

POSTPRINT

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Revisiting delayed completions

The retrospective management of co-participant action

Abstract: Since Lerner coined the notion of *delayed completion* in 1989, this recurrent social practice of continuing one's speaking turn while disregarding an intermediate co-participant's utterance has not been investigated with regard to embodied displays and actions. A sequential approach to videotaped mundane conversations in German will explain the occurrence and use of delayed completions. First, especially in multi-party and multi-activity settings, delayed completions can result from reduced monitoring and coordinating activities. Second, recipients can use intra-turn response slots for more extended responsive actions than the current speaker initially projected, leading to delayed completion sequences. Finally, delayed completions are used for blocking possibly misaligned co-participant actions. The investigation of visible action illustrates that delayed completions are a basic practice for retrospectively managing co-participant response slots.

Keywords: conversation analysis - video data - turn-taking - delayed completion - multi-activity and multi-party settings

1. Introduction

This paper will investigate the phenomenon of delayed completion, the practice of continuing one's turn-at-talk beyond the onset of a co-participant's utterance.¹ Delayed completions were initially described by Lerner (1989, 2004), who presents them as a practice for maintaining the coherence of a turn-at-talk across

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other-speaker-talk and thus deleting the sequential implicativeness of this possibly interruptive² turn, such as Pen does at 05 in Excerpt (1):

Excerpt 1.

(Lerner 1989, 168)

01 Pen I don' wanna make yih ta:lk cuz I don't wantche tuh:
 02 (.)
 03 Pat No: I f- I really do feel a lot
 04 [bettuh (I feel like)]
 05 Pen -> [upset chiself a]ll over agai:n,

Two main issues have motivated this contribution: on the one hand, delayed completions have not been extensively or cross-linguistically analyzed; on the other, they have mostly been described based on audio data and transcripts. While delayed completions are fundamentally linked to the management of turn-taking – i.e., the negotiation of turn completeness and yielding the turn (or not) to a possible next speaker – up to now they have not been investigated with regard to embodied actions, displays, and their temporalities. In what follows, I would like to revisit delayed completions through the lens of a conversation analytic and multimodal approach to social interaction (Goodwin 1981; Schmitt 2007; Mondada 2007, 2015; Deppermann 2013; Hazel, Mortensen and Rasmussen 2014). Whereas, initially, the phenomenon was mostly described with regard to its structural features, my analysis will focus on the pragmatic, temporal, and embodied aspects of these sequences. Based on video recordings of ordinary conversations in German, I will show that delayed completions are a practice specifically adapted to the *retrospective* management of turns or turn spaces. Delayed completions are therefore not a practice relying exclusively on projection, but rather they enable a speaker to re-establish the relevance and trajectory of a prior projection for all practical purposes at a later point in time; i.e., when a co-participant's turn is not relevant for or diverts from the previously initiated course of action.

The occurrence of delayed completions tells us something, not only about how participants understand and treat audible or grammatical features of the conversation, but also about how they manage and negotiate the timing of speaking opportunities and response types in multi-party, multi-activity settings. In these environments, participants have to deal with several possible recipients or next speakers, manual tasks, and physical objects. Consequently, I will bring into focus the coordination of sequential and simultaneous multimodal action in order to understand better how delayed completions emerge and how they are intertwined with talk, gaze, gesture, and the temporality of action trajectories. This contribution

2. The notion of “interruption” is used here with reference to Lerner’s original description (1989). See also Section 2.1 of this contribution, where I briefly comment on the problematic character of the notion of interruption (see also Hutchby 1992; Bilmes 1997; Schegloff 2002) when analyzing delayed completions.

will start with a brief overview of prior work on delayed completions (see Section 2); in particular, I will comment on syntactic features or action formats of this practice and argue for the use of video data for revisiting it. I will then try to explain in which kinds of sequential environments delayed completions can emerge, insisting on their close links to concurrent practices of mutual monitoring and displays of availability. The analysis of embodied conduct (Section 3) will show that the main task of delayed completions is not to achieve syntactic or turn completion, but to react flexibly to and manage misaligned or unfitting co-participant actions.

2. Syntax, action, and embodied conduct as relevant features for understanding the practice of delayed completion

Although delayed completions are quite frequent in talk-in-interaction, hardly any research in conversation analysis and interactional linguistics has been explicitly dedicated to this practice (but see Vatanen 2017). In the literature, delayed completions are most often either mentioned with reference to Lerner's seminal 1989 article or used as a description of various phenomena related to overlapping talk (e.g., Schegloff 2001, 2002; Walker 2004; Betz 2008; Vatanen 2014), sometimes without even mentioning or using the term delayed completion. This *en passant* appearance of delayed completions in the literature could be due to two main problems: on the one hand, this practice seemingly solves fairly basic turn-taking problems and thus seems to be a less intriguing analytical issue (corresponding to a mundane or implicit preference for "big issues"; see Sacks 1984); on the other, although Lerner's initial description is analytically quite precise, there seems to be a reception bias in that this notion is mostly related to problematic instances of simultaneous talk; i.e., "interruptions" (e.g., Kohonen 2004; for a discussion, see Oloff 2009, 478–481). Although the occurrence of a delayed completion does not automatically involve the occurrence of overlapping talk, Lerner's synthetic description is indeed liable to be misunderstood in that respect, especially when considering points 2 and 3 in the following quotation:

So, delayed completion can 1. provide a means to produce a complete TCU across intervening talk, 2. make out an intervening utterance to have been interruptive of a turn at talking, 3. provide a warrant for the initiation of overlap, and 4. interdict the sequential implicativeness of the intervening talk.

(Lerner 2004, 237; cf. Lerner 1989, 173)

Instead of discussing in detail possibly problematic aspects of this definition with regard to overlapping talk (cf. Oloff 2008, 2009), as a preliminary step I suggest approaching the phenomenon from a strictly structural and sequential point of view. Indeed, in that quotation, Lerner's first point clearly underlines the strong syntactic

coherence between the delayed completion proper and the previous (partial) turn. The notion of “completion” therefore apparently refers to syntactically obligatory and fitted components (see also the phenomenon of post-other-speaker-talk increments; Walker 2004). However, the last point in the quotation alludes to a more unequivocally formulated basic action that delayed completions can accomplish. In order to clarify the basic action pattern of delayed completions, I will first look at them from a syntactic point of view (Section 2.1). I will then reflect on the formatting of the involved turns with respect to action and action projection (Section 2.2) and, finally, I will present some reasons as to why video data provide new insights into this practice (Section 2.3).

2.1 Delayed completions as a syntactic phenomenon

In this section, I take a look at Lerner’s initial analysis from 1989 and study the syntactic link between the first part of the utterance and its second, completing part, which accomplishes the delayed completion. From this “structural” point of view, Lerner’s examples can be basically divided into two collections, one in which the first utterance part is syntactically incomplete (Lerner 1989, 167–168, 170–171, Excerpts (1), (2), (7), (8) = Collection 1), and one in which the first utterance part is syntactically complete (Lerner 1989, 174–175, Excerpts (14), (15), (17) = Collection 2).

In the first group of excerpts (to which the previously quoted Excerpt (1) also belongs), the first speaker’s turn has not yet reached full syntactical completion when the second speaker starts his/her utterance. These excerpts possess the following sequential structure: (1) The turn in the first position is syntactically possibly incomplete; (2) a co-participant then self-selects; and (3) the first speaker then syntactically continues his/her previous “partial” turn. Here, a delayed completion clearly results in a coherent turn-constructional unit (TCU).

In the second group of examples, the sequential pattern is as follows: (1) The first part of the utterance is syntactically complete and represents a possible first unit of a compound TCU (Lerner 1996); (2) a co-participant formulates a pre-emptive completion – in this case, a possible second part of the compound TCU begun in the first position; and (3) the first speaker carries out a delayed completion by formulating a second part of the compound TCU, thereby uttering her/his own and often alternative version in order to continue the first part of the compound TCU. Consequently, in these examples, the first and the second part do not form a simple TCU, but a compound TCU.

Which collection now represents a more prototypical type of delayed completion (if there is any)? If there are different syntactic links between the first and second parts of the first speaker’s turn, do they correspond to the same interactional

practice? In other words, does it matter whether, through a delayed completion, a TCU is syntactically completed versus extended (cf. Günthner 2015)?

Moreover, Lerner's (1989) examples show that delayed completions can follow intermediate turns (i.e., second position) that are new, independent TCUs (first collection) or intermediate turns that are syntactically fitted continuations such as pre-emptive completions (second collection). However, as Lerner does not consider the larger sequential context of the excerpts, the connection between specific practices and syntactic patterns remains unmentioned. One might therefore wonder to what extent syntax (i.e., the first point of Lerner's previously quoted definition) is a crucial factor for describing the practice of delayed completion and if Lerner's cases really show instances of the same interactional practice.

2.2 But what about action?

Let us now turn to the first collection, i.e., cases such as Excerpt (1). Lerner does not comment on the type of action the intermediate turns (in second position) of these excerpts carry out, simply describing them as "talk by another participant" (Lerner 1989, 167). Though it is difficult to state clearly whether there indeed is one specific type of action carried out in the intermediate turn, one can agree on the fact that these examples show second-speaker actions that are not closely tied to what the first speaker does. They are new TCUs or, more precisely, they are either first actions or, if they are responsive actions, they clearly project a negative stance (e.g., "no," Excerpt (1)). This means that they do not respond to the first speaker's turn and/or are possibly disaffiliating in that they do not support the first participant's stance, argumentation, or action trajectory. Consequently, the first speaker has a strong motivation for sequentially deleting his/her co-participant's talk. A first preliminary observation about the involved action types in such sequences could thus be that delayed completions are a practice used for erasing the sequential implicativeness of *misaligned* co-participant actions (Collection 1).

Regarding the second collection, however, it seems less relevant to sequentially delete what appears to be a rather collaborative or at least clearly aligned action. For these examples, Lerner (1989, 173–175) formulates a more focused comment about what a delayed completion can accomplish: it allows for an alternative to explicitly accepting or refusing a pre-emptive completion (see also Lerner 2004). Instead of responding to a pre-emptive completion by assessing it as correct or not, a "delayed completion is used to reclaim the speakership of a turn-constructional unit, thus deleting the relevance of a receipt" (Lerner 1989, 174). Consequently, delayed completions can also be used for erasing the sequential implicativeness of a priori *aligned* co-participant actions. It is worth noting that Lerner did not investigate

under which pragmatic and sequential circumstances a first speaker would actually avoid responding to a pre-emptive completion of his/her turn.

Another striking fact is that, in the first collection, the intermediate turn hardly overlaps the previous turn; i.e., although the first turn is syntactically incomplete, there apparently has been an opportunity for the second speaker to respond. In Collection 2, one can even observe that the intermediate turn onset never overlaps the first speaker's turn. Moreover, the use of personal pronouns and tag questions in these examples hints at the fact that the first speaker sometimes even actively formats his/her turn as something that should be responded to.

One can thus wonder if the first speaker has actually projected a response from his/her co-participant at that point, despite an eventual syntactically incomplete construction – what indeed resembles an intra-turn transition-relevance place (TRP; Lerner 1996) or an interactive turn space (Iwasaki 2009, 2011, 2013). Though this remains somewhat speculative due to the lack of sequential or embodied details in Lerner's analyses, it clearly shows the need to look at what exactly happens between the first and the second position in sequences of delayed completion. Regardless of their respective action format, intermediate turns apparently do not represent a relevant next action from the point of view of the first speaker. Consequently, the issue at stake in delayed completion sequences is probably the negotiation between the response type that has been projected by the first speaker and the one that the co-participant is suggesting via his/her intermediate turn.

2.3 What can video data tell us about delayed completions?

Even though the previous paragraphs have shown that it is possible to formulate some further observations regarding Lerner's examples, the fact that we know so little about their larger sequential context prevents us from obtaining a deeper understanding of delayed completions. Is there, indeed, a TRP at the end of the first action or not, and why exactly is the intermediate turn unfitted to this first action?

In Lerner's (1989) examples, the first speaker and the speaker of the intermediate turn clearly address each other. However, although the analytical importance of visible participation structures for turn-taking dynamics has been frequently underlined (e.g., Goodwin 1981; Goodwin and Goodwin 2004; Mondada 2007, 2012; Oloff 2012), most available analyses of delayed completions ignore the exact participant constellations and do not state the sequential environments as precisely as they might. In delayed completion sequences, therefore, it is relevant to examine who exactly is being addressed in Positions 1 and 2 – especially in multi-party interaction – and what kind of availability the respective speakers and hearers display for each other. At least in some settings, delayed completions could also be a sort

of by-product of multi-party and multi-activity settings, in that they result from the difficulty of coordinating several participants and activities in a well-timed way.

As video data can unveil basic interactional features such as the number of currently involved participants and the moment-by-moment dynamics of embodied recipient design and displays of availability, a main contribution of this chapter will be the consideration of visible displays and actions that play a role in the practice of delayed completion. Furthermore, I wish to investigate more thoroughly why delayed completions appear both after misaligned and structurally aligned intermediate turns and suggest a more precise description of cases where a syntactically and semantically fitted pre-emptive completion is sequentially deleted by a delayed completion (see Oloff 2014). Finally, I will investigate how first speakers show that their first utterance and the delayed completion are actually part of the same turn; is this mainly achieved – as Lerner’s work and its reception suggest – through syntax, and to what extent are embodied resources used to display a coherent, ongoing course of action?

More generally, the analysis of participants’ embodied conduct enables us to understand delayed completions as a basic practice for retrospectively negotiating response slots – which is why they can appear in seemingly heterogeneous sequential environments. Based on video data, I will show that (in the case of mutual orientation) a delayed completion enables a current speaker to retrospectively manage and delimit the response slot and type (s)he has been projecting, regardless of the syntactic link that can be used for his/her turn-continuation in the third position.

2.4 Data

The two data sets used in this contribution were collected by the author in 2006 and 2014; two video cameras were used for the collection of both sets. The more recent data were collected within an ongoing research project on co-constructive sequences in different languages (see Footnote 1). All participants are native German speakers from different regions of Germany. They all speak standard German, sometimes containing minor dialectal, lexical or phonological elements. The data are from mundane multi-party conversations in different settings among friends and acquaintances: dinner conversation (RAC, 2006) and chatting while extracting honey (PHON, 2014). Both settings require participants to manipulate various objects (preparing and eating food, handling drinks, mobile phones, or tools related to honey extraction). The analyses will indeed show an interesting link between engagement in multi-activity (Haddington et al. 2014) and the emergence of delayed completions. Data have been transcribed according to Jefferson’s conventions (2004) and Mondada’s (2014a) conventions for multimodal annotations.

3. Analysis

In this section I would like to illustrate how a sequential approach and a consideration of embodied conduct can contribute to a deeper understanding of a phenomenon that, up to now, has been studied mainly on the basis of audio data. First, I will show that in multi-party, multi-activity settings, the emergence of delayed completions can be connected to the absence of mutual monitoring, slower and incremental turn construction, and diverging interpretations of audible turn formats (Section 3.1). Although a certain number of delayed completions can certainly be analyzed as a kind of by-product of complex interactional settings, further analyses show that they are used in order to delimit extended recipient responses retrospectively (Section 3.2). The last collection illustrates that delayed completions enable current speakers to prevent the full development of misaligned or disaffiliative recipient actions (Section 3.3). The fine-grained analyses of audible and visible conduct will show that delayed completions are an important tool for retrospectively managing the extent and the action trajectory of co-participant talk. For convenience, numbers just after the respective speakers' pseudonyms indicate the delayed completion sequence in every excerpt. The numbers 1, 2, and 3 signal the respective sequential positions: 1 marks the first turn that is suspended, 2 marks the intermediate turn by a co-participant, and 3 marks the completion or continuation of the suspended turn by the first speaker (the delayed completion proper).

3.1 Delayed completions emerging in multi-party, multi-activity sequences

In this section, I want to investigate some of the possible reasons why apparently (syntactically) fitted co-participant actions sometimes do not receive a response from the first speaker, but are sequentially deleted by a delayed completion of their prior turn. If one considers the participant framework and the activities that participants are engaged in, one sees that delayed completions easily emerge in multi-party interactions (Egbert 1993; Schegloff 1995) and in settings of multi-activity (Haddington et al. 2014). Indeed, the more recipients a current speaker has, the more likely is the possibility of not gazing at a potential recipient. This is even more the case in settings where participants are involved in multiple activities. Particularly in the case of manual tasks, where gaze is less available for turn-taking coordination activities, participants possibly rely more exclusively on audible features of ongoing turns. This can lead to less fitted or less well-timed responses.

In the following excerpt, the participants are performing different tasks related to honey extraction. Figure 1 shows the setting (which was also filmed by a second camera positioned more to the right). To the left, Markus (in a blue t-shirt) is preparing the wooden frames containing the honeycombs by opening them with a spatula. The prepared frames are then put into the honey extractor, which Patrick, to the right, is operating, using the red crank in order to centrifuge the honey that then flows into a bucket. Back to the right, Lily is busy transferring some leftover honey into small bowls with a spoon. At this moment, René (positioned behind Markus in Figure 1) is not executing a specific task, but moving between the workstations from left to right, helping the others, taking pictures and chatting. Due to his mobility, he is partly out of frame in both shots.



Figure 1. View of the setting PHON

Before the beginning of Excerpt (2), René had just put a new wooden frame on the rack of Markus's workstation. Earlier that day, René had been at the local beach with other members of the group. Patrick, who had not been to the beach, now inquires about this trip (01). During René's ensuing response (03, 06, 07), Markus's pre-emptive completion (11) does not receive any response but is overlapped by René's own continuation (12). In what follows, I will show annotated segments of each excerpt in chronological order.

Excerpt 2a.

(PHON_001319_schmal)

```
01 PAT  #UND wie wAr's am strand? +is viel los?  #
        so how was the beach? +full of people?
        pat                                     +...gaze REN-->
        fig  #fig. 2                             #fig. 3
```



Figure 2.



Figure 3.

```

02      (0.8)
03 REN  JA #
        yeah
        fig      #fig. 4
04      (0.4)
05 PAT  * j[a?]
        *ye[ah?]
06 REN 1  [und] der strAnd is auch hier recht KLEIN. #
          and the beach is too here quite small
          [and] the beach here is quite small
        ren  *...gaze PAT---->
        fig                                     fig. 5#
07 REN 1  (.) also:.
          (.) so
08      (0.3)

```



Figure 4.



Figure 5.

The video reveals that Markus and René do not engage in mutual gaze throughout the sequence. During his inquiry, Patrick, however, quickly glances at René (01, Figure 2, 3, 4), and they later engage in mutual gaze (06, Figure 5). At the same time, René steps back from Markus's workstation and repositions his body in the left corner of the room, leading to a first minimal response and its later development (03, 06, Figure 2–5). After having stated that the local beach is quite small, René projects a continuation of his response with a stretched *also* (“so,” 07). Patrick treats

Markus, but orients to a fifth participant who is standing to his right (out of frame) while commenting on the number of boats at the beach (12, Figure 7).

Due to the nearly simultaneous onset of their turns (11–12), this sequence may not represent a clear case of a delayed completion (see Oloff 2009, 472ff.). However, it explains well in which type of sequential environment delayed completions possibly emerge, i.e., in the absence of mutual visual orientation. While co-participants clearly orient to a suspended syntactic construction followed by a (long) pause, they do not systematically do so by producing a pre-emptive completion. Lily's sudden gaze shift, looking up at René at the same time as Markus self-selects (i.e., before René starts speaking again: 11, Figures 6–7), illustrates that she too, and independently, treats the 1.2-second pause as possible trouble (cf. Goodwin 1981). Moreover, this excerpt hints at the possibility that pre-emptive completions by non-addressed recipients (especially in multi-party, multi-activity settings) are more likely not to be responded to – leading to a delayed completion instead.

By means of another example, I would now like to consolidate the idea that issues of participant coordination can indeed explain some occurrences of delayed completion, especially when they are following syntactically and semantically fitted pre-emptive completions.

Excerpt (3), taken from the same data set,³ shows a more clear-cut example of a delayed completion. Here, Patrick is taking out the empty honeycomb frames from the honey extractor, handing them to Lily who is putting them into a box positioned on the floor to her left. Just before, René initiated a sequence about the possibility of gossiping about their friends in front of the camera. Lily, who responds less to the non-seriousness of this proposal than Patrick, has just confirmed that for the video recordings they were indeed allowed to talk about any topic. In response to that, René explicitly suggests that they could thus spread private gossip (01–02), to which Patrick playfully responds by seemingly beginning to gossip about an absent group member, Andi (04, 06).

Excerpt 3a.

(PHON_003400_verhält)

```
01 REN      *NA      (0.4) dann können wir nochma aus dem
           *well (0.4) then we can indeed
           ren      *..gaze PAT-->
           lil      >bends down to the left & puts empty frame in box-->
           pat      >>takes empty frame from extractor & holds it up--->
02          #nähk(h) ästchen pl(h) audern.
           gossip a little bit
           fig      #fig. 8
03          (.)
```

3. See Oloff (2014) for an example from another data set (RAC) of the same phenomenon.

```

04 PAT <also der ANdi du. ((@))>
      <well you know ((name))((@))>
05 REN <.hem .hm %*.hm, .hm. ((laughter))>
      lil >bends down%...straightens up, turns back to PAT-->
      ren >gaze PAT--*,,,
06 PAT <also* (.) der ANdi. #((@))>
      <well* (.) (name)) ((@))>
      ren *..gaze LIL--->l.8
      fig #fig. 9

```



Figure 8.



Figure 9.

```

07 REN %°hehm, ° .h
      lil %..hands twd PAT's frame-->
08 LIL 1 *also es gEht nicht %darum* was man SAGT, °sondern:°*%#
      so it goes not about what you say but
      well it's not %about* what you say but *%
      ren *.gaze frame LIL is taking*...gaze LIL-----*
      lil >-----%grabs frame & lifts it-----%
      fig #fig. 10#
09 (2.1)

```



Figure 10.

During the joking sequence between Patrick and René, Lily packs away one of the wooden frames, bending down to the left (01–05, Figure 8). She then straightens up again and reaches for a new empty frame which Patrick has just taken out of the extractor (05–07, Figure 9). She does not look at René, who now looks at her (06, Figure 9), projecting her possible participation in the joking sequence.

Lily, however, keeps her visual focus on the manual task. While self-selecting (08, stating once again that the video recordings are not aimed at a specific conversational topic), she seizes the frame Patrick is holding up (07–08; cf. Figure 9). During her turn, she lifts up the frame, making it available for her visual inspection. When the frame is positioned in front of her face, Lily suspends the syntactic construction (08, Figure 10). The detailed annotation of 09 (Excerpt 3b) reveals that, exactly at this point, René withdraws his gaze from Lily and starts looking at the floor (09, Fig 11).

Excerpt 3b.

(PHON_003400_verhält)

```
09      %*(0.9-----)%# (0.6) * (0.2) # (0.1)*(0.3)
      lil    %inspects frame-%bends down & puts frame in box->
      ren    *gaze to the floor-----*floor left----*floor-->
      fig    #fig. 11                #fig. 12
```



Figure 11.



Figure 12.

In 0.9 seconds (09), Lily inspects the frame to check if all the honey has been successfully extracted. She then bends once again down to her left in order to stow the frame away in the box (1.2 seconds, 09). On the one hand, the first part of Lily's compound TCU, through the rising intonation and the *sondern* ("but"), clearly projects a second part. On the other hand, her visual frame inspection is now finished, as can be seen by her stowing it away. René can perceive this movement as he is gazing toward the floor, his short glance to the left (0.6 seconds after Lily has started to bend down; 09, Figure 12) indicating his monitoring activity (Goodwin 1980). It is thus not surprising that René suggests a second part of the compound turn precisely at this moment ("how you say it," 10):

Excerpt 3c.

(PHON_003400_verhält, continuation of 3b)

```
10 REN 2  WIE mans sa[gt.
           how one-it says
           how you say [it

11 LIL 3  [#WIE mAn sich ver%hä-##hält. # (0.2) &
           how one REFL beha- haves
           [ how you     be%ha-* -have. (0.2) &

      lil    >--%turns back to PAT
      ren    >gaze to the floor-----*..gaze frame>>
      fig    #fig. 13                #fig. 14 #fig. 15
```



Figure 13.



Figure 14.

12 LIL &#[°hält quasi (dabei)°]
 has quasi with it
 & [-have while doing so]
 13 PAT [°ah::° sieht gut] aus
 [well that looks pretty] good
 fig #fig. 16



Figure 15.



Figure 16.

We can note that Lily, at this point, is still bent over the box to her left (11, Figure 13). Therefore, she has adopted a maximal distance from the other participants when continuing her turn; however, this moment coincides with her having correctly stowed the new frame in the box. Lily indeed coordinates her turn suspensions in this setting foremost with the manual and visual tasks of checking and stowing away the empty frames (see also the cut-offs and hitches during her turn continuation, 11–12, Figure 14, 15, 16). Just as in Excerpt (2), a delayed completion emerges in the absence of mutual orientation.

A pause following the suspension of a syntactically possibly incomplete turn can be responded to by different actions; in this slot, a recipient can utter a continuer, simply look up, or formulate a candidate completion or continuation of the suspended turn – every response type attributing different possible trouble sources to the turn suspension. If a recipient fails to monitor the current speaker's embodied conduct (such as in Excerpt (2)) or monitors it only partially (Excerpt 3), (s)he can suggest a pre-emptive completion, although the current speaker is not having trouble with finding a specific word (but rather in coordinating multiple activities). In both cases, the current speaker, having suspended his/her turn, is not gazing at the speaker of the intermediate turn; i.e., at no point in the three-part sequence is mutual gaze established between them. Consequently, delayed completions can

easily emerge in settings with complex intra- and interpersonal coordination processes (Deppermann and Schmitt 2007).

3.2 Delayed completions after minimal displays of understanding

The next excerpt underlines a simple, yet important point which the last excerpts already alluded to: the more recipients are addressed, the more likely is the possibility of getting more than one response – and more than one response type. Beekeeper Micha has joined the honey-extracting group (see Excerpt (2–3)) in the garage to see how his friends are doing. As the bees' owner and bee expert, he now articulates some advice; namely, that tools and containers should not be left outside afterwards without having been cleaned, as the honey leftovers could attract bees. However, before explicitly mentioning the bees, Micha suspends his syntactic construction (05), which results in his receiving different responses from Patrick (06–07) and Lily (08).

Excerpt 4a.

(PHON_011132_räuberei)

```

01 MIC 1  .h man muss nur aufpassen NACHher dass (me) das äh:
           .h we just have to pay attention later that we er:
02        nicht irgendwie: (.) also generell, die
           don't somehow (.) I mean in general put the
03        sachen die irgendwie voll mit HÖnig beklebt sind
           things that are full of honey and sticky
04        DRAU+ssen irgendwo hins+ftellt, und+ dann *lang-
           outside somewhere puts and then long
           some+where outside +£ and then +(leave)*them a
mic        +..gaze PAT-----+gaze LIL--+gaze PAT---->
lil        *gaze MIC>>
pat        >gaze tray-----£...gaze MIC----->
05        1 lanfge lässt fweil +sonst # kom£men.+
           long lets because otherwise come-3PL
           lofng time £because + otherwise
pat        >MIC£.....£head up-----£,,,,,
mic        +RH lateral move-+,,,,,
fig        #fig. 17
06        £(0.5) £+
pat        £nod----£
mic        >gaze PAT+,,,
07 PAT    mhm [xx]

```

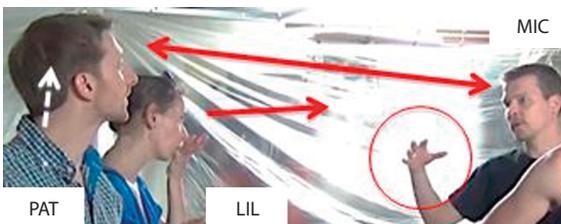


Figure 17.

Before his long turn, Micha gazes intensely at the objects and tools in front of Lily; during the turn, he points to various things (*sachen*, 03) and looks around. As he initially doesn't look at anyone, his turn is apparently not formatted for a specific recipient. Toward the end of the turn, however, Micha looks up at Patrick who, in the meantime, has suspended his manual task and now establishes mutual gaze (04). Shortly before Micha suspends his TCU (05), Patrick already shifts his gaze back to his workstation. In the following pause he nods (06) and mumbles a response while resuming his work (07); he thus has apparently understood Micha's proposal. Indeed, the lateral hand gesture Micha performs during the last two lexical items of his turn (05, Figure 17) – i.e., waving his right hand several times from left to right – possibly alludes to a flying movement and can be seen as completing the turn (Olsher 2004; Ford, Thompson and Drake 2012).

Lily, who is currently not working, also starts to gaze at Micha (04) during his explanation. She does not respond by nodding, but by a pre-emptive completion of Micha's turn, repeating the verb *kommen* ("come," 08), thus giving an explicit formulation of the way in which she understood his turn-so-far:

Excerpt 4b.

(PHON_011132_räuberei, continuation of 4a)

```

06          £(0.5)  £+
           pat    £nod----£
           mic    >gaze PAT+,,,
07 PAT      mhm  [xx
08 LIL 2    [kommen die #[+BIE+nen]
           come-3PL the  bees
           [the bees are [+co +ming
09 MIC 3    [+räube+REI]+nennt +sich das+dann
           robbery  calls REF that then
           [+this +is ]+called+  robbe+ry
           +.....+gaze LIL-----+,,,
           mic    +nod---+          +nod->
           mic
           fig    #fig. 18          #fig. 19

```



Figure 18.



Figure 19.

In the meantime, however, Micha has shifted his gaze to the other side of the room (Figure 18) and only starts to turn it back toward Lily when pursuing his turn with the noun “robbery” (*räuberei*, 09), using the technical term for what he has been trying to explain. He therefore has not previously looked at Lily as the potential next speaker and bodily disengages from these two recipients, neither acknowledging Patrick’s response nor responding to Lily’s pre-emptive completion,⁴ thus representing a good example of a delayed completion in the *receipt slot* (Lerner 2004).

Though verbally, Micha deletes the sequential implicativeness of Lily’s turn, a closer look at his embodied conduct reveals that he nevertheless responds to her proposal. While continuing his turn, he establishes mutual gaze with Lily and nods several times, thus visibly responding to her candidate completion (09–10, Figure 19). After introducing the apicultural term, he withdraws his gaze from Lily and reuses an unfinished formulation very close to the first version (10, see 05), also repeating the lateral waving gesture of his right hand (Figure 20).

Excerpt 4c.

(*PHON_011132_räuberei, continuation of 4b*)

```

10 MIC    und + dann # kommt (0.2) °ja.°
          and  then  come-3SG   yes
          and + then                (0.2) yeah
mic       >gaze down----->
mic       >nod+
fig       #fig. 20

```

4. One could analyze the *das*/"it" in Micha’s turn (09) as being used in an anaphoric way, referring not only to his own previous TCU (05), but also to what Lily suggested (08), thus incorporating her candidate completion. However, Micha’s relatively late and short embodied orientation with regard to Lily does not clearly confirm this.



Figure 20.

```

11      (0.2) * (0.3) + (0.2) * (0.1)
lil    >MIC-*, ,      *.gaze MIC-->
mic    >gaze down-+. .gaze LIL-->
12 LIL kommen * die **BIEnen, +
      the bees* are **coming +
lil    >hands-----* .down
lil    *°nod°-*
mic    +nod-----+
13 MIC +genau.
      +exactly
mic    +nod --->>
mic    +, , , gaze down

```

Interestingly, Lily's following self-repeat (12) clearly shows that neither Micha's visible response nor his turn continuation have adequately responded to her turn, which thus can be understood not only as providing a pre-emptive completion, but also as initiating repair, as her steady hand position also shows (see Figures 18–20 – and Micha's verbal, explicit confirmation of her second version, 13, and the repeated nods, 12–13). We can also notice that Patrick suspended his manual task before responding (07), briefly lifting his head and eyebrows (05, Figure 17), which could hint at a change of focus to an activity requiring immediate attention (Keisanen, Rauniomaa and Haddington 2014; Licoppe and Tuncer 2014) or possible emerging trouble (Seo and Koshik 2010; Mortensen 2012; Manrique and Enfield 2015).

What is at stake at this level of action? For Micha as the expert, the crucial issue here is to obtain a display of understanding from his recipient(s) – for that reason he withdraws his gaze from Patrick as soon as he has perceived him nodding and shifting his gaze back to the honeycomb frames (06; cf. Figure 17–18). In that sense, Patrick has delivered a fitted response type for the interactive turn space (Iwasaki 2009, 2011) Micha has projected. Lily has not only *not* been looked at by Micha, but her repair initiation has also clearly extended *beyond* this interactive turn space – therefore being overlapped by a delayed completion and being only visibly responded to by a nod.

Another example (cf. Oloff 2014) underlines that current speakers are indeed sensitive to the various response types that their addressees might deliver within

a short gap. In this setting, the three participants are sitting at a large table in the kitchen of a student hostel (Figure 21). Hostess Isa has invited some friends for dinner; Manuela and Dennis arrived first. The setting was also filmed from the opposite side of the table.



Figure 21. Setting 2 (RAC dinner conversation)

Here, Dennis has just suggested videotaping interactions in a schoolyard using a distant camera. Isa adds that, in that case, one would need a lavalier microphone. Instead of the technical term for this type of microphone, she uses an ad-hoc candidate compound noun (“tie mic”, 02) and explicitly describes her formulating problems with a *wh*-question (Papantoniou 2012). She then suspends the emergent syntactic construction with “such a” (*so n*), projecting a neutral or masculine noun as the next item (04).

Excerpt 5a.

(RAC_po1_001028_Krawattenmikro)

```
01 ISA 1 #klar was du dA* brÄUchtest is* dann halt
          of course in that * case you would* actually need
          isa
          fig #fig. 22
          *.....*rHand to collar>
02      'n:: krawatten:mi[kro:, ] °>oder wie d- sagt man°&
          a tie microphone or how d- says one
          a tiemicro[phone ] or how do you call it&
03 DEN
          isa >gaze DEN----->
          isa >right hand touches collar, pulls collar-->
          den >>gaze ISA---->
04 ISA &hier so 'n#::.<
          here such a-NEUT/MASC
          &here like a
          fig #fig. 23
```



Figure 22.



Figure 23.

During her turn, Isa starts pulling her collar (Figures 22–23), indicating the microphone's position. Again, the two recipients respond slightly differently to the suspended turn. Manuela answers with a minimal acknowledgement and a head nod (07), Dennis with a stretched “yes,” then adding a possible candidate completion for Isa's suspended turn (06, 09).

Excerpt 5b.

(RAC_po1_001028_Krawattenmikro, continuation of 5a)

```

05      (0.2)
06 DEN 2  ja[*::: ][:. s:fo `ne komplette]&
          yes      such a complete
          ye[*ah:::][: like a complete ]&
07 MAN   [+*mhm:+]
08 ISA 3  [ knO&pf (.) .h::: ]&&
          [ buttfo- (.) .h::: ]&&
man      +nod--+
man      >>gaze ISA----->>
isa      >--*,,, right hand lets go of collar
den      >>gaze ISA-----£,,,,,scratches his forehead->
09 DEN 2  & [ (klei*:n,) (marken)£* ausrüstung. ]
          [ small brand £* equipment ]
10 ISA 3  &&[und am *>BES:ten £*wAs es #auch gibt *is ]
          and at the best what it also gives is
          &&[and the *best thing £*there is also some*thing]
den      >-----£..gaze ISA-->>
isa      *.rHand, then lHand form glasses--*"glasses"-->
isa      >---gaze DEN-----*covers eyes-->
fig.     #fig. 24
11 ISA   ab#gefAH:ren< es gibt so bri:llen a- also&
          really crazy it is like glasses w- well&
isa      >"glasses"----->
fig      #fig. 25

```



Figure 24.



Figure 25.

```

12 ISA   &kamerA::: a- auf [*brillen: (.) d]rau:f.
          &like a camera      [*mounted on (.) g]lasses
13 DEN   [*("brillen") (.) ja,]
          [* glasses (.) yes]
isa      >--"glasses"-----*,,,,
isa      >-----covers eyes*..gaze DEN-->>

```

Although Isa and Dennis have established mutual gaze (since 03), Isa continues her turn with a candidate noun, *knopf* (“button,” 08). Isa uses this lexical item for all practical purposes, as it is neither the correct German term for such microphones nor a compound noun, the head being skipped; but it nevertheless fills the syntactic slot having been projected before (04) and alludes to the typical size and position of the object she is referring to. It is also interesting to note that, prosodically, the emphasis on this lexical item projects a possible turn-continuation: Isa takes a long in-breath and continues talking, linking the new TCU via the conjunction *und* (“and”) to her former talk (08, 10). She therefore does not assess Dennis’s candidate proposal (09), but overlaps his turn. Her upgrade to competition through higher volume (Schegloff 2000) as well as her gaze withdrawal (covering her eyes by mimicking glasses, 10–11, Figure 24–25, the next item she talks about, 12) illustrate that she treats Dennis’s turn as possibly problematic and even competitive.

However, the detailed annotations show us that Isa does not treat the whole turn of her recipient Dennis as problematic, but only the second responding action. Isa indeed resumes her suspended turn just after she clearly perceives her recipients’ minimal displays of understanding (Manuela’s “mhm” and nod, 07; Dennis’s “yes,” 06), after which her right hand also releases the collar. One can now assume that, after having received her recipients’ displays of understanding, the finding of the “correct” technical term for the microphone is not a relevant activity anymore as it

has been recognized for all practical purposes. Furthermore, Isa's *wh*-question (02) is formatted in a downgrading manner – i.e., quick, with low volume and falling intonation – which means that Isa is projecting a self-repair of this problem rather than asking her recipients for help (Papantoniou 2012, 233–234). The closing of the word search sequence also means that, from Isa's perspective, another candidate proposal is no longer needed. Dennis's proposal is thus not ill-fitted from a semantic point of view, but mainly ill-timed and ill-fitted in its action format.

A delayed completion can therefore be analyzed as a practice for curtailing co-participants' responsive actions that have not been projected, although there has been a slot for *some* type of response. Different response types that occur after the turn suspension show that the suspension is possibly ambiguous for turn recipients and that the response type which was projected then becomes "disambiguated" by the next current speaker action – in this case, a delayed completion that overlaps possible non-projected responsive actions.

3.3 Delayed completions after possibly misaligned actions

In this last analytical section I will present cases of delayed completions that occur after misaligned intermediate turns (see also Vatanen 2017). Syntactically fitted pre-emptive completions or turn continuations can also represent possibly misaligned responses, which the delayed completion then blocks and assesses as not relevant at that moment (Section 3.3.1, Excerpt (6)). Moreover, a delayed completion can block a misaligned response very early – indeed, as soon as a counter-response has been projected through the use of turn-initial disagreement markers (Section 3.3.2, Excerpt (7 and 8)).

3.3.1 *Delayed completions for blocking competitive pre-emptive formats*

The next excerpt shows a delayed completion following a syntactically fitted proposal. Nevertheless, Jan's intermediate turn (13) represents a non-serious proposal (Drew 1987; Günthner 2015) and diverts from the current speaker's (Chris) serious trajectory. Moreover, Jan is not an addressed recipient, as Chris is explaining to Dennis, sitting opposite him, the selection process for internships at an important research institution and repeatedly points at him (01–03; cf. Figure 26).

Excerpt 6a.

(RAC_010138_liebling)

```
01 CHR      *aber die sAchen- wie das: *dann vergeben wird,
           *but the way how you *then get it
chr        *...ppp right index twd DEN-*,,
02         (0.4)*(0.4)
chr        *...ppp right index twd DEN-->
```

03 CHR da- (.) isch *dann auch +Eine lisch[te-]
 there(.) there's *also +a lis[t]

04 DEN [is] das nich+&
 [is]n't that +&

den >>gaze plate-----+....gaze CHR-----+,,
 chr >>gaze DEN---->1.14
 chr >ppp twd DEN--*..index vertical-->

05 DEN &[so:..]
 &[like]

06 CHR [da sin alle] *studenten draUF, *
 [where all] *students are mentioned*

chr >index vertical*...moves index down...*

07 DEN ja+:,
 yes

den +..gaze CHR, stops using cutlery-->>

08 (0.6)

09 CHR 1 *und die- und die-#* °°m- die m-°°
 and all- and all- °°m- all m-°°

chr *..index ppp-----*..palm forms "list"-->
 fig #fig. 26

10 die ganzen: ähm* praktikumsbetrEuer
 all the erm* supervisors

chr >palm "list"----*,,,

11 dürfen sich die lischte durchgucken,
 are allowed to look through the list,

12 (0.5)



Figure 26.

Chris's explanation follows the chronological development of the selection process, stating that the supervisors look through the list with all candidates (09–11). The micro-pause that follows (12) represents a possible intra-turn-slot for a minimal response, as shown by Dennis's nodding:

Excerpt 6b.

(RAC_010138_liebling, continuation of 6a)

12 (0.3) £+(0.2)+
 den +nods--+
 jan >CHR-£...gaze DEN-->

13 JAN 2 <und wer*am meis[#ten* HAUT zeigt, ((@))> #]
 and who the most skin shows
 <and the*one who [re*veals the most ((@))>]
 14 CHR 3 [#UND* DÜRFEN SICH IHREN LIEBLING#]&
 and may-PL REFL their darling
 [and* may choose their favorite]&
 jan >----gaze DEN----->1.18
 chr >gaze DEN*.gaze JAN---*.gaze DEN--->>
 fig #fig. 27/28 #fig. 29



Figure 27.



Figure 28.

15 &AUSsuchen, u[nd dAnn,]
 choose-INF and then
 &candidate, a[nd then]
 16 JAN [ehe?]he?
 17 (.)
 18 CHR £irgend- an irgend nem tag um zwEI uhr geht's 10s,
 £some- some day at two o'clock it starts
 jan £..gaze CHR--->>



Figure 29.

Jan, who has been looking at Chris during most of his explanation, now turns his head to the right in Dennis's direction (12, see Figures 27–28) and self-selects, syntactically continuing Chris's turn by using the conjunction *und* ("and," 13). His suggestion that a possible criterion for selecting a candidate would be that they "reveal a lot" is obviously a non-serious proposal, as it is uttered with a smiley voice and followed by laughter particles (16).

During the intermediate turn, Chris turns his head to Jan, the shortness of this movement indicating possible trouble (13–14, Figures 27–28), but also giving him the possibility to monitor to whom Jan’s turn is addressed. He is able to perceive that Jan is not addressing him, but instead competing for the same recipient, Dennis. Chris’s delayed completion (14–15) is clearly formatted in a competitive way (Schegloff 2000): he overlaps Jan’s turn in the middle of the TCU, upgrades the volume of his talk and looks back at Dennis (13–14, Figure 29). Dennis does not respond to the joke or look at Jan, and as Chris goes on, Jan also turns his gaze back to him and aligns as the recipient of his talk (18).

The first disaligned feature of the intermediate turn is that of its being addressed to the same recipient (Dennis being addressed by both Chris and Jan at that moment). Moreover, the non-seriousness of Jan’s contribution clearly contrasts with the seriousness of Chris’s explanation. Although the intermediate turn represents a syntactically fitted continuation of the previous speaker’s turn, on the action level it represents a disaligned next action (cf. Stivers 2008) that is blocked by a delayed completion.

3.3.2 *Delayed completions for blocking disaffiliative responses*

The “non-alignedness” of a co-participant’s turn can be syntactically – or rather lexically – quite explicit. Even if the intermediate turn addresses the previous speaker (i.e., the one who suspended his/her turn) at a sequentially adequate moment, it is formatted in a way that projects its opposite stance from very early on. The final two excerpts will show how the practice of delayed completion can be appropriately used for cutting short an adversarial or disaffiliative (cf. Stivers 2008) course of action.

In both examples, the current speakers suspend their turn at a moment where a (at least minimal) response from their recipient would be a relevant next action. In both cases the recipient responds, but does so after a delay and with a turn beginning that lexically projects a clearly disaffiliative turn. The initial speaker then resumes his/her turn with a delayed completion as soon as the diverging trajectory becomes tangible. In the following example, Patrick tries to block Lily’s disagreeing response with a delayed completion (10–11). While opening the honeycombs, Patrick starts wondering about the profitability of beekeeping. However, he does not explicitly introduce the economic aspect, but starts with a lexical choice projecting a negative statement (“disadvantage,” 01).

Excerpt 7a.

(PHON_003400_ertrag)

01 PAT dAs ist halt wirklich der NACHteil dass man
 well that’s actually really a disadvantage that one
 02 [eigentlich nicht *wirk%lich,
 [actually does not* rea%lly

03 REN [°ach°
 [(oh)
 pat >>gaze down frames----->
 lil >>gaze down bowls ----->>
 ren *..gaze PAT->
 mar %..gaze PAT->
 04 (1.3)
 05 PAT 1 das is halt n- (0.2) is so n hobby, ne? (.)
 well it's a (0.2) it's a kind of hobby isn't it? (.)
 06 aber man *kann- (0.2) nicht wirklich damit so n
 but one can-SG not really with-that such a
 but with * that (0.2) one really cannot
 ren >gaze PAT*,,,gaze down-->
 07 (1.0)
 08 PAT 1 ertrAg erzielen. #
 yield achieve-INF
 achieve some yield
 fig #fig. 30
 09 (0.7)



Figure 30.

Probably due to his manual task, Patrick delivers his statement in several parts, incrementally (cf. Mondada 2014b). René and Markus, who look up from their work at the end of Patrick's first turn (02), do not intervene, as they can perceive Patrick constantly looking down. They are thus able to recognize the pauses (04, 07) as being linked to his manual work rather than to word search troubles.

As Patrick goes on with his turn, he expresses his negative opinion more explicitly ("it's a kind of hobby," 05), leading to a kind of compound TCU, whose second part is introduced by *aber* ("but"). He finally claims that making honey does not yield much (06, 08). He has thus delivered a syntactically, prosodically, and pragmatically complete statement. Although he does not look up at this moment, as he is still visually focused on his work (Figure 30), a response from any of the three co-participants clearly is a relevant next action. Lily responds first (10), her turn being immediately overlapped by Patrick's delayed completion (11):

Excerpt 7b.

(PHON_003400_ertrag, continuation of 7a)

09 (0.7)
 10 LIL 2 naJA: es: [# °äh is-°]
 well it [er is]
 11 PAT 3 [# FInanz]iEll.
 [financ]ially
 fig #fig. 31



Figure 31.



Figure 32.

12 (.)
 13 LIL is ja ganz schön[+VIEL (.)+ die&
 actually quite [+many (.)+ are doing that&
 [.TS
 14 MAR >gaze down-----+..REN---+,,down->
 [aber wiewIEl kost n kilo hOnig.]
 [but how much does a kilo of honey cost]
 16 LIL &[mittlerweile- (gibts) vIEle leute:.] die das
 &[nowadays (there are) many people] who are doing that
 17 *mittlerweile [+*machen. +]
 * now[+*adays +]
 18 PAT [+*(n)jA#:: +] (.) +a[ber.+
 [+*well yes+] (.) +b[ut +
 pat >gaze down-----+..MAR---+,,gaze down->
 pat +shrugs+
 ren *...gaze MAR---*..gaze PAT----->>
 mar >gaze PAT----->>
 fig #fig. 32

With a 0.7-second delay and the turn-initial particle *naja* (“well,” 09–10), Lily projects a response that does not simply go along with Patrick’s statement. Furthermore, unlike Markus and René, Lily does not look up a single time, but keeps her visual focus on her action of filling small bowls with honey leftovers, a task that she could easily suspend. With his delayed completion (11), Patrick therefore not only repairs the possible lexical ambiguity of his previous turn (*ertrag* having the possible meaning of both material and monetary yield), but also reacts to the disaffiliative

character of Lily's emerging turn. The fact that the delayed completion in this case has an incremental form (i.e., extending the same syntactic construction) shows nicely that Patrick possibly treats what Lily said as an inadequate response (Ford, Fox and Thompson 2002).⁵ This analysis is also supported by the fact that this turn continuation is uttered at a distinctly higher volume than what preceded. As Patrick does not look up at Lily during or after her turn, he indeed does not treat her utterance as being relevant (cf. Figure 31).

Although Lily resumes her turn a moment later (13), Patrick still does not gaze at her. Instead he looks at a different recipient, René (13–14), and later looks at and responds to Markus (18, Figure 32; see Markus's on-topic question 15). Lily's further attempt to position her turn in a sequentially relevant position (16–17; consider also the pivot construction, Betz 2008) is thus overlapped and not attended to.

In the last excerpt, Isa asks her guests during the raclette⁶ dinner if they know how much cheese one should allocate per person. She suggests "two to three hundred grams per person," looking at Dennis, then at Chris (01–04). Chris starts to respond, but denies the relevance of counting a priori a certain amount of cheese per person (05–06).

Excerpt 8a.

(RAC_005754_Männer, simplified)

```
01 ISA (>>ICH WEISS JA<<) wieviel rEchnet mAN-
    well I well- how much does one calculate-
02 wieviel- (°g-°) gramm käse rechnet man
    how many grams of cheese does one have to calculate
03 eigentlich bei (hun-) dreihU-
    actually for hun- three hun-
04 zweihundert* bis dreihundert oder, pro person?
    two hundred* to three hundred grams per person
isa >gaze DEN--*.gaze CHR-->
chr >gaze ISA----->
05 CHR 1 also öh. (.) *das darf man wirklich nicht pro
    so er that may-IMP one really not per
    well er (.) * you should really not calculate
isa >gaze CHR---*,,gaze pan/plate-->1.7
```

5. Ford, Fox, and Thompson (2002, 19) state:

In other words, [extensions] are attempted solutions to lack of displayed reciprocity. The speaker may be pursuing acknowledgment of or uptake to his/her utterance, pursuing a gazing recipient, or dealing with some other kind of "trouble" with the way the utterance so far is being treated by the addressees.

6. A French/Swiss dish consisting of melting slices of cheese in small pans with an electrical raclette grill, usually accompanied by potatoes, mixed pickles, and dried meat.

```

06      £person + rechnen sowas.#(.) +da      muss £ man gucken,
        person calculate such-a-thing there must one look
        £that per+ person      (.) +one should £ rather look
chr     >ISA-----+..gaze DEN-----+..gaze ISA-->
den     £...gaze CHR-----£,,,
fig     #fig. 33

07      ##(0.2)      *(0.2)
isa     *...gaze CHR*,,,gaze pan, puts into raclette->
fig     #fig. 34

```



Figure 33.



Figure 34.

When Chris starts to respond, Isa withdraws her gaze and gets back to filling her little pan with food (05; cf. Figure 33). Interestingly, Chris suspends his turn in the middle of a syntactic unit and gazes at Isa (06). In the following pause, Isa looks up so that they establish mutual gaze (07, Figure 34).

However, Chris does not continue his turn at that point, nor does Isa deliver a more consistent recipient response. Instead, she turns her gaze back to her food preparation and initiates a counterargument, clearly announced by the word *doch* (“well”) at high volume (08).

Excerpt 8b.

(RAC_005754_Männer, simplified, continuation of 8a)

```

08 ISA 2  DOCH es  [+gibt aber so  [ÜBERSCHLAG+#SRECHNUNG£(EN)  ]
        yes it  gives but such estimate-calculations
        well but [+such rough  [ calculati+ons do exist  ]
09 CHR 3  [+und wieviel  [MÄNNER DA +# SIND,  £wieviel]&
        and how-many men there are  how-much
        [+and how many [men parti+cipate  £ if  ]&
chr     >ISA-----+..gaze JAN/DEN-----+..gaze ISA-->
den     >bends down to the left-----£gaze CHR>
fig     #fig. 35

10 CHR 3  &[+(kohldampf xx)  ]
        hunger
        &[+they are hungry xx]
11 DEN  [+WIEVIEL +*MÄNNER  ]j(h)A  £[:EHE,HE,]
        [+how many+*MEN  ]ye(h)Ah£[:EHE,HE,]

```

```

12 ISA                                     # [MÄNNER]*DA: +SIND.*OUAH::*
                                           [MEN]*partici+pate *OUAH::*
chr    >+,,,      +...gaze DEN-----+,,,
isa    >+,,,      *...gaze CHR-----*,,,      *..CHR-*
den    >-gaze CHR-----£,,,
fig    #fig. 36
13 DEN    <.H: [:( (laughter))>
14 ISA    [*für den mA*chospruch kriegst +du gleich
           [*for this ma*cho saying I should +immediately
isa      *..gaze CHR-*,,,
chr      +.gaze ISA->>
15 ISA    hUndert gramm weniger.
           take one hundred grams of cheese away from you

```



Figure 35.

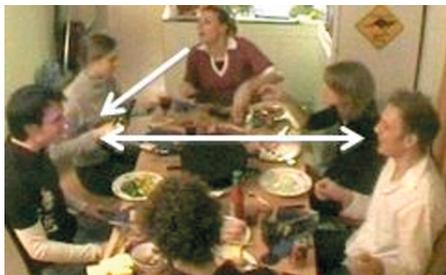


Figure 36.

Shortly after Isa, Chris continues speaking, tying back to his previous talk with the conjunction *und* (“and,” 09). He now starts looking in Jan’s and Dennis’s direction (Figure 35), Dennis being a recipient he already addressed before (cf. his gaze in 06, Figure 33). He thus overlaps Isa’s counterargument, insisting instead on the relevance of counting how many men will participate in the meal. Both Isa and Chris are upgrading to competition (08–09; Schegloff 2000). Dennis, who was bending to his left in order to take some food (Figure 35), now turns his gaze to Chris and expresses an appreciation of Chris’s joke (11). Chris, who during the overlap again turns to Isa without obtaining her attention (08–09), finally establishes mutual gaze with Dennis (Figure 36). Isa embodies her disaffiliative stance by a response cry, an expressive movement of her torso and head towards Chris (12, Figure 36), and then proclaims Chris’s statement as being sexist (14–15).

Chris carries out a delayed completion as soon as Isa’s disagreeing trajectory is clearly recognizable. He successfully erases the sequential implicativeness of her turn and gets some laughter in response to his joke from Dennis. However, this affiliative response by another co-participant does not prevent Isa from reformulating her disaffiliation, this time with quite explicit negative assessments. Consequently, blocking a disaffiliative trajectory with a delayed completion does not prevent the “blocked” participant from re-initiating a turn at the next possible slot, with this utterance being possibly even more explicitly disaffiliating.

4. Discussion and conclusion

In this contribution I have suggested revisiting delayed completions, a practice that has not been described with regard to embodied conduct since its first mention by Lerner (1989). Based on video data of mundane German conversations, this analysis has shown that the delayed completion of a turn can be described as a cross-linguistically used practice for negotiating relevant actions in minimal, mostly intra-turn response slots. Whereas Lerner's (1989) examples of delayed completions illustrate that both seemingly aligned and misaligned intermediate turns can be overlapped by a delayed completion, their detailed revision has also shown that both types of intermediate turns emerge in possible response slots, i.e., where the current speaker has projected an opportunity for providing a minimal response. But as an interactive turn space (Iwasaki 2009, 2011) or intra-turn TRP (Lerner 1996) is possibly ambiguous with regards to the response type the current speaker has projected (i.e., it is a practical problem for participants to recognize *in situ* type formatted responses; cf. Thompson, Fox and Couper-Kuhlen 2015), the recipient actions within that slot may vary and are therefore bound to be negotiated. This has been shown throughout the analyses, as turn suspensions followed by pauses frequently generate various audible and visible response types such as acknowledgments, continuers, head nods, gaze re-orientations, or pre-emptive completions.

The video data have shown that delayed completions frequently emerge in multi-activity, multi-party settings where participants have reduced possibilities for monitoring their co-participants' embodied conduct during and after turn suspension. Participants who carry out a manual task may not (fully) perceive others' embodied conduct (e.g., shifting position in space, putting an item in a box, displaying a thinking face) during turn suspension and thus more strongly rely on the timing of the audible suspension when self-selecting as the next speaker. In the case of multiple recipients, current speakers sometimes monitor only one participant, not being able to (fully) perceive other possible next speakers. In both cases, this can lead to divergent interpretations of a turn suspension as having been shaped as a TRP or not (cf. Section 3.1).

While some occurrences of delayed completions thus have their roots in reduced monitoring activities, others are more clearly linked to diverging interpretations of relevant next action types. This is one reason why the intermediate turn position typically does not contain one specific or recurrent action format (another obvious reason being the occurrence of various action types in the first position). As the onset of the turn in third position (the "delayed completion" proper) is frequently positioned after minimal (audible or visible) displays of understanding by a recipient (e.g., head nods, "yes"), these minimal responses have apparently

been projected by the current speaker. More extended co-participant contributions (e.g., candidate completions, alternative suggestions, assessments) in the second, intermediate position will then be overlapped by the delayed completion and consequently be treated as not projected and/or relevant at that moment (cf. Section 3.2).

The essential feature of an intermediate turn is a more general one: the current or “first” speaker treats it as not being a relevant responsive action at that moment, regardless of its syntactic, semantic, or pragmatic fittedness – the unfittedness being notably displayed through the occurrence of a delayed completion. However, the fact that a delayed completion erases the sequential implicativeness of the intermediate turn makes it more specifically suited to blocking any action that is misaligned or disaffiliative with regard to the first speaker’s action trajectory. The stronger the disaffiliative character of the responsive action, the more the formatting of the delayed completion will be competitive, relying on resources typically used in competitive overlapping talk, such as a loud voice, fast speaking, early overlap onset (Schegloff 2000; Oloff 2008) and turning away from or physically blocking the “problematic” co-participant (Oloff 2014). This has been illustrated by the excerpts in Section 3.3, where both disaligned and disaffiliative intermediate turns have been brought to a halt through a delayed completion.

One of the most noticeable features linked to turn-taking management and timing is that delayed completions function not only prospectively, but also retrospectively. While through post-gap increments participants usually treat the previous absence of responsive action as problematic and therefore “reclaim” it (Ford, Fox and Thompson 2002), through post-other-talk increments and post-other-talk turn extensions (i.e., delayed completions), on the contrary, participants treat responsive actions that have already occurred. They retrospectively establish that the turn in first position has not been completed, while projecting a new TRP and prospectively setting up the relevance of a different type of responsive action. Delayed completions can be precision-timed with regards to the actions carried out in the intermediate turn (see Section 3.2): as long as the recipient action is treated as relevant for the current speaker (e.g., a display of understanding), the response slot is maintained. In the case where the intermediate turn is then extended by a second, diverging action, the first participant can immediately set in with a delayed continuation of his/her own turn. Delayed completions are therefore not a practice for immediately blocking co-participant talk (such as a rush-through; cf. Local and Walker 2004), but for its retrospective, *ad hoc* delimitation. This illustrates that an interactive turn space set up by turn suspension is managed on-line, dynamically shaping its extent with regard to concurrent co-participant responses.

The revision of delayed completions through the analysis of both talk and embodied conduct has shown that delayed completions are not a practice exclusively based on syntactic or grammatical features (i.e., grammatical incompleteness of a

turn). Delayed completions are more generally related to the type and timing of recipient/next-speaker action. Whereas the “completion” of the first turn can be simply indicated through the completion of an incomplete syntactic construction, thematic connections, the use of embodied resources and the visible conduct towards the recipient producing the intermediate turn contribute to a *gestalt*-like coherence between the first and second part of a delayed completion. Consequently, the practice of delayed completion can lead to different types of syntactic links between the suspended turn and its continuation (increments, extensions, possibly even pragmatically or topically linked elements such as free constituents; cf. Ford, Fox and Thompson 2002; Vorreiter 2003).

Video data can help us tackle some of the intriguing analytical issues that were raised in the beginning (cf. Section 2). When looking at the embodied and material dimension of such sequences, one is able to consider how the temporality of embodied actions and displays, manual activities, and talk are intertwined. More specifically, one is able to see what exactly happens before and during turn suspension, if turn suspension is formatted as a slot for co-participant action or not, and perceived or perceivable as such or not. The timing and shape of embodied responsive conduct (such as head movements or repair-initiating gesture freezes) can fruitfully contribute to the understanding of these sequences, as concurrent action trajectories by multiple participants are made visible and can be retraced. Another interesting issue raised by video data is the directionality of the intermediate turns; i.e., to whom they are addressed (see Sidnell 2012), and with whose action they are consequently (dis)aligned. In sum, video data enable us to seize the interactional relevance of reciprocity and participation frameworks, allowing us to retrace issues of turn-taking and response slot negotiation on an adequate level of analytic granularity. More generally, the analyses have illustrated that delayed completions are not a phenomenon linked exclusively to the linear sequentiality of turns-at-talk. Action through talk is intertwined with simultaneously evolving states and forms of co-presence and coordinating activities, and in some cases it can also be contingent upon the temporality of tool and object manipulation. Phenomena such as delayed completions should thus be understood as a good opportunity to bring the affordances and contingencies of coordinating embodied social actions into analytical focus.

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