take the floor during the multiple *loci* of hesitation in Ezio's talk but only self-selects after Ezio's long hesitation (l. 09), thus providing a collaborative rather than competitive turn. By reformulating with a TCU that unambiguously refers back to the same subject in Ezio's turn, Paolo helps Ezio, orienting to the problematicity of Ezio's unfolding TCUs, without addressing it explicitly. In this way Paolo is not heard as repairing, or treating Ezio's turn as troubled, but as supporting Ezio's report, while also displaying his being 'on board' with it. Ezio at l. 13, indeed, ratifies Paolo's turn explicitly with 'yes', positively verifying Paolo's understanding¹²⁹. Addressing a problematic turn by other-extending it, reusing the latent open grammatical slots in it, is an effective way to verify whilst also showing understanding of what the original speaker is referring to.

6.5 Summary: inter-actional clause combining

Chapter 6 investigated co-built structures, beyond one TCU and beyond one clause. In contrast to chapter 5, where the starting point was the interplay between the grammatical

¹²⁹ Moreover, Paolo contributes when they both sustain mutual gaze at l. 11, which shows how sustained mutual gaze can favor providing a candidate contribution (cf. Calabria & De Stefani, *under review*).

design of the candidate contributions and their temporal placement, in this chapter I started from certain actions speakers achieve with candidate contributions. These actions emerge in specific settings, as context-sensitive, and are activity-bounded. Institutional settings differ from ordinary ones for several reasons (see chapter 4): for instance, the explicit stating of a topic selected from an agenda; the professional roles participants have that give them different deontic and epistemic rights (cf. Van de Mieroop, 2020); the need to take action in response to an instruction rather than just affiliate with it (cf. also Calabria & Sciubba, 2022). To Kangasharju's (2012) observation that an effective way to ally with someone in institutional meetings is by completing their turn-in-progress, I add that an effective way of making a point clear is co-explaining it to not knowledgeable (K-) co-participants (co-workers), who need to treat what is said as an instruction with which to comply. Co-explaining and verifying one's own understanding is more relevant in institutional settings, in my data. Conversely, the cases of collaborative reported speech I documented come mostly from an ordinary setting, the dinner. In this setting, stories and personal experience are shared and co-constructed by the participants. This does not exclude the possibility of finding storytelling in business meetings and shared explanations (or instructions) in everyday-settings. However, the recurrence of a practice in a specific setting confirms that these large packages are bound to a type of activity.

Jointly-building a multi-unit turn is possible both in dyadic and multiperson interactions, but in the latter case the participation framework changes from a number of speakers and recipients or hearers to a different number of parties and recipients. In multiperson settings, visibly and audibly self-selecting and aligning with the ongoing activity by enhancing the speaker's story, continuing it, merging individual voices into one, or by co-explaining a known-in-common topic, are effective practices to demonstrate participation and collaboration. They can also be used to show a story is worth pursuing and to create shared jocular moments. Shared common ground (cf. Clark, 2015), knowledge and experience that belong to all those present and unite their voices – shown through references to cultural, personal, and specialized domains (cf. Clark, 2015: 329) – are also relevant elements for CTs achieved in multiperson settings. Orletti (2008) showed that participants' shared common knowledge, favors the emergence of co-constructed utterances. The participant's epistemic stance is not only available to others based on the shared system of knowledge and experience among the participants

(e.g. the participants are colleagues working for the same company; or they have all been students in the same system, etc.). It is also displayed when speakers self-select and complete, continue or extend another participant's turn: every turn is an occasion to draw on this common knowledge and use it to join the original teller. As Goodwin, C.'s (1996: 327) remarked, every turn offers an: "unfolding horizon of future possibilities." Thus, CTs emerge when – among these possibilities – collaboration is maximized, either because a candidate contribution emerges as continuing, completing or symbiotic to a host turn from a grammatical point of view, or as extending, continuing, enhancing the prior action by carrying on the same activity as the original teller, or both. Maximizing collaboration can be done by jointly building a multi-unit turn: a contributing speaker takes a slot within the larger package of the ongoing activity and fills it with a turn that is uttered as linked to the host turn. Integration is achieved via voice quality, anaphorical, morpho-deictic and lexico-semantic resources; by recycling grammar and gestures; or by displaying an epistemic stance¹³⁰ drawing on common shared knowledge or know how (cf. Arminen et al., 2021).

As shown in chapter 5, after a candidate contribution, a third turn is dedicated to its ratification, either verbal or embodied, or by embedding the contribution in this turn and continuing with the talk. However, the cases analyzed in this chapter show a different picture: in all but three cases (those in § 6.4), the original teller goes on with the telling, gazes, or laughs in the third turn instead, without providing ratification. A third participant, who becomes the common recipient of the original teller and the contributing speaker (as shown by the common gaze orientation of the co-tellers toward the other addressees and not toward each other) can ratify the contribution. This is further evidence that the candidate contributions analyzed serve the purpose of co-building a multi-unit turn: the contributing TCUs are not treated as "completing" the activity, but as providing an additional unit to it. Completion, as already postulated by Selting (2000), is an interactive achievement. Thus, the activity goes on with another unit (provided by the original teller), or the common recipient of the co-speakers can respond to the overall multi-unit turn. When a co-participant shares the turn space with a teller, they collaborate

¹³⁰ "Epistemic stance concerns how speakers position themselves in terms of epistemic status in and through the design of turns at talk. While there is often congruence between epistemic status and epistemic stance such that the epistemic stance encoded in a turn is aligned to the epistemic status of the speaker, this congruence is not inevitable." (Heritage 2012: 33)

rather than compete for the turn. Verbal ratification is not needed from the original teller: “there are lower demands on the primacy of verbal expression” (Keevallik, 2014: 118). The cases in § 6.4 show composite actions (cf. Rossi, 2018: 379): speakers display their own understanding of a prior speaker’s turn, to which they refer, but they also verify their understanding, performing an action that makes conditionally relevant the prior speaker’s confirmation in the next turn.

The candidate contributions presented here form collaborative multi-unit turns, i.e., not formed of two components, but of multiple units, one of which is co-built. For this reason, these candidate contributions, despite being syntactically less explicitly tied to the host turns, are pragmatically integrated with them, as part of multi-unit turns. I argue that the grammatical units that emerge from these multi-unit turns form *periodi*. The emerging clauses and sentences are combined together, anaphorically linked to each other, not primarily by syntax, but by virtue of the inter-actional relations that bind the TCUs together. The combination of clauses and sentences in the building of multi-unit-turns sheds light on how larger grammatical structures come to be from the patching together of smaller units. Ultimately, the analyses in chapter 6 show the other side of the coin from chapter 5: as grammar shapes interaction, interaction shapes grammar, in a reflexive relationship. Specifically, clause combining are used to integrate actions, while at the same time clauses and sentences are connected and combined based on the actions speakers achieve. *Prima facie* independent grammatical units emerge, in fact, as symbiotic or paratactically connected with what precedes. Luke (2021) recently suggested that a grammatical and formal study of CTs needs to be integrated with a meaning and action based analysis, to understand for what purpose participants collaborate in joint productions. In line with this approach, the analyses in this chapter complement those in chapter 5. Speakers deploy collaborative resources for the purpose of jointly-building a multi-unit-turn, without competing for the floor. Clause combining patterns emerge from this collaborative process while contributing to its achievement.

7. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

If linguistics cannot be done properly without interaction, so too the study of interactional conduct is dependent on linguistic generalizations.

Selting & Couper-Kuhlen (2001: 5)

There is nothing new under the sun, but there are new suns.

Octavia E. Butler (1979) Kindred

7.1 General findings and contributions to the field; 7.2 Discussion of the findings; 7.3 Grammar: a matter of collaboration; 7.3.1 Implications for collaborative turns; 7.3.2 Implications for the notions of turn and clause; 7.3 Future paths for research

In this final chapter I summarize the main findings of my analyses and discuss their relevance for research in Interactional Linguistics. I first respond to the two main research questions presented in chapter 1:

1. How do practices of clause combining relate to the sequential and temporal organization of turns in talk-in-interaction? How do speakers project possible clause combinations and how do hearers interpret successively uttered turns (in clausal format) in relation to each other?
2. How does collaborative clause combining emerge incrementally as speakers construct their turns-at-talk in collaborative turns?

I address the sub-questions deriving from the mains questions and provide an overview of the analytical results. These results have implications for our understanding of turns and clauses, and the relationship between them, as well as for studies on collaborative turns. Finally, I explore future paths this research could take.

7.1 General findings and contributions to the field

This thesis is a contribution to studies on clause combination in spoken language, addressing the issue of how simple syntax expands incrementally into complex patterns. From the mutual monitoring of each other's grammatical and interactional projections, speakers can contribute to an emerging grammatical unit, while at the same time reshaping and complexifying it. When speakers orient to the practice of collaboratively building turns, they mobilize collaborative grammar, i.e., resources that make speakers'

turns heard as grammatically integrated with each other and allow them to achieve a CT. Clause combining emerges from the unfolding of turns, while speakers are engaged in their collaborative endeavor. Moreover, clause combining, reflexively, allows speakers to achieve this collaborative endeavor. Linking a candidate contribution to the host turn in a syntactically integrated way ensures the contribution is heard as collaborative and not as competitive turn-taking. By focusing on the phrasal and clausal design of jointly-built productions, I examined how complex grammar emerges from the speakers' continuous adapting to interactional contingences. Participants are not themselves concerned with the patterns of clause combining their contributions produce. They, nonetheless, deploy the tools offered by collaborative grammar to manage their interactional deeds and achieve overt collaboration. While doing so, multiple speakers can incrementally complexify the syntax of the talk-in-progress. With this research I, therefore, addressed Stoenica & Pekarek Doehler's (2020: 304) research *desideratum*:

We still know little about how 'simple syntax' expands into 'complex syntax' in real time, that is, how clause-combining patterns emerge incrementally (cf. Schegloff, 1996; Ford et al., 2002), out of the moment-by-moment unfolding of turns and actions, as part of people's local meaning-making processes in social interaction.

This thesis also contributes to the literature on co-constructions, collaborative completions, other-extensions, other-increments, and, in general, practices of jointly building turns. By providing an integrated analysis of grammar and actions, prosody and embodiment, I showed how speakers can build together TCUs, turns, and even multi-unit turns. My new taxonomy of collaborative turns emphasizes how completing co-constructing or extending a prior speaker's turn allows contributing speakers to achieve a variety of actions and shape the ongoing activity in different ways. Moreover, different grammatical affordances are in play in each of these formats. However speakers achieve CTs through all types of contributions: these turns are not designed as responsive actions or as the relevant next action, but as part of the prior turn. Speakers join their voices to the original speaker's, by means of collaborative grammar. I showed how speakers can build together monoclausal units thereby "sharing syntax" (cf. Helasvuo, 2004), multiclausal units, thereby expanding syntax (cf. Auer, 2015), and complex *periodi*,

sentence combinations that allow them to co-build activities spanning multi-unit turns. By looking at what people can achieve by orienting to CTs with collaborative grammar, I contributed to Luke's (2021: 24-25) line of research:

we can move this field of research forward by integrating the formal side of turn construction much more tightly with the meaning/action side of it. It is in this integration that we see the possibilities of uncovering the real potential of joint productions as a special option within the broader framework of turn-taking itself.

With its focus on Italian, my thesis also enriched the scarce body of work on the grammar of Italian talk-in-interaction. For a long time, the Italian grammatical tradition was based on a conception of linguistic structures as finite products, without examining how speakers shape language in every-day settings ("grammar without spoken language" according to Voghera, 2017: 20)¹³¹. By focusing on the production of Italian in real-time, and on the emergence of grammatical units "on the fly" (Hopper, 2011a), I moved away from "the written language bias" (Linell, 2005). This uncovered, on the one hand, new aspects of grammar arising from qualitative analysis of talk-in-interaction; and, on the other, the ways in which grammar is actually relevant for interactants. Grammar without actions achieved, and action formation without the grammatical means involved would only give a partial picture of interaction. My work thus addresses Voghera's (2017: 198-199) observations:

lo studio del parlato può contribuire a una teoria della grammatica sostanzialmente in due modi. In primo luogo, ci permette di scoprire usi linguistici che o non sono osservabili in altre modalità o lo sono solo parzialmente [...]. In secondo luogo, il parlato ci permette di scoprire connessioni tra livelli di codificazione che rimarrebbero altrimenti nascoste, ma che sono centrali per la grammatica generale di una lingua [...]. Il parlato diventa l'origine di possibilità di codificazione e significazione che mettono in luce nuovi aspetti dell'architettura stessa della grammatica.¹³²

¹³¹ In the original Italian: "La grammatica senza parlato".

¹³² "The study of spoken language can contribute to a theory of grammar in essentially two ways. Firstly, it allows us to discover linguistic usages that are either not or only partially observable, in other modalities [...]. Secondly, spoken language allows us to unveil connections between levels of codification that would otherwise remain hidden, but which are central to the general grammar of a language [...]. Spoken language

The need to problematize labels coming from the Anglo-Saxon tradition and to favor a term coined within the Italian, e.g., *periodo*, should not be understood as discarding the former altogether. However, in line with, Laury, Etelämäki & Couper-Kuhlen (2017: 12), I deemed it necessary to define clause combining specifically as it emerges in Italian. It became apparent, in my analysis, that speakers of Italian, when building syntactic structures together incrementally, combine units that are larger than clauses: e.g., they can provide a clause to what had already been produced as clause combining by the prior speaker, occasioning complex sentences. This what I called a *periodo*, for Italian. This notion became very useful in the investigation of CTs that allow speakers to achieve multi-unit turns. It also gave justice to a more complex picture, which emerges when looking at syntax as an incremental process and not as a set of static structures.

This thesis also aimed at contributing to ongoing discussions on the concepts of projection and completion. CTs show how speakers draw on projections to provide their contributions. These projections are susceptible to temporality: the closer a contribution is provided to the target grammatical unit that is being co-constructed (in the host turn), the more likely the contributing speaker is to fulfil a projection e.g., immediately after a subject, a contributing speaker might provide the predicate. After a TRP, projections do not play a role anymore, as they might have been fulfilled already by the speaker of the host turn. However, speakers draw on grammatical referents, e.g., the argument structure of verbs, grammatical gender and number of adjectives when formatting their contributions as re-anchored to the host turn or to some elements in it. CTs also show how grammatical completion is not solely based on grammatically “complete” units. The notion of completion has been associated with grammatical, pragmatic and prosodic well-formedness of turns and their grammatical formatting (cf. Sack, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 1996). However, turn completion does not mean utterance completion. And vice versa, incomplete turns can, for all practical purposes, be formatted as grammatically complete utterances. Co-participants can treat incomplete grammatical units as complete for interactional purposes, as soon as they have “detected” the speaker’s projected trajectory. That co-participants are able to provide a candidate completion demonstrates this understanding. Pragmatic completion, i.e., action

becomes the origin of possibilities of codification and meaning, which shed light on new aspects of the very architecture of grammar.” [Translation is mine]

completion, is also negotiable: contributing speakers can join the original teller's voice in a larger activity, by providing a TCU as part of a shared multi-unit turn. Moreover, other-extensions (as shown, for instance, by Schegloff, 2007; Sidnell, 2012; Mazeland, 2019; Calabria & De Stefani, 2020) are resources that enable speakers to restart activities previously treated as closed down, to re-occasion TRPs, to effectively avoid turn-taking competition, when *de facto* treating what has been said as not "complete" yet. Finally, CTs show how prosodic completion is also negotiated: not only do contributing speakers orient to "completed" clausal turns produced with continuative prosody as projective of more to come (therefore to be completed or continued), but they also deploy final or continuative prosody as a way of displaying whether they are providing a continuation or a completion to the prior speaker. Completion is, therefore, not a "structural given" but rather an interactional achievement depending on: 1) how strong A's grammatical projection is, and, relatedly, speaker B's ability to anticipate the likely end of A's turn-in-progress and self-select at a moment in which speaker B treats speaker A's turn as complete; 2) how a turn-in-progress is prosodically designed, namely whether the speaker's intonation suggests that more-to-come can be expected; 3) the contributing speaker's collaborative rather than competitive turn-management, i.e., yielding "back" the turn to the original speaker after providing the contribution. Clause combining is oriented to by speakers in their practices of turn-taking, and different timing affects the patterns that emerge and the actions speakers carry out, shaping in specific ways the unfolding of a conversation.

In summary, this research contributes to the field in at least four ways: (i) by providing a study on clause combining in interaction and how combinatory patterns emerge in relation to turns-at-talk; (ii) by making a new taxonomy of collaborative turns; (iii) by focusing on spoken Italian; (iv) by discussing the concepts of "projections" and "completion", and by introducing "collaborative grammar".

7.2 Discussion of the findings

The main findings discussed in this section concern: the resources speakers mobilize to make their turns heard as integrated with another speaker's turn and achieve a CT; the clause combining patterns that emerge; the actions speakers accomplish with their candidate contributions; and the role of the body in this collaborative accomplishment.

Besides morphological resources, speakers mobilize the lexico-semantic and deictic-pragmatic resources and syntactic clausal formats available in Italian. These enable speakers to show their work toward achieving collaborative turns. What the analysis of CTs in chapters 5-6 has shown is that any unit in the prior turn can be co-constructed or reused to re-anchor a turn, not only the entire host turn. This demonstrates how turns-in-progress offer an “unfolding horizon of future possibilities” (Goodwin, C., 1996: 327). The outcome of these possibilities relates the speakers’ interactive process of monitoring each other and making sense of each other’s productions while they unfold. Candidate contributions emerge as the main clause following an adverbial clause, or as a clause coordinated with another main clause, both in syndetic and asyndetic paratactic combinations (see excerpts 7.1 and 7.2 as exemplifications of the tendencies in the whole corpus revealed by my analysis), across the four temporal categories (collaborative contributions provided after other lexical and non-lexical items; collaborative contributions provided after a pause; collaborative contributions latched to the target unit in A’s turn, collaborative contributions provided early):

Ex. 7.1 Mi13DIN2-44, 05:44-06:01

01	PIE	↑quando sarò^[in università la verrò a trovare ↑e, when I will be at university I will come to visit you
02	GIU	e le confesserò tutti:- and I will confess to you each one of
[...]		
04	GIU	i miei più <u>zozzi</u> segreti. my dirtiest secrets

Ex. 7.2 Mi13PRO1-52, 08:33-08:48

01	MAR	quando andiamo sulla >piattaforma digitale,<= when we go on the digital platform
02	ANN	=otteniamo, we obtain
[...]		
05	ANN	una cosa del tutto discordante. a completely discordant thing

Main coordinate clauses are projected when there is already a projective resource (e.g., e/’and’) in the host turn, as illustrated by excerpt 7.1 In the combination pattern adverbial clauses (l. 01) + main clause (ll. 02-05) (which occasion a compound TCU), the contributions emerge more often as the main clause after the original speaker has uttered an adverbial clause, as illustrated by excerpt 7.2.

It is not uncommon to provide a completion formatted as a main clause to an ongoing adverbial clausal turn. However, contributions formatted as adverbial *when-where-because*-clauses are very rare in my data (there are only two cases of final clauses, which I report below in excerpts 7.3¹³³ and 7.4). Moreover, adverbial clauses are only provided either after a pause or immediately after the target unit in the host turn.

Ex. 7.3 Mi13DINFULL, 00:08:50-00:08:58

01 GIO adesso STO RIDENDO perché sono contento capito?
now I'm laughing because I'm happy do you get it?
 (0.3)
 03 GIU °ma° per come è fini:ta.
but for the way it ended

Ex. 7.4 Mi13DINFULL, 00:18:38-00:18:39

01 ANG =paga l'affitto per leggere[:]
he pays the rent to read
 02 GIU [per] passare la giornata
to spend his day
 03 a leggere libri e fumar le canne.
reading books and smoking joints

There are no late contributions formatted as adverbial clauses in my collection, as they are the least integrated type of subordinate clauses. When formatting a turn as an adverbial clause, speakers of Italian project from the onset the type of clause that might unfold. These structures are therefore cataphorically projective¹³⁴. However, the adverbs and conjunctions deployed in adverbial clauses (*quando*/'when', *perché*/'because', *dove*/'where', etc.) are not anaphorically re-anchored as they are morpho-syntactically invariable. Therefore, unless the contributions follow the target host turn (as shown above) or a gap (and not other items are provided in between), it would be difficult to make them hearable as integrated with, or as about, a target item in the prior turn.

¹³³ I have annotated the clause *per come è finita*/'for the way it ended' as a final clause, and therefore I consider it an adverbial clause. It is important to notice that the turn is formatted with an initial *ma*/'but'. Although this is conventionally described an adversative conjunction, I do not consider it to be used as such here. See excerpt 6.4.1 for a complete analysis.

¹³⁴ Diessel (2005) remarked that adverbial clauses are easier to process cognitively when they follow a main clause in English. However, he continued: "adverbial clauses serve an important discourse pragmatic function when they precede the main clause: they lay the foundation for the discourse that follows" (*ibidem*: 460). This is the reason why, he concluded, they often precede the main clause. Speakers using adverbial clauses project both grammatically and interactionally the possible follow up of their turn. This allows contributing speakers to demonstrate their understanding of the projections by providing the expected main clause. Interactionally, thus, the clause combining pattern main + adverbial clause is more likely to emerge when the host turn is the adverbial and the candidate contribution is the main clause.

When a host turn is incomplete and the contribution is provided latched to or following a target unit in it, or after a pause (see § 5.2. and 5.3), the clausal contributions can emerge retrospectively as a subordinate clause (see excerpts 7.5, and 7.6).

Ex. 7.5 Mi13PRO1-52, 08:33-08:48

01	GIU	INVOGLIA	LA GENTE	Ā:::-
		entice.PRS.IND.3SG	people.N-DOBJ.F.SN	to.COMP
		<i>he entices</i>	<i>people</i>	<i>to</i>
02		(0.5)		
03	GIO	impugnare le armi		
		take up.INF	the-weapon.ART-N-DOBJ.F.PL	
		<i>take up</i>	<i>weapons</i>	

Ex. 7.6 Mi13DIN2-42, 06:28-06:44

01	ANG	ma tra l'altro di mantovani girava	sta	leggenda,
			go around.PAST.PST.IPFV.IND.3SG	this-legend.PRODEM-N.SBJ.F.SG
		<i>among other things about Mantovani</i>	<i>there was</i>	<i>this legend</i>
02		che poi era vera. .h		
		<i>which was then true</i>		
03	ANG	che lu:i=		
		that.COMP	he.PRO.M.3SG.SBJ	
		<i>that</i>	<i>he</i>	
04	GIO	=è frocio.		
		to be.PRS.IND.3SG.COP	fagot.ADJ	
		<i>is (a) fagot</i>		

Specifically, these excerpts illustrate that when the host turn contains the complementizer, the candidate contribution is designed as *prima facie* a VP (cf. nominal infinitives in Simone, 2003), or an independent clause, but complement clauses embedded in the host turn emerge from the co-construction. Speakers co-construct multiclausal structures: in the former case formatted as a main + an implicit complement clause; in the latter as a main + an explicit complement clause.

When the host turn is complete, contributing speakers can use relative-like clausal turns that re-anchor, through the polyvalent (cf. Berruto, 2012) *che*, their contribution to the preceding turns. These clausal turns are *prima facie* formatted as relatives. However the relative pronoun serves as a linking device rather than as a restrictive or non-restrictive relativizer, as further evidenced by the presence of an additional pronoun that anaphorically links back to a referent or to the overall topic in the host clause. In his sociolinguistic study Cerruti (2016) has documented this type of RC as one of four varieties, which he found in low registers of Italian. My interactional approach enabled me to document this type of RC in both ordinary (see excerpt 7.7) and institutional contexts (see excerpt 7.8), thereby complementing Cerruti's findings.

Ex. 7.7 To13APE2-52, 34:45-35:20

01 FLA vabbè prenderai: ^gli hard-disk este:rni.
well you'll take some external hard-disks

02 ALI ↑che ce l'ho già per le foto e tutti^i [miei documenti,
that.RELAT it.PRO.OBJ have.PRES.IND.1SG
that I already have for pictures and all my documents

Ex. 7.8 Mi13PRO1-50, 08:28-08:38

01 PAO .h e lì si mette uno stagista al cento per cento.
and there we place an intern at one hundred percent

02 MAR che già oggi io l'ho messa^a interfacciarci il knowledge.
that.RELAT I.PRO.SBJ.1SG her.PRO.PERSDOBJ.F.3SG put.RECPAST.IND.1SG-PTCP.F.SG
that already today I placed her to interface (for us) the knowledge

These structures allow speakers to display that their contribution is unambiguously referring back to the prior speaker's turn as part of it. In this way, contributing speakers can manage slight disagreement, disalignment, or also display alignment and understanding of the prior speaker's turn. This type of RC emerges in contributions that are directly following the prior turn or following a pause after the prior turn. Relative clauses produced late, e.g., after other talk has been articulated, refer instead more directly to a specific antecedent, in particular via morpho-syntactic resources (e.g., number agreement of the verb, or gender agreement) (see excerpt 7.9):

Ex. 7.9 Mi13PRO1-49, 31:01-31:20

01 PAO .hh il budget >che c'eravamo fissati< all'inizio
the.ART.DET..M.SG budget.N.M.SG
the budget that we had set for ourselves at the beginning

02 dell'anno, (1.5) non verrà raggiunto.
of the year will not be met

[...]

08 MAR che^era- che era rispetto a consuntivo precedente
which.RELAT be.PAST.PST.IPFV.IND.3SG
which was which was compared to the previous final balance

This confirms the general tendency (observed in all the data) that when contributions are provided following other items, speakers orient to clausal contributions that show more overtly their re-anchoring to the prior turn. It follows that there are no early or late contributions formatted as complement clauses without an overt lexical complementizer. Complement clauses and relative clauses, when following other lexical items, are uttered with an open complementizer (as illustrated by excerpt 7.10):

Ex. 7.10 Mi13PRO1-43, 12:38-13:00

01 ANN a fine anno dovremmo ricordarci che: questa [è una partita
 at the end of the year we should remember that this is a match
 02 PAM [di fatturare.
 to file invoices

Chapter 5 showed that formatting a turn with an overt marker of integration with the host turn from the onset is more relevant for the speakers the more enchronic time has passed from the target turn (this includes the presence of other items between the target unit and the contribution). Thus, relative clauses are the most frequent type of contributions provided following other items. Conversely, early contributions are only formatted as main clauses or, as excerpt 7.11 shows, as the main predicate of the multiclausal emerging structure:

Ex. 7.11 Mi13DIN2-44, 11:05-11:32

01 RIN il voto che pre[ndevi la prima volta,
 the-mark.ART-N.M.S.SBJ that.RELAT you.PRO.2SG take.PAST.PST.IPFV.IND.2SG
 and the mark that you got the first time
 02 ANG [era quello per se:mpre.
 be.PAST.PST.IPFV.IND.3SG that.PRO.DEM.M.SG
 was that one forever

Contributions provided early are placed before a possible referent or a complement-taking predicate that would project a relative or complement clause. This explains why no subordinate clauses of these types are present in my data. Early contributions are also not formatted as adverbial clauses, for the same reason: speakers provide their contributions before the target that the adverbial clause could modify.

Across the four temporal categories, I found also asyndetic parataxis, where the linking relationship is not encoded by means of lexical markers. In the unfolding of a main clausal turn, speakers re-use lexical items in the host turn or make semantic-pragmatic references to the host turn (see excerpt 7.12):

Ex. 7.12 Mi13DINFULL, 01:30:56-01:31:26

01 RIN però passavo dalla nonna.
 but I'd stop by granny
 [...]
 04 PIE ciao nonna. tutto bene oggi?
 hi granny everything alright today?

As shown in chapter 6, cases like this i.e., turns like l. 04 in 7.12, constitute multi-unit turns. They are pragmatically linked to what precedes and allow speakers to join and co-

build a larger activity. Rather than being an instance of clause combining, these cases are describable as sentence combinations. Examining these productions is relevant because they also constitute examples of the complexification of grammatical structures. Not only do the lexical and deictic resources give indications of the integration of l. 04 into l. 01, but the overall interactional activity shows that the sentence in l. 04 emerges as an example of direct speech, the emergence of which was framed by line 01. As such, the sentences in turns 01 and 04 can be said to form a *periodo*.

To summarize, independent clauses emerge both in syndetic and asyndetic relationships with the host turn, and also as main clauses following an adverbial clauses. As for subordinate clauses, relative-like clauses are the most frequent type, followed by complement clauses, while adverbial clauses are very marginal. This shows that deploying an overt mark of subordination is the preferred option when continuing, extending or (re)completing a prior turn. It also brings additional evidence to the observation that clause combining patterns in CTs emerge because of inter-actional and temporal contingencies. Main clauses and relative clauses are the syntactic type of clausal contribution also deployed to implement the largest array of actions (cf. Stoenica, 2020 for French). Main clauses are the most frequent type of contribution in the achievement of multi-unit turns and in collaborative reported speech (see § 6.1). With main clausal, and relative clausal contributions, speakers may: propose the reopening of an activity, request clarification, display understanding, align, disalign, and provide additional information. Complement clauses are used to provide subversive completions, display understanding, provide searched for words/items, and co-construct indirect reported speech. The few contributions formatted as adverbial clauses are used to demonstrate (early) understanding, provide a (co)explanation or give an account.

Table 7.1 presents a quantitative summary of the syntactic patterns emerged in CTs:

DATASETS	M to M	S to M	M to S	S to S
DINNER	20	9	2	0
BUSMEET1	6	11	5	2
BUSMEET 2	6	7	5	4
APERITIF	0	2	0	2
TOT	32	29	12	8
	32	49		

Tab. 7.1 Paratactic and hypotactic clause combining in multiclausal collaborative turns

The most common pattern of multiclausal collaborative turns is a main clause provided in co-construction with or other-extension to a main clause (32, of which 21 with asyndetic and 11 with syndetic coordination; 8 instances with a conjunction in B's turn, and 3 with a conjunction in A's turn). In second position, I found subordinate to main clause (29, of which 13 instances of subordinative conjunction in B's turn, and 16 in A's turn); Main to subordinate clause combinations were even less frequent (12). In final position I found combinations of a subordinate clause with a prior subordinate clause (8). The latter were observed when the speaker of the host turn was already uttering a clausal unit embedded in or dependent on a main clause in previous turns. This table shows that both hypotactic and paratactic clause combining emerges in CTs. Hypotaxis is higher in number, since subordinated and embedded clauses emerge as more integrated with a host turn and are therefore more "recognizable" as co-constructions or extensions. Clausal turns formatted as subordinate to or embedded in a main clause in the host turn are the most frequently used contributions. These results confirm that: "The widespread opinion that spoken language is less hypotactic than written language is a myth" (Auer, 2009a: 2). These findings are also complementary to typological and functional research on syntactic dependency and integration. For instance, Cristofaro (2003: 20), in her typological study of subordination, suggested a subordination and non-subordination continuum since:

the world's languages display a number of constructions where the linked clauses are not independent of each other in terms of these parameters, and possibly not equivalent in structure. These constructions cannot be classified in structural terms [...] for example as coordinate. Yet they involve no embedding, and thus cannot be classified as subordinate either.

Cristofaro mentioned "a number of different and quite freely combinable parameters" involved in this continuum. Examining how multiple speakers in interaction orient to subordination and coordination enriches and deepens the knowledge linguists have of these parameters. First of all, such an interactional analysis shows that parataxis and hypotaxis are not only based on the linguistic resources involved in the constructions of clauses. Pragmatic, semantic, and information structural factors that are said to play a

role in the relationships between syntactic units are, in fact, motivated by interactional contingencies, including: the temporal and sequential placement of a clause, the participants' multimodal conduct, and the principle of accountability of the action accomplished by a clausal turn. The forms subordination and coordination take can be seen in their emergence from what precedes, anaphorically, and in what speakers project with their turns cataphorically. Moreover, clausal candidate contributions that can stand-alone grammatically are shown to be actionally dependent on what precedes as part of larger activities. Retrospectively, they emerge in inter-actional relationships with other clauses as forming *periodi*. When looking at what clues and resources multiple speakers orient to in combining their turns and their clauses, it can be concluded with Cristofaro (2003) that different linkage and combination possibilities arise even within the domains of what are traditionally considered parataxis and hypotaxis. Finally, looking at syndetic and asyndetic "linkage markers" from the perspective of projection and re-anchoring confirms that deploying a marker to re-anchors a contribution to a host turn, or orienting to the marker in the host turn when formatting a contribution are syntactic choices motivated by the interactional contingencies in the practices implemented, and the action carried out.

By weaving together the analytical layers of syntax, actions, prosody, and turn-management practices, I can draw a picture of how practices of collaborative clause combining relate to the organization of turns and actions in talk-in-interaction, and of how grammatical units complexify and combinations emerge while turns unfold. This is shown schematically in fig. 7.1, where projection and completion of the turn-in-progress are interrelated.

				ACTIONS
GRAMMATICALLY COMPLETE CLAUSES (M OR S)	PROJECTIVE CLAUSE			TURN CO-CONSTRUCTION
	Compound TCU ₁ (e.g. If-X) Clause ₁ , (continuative prosody)	Compound TCU ₂ (e.g. Then-Y) Clause ₂	multiclausal	
		Phrase ₂	monoclausal	
	NON PROJECTIVE CLAUSE			
	Clause (e.g. RCs)	multiclausal	Self-increment	
	Clause. (syntactically and prosodically complete)	Phrase	monoclausal	Other-increment
				TURN EXTENSION
INCOMPLETE CLAUSES	PROJECTIVE CLAUSE			TURN CO-CONSTRUCTION
	Compound TCU (e.g. Quot.+che) ₁ Clause/Phrase-	Compound TCU ₂ (e.g. CCs) Clause	multiclausal	
		Phrase	monoclausal	
				Word-search (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1977; M. H. Goodwin & C. Goodwin, 1986); Fill-in-the-blank questions (Persson, 2017); Collaborative Reported Speech (Calabria, under review); demonstrating (early) understanding; demonstrating active participation in a telling

Fig. 7.1 Emergent clause combining in collaborative turns: syntax, prosody, action and turn-management

Speaker A can design their turn as a potentially complete, stand-alone clause, or as an incomplete or non-autonomous clause (first column). Complete clauses can be projective or non-projective. Projective clauses correspond to instances where a speaker utters a first component clause that projects a second component, typically compound TCUs (Lerner, 1991). They can also be clauses that are uttered with continuative intonation, treated as projecting more to come (clause₁)¹³⁵. The second component of the compound TCU (e.g., the apodosis) or a second clause (clause₂) or phrase can follow a projective complete clause (second column). Non projective clauses are instances of turns uttered as a complete syntactic unit and using final intonation. The speaker thus displays that their turn is complete for all practical purposes and a second contribution is not projected. Yet, more talk that is grammatically integrated with the possibly complete turn can be produced. Incomplete clauses are instances in which speakers design or leave their turn grammatically incomplete (e.g., clauses formatted with a complement-taking verb followed by a complementizer). What follows can be part of a compound TCU or the completing clause or sentence. I call “co-construction” the collaborative turn

¹³⁵ The first grammatical component of a compound TCU can be also projective with respect to action as it can make relevant a second actional part (cf. Lerner, 1991; C. Goodwin 2002; De Stefani 2021).

resulting from a grammatical unit that is provided after a projective clause has been produced, thereby fulfilling a speaker's grammatical projection. If the other speaker's contribution is provided after a TRP I speak of "turn-extension". I mapped the types of formats with certain actions reported by the literature (third column). This table ultimately shows that clause combination patterns in interaction emerge from the interplay of the analysis that the speakers do of each other's turns-in-progress (grammatical and interactional projection, and prosody), the timing of these productions, and the practical accomplishments that they achieve with their turns.

One further finding relates to the complexity of spoken language and the emergence of both parataxis and hypotaxis in talk-in-interaction. As mentioned in § 5.5, Calabria & De Stefani (*under review*) showed that "catching the eye" of a speaker and sustaining mutual gaze can enhance self-selection and lead to more complex (i.e., clausal) contributions. Ensuring mutual gaze is paramount, since, as Auer (2019a: 4) already remarked, "[g]aze is an unreliable technique for next-speaker selection – it may not be seen by non-attentive coparticipants, particularly when their visual attention is devoted to other interactional tasks." In CTs, the contributing speaker seeks the prior speaker's gaze more frequently than the other way round. This finding is not surprising: indeed, most of the contributions I have analyzed are produced from self-selected speakers. Auer (2019a: 1) showed that in multiperson interaction "addressee selection by gaze is a non-trivial issue." On the basis of my analysis, it is clear that becoming the next speaker by providing a collaborative contribution is also a non-trivial issue and that contributing speakers orient their gaze to the co-participant whose turn they are jointly building already prior to producing their contribution. With respect to gaze behavior, a different constellation is observed when contributing speakers join the original teller in building the current activity and direct their gaze to the common recipient(s) (see chapter 6). This gaze orientation proves to the participants themselves that a party is being constituted and two or more voices speak now as one (cf. Luke, 2021). In my data, gaze behavior in concomitance with CTs is not systematic (see also Auer & Zimma, 2021). This is likely due to the fact that I have individuated an array of formats of contributions that I grouped under the practice of jointly building turns, and I have not separated, in this work, the body conduct for each of the formats of contributions. Nonetheless, my analyses show that gaze and body orientation – which are contingent on the seating arrangement around

the table, as well as on the general activities carried out, such as eating, projecting something on a screen – are resources available to speakers for constructing collaborative turns. They are part of a collaborative grammar. Often a candidate contribution is produced by a speaker who had already displayed participation and affiliation, or had prepared to speak (e.g., by opening their mouth, taking an inbreath, strengthening their body, etc. cf. Levinson & Torreira, 2015) (see chapter 6). However, the most effective way to then demonstrate this participation is by self-selecting and uttering a candidate contribution. Body orientation and gaze aversion also play a role in the negotiation of completion. For instance, as shown in chapter 5, speakers go back to “home position” (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002), and might avert their gaze or look at their hands or at an object (cf. Rossano, 2012) at the end of a turn or an activity. In these cases, contributing speakers self-select without being gazed at and tend to obtain the prior speaker’s gaze. Finally, speakers can recycle gestures, i.e., they can “mirror” the gestures made by the speaker of the host turn, often when recycling lexical items from that turn. Body conduct in general, and gaze in particular, play a crucial role in timing and in the temporal unfolding of turns. Without considering the body, speakers and analysts could not make sense of how grammar unfolds (cf. Goodwin, C., 1981). Clause combining in interaction is also a matter of embodiment (cf. Keevallik, 2018).

7.3 Grammar: a matter of collaboration

Although this thesis does not draw on the literature on language socialization, it is nonetheless important to view language as rooted in the social practices people carry out while talking:

In contrast to a restricted and decontextualized view of language as a neutral transmitter of information made up of morphemes, syntactic structures, lexis, and pragmatic norms, language socialization conceives of language as one of a multitude of in-flux, contested, and ever-changing social practices that in part constitute particular dynamic communities of practice. (Duff & Talmy, 2011: 96)

In this thesis, grammar is conceived of as a set of resources speakers can use and mobilize to carry out certain social practices. Specifically collaborative grammar allows them to

overtly display and achieve collaboration. But social practices, such as collaboration, shape grammar reflexively, exposing the fact that language is in itself a social practice. I started by defying collaborative grammar as a set of tools mobilized to overtly display integration of turns and achieve collaboration. I now add that collaborative grammar is also the visible product, the epiphenomenon of this collaborative achievement. Ultimately, clause combining emerges from collaborative grammar.

I argued that speakers negotiate, establish and maintain collaboration through jointly building turns by means of clausal turns that occasion clause combining. I showed that in multiperson settings, characterized by complex participation frameworks, contributing to another speaker's ongoing or prior turn can allow participants to join their voices. This is achieved by joining in the construction of TCUs, turns or multi-unit turns. It remains true even when I showed cases of disaffiliation and disagreement, or subversive contributions. In fact, by deploying grammatically integrated contributions, contributing speakers re-use the prior speaker's turn space, without hijacking it. The floor can go back to the original speaker, so that the contributions emerge as one of the possible grammatical and inter-actional trajectories of the prior speaker's turn. In this way, contributing speakers are not responding to, opposing or interrupting prior speakers: they are co-building a version of what is (or could be) said.

This proves, among other things, the paramount importance of projection and projectability:

one of the main concerns of the research on human social interaction in the last four decades has been to uncover mechanisms by which interactants accomplish intricate coordination of their conduct in interactions with one another [...] One central resource for the achievement of such coordination is projectability – the feature of human conduct that prefigures possible trajectories of how an action (or a sequence of actions) might develop in the next moment, and which thereby allows interactants to negotiate and accomplish coordinated action in the subsequent course of interaction. (Hayashi, 2004: 1340-1341)

Hayashi also remarked that by looking at the role of projection we can get a “glimpse” into Hopper's emergent grammar. The ability to project and draw on projections is at the heart of how people cooperate. Communication is the fundament on which human

sociality rests and the basis for our “expectations about each other’s behavior, beliefs [...] intentions and motivations”, and it is a “level of cooperation unique in the animal world” (Enfield & Levinson, 2006: 1). This cooperation is also ensured by accountability (cf. Robinson, 2016), which is made relevant and oriented to by participants in every-day interactions. This led Sacks (1992) to claim, in the first place, that in conversation “there is order at all points”. The endless horizons into which turns allow speakers to gaze at every moment (cf. Goodwin, C. 1996) are based on the projectability of these turns. Projection in grammar is based on the grammatical resources available in and produced by the speakers. I have called these grammatical resources, which are involved in the achievement of collaborative turns, “collaborative grammar”, conceiving of it as “one key organizational resource in building and recognizing TCUs” (Schegloff, 2007: 3). Collaboration and cooperation are at play in interaction when speakers orient to the success of their communication. Collaborative grammar is what allows co-speakers to display that what they are saying is tied to what precedes. It is based on the interplay between a cataphoric forward-looking and an anaphoric backward-looking orientation. From these two processes, CTs are achieved and clause combining patterns emerge. It is the combinatory nature of collaborative grammar that favors grammatical integration between units, phrasal, clausal and also at the sentence level in *periodi*. The investigation of both monoclausal and multiclausal CTs reveals a continuum (cf. also Biazzi, 2009) from contributions designed as less (left) to more overtly integrated (right) (fig. 7.2).



Fig. 7.2 Continuum of the grammatical integration of candidate contributions

Lexical items that are not recognizable as phrases in Italian are located at the lefthand end of the continuum, followed by full phrases and multi-word expression. When providing these types of contributions, speakers co-build a phrasal or clausal unit. When speakers provide paratactic or hypotactic clauses speakers co-build, beyond one clause, a sentence or a *periodo*. It is important to keep in mind, as the analyses have shown, that timing and the format of contributions interact with the grammatical design: a full phrase provided as a candidate to a word search can result as more inter-actionally integrated than a *asyndetically* coordinated clause. Thus, this continuum represents only a simplified

representation, aimed at addressing the relationship between grammatical units, their combination and turn-at-talk as they unfold. Nonetheless, it still raises some relevant question: what is the relationship between integration and turn construction? Specifically, when speakers co-build a phrase or a clause are they co-building a TCU? When speakers co-build a sentence, are they co-building a turn? When they co-build complex sentences are they co-building multi-unit turns? In other words, how do clauses relate to turns? The analyses have shown there is not a one-to-one correspondence. Formats and temporal placement of contributions play a crucial role. As TCUs are units of action, and turns are (composite) actions, sharing a phrase or a clause that makes up a TCU does not equal sharing a TCU. Candidate completions are cases in which TCUs can be shared (cf. Helasvuo, 2004; Blöndal, 2015), as both an inter-actional and a grammatical projections are fulfilled. Collaborative continuations do not necessarily fulfil the inter-actional projection of the prior turn, so it is debatable whether people are co-building one action. Moreover, candidate extensions and candidate recompletions renegotiate the prior inter-actional projection but do not share it, as speakers have oriented to a TRP, which means they had treated what came before as having reached a first possible completion space. Additionally, when providing contributions early or following other items, speakers cannot sequentially share the prior turn. This has implications for both clauses and collaborative turns, as I explain in the following subsections.

Collaborative turns, most of all multiclausal instances, are then not a matter of “sharing” grammar: they are rather occasioned by exploiting the possibilities offered by collaborative grammar to integrate syntactic units with other syntactic units. In this way, speakers can be heard as joining in, irrespective of whether they are (re)completing or continuing an action. Compared to responsive actions or other types of actions, candidate contributions are all about collaboration, a collaboration that is situated in grammar. This collaboration is “accomplished” by speakers through clause combining.

7.3.1 Implications for collaborative turns

Given the co-existence in Italian of syntactic formats that, on the one hand, allow speakers to project the continuation of the turn-in-progress from its onset (e.g., adverbial clauses projecting a main clause), and others that, on the other, can be interpreted only with a delay (e.g., main clause with complement taking predicates and complementizers)

how do speakers collaboratively construct clauses and clause combinations? I showed that speakers systematically orient to the projection of grammatical and inter-actional trajectories in co-constructions. While for other-extensions speakers do not orient to open trajectories, they still re-define these trajectories. As Stoenica & Pekarek Doehler (2020: 303) explain, “the constituency of grammatical constructions and of larger syntactic trajectories is configured in real time, moment-by-moment [...] such local emergence may lead not only to on-line expansions but also to on-line revisions of syntactic trajectories, involving change in constituent status” By reusing latent material made available through the preceding turn, speakers negotiate alternative trajectories that extend the prior grammatical unit.

Since the role of projection in how speakers achieve collaborative turns is so crucial, it seemed useful to apply to Italian data the four parameters discussed by Auer (2015) to determine a language’s projection type:

(1) Rigid vs. loose serialization restrictions (word order): in a language like classical Latin, where the word order is variable, what come after a certain item is very difficult to anticipate; in a language like modern German the possibilities are restricted, e.g., the position of the verb (as German is defined as a V2-type language). Auer (2015: 20) stated: “It is obvious that a language with rigid restrictions on word order enables more precise adjacency projection than one with a free word order.” Given Italian’s rather free word order, one might expect “adjacent projection” – i.e., the projection of what can grammatically immediately follow a word – to be weak. However, this does not seem to be the case, e.g., what follows a determinate article in Italian can be fairly predictable in terms of grammatical category (e.g., a noun), gender or number. Hence, the set of possibilities in terms of projection is not wide open. Non-adjacent projection – i.e., the possibility to predict that a certain element can come next but not in which position – can also be strong, as the diverse timing of candidate contributions shows¹³⁶.

(2) Serialization in modifier/modified structures: in Italian, the modifiers (satellites) come after the modified element (nucleus). It is also possible to have a modifier preceding a

¹³⁶ Cf. Goodwin (2002: S23): “It would be simple to construct agreement by waiting until the second party already knew the position of the first. Through the temporal positioning of their evaluations [...] participants are able to construct an elegant demonstration of just how precisely their minds and ways of viewing the world are in tune with each other. A number of different phenomena display emerging temporal structure within a strip of talk. First, the hearable syntax of a speaker’s emerging utterance provides a continuously changing set of projections about the kind of unit that can be expected to occur next.”

modified element. However this changes the meaning of the overall unit, e.g., *povero ragazzo*/'poor (pitiable) boy' vs *ragazzo povero*/lit. 'boy poor (impoverished)'. For adjectives like *povero*/'poor', which are semantically ambiguous, the interpretation of the adjective's meaning depends on its position: when prenominal it takes evaluative meaning (e.g., a moral evaluation), when postnominal can be interpreted as descriptive (e.g., a financial evaluation) (cf. Giusti, 2005). Although modifiers tend to be postponed to nouns in Italian, the next slot after a noun cannot be predicted easily by a hearer (monoclausal contributions are mostly NPs and PPs in my data). Therefore, projection based on this criterion is rather weak compared to languages with left-branching structures.

(3) Serialization and government: some elements in language govern others since the interpretation of the latter depends on their relationship to the former, e.g., governing verbs, and governed constituents, i.e., verb arguments. In Italian, a predicate can be uttered before a subject in the case of unaccusative verbs and following it in the case of unergative ones (cf. Jezek, 2003). This criterion is followed anaphorically more than cataphorically in the design of candidate contributions. Specifically, when providing other-extensions speakers orient systematically to a "governing" element (a VP or an NP) in the host turn to provide a candidate contribution formatted as the "governed" element. This is the way in which latency is exploited and turns that do not show their subordinate "status" from the onset can still be recognized as integrated with the prior turn.

(4) Split constructions: in constructions like pseudo-clefts or clefts what comes next tends to be strongly projected. In her account of split constructions in Italian, Biazzi (2011) has shown that their high frequency correlates with the wide inventory of pronouns available in Italian. These pronouns allow both cataphoric and anaphoric integration between the two components of what emerge as bipartite structures. These syntactic formats offer a case of strong projection in my data.

A study comparing projections fulfilled by same-speaker with projections fulfilled by an other-speaker is still needed. However, the reflections above already show that speakers of Italian orient to both early and late projections when collaboratively building turns. Thus, Italian stands as a third type in between early and late projective languages (in line with observations by Biazzi, 2009). In Blöndal's (2015: 79) words: "In some instances it could be said that the second speaker acquires quite accurate information on what is to

be expected in the clause”, but as projection varies in strength: “others leave many options open” (*ibidem*).

The implication of this for CTs is that the timing of the candidate contribution is a matter of (action) sequentiality as much as it is a matter of interpreting the ongoing projection. And that speakers show their interpretation by deploying different formats of CTs.

As already said, contributions provided after a gap and following other items are the category containing the most instances; completions are the most frequent formats of candidate contributions and complement clauses are the most frequent type of candidate completions. Combinations where the complement-taking predicate and the complementizer are uttered by A, and B provides the VP that emerges as a complement clause are, then, the formats where projection can be interpreted more easily. Split constructions follow. Conversely, relative clauses where the complementizer is in B’s turn are the most frequent type of other-extensions: anaphoric re-anchoring is deployed when cataphoric projection cannot be oriented to.

By examining the different types of CTs and the formats deployed to accomplish them, I have accounted for the different clause combining patterns that have emerged. Ultimately, speakers are indeed concerned with signaling to their co-participants what they are doing. Through clause combining, speakers ‘do’ collaborating.

7.3.2 Implications for the notions of turn and clause

Research in interaction has highlighted that even one speaker can re-shape an ongoing utterance while a turn is in progress, to adapt it to reciprocity issues, body orientation and other interactional deeds (cf. Goodwin, 1979). The conversation between Alice and the Cheshire cat in *Alice in Wonderland* provides a case in point:

“How do you like the Queen?” said the Cat in a low voice.

“Not at all,” said Alice: “she’s so extremely-” Just then she noticed that the Queen was close behind her, listening: so she went on, “-likely to win, that it’s hardly worth while finishing the game.” The Queen smiled and passed on.

With ‘not at all’, Alice provides a negative response to the Cat. She then starts providing an account for her negative response. However, after starting her turn with the female personal pronoun, ‘she’, and projecting an assessment with the verb ‘to be’ and the adverb ‘extremely’, Alice notices that this has captured the Queen’s attention as she passes by. Alice can then change her projection to something more suitable and safer for her head. She does so by using a first complement clause ‘likely to win’ that together with the first part of the utterance projects a bipartite construction (*so likely... that*). Alice fulfils it with a following ‘that’ clause. This pleases the Queen who smiles and passes on. The possibility of changing an utterance while it is still in progress has saved Alice’s life. Although collaborative turns are not a matter of life and death, they are, however, strongly based on the horizon of possibilities offered by all the directions a turn can take. The interactional challenge comes from the fact that it is another speaker who provides candidate possibilities, opening up, in certain cases, even new trajectories.

One complication that has come out from the analysis of the grammatical formatting of turns has to do precisely with the notion “turn”. There is no clear line between turn completion and syntactic completion or well-formedness when two or more speakers join their voices together. If one speaker can change the syntactic trajectory of an utterance in progress, as well as the inter-actional trajectory of their turn-in-progress, what happens when this is done by multiple speakers? For instance, in the debate on “incrementation” (cf. Sidnell, 2012a; Calabria & De Stefani, 2020; Luke, 2021), the notion of other-increment has been shown to be problematic in relation to the action that the turn carries out. This is because it can contrast with the definition of self-increment. A self-increment is an extension of the prior action and not a new action. Sidnell (2012a) and Luke (2021), among others, have wondered whether another speaker that extends a prior turn can only continue the prior action, or by virtue of being a different voice does not accomplish at least one additional action. Lerner (1991, 1996) suggested the notion of authorship of the turn to explain that when a turn is other-completed, but the floor goes back to the original speaker, the latter remains the author of the whole sequence that has emerged. Cantarutti (2020) and Luke (2021) have addressed issues of joining voices with another speaker and of ownership of turns, which occasion complex participation frameworks.

When I examined TCUs and turns (i.e., actions) in terms of syntactic formats produced by multiple speakers, a nuanced image surfaced. Specifically, when a phrase or a clause, and an action, is co-constructed by two or more speakers (in cases of monoclausal structures), the co-built turn that is occasioned can be composed of two or more TCUs. When a phrase or a clause is provided as an extension to a complete turn, the extended turn can be composed of a complete turn + a TCU. However, if the contributions are subversive continuations and not completions, the actions carried out are different from those in the prior turn. Do these TCUs still compose one turn? The question is even more complicated when clause combining is carried out by two or more speakers (in cases on multicausal structures). Potentially, more than one action is accomplished. When clause combining patterns emerge, only certain combinations lend themselves to fulfilling both inter-actional and grammatical projections (e.g., complement taking predicates + complementizers followed by the complement clauses). When speakers do different actions with their collaborative clauses, are they still providing a TCU or are they accomplishing a new turn? All the CTs analysed are cases in which the contributions are linked to what precedes; however, shared grammar does not correspond to shared actions in all cases. Moreover, shared actions as part of larger activities can correspond to less clearly shared grammar, as shown by co-built multi-unit turns in chapter 6. Completion plays an important role in the constitution of multiple-speaker turns. When providing co-constructions or other-extensions, contributing speakers orient to different “points” in the host turn as incomplete or potentially complete. They show which points through the temporal placement of their contributions.

What implications for the notions of turn, clause and their relationship emerge from an analysis of CTs? Turns combined by collaborative grammar can remain different turns while still being treated as integrated. They are, like clauses in a *periodo*, not independent from each other for their interpretation. The candidate contributions are still not responsive actions, other-repairs, or part of adjacency pairs. They form collaborative turns in the sense that retrospectively their interpretation depends on the host turn, just as the host turn is itself reshaped by the contribution.

Clauses can be formed and changed in their emergence at all moments by multiple speakers. One clause can become a more complex structure incrementally. It can also be shaped as main but then emerge as subordinate to the prior clausal turn. Finally, it

can emerge as a clause with an overt subordinating marker from onset, but then be used as stand-alone (or “in subordinate”) clause, as a speaker carries on a new action.

Turns and clauses, therefore, do not have a one-to-one match: speakers can co-build a phrase, a clause, or a sentence, over one or multiple TCUs and over one or multiple turns. They mobilize collaborative grammar, multimodality, and most of all, timing, to accomplish shared-extended grammar. Therefore, the lack of match between clauses and turns is not ambiguous or problematic for participants when a collaborative turn is “successfully” accomplished. In any case, speakers of Italian do orient to the types of clauses (cf. Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen, 2015) and clause-linking resources available in Italian, when formatting their turns in a collaborative way.

7.4 Future paths for research

As in every piece of research, the forking paths opened up by both reading the literature and coming back to the data are always many and tempting. However, because of space and scope, one has to make choices. For these reasons, there are a number of aspects to this research which suggest further investigation, offering new paths to discover.

The first direction this study could take would be beneficial both for our understanding of the mutual monitoring of speakers’ grammatical and interactional projections, and of the actional affordances of clause combining patterns. On the model of Calabria & De Stefani (2020), it would be interesting to combine the study of other-extensions with an investigation of self-extensions to compare the array of actions speakers achieve self-extending their own turns by using certain syntactic formats. For instance, as presented in excerpt 5.1.1, relative clauses attached with *che* in Italian are a flexible practice for turn-management, available to both the same and another speaker. Calabria & De Stefani (2020) showed that resources like *che* are “multiple”, available both to the speaker-in progress and to co-participants, and “recursive”, i.e., they can be used more than one time to expand a turn-in-progress. Do self-extending speakers deploy *perché* ‘because’, *se* ‘if’, but also *e* ‘and’, *ma* ‘but’ to implement the same actions? The answer to this question can explain the affordances of certain syntactic formats. Moreover, do self-extending speakers orient to multiclausal structures in the same ways? By considering the differences in gaze constellation and participation framework that other-extensions present compared to self-extensions, it would be possible to investigate when speakers self-extend their turns with phrasal increments (see Goodwin, 1979) and

when they do so with clausal increments occasioning clause combining. Are free-standing adverbial clauses, e.g., *because*-clauses (cf. Pekarek Doehler & Eskildsen, 2022) more frequent when the same speaker builds a multi-unit turn? After all, showing that a turn is integrated with the turn that comes before is not the same practice when implemented by the same speaker as when it is implemented by another speaker. Moreover, not many studies on the grammar of self- and other-extensions exist for Italian, and only Calabria & De Stefani (2020) have compared them, albeit without focusing on the specific syntactic formats available.

One question that speaks to issues of routinization (cf. Ford, 1993; Ochs et al. 1996; Pekarek Doehler 2016, 2021), and that could be approached from this perspective, is whether some of the grammatical patterns presented have undergone a process whereby speakers recurrently used them to accomplish specific social actions and implement specific practices, e.g., relative clauses introduced by non-referential *che* to reopen a potentially closed activity and add to a prior topic of discussion.

This research could also be approached from a Construction Grammar (CxG) perspective. As remarked by Gras (2016: 18): “From a constructional approach, Linell (2009) proposed that external syntax of a construction [...] must specify conditions of previous and subsequent discourse context in which the construction is used. [...] constructional analysis is enriched with discourse structural information (turn position, adjacency pairs, preference organization, etc.)” By taking each of the “constructions” presented in this thesis, e.g., syndetic coordinative main clauses, relative-like clauses, complement clauses, and even the limited number of adverbial clauses, and starting from an investigation of them in same- and other- speakers’ turns, it would be possible to situate these structures, as inter-actional constructions, in the sequential and contextual *locus* in which they emerge. This would speak to issues of “sameness” and “variation” of constructions, by providing a social interactional account of constructions patterns. Not only do speakers orient to grammatical cues they retrieve in prior talk, but they also base their contributions on inter-actional projections. Moreover, interactional constructions are multimodal (cf. Selting, 2013; Couper-Kuhlen, 2014). Hence, a constructional approach could go beyond the clause: “from a sentence-level domain to a discourse conversational domain” (Gras, 2016: 11). Linguists working with constructions need to add research based on interactional data to their agenda, when assuming a certain level of “canonical syntax” (cf. Ono & Couper-Kuhlen, 2007: 509).

As mentioned, *en passant*, the role of gaze could be enhanced and looked at more systematically with the help of eye-tracking technology (cf. Brône & Oben, 2018). New multiperson data would need to be collected for the purposes of this investigation, but observations on the multiperson nature of this data and its impact on the incremental emergence of clause combining could be refined. For instance, the remark that sustained mutual gaze favors longer and more complex syntactic contributions (cf. Calabria & De Stefani, *under review*), substantiated already by emic proofs, could be tested, providing the first accurate account of the effect of gaze and body orientation on clause combining.

As observed several times in this work, prosodic analysis of the turns composing a CT, aimed at tracing the pitch contours and movements, would be complementary and necessary for a deeper understanding of the notion of turn integration, which I have mostly approached from a syntactic perspective. Moreover, a prosodic analysis with more refined instruments, such as the deployment of PRAAT spectrograms, would be beneficial when discussing the interplay of projection and completion of a turn-so-far. Furthermore, the concept of “joined voices” (cf. Cantarutti, 2020; Luke, 2021), which I have used to discuss how people draw on projection and orient to completeness when providing a candidate contribution, would benefit a deeper analysis that takes into consideration all the meanings behind the concept of “voice”, e.g., changes in voice quality. Since every turn offers a horizon of many possibilities, only the prosody/syntax interface can uncover the many directions speakers can take with an emergent sentence-in-progress.

Finally, a comparison with languages allowing different affordances in terms of projection and collaborative grammatical resources, on the model of Couper-Kuhlen & Ono (2007), could reveal the specific resources speakers of Italian mobilize. These resources are well documented in traditional and usage-based descriptions of Italian, however their role in projecting syntax and actions is still understudied. Specifically, the relationship between grammar (how speakers combine their words), temporality (how they orient to the temporal nature of spoken language) and collaboration (how they display that what they are saying is tied to what someone else is saying or has just said) has proven to be central for this research. It seems promising for future investigations of the grammar of Italian talk-in-interaction. As Octavia E. Butler (1979) wrote in *Kindred*: “There is nothing new under the sun, but there are new suns.”

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