

It was Gail Jefferson who transcribed the infamous Nixon Watergate tapes.

Typically, transcriptions end up looking a bit like a script for a play, with abbreviated character names down the left hand margin and what they say to the right of the names – as in Extract 2.1, which is a transcript of a telephone conversation (now fairly well known in the CA world) between participants who we have anonymised as Justine (Just) and Chester (Ches). It was collected in the early 1970s by a student of Anita Pomerantz who has generously given permission for its inclusion here. This version was transcribed by Gail Jefferson. The extract is used here because of its fame. A sound recording of this conversation is available on the companion website for you to listen to.

Syracuse is a city in the state of New York, USA.

### Extract 2.1: Trip to Syracuse

- 01 Just: Hullo:,  
 02 (0.3)  
 03 Ches: hHello is eh::m:: (0.2) .hh-.hh Justine there?  
 04 Just: Ya:;h, this is Justi:ne,  
 05 Ches: [hh Oh hi this's Chester  
 06 about th'trip teh Syracuse?  
 07 Just: Ye:a:h, Hi (k-ch)  
 08 Ches: Hi howuh you doin.  
 09 Just: Goo:;[d,  
 10 Ches: [hhhe:h heh .hhhh I wuz uh:m: (.) .hh I wen'  
 11 ah:- (0.3) I spoke teh the gi:r- I spoke tih Sarah.  
 12 (Ches): (.hhhh)/(0.4)  
 13 Ches: And u:m:: (.) ih wz rea:lly ba:d because she  
 14 decided of a:ll weekends fuh this one tih go awa:y  
 15 (0.6)  
 16 Just: Wha:t;  
 17 (0.4)  
 18 Ches: She decidih tih go away this weekend.  
 19 Just: Yea:h,  
 20 Ches: .hhhh=  
 21 (Ile): =.kh[h  
 22 Ches: [So tha:[:t  
 23 (Ile): [k-khhh  
 24 Ches: Yihknow I really don't have a place tuh sta:y.  
 25 Just: .hh Oh:::..hh  
 26 (0.2)  
 27 Just: .hhh So yih not g'nna go up this weeken'z  
 28 ( ): (hhh)/(0.2)  
 29 Ches: Nu::h I don't think so.  
 30 Just: How about the following weekend.  
 31 (0.8)  
 32 Ches: .hh Dat's the vacation isn't it?  
 33 Just: .hhhhh Oh:..hh ALright so:- no ha:ssle,  
 34 (.)

35 Just: S[o-  
 36 Ches: [y<sub>e</sub>:h,  
 37 Just: yihkno:w::  
 38 ( ): .hhh  
 39 Just: So we'll make it fer another ti:me then.  
 40 (0.5)  
 41 Just: Yihknow jis let me know when yer g'nna go:.  
 42 Ches: .hh Sure .hh  
 43 Just: yihknow that- that's awl, whenever you have  
 44 intentions'v going .hh let me know.  
 45 Ches: Ri:ght.  
 46 Just: Oka::y?  
 47 Ches: Qkay,=  
 48 Just: =Thanks inneh- e- than:ks: anyway Chester,  
 49 Ches: Ri:ght.  
 50 Just: Oka:y?  
 51 Ches: Qka[y,  
 52 Just: [Ta:ke keyuh  
 53 Ches: Speak tih you [( )  
 54 Just: [Bye: bye  
 55 Ches: Bye,

Of course, this extract has a lot of 'stuff' in it that wouldn't be found in a play script. For example there are stray square brackets (as in lines 4 and 5, 9 and 10), odd punctuation (such as the commas at the ends of lines 1, 4, 9), line numbers in the left hand margin, numbers in parentheses and unconventional spellings. In the next section these conventions will be explained.

### 2.3.1 Transcription conventions

First and foremost, it is important always to remember that any transcription is only a representation of talk; it is not the data – it is just a re-presentation of the data, a fixing of the data in written form to act as an aide-memoire for the analyst to be able to more easily 'see' what's going on in the interaction. It also acts as a way of enabling readers of printed documents (such as book chapters or journal articles) to get a sense of what the data must have sounded like. For both these reasons, CA transcripts are often very detailed and they regularly employ a range of conventions designed to (as best as possible) re-present various subtleties in the talk (such as overlap, silence, speed, intonation, volume, pitch, emphasis, etc.).

While there are many ways of representing talk in a written form, the transcription conventions used in CA are usually based on the system developed by Gail Jefferson (another good reason for picking the Syracuse data). It is very important to note, however, that not every researcher uses every convention, that some writers use some of the symbols differently, and that some occasionally feel the need to invent their own notation symbols. However, whatever system an author chooses, they should always provide a listing of their conventions so that their readers can interpret the transcripts. Below we will see examples of many of these conventions with (where possible) examples from 'Syracuse'. (Don't worry if there are no examples in 'Syracuse' – there will be plenty in Activity 2.2.)

### Overlapping turns

1 [ When there is already someone speaking, a single left bracket [ marks the start of overlapped talk. The transcripts are formatted so that when overlaps occur, the overlapping contribution is arranged on the page directly below the relevant part of the already on-going contribution. For example: lines 35–36 and 51–52.

2 ] The offset (end) of all overlapped contributions is usually shown by a right bracket at the appropriate points in the turns of both participants. Overlaps are very brief in 'Syracuse' and Jefferson has chosen not to mark the offsets. This highlights a very important point about transcription: while recognized guidelines exist, that is all they are – guidelines. That is why, as mentioned above, you will often find transcriptions using different symbols or possibly even using symbols differently. However, as long as any departures from the norm are explicitly noted, there should be few problems.

A useful convention for multi-party talk was developed by Karen Brown, one of our students. She distinguished the offsets of multiple overlaps in a turn by appending the closing brackets with a number in parentheses. For example, when ](17) is used in a pair of **utterances** it indicates the 17th offset of simultaneous talk in the transcript. As ](17) will appear twice, it clearly shows which utterances finish where.

See chapter 8 for discussion of the writing of guidelines.

### Turns which start simultaneously

3 [[] When there is no current speaker, onset of simultaneous contributions from both participants is sometimes marked using double left brackets.

### Latched contributions

4 = An utterance that immediately follows the preceding utterance without a gap is said to be a latched utterance. It is transcribed with a pair of = signs: one at the end of the preceding stretch of talk and one immediately prior to the onset of the latched utterance. For example: lines 47–48.

### Pauses

5 (.) A micro pause of less than 0.2 seconds. For example: lines 10 and 13.

6 (0.0) Longer pauses are timed to the nearest tenth of a second and are put within parentheses, so (3.1) represents a silence of 3.1 seconds. For example: lines 2, 3 and 11.

Where silences cannot be attributed to a speaker, the pause is marked on its own line. For example: lines 2, 15, 17.

If you are transcribing but don't have access to a stopwatch, it might be useful to know that speaking at a normal speed (→ 14) produces approximately five syllables per second (hence 1 syllable = 0.2 seconds). Hence amateur photographers developing film, sky divers waiting to pull their rip cords and Ross Geller from the sitcom *Friends* (final series where he (mis)times his spray-on tan) often use 'Mississippi' as a counting tool: 'one Mississippi' = 5 syllables = 1 second.

- 7 + Pauses may be transcribed with + signs if overlap needs marking (though the need for this is rare). Each + represents a pause of approximately 0.1 seconds in length.
- 8 ((pause)) Long, untimed pauses are marked by ((pause)). These are rarely found because if a silence is long enough to be noticeable, it is long enough to be timed.

### Characteristics of delivery

- 9 > < Talk delivered at a faster rate than surrounding talk is transcribed within angled brackets pointing inwards (or >> << for much faster talk).
- 10 < > Talk delivered at a slower rate than surrounding talk is transcribed within angled brackets pointing outwards (or << >> for much slower talk).
- 11 - Indicates the utterance is cut off mid-flow. In terms of phonetics, this often involves **glottal** closure (→ 9). It is a very powerful device for maintaining a turn. For example: lines 11, 43, 48.
- 12 : Elongation of the preceding sound. The more colons, the longer the sound. For example: lines 1, 3, 4 and a really long stretch in line 25.
- 13 ? Gradual rising intonation. While a ? at the end of a unit of talk might often co-occur with a syntactic question (as in lines 3, 32, 46), it is important to note that it doesn't necessarily mean that the utterance in question is, in fact, a syntactic question. For example, the utterance in lines 5 and 6 is clearly a statement, and yet Jefferson has used a ? to indicate that the pitch gradually rises towards the end. This highlights the point that traditional punctuation marks are not used for punctuation, but rather as an attempt to represent intonation.
- Because this non-question, high rising terminal (HRT) intonation is a feature of Australian speech, it is sometimes known as Australian Question Intonation (or AQI) (→ 12).
- 14 . Gradual falling intonation. While a . might often co-occur with a statement (as in lines 11, 18, 24), it is important to note that it doesn't necessarily mean that. For example, the utterance in line 8 is clearly a question (marked by the word *how*), and yet Jefferson has used a . to indicate that the pitch gradually falls towards the end. A similar example can be found in line 30.

- 15 , Fall-rise intonation. This intonation pattern is often found in an unfinished turn-in-progress. For example in line 4, the first comma after 'Ya:h' apparently indicates that Justine has not finished her turn. Again, the intonation represented by a comma does not necessarily mean that a turn is in progress, as indicated by the comma at the end of Justine's turn in line 4.
- 16 ! More animated intonation (often rise-fall).
- 17 ... Utterance 'trails off'.

### Abnormal volume and pitch

- 18 ° ° Text surrounded by degree signs is quieter than the surrounding talk. We distinguish four levels of quietness: °quiet°, °°very quiet°°, °°°exceedingly quiet°°, and °°°°virtually inaudible°°°°.
- 19 CAPITALS Louder than the normal surrounding talk. (This convention is often adopted in emails where capitalization can be interpreted as SHOUTING!) For example: line 33 where the first syllable of 'alright' is transcribed as being louder. There are several other capital letters throughout 'Syracuse', but they are always isolated and don't represent loudness. For example, some transcribers use initial capital letters at the beginning of utterances – and some don't; some use them for proper names (like Justine, Chester, Syracuse, Sarah) – and some don't; but nearly all transcribers (fickle as they are) tend to maintain a capital letter for the first person **pronoun, 'I'**.
- 20 ↑ ↑ Notably higher shift in pitch for the text between the upward pointing arrows.
- 21 ↓ ↓ Notably lower shift in pitch from the surrounding talk.
- 22 underlining Other emphasis/**stress** (sometimes indicated by italics). For example: lines 1, 3, 4, 5 – indeed, virtually every line seems to have some emphasis!

### Non-verbal activity

- 23 h Audible outbreath (number of hs corresponds to length of breath). For example: lines 3 (before 'Hello'), 23, 28.
- 24 .h Audible inbreath (number of hs corresponds to length of breath). For example: lines 3, 5, 10. For obvious reasons audible inbreath occurs most often utterance-initially.
- 25 ha/heh Syllable of laughter. For example: line 10 (twice). Using cha indicates laughter involving some degree of friction.
- 26 ((cough)) Representations of non-verbal behaviour are transcribed within double parentheses.
- 27 .pt Represents the noise that lips make as they open at the beginning of an utterance (in fact there is often also a flavour of alveolar click → 9).

## Transcription doubt

- 28 ( ) Parentheses indicate talk that cannot be accurately transcribed. Any transcription within the parentheses indicates merely a possible hearing. (An X within the parentheses can be used to represent a syllable. Some authors may use Xs (or some other symbol) for syllables but without parentheses.) For example: in line 12 there is doubt as to whether the speaker is Chester (though he is the most likely) and also doubt as to whether it is an inbreath or a silence of 0.4 seconds. A similar example occurs on line 28 with an outbreath (though here, the speaker is completely indeterminable). A final example occurs on line 53 where Jefferson hears Chester saying something while Justine overlaps with 'Bye: bye' but she cannot offer even a best guess as to what.

## Other conventions

- 29 odd spelling Non-conventional spelling is often used to more closely represent the actual pronunciation of words. Examples occur on most lines in 'Syracuse'.
- 30 anonymity Where appropriate, personal details (such as names, addresses, telephone numbers, bank account details, etc.) are usually anonymized with alternative words of a similar syllable structure.
- 31 line numbers Transcript lines are numbered (not necessarily individually) in the left hand margin.
- 32 → When analysing data, lines of particular interest can be indicated using an arrow in the left margin. We will see examples later in the chapter.
- 33 courier font CA transcripts are often typed in Courier font. This is because Courier is what is called a non-proportionally spaced font. In other words, every character in Courier is the same width (so an <i> takes up the same space as a <w>). In this way, transcripts can be relatively easily aligned without the need for using tabs.

## 2.4 TASK-ORIENTED DATA

Soon, Extract 2.2 will be used to illustrate what Sacks (1984: 27) calls 'a bunch of observations' about the orderedness of talk. However, because the content of this data might initially seem a little odd, some prior explanation will be useful. The recording is of a pair of participants (PK and DN) engaged in a task that was designed to elicit natural, yet restricted dialogue. The task in question is known as the 'Map Task' (see Anderson et al. 1991). It has been widely used to support the study of spontaneous speech and **communication** of normally developing children, neurotypical adults, sleep-deprived

soldiers, aphasic adults (→ 14), visually impaired adults, and children with speech and language disorders. It has also been used to investigate professionally interpreted interactions between monolingual British Sign Language users and monolingual English speakers.

In this task, two dialogue partners each have a schematic map drawn on a large sheet of paper (see Figure 2.1). The task involves one participant (designated the Information Giver (IG)) describing the pre-drawn route on his map to the other participant (the Information Follower (IF)), whose map has no route. The IG's ultimate aim is to get the IF to successfully draw the route. The participants sit opposite each other at a table with a barrier built between them so that neither can see the other's map.

Although both IG and IF have copies of the basic map, differences exist between the two – specifically, the IG has three landmarks which are absent from the IF's map, which in turn has three landmarks that are not on the IG's. Thus, in total, there are six 'problem' points to be discovered en route. In the pair of maps in Figure 2.1, the three IG-specific landmarks are *cat*, *flower* and *kennel*; the IF-specific features are *flamingo*, *well* and *dog*. The reason for the existence of these landmark mismatches is to set up a genuine information gap between the participants.

The participants are made aware that there may be discrepancies. They are also told that there is no time constraint. So while the data in Extract 2.2 is clearly not conversational, it is unscripted, natural and, most certainly, talk-in-interaction. It is therefore valid and most useful for our current purposes.

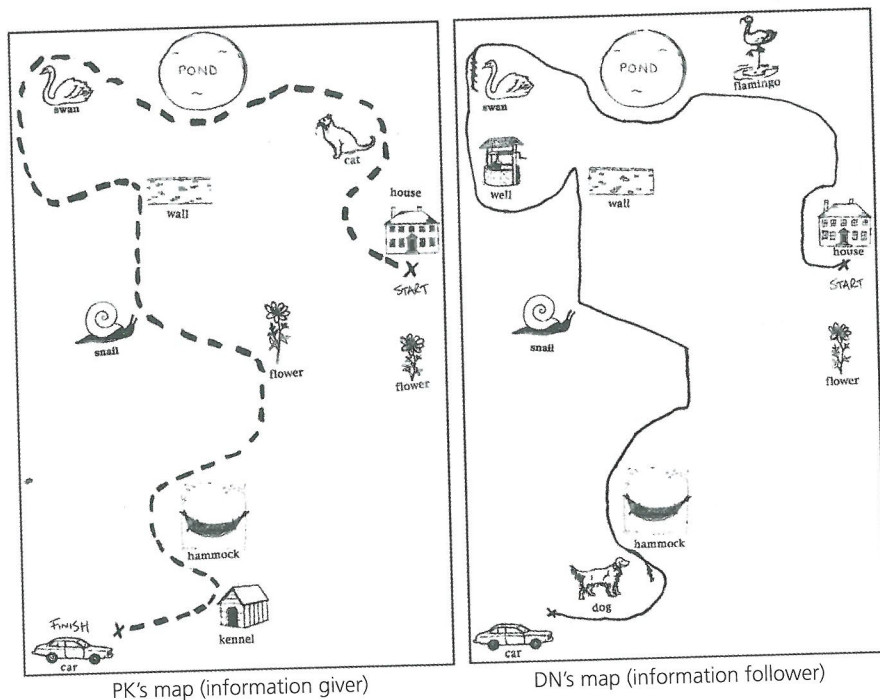


Figure 2.1 Maps for Extract 2.2

## Activity 2.2

Now you have seen examples of various transcription symbols, find examples of these conventions in Extract 2.2

All are present except: (7) +, (8) ((pause)) and (32) →.

### Extract 2.2: Map task data (PK & DN)

You should be able to listen to this interaction at [www.routledge.com/cw/merrison](http://www.routledge.com/cw/merrison).

- 01 PK .pt First na[me?]  
 DN [Right.] Okay ((eyebrow flash))  
 PK First name again?  
 DN Dale.
- 05 PK ↓Dale.↓ (.) Right Dale. (1.0) To the right of your  
 map roughly approximately,  
 DN °Aha°  
 PK say seven inches down or eight inches down,  
 DN [[>°Yeah°<]
- 10 PK [[°°have you°°] have you got a ↑starting↑ mark.  
 DN Yeah I've got a- a starting mark  
 and it's just below a house.  
 PK It's just below the house=  
 DN =°Aha°
- 15 PK Okay. (1.3) ((cough)) °.pt° If I was moving from  
 (0.9) to the left o' the house and coming upwards,  
 before you start drawing,  
 DN °Mm°  
 PK is there an obstruction above it?
- 20 DN (1.2) Er (.) right at the top of the map there's  
 a flamingo,  
 PK At the very top?=  
 DN =Yeah  
 PK Is there anything below that=  
 25 DN =>There's nothing< directly below it °at all.°=  
 PK =°.pt°=There's nothing below it.  
 DN [[°°No.°°]
- PK [[Okay] So (.) imagine r:oughly about (.) <an inch  
 and a half above the house.>
- 30 DN °°°.pt°°°=Yeah=  
 PK =You know the the the the the left hand chimney  
 DN °°°.pt°°° Aha.  
 PK And I want you take a (1.3) ((cough)) roughly (3.2)  
 a route from the 'X' right?



- 35 DN °°° .pt°°°=°Yeah°  
 PK just past - just passing the lower edge of the house  
 left hand side o' the house,=  
 DN =°Yeah°  
 PK Bring it round in a circle,  
 40 DN °°° .pt°°°=°Yeah°  
 PK Okay? Until you stop roughly above the w-  
 does it say ↑house above↑ your house.  
 DN (.) °↑Yeah↑°  
 PK Well okay bring it round in a circle and you stop  
 45 DN (0.8) >Oh d'you say there's another house.<  
 PK °Hmm?°  
 DN >Did you say there was another house<  
 PK >No no it's just the one hou- [no X] - =  
 [°Right°]  
 50 DN  
 PK =is< is er has it has it got the word 'house'  
 on it?  
 DN °° .pt°°=Yeah  
 PK ↓°Well°↓ (.) just above the 'h' you should -  
 55 DN Yeah  
 PK come from your start and draw your route,  
 round in a circle. Come round i- out by about (.)  
 an inch from the end of the ↑house↑  
 60 DN Yeah  
 PK nice circle round (.) until you stop (.) roughly  
 about- a- about an inch above (.) the letter 'house'  
 - the letter 'h' (1.1) °where it says 'house'. Okay?°  
 DN Okay yeah.  
 PK Now [you stop there.]  
 65 DN [Right >what by the left<] chimney (X)  
 PK Hmm?  
 DN Near the left chimney  
 PK °° .pt°°=(.hh) No jus: above the left chimney  
 [>but it's above<] the left chimney=  
 70 DN [°°Yeah°°]  
 PK =you'd be stopping somewhere roughly about an inch  
 and a half °°off. Okay?°°  
 DN °Okay°  
 PK °Okay?° So you stop there. (0.9) Now (.) bring your  
 75 DN °Yeah.° Straight up  
 PK °Straight ↑up↑ Ok[ay?°]  
 80 DN [Okay]

- PK Right. (0.8) Now (1.3) you should be approximately roughly (0.9) what say three and a half inches from the top o' your (.) map?
- DN °Aha yeah° °°I'm [a bit more maybe°°]
- 85 PK [°Okay?] That's good.°  
(1.2) Now °°°pt°°° before we start circling down-round to your left,
- DN °°Mmm.°°
- PK is there any other obstructions: say roughly about the middle of <your map(h)?> °°°pt°°°=Er near the head.
- 90 DN Er °°°pt°°° (1.9) on the left of the flamingo, (.) I've got a pond.=
- PK =°That's it that's what we're looking for.°
- DN °°Yeah°°
- 95 PK .pt=Okay? (.) Right. (0.9) Now where you've stopped (.) on your route,
- DN °.pt=Aha°
- PK Right?
- DN ((small nod))
- 100 PK I want you to circl:e up and round to your left, °(.h)° until you c- is there a small mark (.) a- underneath where it says 'pond'.=
- DN °°pt°° (.) Er no.
- PK There's not.=
- 105 DN =°°Er no°°=
- PK =You know underneath - underneath the word 'pond' there's not a- a wee mark=
- DN =>>Oh is like a<< wa:ve.
- PK Like a wee wave.=
- 110 DN =°Yeah°=
- PK =↑°Yes°↑=
- DN =>So there's thr[ee-<] there's THREE waves altogether.
- PK [Three]
- DN [[<°There's the one wave.°>]
- 115 PK [[There's three waves aye] it's it's like (.) it's like the moon [you know two eye- two eyebrows and a ... ((nod)) Okay!]
- DN [°Yeah ((nod)) yeah. Got it. Yeah. (.) Aha° ((nolds))
- 120 PK °(.h)° Right (1.0) now with you coming from >the< right hand side o' your map,
- DN °Yeah°=
- PK =Okay? °(.h)° I want you to go up in your circle very gently and start moving to the left .hhh and the the head o' your circle should be equal w- with (.) that small wave which is approximately say (0.8) three eighths (0.9) from the bottom o' the pond upwards?
- 125

- DN .pt=Aha yeah.=
- 130 PK =Okay. So: (.) whe- where you left off (.) above  
the word house
- DN Yeah
- PK (0.7) circle up, okay?
- DN Yeah
- 135 PK And round [to your le]ft (.) very gently  
DN [ >°relative to°< ]
- DN °Yeah.°
- PK Okay? [[°And-°]
- DN [[>Under the] flamingo<
- 140 PK (1.0) ((cough)) Well you're below the you'll be f  
[below] the falingo [you're] er flamingo. Okay?
- DN [ >°Below it°< ] [°Yeah°]
- PK And head towards the word (.) towards 'pond' the the  
pond. Okay? =
- 145 DN =°Yeah°
- PK °.pt° And the the head o' your circle should be equal:  
(.) with the wave. Okay?
- DN °°°.pt°°°=°Okay yeah°
- PK °Okay?° °°°.pt°°°=And start to dip down, (.)
- 150 under the pond and pass it by quarter of an inch.
- DN °Yeah°
- PK (.) Okay? Come right round under the pond  
[>until you're about<]=
- DN [°°Yeah?°°]
- 155 PK =(.) quarter o' an inch (.) circling under the pond.  
Okay?
- DN °↑Yeah↑°=
- PK =°°°.pt°°°=And when you get to the - as you start (.)  
to the er the: to get parallel with the circle wi' the  
pond on the left hand side o' the pond,
- 160 DN °Yeah°=
- PK =S'like to move up, (.) stop there. Okay?
- DN °Okay.°

## 2.5 SO HOW IS TALK ORGANIZED?

Remember that the aim of this chapter is to demonstrate how talk is organized and so the question is, where to start. CA's rightful answer is always 'the data', and now that you have some appreciation of the tools for transcribing spoken interaction, we can begin to consider the dialogue between PK and DN. However, before starting to investigate the transcription of the data, we will reiterate a point that was made above: Extract 2.2 is a transcription of the data – it is not the data itself. The data is the talk that was produced in the original interaction. The transcript is merely a representation (= re-presentation) of that data. While transcribers should always endeavour to represent the data as faithfully as possible (for readers

may never have access to the original recordings – hence the level of detail put into transcriptions), it is important to recognize the limitations of translating one medium (talk) into another (the written record of that talk). Thus, while Extract 2.2 is often referred to as ‘the data’, that should always be read as shorthand for ‘the transcript of the data’.

## 2.5.1 Turns

Even the very briefest glance at conversational data will uncover some basic observable facts and in their seminal paper on ‘A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation’, Sacks et al. (1974: 700f.) noted that the following observations seem to be worth trying to explain:

- speaker change occurs (people take turns)
- generally only one participant speaks at a time
- when overlap occurs it is usually brief
- the order and distribution of turns is not fixed in advance but varies within and between conversations
- the size or length of speaker turns varies from one turn to the next
- turns (or **turn constructional units**) can be composed of: a single lexical item (**word**); **phrases**; clauses; full sentences
- what participants say in their turns, or what actions they perform with their turns, is not restricted or specified in advance.

In order to account for these observable facts, Sacks et al. (1974) proposed a set of rules which operate on a *turn-by-turn* basis. It is assumed that a speaker initially gets just one unit of talk (turn constructional unit or TCU). At the end of a TCU is what is called a **transition relevance place** or TRP and it is at these predictable (*projectable*) TRPs that speaker change can occur.

Sacks et al.’s rules operate at TRPs. In these rules (wording here is based on Levinson 1983: 298), C stands for ‘current speaker’ and N for ‘next speaker’:

### Rule 1

- (a) If C selects N in current turn, then at the first TRP after N-selection, C must stop speaking, and N must speak next. C may select N by a number of means, for example by using N’s name, by looking at N or by asking N a question.
- (b) If C does not select N, then any other party may self-select, with the first to speak gaining rights to the next turn (though *rights* are not the same as a *guarantee*).
- (c) If C has not selected N, and no other party self-selects (under option (b)), then C may (but need not) continue speaking (i.e. claim rights to a further TCU).

### Rule 2 – applies at all subsequent TRPs

When Rule (1c) has been applied by C, at the next TRP Rules 1 (a)–(c) apply again until speaker change is achieved.

These rules predict that:

- (1) only one speaker will generally be speaking at any time (because each speaker will wait either until they are selected or until a legitimate opportunity arises where they may select themselves)
- (2) overlaps may occur where there are competing next speakers (as allowed by 1b)
- (3) overlaps may occur at misprojected TRPs. In other words N starts to speak where they (wrongly) anticipated a TRP but where C had not actually yet completed their current TCU.

### Activity 2.3

Find examples of evidence for each of these three predictions in the data (Extract 2.2).

### Overlap or interruption?

Thus far, **overlap** has simply been seen as a case of where more than one speaker speaks simultaneously. For some purposes, however (for example when analysing issues such as agreement, conflict, control, dominance or power), it can be useful to distinguish two specific types of simultaneous talk.

A very basic distinction can be made as follows: overlap does not violate the current speaker's turn – often because it occurs near a possible TRP; **interruption**, on the other hand, does violate the current speaker's turn – it is an attempt to take the floor from the current speaker while they are still producing their TCU. (For a finer distinction, see Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008: 54ff.)

### Activity 2.4

Find more examples of simultaneous talk in the data and decide whether they count as overlap or interruption.

## 2.5.2 The sounds of silence

### *Inter-turn silence*

In addition to accounting for the brevity of simultaneous talk, Sacks *et al.*'s (1974) rules allow three different types of inter-turn silence (silence between turns) to be distinguished:

- lapses (due to the non-application of Rule 1)
- gaps (before the application of 1b or 1c)
- attributable silences (after the application of Rule 1a).

### Activity 2.5

Find examples of different types of silence in the data.

### *Intra-turn silence*

Silence is not only found between turns. It also occurs *within* them.

### Activity 2.6

Find examples of intra-turn (within-turn) silence in the data. When you have found an example, consider (a) why it is allowed to exist (in other words, why the other speaker doesn't start talking) and (b) what it might exist for (in other words, think about 'what interactional task it is trying to accomplish').