

Next speaker selection in Indonesian: A study of typical and atypical interactions

Fakry Hamdani

BA (Padjadjaran University - Indonesia), MA (Indonesia University of Education),
MRES (Macquarie University)

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Human Sciences
Macquarie University
December 2019

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work, and that, to the best of my knowledge, it does not contain any unattributed material previously published or written by any other person. I also declare that the work in this thesis has not been previously submitted to any other institution for, or as part of, a degree.

This study was granted approval by Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee (Human Research) (reference: 5201700652) and conducted in accordance with the guidelines stipulated.

Fakry Hamdani

December 2019

Acknowledgements

All praises and thanks be to *Allah*, the Lord of the Worlds. By His grace, the work came to completion. My gratitude goes to my mother, my beloved wife (Elkautsar), my children (Eghliya and Besma), my friends, and colleagues for their support, encouragement, and faith in my ability. I thank them for their unflinching prayers.

I would like to convey my deepest gratitude to my supervisors – Dr Scott Barnes and Dr Joe Blythe – for their patience, dedicated support, and inspirational motivation. My heartfelt gratitude is equally extended for their valuable input to my thesis. Finally, I thank the staff at Macquarie University, including the Department of Linguistics for assisting my study.

This thesis is dedicated to my late father, Aam Hamdani, and my late father-in-law, Abdurrahim Sanusi.

Abstract

This study explores the turn-taking system in conversations involving speakers of Indonesian, focusing on explicit next speaker selection. This study draws on “typical” and “atypical” datasets. The typical dataset comes from nine and a half hours of recordings of everyday conversations between 64 people. The atypical dataset comes from two and a half hours of recordings of conversation between four people with aphasia and 11 of their conversation partners. Using conversation analysis, this study examines how typical and atypical Indonesian speakers use two explicit practices for next speaker selection – address terms and touch – in questions. Specifically, it focuses on 238 questions including an address term, and 71 questions including a touch. This study demonstrates that address terms are used to commence courses of action and deal with problems of mutual orientation, deal with problems that emerge in a turn or sequence, address a person-specific action, or carry out fine aspects of action formation. It also demonstrates that touch can similarly deal with problems of mutual orientation, pursue a response from a recipient, or add a specific quality or salience to a question. These practices operate similarly in interactions involving people with aphasia, but people with aphasia experience difficulty using maximally explicit practices, and problems with participation may arise despite successful next speaker selection. These findings offer an important basis for describing diversity and commonality in conversation across languages and cultures, and for characterising the disruptions to participation caused by aphasia.

Table of Contents

Declaration	i
Acknowledgments	ii
Abstract	iii
Table of contents	iv
List of figures and tables	vi
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Thesis organisation	2
1.3 Participation in interaction	3
1.4 The organisation of turn-taking	15
1.4.1 Turn construction	16
1.4.2 Turn allocation	23
1.4.2.1 Next speaker selection	24
1.4.2.2 Methods for next speaker selection by the current speaker	25
1.5 Indonesian	31
1.5.1 The origin and features of Indonesian	31
1.5.2 Conversation analytic study of Indonesian	37
1.6 Aphasia, conversation analysis, and Indonesian	38
1.7 The present study	41
1.8 Research questions	41
Chapter 2 Methodology	42
2.1 Introduction	42
2.2 Approach and design	42
2.3 Participants	42
2.3.1 Typical interactions dataset	43
2.3.2 Atypical interactions dataset	45
2.4 Materials	46
2.5 Procedures and data collection	46
2.6 Data analysis	49
Chapter 3 Address terms and explicit next speaker selection	53
3.1 Introduction	53
3.2 Pre-positioned address terms	53
3.2.1 Unproblematic next speaker selection with pre-positioned address terms	53
3.2.2 Complex cases of next speaker selection with pre-positioned address terms	63
3.3 Post-positioned address terms	76
3.3.1 Using post-positioned address terms to target problems with turn and sequence	77
3.3.2 Using post-positioned address terms to accomplish a person-specific action	85
3.3.3 A problematic instance of post-positioned address term use	93

3.4 Using multiple address terms	96
3.5 Analysis preface: Second person pronouns in Indonesian	102
3.6 Contrastive cases of address term use	110
3.7 Summary of Chapter 3	124
Chapter 4 Touch and explicit next speaker selection	125
4.1 Introduction.....	125
4.2 Touch, questions, and explicit next speaker selection.....	127
4.2.1 Using touch to deal with problems of mutual orientation	128
4.2.2 Using touch to pursue a response.....	143
4.2.3 Contrastive and complex cases of using touch	159
4.2.4 Summary of Chapter 4	176
Chapter 5 Aphasia and explicit next speaker selection	177
5.1 Introduction.....	177
5.2 Questions produced by people with aphasia	178
5.3 Questions addressed to people with aphasia	195
5.4 Summary of Chapter 5	212
Chapter 6 Discussion and conclusions	214
6.1 Summary of findings.....	214
6.2 Explicit practices for next speaker selection	216
6.3 Language and culture-specific practices	219
6.4 Aphasia and participation	221
6.5 Study limitation and future research	222
6.6 Concluding remarks.....	224
References	225
Appendices	237
Appendix A: Demographic information of the participants	237
Appendix B: Details of conversation partners of people with aphasia	240
Appendix C: Transcription conventions	241
Appendix D: Abbreviations used in glosses	243
Appendix E: Research advertisement, information and consent forms	244
Appendix F: Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee project approval letter	273

List of figures and tables

Figure 1.1	Participation framework.....	6
Figure 1.2	Sign-interpretant relations in an enchronic frame	8
Figure 1.3a	Titi points at the shelf	12
Figure 1.3b	Titi circles the mug	12
Figure 1.4	Yaya simulates drinking	13
Figure 1.5	Turi gazes at Dira, Dira looking backward	18
Figure 1.6	Turns construction (Line 5 of Extract 1.4).....	19
Figure 1.7a	Ela gazes at Rida	27
Figure 1.7b	Rida gazes at Ela, mutual gaze.....	27
Figure 1.8	Elis gazes at Dewi and Dewi gazes at her mobile phone	29
Figure 1.9	Adya, Bella, and Elis gaze at Dewi	30
Figure 2.1	The locations of recording.....	44
Figure 2.2	Seating arrangements from 23 conversations.....	47
Figure 2.3	Annotation software.....	50
Figure 2.4	Annotated transcript	50
Figure 3.1	Dini looks up at Caca	55
Figure 3.2	Ami gazes at Sari	57
Figure 3.3	Sari turns to face Ami	57
Figure 3.4	Roni gazes at Muiz.....	59
Figure 3.5	Muiz gazes at Roni, mutual gaze	60
Figure 3.6	Vita gazes at Nina	62
Figure 3.7	Nina gazes at the flag.....	62
Figure 3.8	Turi gazes at Caca, Caca gazes at mid-distance	64
Figure 3.9	Caca turns to face Turi	65
Figure 3.10	Ami gazes at Umi	69
Figure 3.11	Umi gazes at Ami, mutual gaze	69
Figure 3.12	Alia gazes at Nina, mutual gaze	72
Figure 3.13	Alia shifts gaze to Yani and points to the double sided tape	72
Figure 3.14	Cita gazes blankly at Elis	74
Figure 3.15	Turi gazes at Dini	77
Figure 3.16	Nina gazes at Alia	81
Figure 3.17	Nina gazes at Vita	83
Figure 3.18	Nina gazes at Yani then gazes away	84
Figure 3.19	Nina twists her body to her left and then gazes down	84
Figure 3.20a	Ari gazes at Dedi.....	86
Figure 3.20b	Ari gazes at Jojo.....	86
Figure 3.21	Muiz gazes at Roni.....	88
Figure 3.22	Dira gazes at Dini.....	90

Figure 3.23	Toto leans forward, gazes down, and gazes at Dani.....	91
Figure 3.24	Toto gazes neither at Adam nor Dani.....	92
Figure 3.25	Iyan gazes at Ical	94
Figure 3.26	Juki glances at Hari then gazes away	97
Figure 3.27	Siti gazes at Muiz	99
Figure 3.28	Toto turns his head and gazes at Adam	100
Figure 3.29	Dira gazes at Dini	104
Figure 3.30	Ari gazes at Jojo.....	106
Figure 3.31	Muiz touches Ifan on the shoulder.....	107
Figure 3.32	Muiz gazes at Roni	109
Figure 3.33	Sari gazes at Ami	112
Figure 3.34	Noor gazes at Yani.....	116
Figure 3.35	Ali gazes at Kintamani.....	118
Figure 3.36	Cita gazes at Bela	121
Figure 3.37	Nana gazes at Tubi	123
Figure 4.1	Umi glances at Ami	129
Figure 4.2	Umi raises her hand, and starts gazing	129
Figure 4.3	Umi touches Ami, raises and lowers her hand	129
Figure 4.4	Mutual gaze, Umi's second touch	129
Figure 4.5	Leaning forward, Asih shifts her gaze toward Nana	132
Figure 4.6a	Asih raises her left arm	132
Figure 4.6b	Asih touches Nana on the elbow	132
Figure 4.7	Nana and Asih establish mutual gaze	132
Figure 4.8	Muiz touches Ifan on the shoulder	135
Figure 4.9	Ifan and Muiz establish mutual gaze	135
Figure 4.10	The seating arrangements of Extracts: 4.1 (left), 4.2 (middle), and 4.3 (right)	136
Figure 4.11	Rita gazes at Wina and begins to raise her left arm.....	138
Figure 4.12a	Rita gazes at Juli, keeps arm up	138
Figure 4.12b	Rita gazes at Wina, keeps arm up.....	138
Figure 4.13	Rita touches Wina on the knee.....	138
Figure 4.14	Rita and Wina establish mutual gaze	139
Figure 4.15	Yani gazes at Juju and touches Mimi on the thigh	141
Figure 4.16	Mimi shifts gaze to Juju, Juju gazes mid-distance.....	144
Figure 4.17	Mimi touches Juju on the thigh.....	145
Figure 4.18	Juju and Mimi establish mutual gaze.....	145
Figure 4.19	Ical and Anis establish mutual gaze	148
Figure 4.20a	Ical touches Aldi on the thigh	148
Figure 4.20b	Ical touches Aldi on the knee	148
Figure 4.20c	Ical touches Aldi on the thigh.....	148
Figure 4.21	Yaya returns gaze at Ima, Ima gazes mid-distance.....	150
Figure 4.22a	Yaya leans forward, mutual gaze	151

Figure 4.22b	Yaya touches Ima on the knee	151
Figure 4.23	Titi touches Yaya with her finger	153
Figure 4.24	Titi and Yaya establish mutual gaze	153
Figure 4.25	Titi touches Yaya with her finger	154
Figure 4.26	Titi and Yaya establish mutual gaze	154
Figure 4.27a	Dini moves her arm	156
Figure 4.27b	Dini touches Turi twice on the knee with her fist.....	156
Figure 4.28	Dini touches Turi twice on the knee with an open palm.....	157
Figure 4.29a	Dini touches Turi twice on the knee with an open palm	157
Figure 4.29b	Dini touches Turi twice on the knee with an open palm	157
Figure 4.30	Dini gazes at Turi while Turi gazes upward	157
Figure 4.31	Ami touches Sari on the arm	160
Figure 4.32	Sari and Ami establish mutual gaze	161
Figure 4.33a	Juju leans backward, gazes at Mimi, mutual gaze	162
Figure 4.33b	Juju touches Mimi on the thigh.....	162
Figure 4.34	Juju keeps her hand off Mimi	163
Figure 4.35a	Dedi touches Jojo on the knee	165
Figure 4.35b	Dedi and Jojo establish mutual gaze.....	165
Figure 4.36a	Turi gazes down.....	167
Figure 4.36b	Dini touches Turi on the thigh.....	167
Figure 4.37	Ifan touches Muiz on the knee	169
Figure 4.38	Ifan and Muiz establish mutual gaze	169
Figure 4.39	Ifan keeps touching and squeezes Muiz on the knee.....	169
Figure 4.40	Ifan retracts his hand.....	170
Figure 4.41a	Dira gazes at mid-distance.....	172
Figure 4.41b	Dira gazes at her mobile phone.....	172
Figure 4.42	Dira touches Caca with her elbow	173
Figure 4.43	Dira touches Caca with her portable charger	173
Figure 4.44	All participants gaze elsewhere.....	174
Figure 5.1a	Amar gazes at Wida	179
Figure 5.1b	Amar and Wida establish mutual gaze	179
Figure 5.2	Siti turns her gaze at Odah	181
Figure 5.3	Siti and Odah establish mutual gaze	181
Figure 5.4	Susi gazes at Ida.....	183
Figure 5.5	Susi gazes at Ipeh.....	184
Figure 5.6	Ucu gazes at Tubi, mutual gaze.....	186
Figure 5.7a	Ipeh points at Ida.....	188
Figure 5.7b	Ipeh points at Susi.....	188
Figure 5.8	Amar gazes at Elka, mutual gaze.....	190
Figure 5.9	Siti gazes at Odah, mutual gaze.....	192
Figure 5.10	Siti shifts gaze at Ipeh, mutual gaze.....	193

Figure 5.11a	Siti returns gaze to Odah, and pushes her on the arm	193
Figure 5.11b	Siti raises her left shoulder (the red circle) and pushes Odah on the arm	193
Figure 5.12	Susi gazes down	197
Figure 5.13a	Ipeh touches Susi on the thigh	197
Figure 5.13b	Ipeh and Susi establish mutual gaze	197
Figure 5.14	Tubi touches Ucu on the thigh	199
Figure 5.15	Ucu gazes at Asih, mutual gaze	200
Figure 5.16	Tubi gazes at Ucu and Ucu gazes at mid-distance	202
Figure 5.17a	Tubi touches Ucu on the knee	203
Figure 5.17b	Tubi and Ucu establish mutual gaze	203
Figure 5.18	Tubi touches Ucu on the thigh	205
Figure 5.19	Tubi and Ucu establish mutual gaze	205
Figure 5.20	Ipeh touches Siti on the shoulder	208
Figure 5.21	Ipeh touches Siti on the arm	209
Table 1.1	Frequency of address terms in questions in 8 languages	28
Table 1.2	Word orders in an Indonesian clause	33
Table 2.1	The corpus of recordings	47
Table 2.2	Stivers and Enfield (2010) coding scheme for questions	52
Table 3.1	Personal pronouns in Standard Indonesian	103
Table 3.2	Personal pronouns attested in the present dataset	103
Table 5.1	Counts of social actions accomplished by questions produced by people with aphasia	178
Table 5.2	Distribution of address terms and second person pronouns by age	196

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis reports on a research project using conversation-analytic principles and practices to explore the organisation of the turn-taking system in Indonesian. The main focus of this thesis lies in the linguistic and multimodal resources employed by interactants while allocating turns at talk. It provides a thorough investigation of the ways that Indonesian speakers employ a current-selects-next turn allocation technique in typical and atypical multiparty interactions. Its motivation is based on interactional linguistics, which views “linguistic structure as a resource for social interaction” (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018, p. 4) and explores “comparative studies of conversational structures” (Dingemanse, Blythe, & Dirksmeyer, 2014, p. 34). The present study aims to provide a point of departure for tracing language diversity across cultural contexts by exploring the various ways for accomplishing next speaker selection in interaction. As we will see, Indonesian conversation is an apt and interesting candidate for the exploration of this communicative behaviour.

There are a number of reasons to study the turn-taking system in Indonesian in typical and atypical interactions. First, there is sound evidence that aspects of turn-taking are universal across the world’s languages and cultures, but there is little empirical evidence relating to turn-taking in Indonesian (Hamdani & Barnes, 2018; Wouk, 2005). Moreover, few studies have investigated aphasia in Indonesian (Anjarningsih & Bastiaanse, 2011; Anjarningsih, Haryadi-Soebadi, Gofir, & Bastiaanse, 2012; Postman, 2004), let alone interactions involving Indonesian speakers with aphasia. Second, as we will see, conversational Indonesian offers some unique ways for speakers to employ explicit next speaker selection, across verbal and embodied

modalities, which can provide insight into universal and language/culture-specific features of turn-taking. Aphasia has also proven useful for uncovering foundational aspects of interaction (e.g., Goodwin, 2003), and this information can be used for understanding how people with aphasia and their conversational partners manage communication in everyday life. In summary, this study contributes to conversation analysis and interactional linguistics, studies on Indonesian, and studies of aphasia by offering new perspectives on explicit next speaker selection in Indonesian.

In this thesis, I will aim to answer the following research questions:

1. How do Indonesian speakers explicitly accomplish next speaker selection in multiparty conversation?
2. What motivates the use of maximally explicit practices in next speaker selection?
3. How does aphasia affect next speaker selection in multiparty conversation?

I will provide background for and justify these research questions in Chapter 1.

1.2 Thesis organisation

I will now briefly sketch the organisation of this thesis. Chapter 1 provides the background to the study. It introduces theoretical frameworks related to this research, outlines the origin and characteristics of Indonesian, and highlights the previous relevant study of Indonesian and aphasia. The second chapter delivers a description of the study's methodological approach. Chapters 3 to 5 convey the analyses and key findings, focusing on explicit next speaker selection using address terms and touch, as well as explicit next speaker selection in interactions with people with aphasia. Lastly, Chapter 6 discusses the implications of this study for our understanding of interaction and makes suggestions for further study.

1.3 Participation in interaction

Everyday conversation is composed of activities achieved by multiple people. The question of how they “participate” in such activities is foundational for a number of researchers working on human interaction. In this chapter, I will address the work and ideas of some important scholars exploring face to face interaction, including Erving Goffman, Harold Garfinkel, Charles Goodwin, Nick Enfield, and Lorenza Mondada. Through this discussion, I will develop core concepts for this thesis, focusing on how people come to configure their own and others’ *participation* in interaction.

The work of Erving Goffman provides central ideas for the way that participation matters for speaker selection. To begin with, Goffman argues that “participation frameworks” establish participants’ status in an interaction, setting out their “involvement obligations” (Goffman, 1967, p. 48). Following this, he uses the term *interactional order* to describe “the consequences of systems of enabling conventions, in the sense of the ground rules for a game, the provisions of a traffic code or the rules of syntax of a language” (1983, p. 5). The syntactical rules – which are mentioned in his previous work (see Goffman 1967) – reflect “the moral order where face, self, and identity are expressed, and where they are also ratified or undermined by the conduct of others” (Heritage & Clayman, 2010, p. 9).

Goffman’s central contribution to theories of participation is the notion of *footing*. Footing refers to participants’ rights and responsibilities in the interaction based on their roles, which are grouped into two elements. The first element is the “production format”. This includes the roles of the speaker in uttering the words (animator), selecting the words (author), or presenting someone’s stance (principal). The second element is “participation status”. This includes the roles of people in the surrounding environment, such as addressed and unaddressed recipients, eavesdroppers, overhearers, bystanders, and audiences.

Goffman's footing has been taken up in the works of several scholars, with Charles Goodwin addressing it extensively in his approach to participation in face-to-face interaction (see also Enfield, 2013, 2015; Enfield and Sidnell, 2015, 2017; Levinson, 1998). Goodwin's approach focuses on the co-operative organisation of action using a variety of semiotic resources (Goodwin, 2000, 2013, 2017). Goodwin (2013, p. 8) argues that people create social actions by "assembling diverse materials"; for example, talk, bodily conduct, and the material environment. Recently, Goodwin (2017, p. 31) has described the recurrent production of action as resulting in "accumulation". This provides a "substrate" of semiotic materials that people can use in building their next actions. These materials can be grammatical structures, prosody, bodily configurations, artefacts in the environment, and so on. With each next action, participants "modify and transform the substrate and change it into something new", i.e., they create a new version of the substrate for subsequent relevant action (Goodwin, 2013, p. 9).

Goodwin and Goodwin (2004) address Goffman's work more directly. They discuss how speakers and hearers collaboratively manage the production of talk and courses of action, and how participation frameworks emerge, while also offering a critical reflection on the limitations of Goffman's approach. Goodwin and Goodwin (2004) argue that Goffman's approach to participation via footing segments speakers and hearers into "separate worlds" (p. 225), and privileges the role of the speaker. It also underplays the dynamic unfolding of relevant action through static categories of participants. For Goodwin and Goodwin (2004), the core idea of participation is not the analysis of "the talk or texts of speakers" (p. 227), but instead to the "forms of involvement" (p. 222) constituted through collaborative activities involving a variety of semiotic materials.

Harold Garfinkel's ethnomethodology is another notable point of reference for coming to terms with participation, particularly the notions of *accountability* and *reflexivity*. I will discuss accountability first. The terms *account* and *accountability* have multiple meanings in studies of interaction (see Raevaara, 2011). One sense used by Garfinkel is related to the notion of social activity (Heritage, 1984), i.e., the practical tasks that participants undertake in formal (institutional) and non-formal settings. These social activities can be "detectable, countable, recordable, tell-a-story-aboutable, analysable - in short, accountable" (Heritage, 1984, p. 290). Peräkylä (1998, p. 302) summarises accountability as "the fundamental character of social actions and of settings composed of those actions as things that are incessantly observed by the participant actors and about which the participants can report". So, this sense of accountability relates to the expectations that people bring to participation in interaction, particularly about "normative structures of reasoning and normative patterns of conduct" (Robinson, 2016, p. 33).

The second core notion proposed by Garfinkel is *reflexivity*. Garfinkel (1967) describes "reflexivity as the incarnation of an account performed through the production of action" (p. 7). Heritage (1984) explains reflexivity as the mutual relationship between actions and context, with each action reshaping its context. That is to say, people can manage their participation in interaction dynamically and locally, reshaping their own and others participation in every action. I will now demonstrate some of the concepts outlined by Goffman, Garfinkel, and Goodwin using a short extract of the following conversation. Consider, for example, how the initiating action on line 1 of Extract (1.1) changes the local activity based on its reflexivity. Extract (1.1) comes from a conversation among neighbours – Titi, Yaya, and Ima – who are talking about an LPG shortage in Greater Jakarta.

(1.1) "Mrs Im" (7_12_X1_TYP) [00:05-00:48]

1 Titi-> #bu ↑IM
Mrs NAME
Mrs Im.
fig #Fig. 1.1

2 (0.1)

3 Ima apeꞤ
WH
What?

4 (0.1)

5 Ima ada [apa,
BE WH
What is it?

6 Titi [ELU kalo seumpama masak ↑tuh =kalo gas lo a↑bis, cari di mane?
2SG CONJ if cook DIST if LPG 2SG run.out find WH
If you're cooking and your LPG is running out, where will {you} find it?



Figure. 1.1 Participation framework

Goffman's notions of footing are variously evident in this extract. Titi plays three significant roles in the production format at line 1; she plays the role of *author*, *animator*, and *principal*, i.e., she selects and produces the words she utters and is treated as responsible for them. Ima is the *addressed recipient*, and Yaya is the *unaddressed recipient*. Ima's husband is also present, preparing iced tea and sitting behind Ima, outside of view, participating as a *bystander*. In addition, there are *eavesdroppers* in this framework (circled in Figure 1.1), i.e., the unratiſed people who are listening to and watching the conversation. Titi's turn at line 1 also reflexively transforms the interactional scene. By issuing a summons to Ima, she sets up an expectation that Ima will act next, not the other, unaddressed person present. Accordingly, Ima complies

with this normative expectation with two responses at 3 and 5, demonstrating that she is ready to participate in the way that Titi proposed. We should also note the semiotic materials Titi employed in her action at line 1. In addition to addressing Ima by name, we can also see that her body and head are directed towards her, demonstrating that Ima is the addressed recipient. Together, Titi's talk and embodied conduct develop a substrate for Ima to use for creating subsequent actions, which she does with her responses at line 3 with *Ape?* 'What?' and *Ada apa?* 'What is it?' at line 5.

I will now discuss issues that relate to the notion of "agency" as a fundamental concept for participation in interaction. As in the work of Garfinkel, the notion of accountability figures prominently in a series of works by Enfield (2011, 2013, 2015, 2017), Sidnell and Enfield (2012), and Enfield and Sidnell (2015, 2017). Enfield argues that accountability, along with flexibility, is a central part of agency. Agency is "a complex set of elements of an individual's flexibility and accountability in relation to action" (Enfield & Sidnell, 2015, p. 141). According to Enfield (2017), accountability consists of three main conditions in which an agent is "being evaluated, entitled, and obliged" (p. 7). The evaluation is the result of how others may react and respond to the agent's behaviour. They could "praise, blame, and sanction, and so on (Enfield, 2017, p. 6), in ways that are consistent with the agent's sets of *entitlements* and *obligations* derived from their relevant social role and status. *Flexibility* consists of three components: *controlling*, *composing*, and *subprehending* (Enfield, 2017; Enfield and Sidnell, 2017). First, an agent will *control* their behaviour in a specific time and place so that others can see their behaviour. Next, an agent will *compose* their behaviour by considering what kinds of behaviour should be selected and how to execute it. Finally, an agent will *subprehend* or *commit* to the kinds of behaviour they have provided, which means they will anticipate "the reactions and the responses" that will follow

(Enfield, 2017, p. 5). That is, an agent can monitor how their behaviour may be accountable.

Enfield also outlines the semiotic process that agents administer. He draws on a Peircean approach to semiosis, proposed by Kockelman (2007). Enfield (2013) argues that the agents' meaning-making is driven by *sign-interpretant relations*. Enfield's depiction of this semiotic process is shown in Figure 1.2.

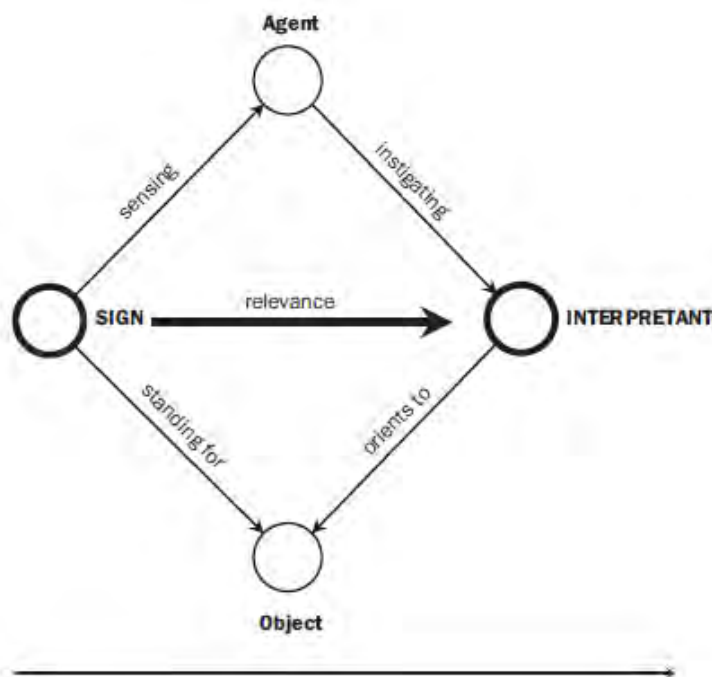


Figure. 1. 2 Sign-interpretant relations in an enchronic frame (Enfield, 2013, p. 44)

Figure 1.2 shows that sign-interpretant relations involve “someone (AGENT) taking (INTERPRETANT) something (SIGN) to stand for something (OBJECT)” (Enfield, 2013, p. 51). Signs are composed of the semiotic resources that an agent can manipulate, such as their talk, body, and material objects. Their use then gives rise to interpretants, which are the ways that other agents come to understand what is being accomplished with a sign. This is evidenced through the ways they respond to it. Each interpretant can then be a sign, causing its own interpretants. This recursive process of signs giving rise to interpretants is characteristic of *enchrony*. Enfield proposes this

term as a way of referring to the real-time accomplishment of sign-interpretant relations, and distinguishing an enchronic perspective as a distinctive field of study for linguistics (versus, e.g., a synchronic perspective, or diachronic perspective).

In the field of conversation analysis, these kinds of semiotic processes are most associated with the notion of *action*. Enfield (2013, p. 83) defines action as “controlled behavior that is carried out as means to ends, and that can be interpreted as having reasons”. More recently, Enfield and Sidnell (2017, p. 31) set out the core characteristics of action as “semiotic, culturally contextualised and enchronic”. This means that the reasons people assign to conversational behaviour are related to the ways people create signs and apply specific expectations about entitlements and obligations and that this happens during the incremental development of signs and interpretants. Conversation analysts have demonstrated how the position and timing of action are central for understanding its meaning. The development of these actions into sequences of actions is also essential for understanding participation. Gene Lerner, for example, claims that “the organization of actions as sequences of actions shapes participation” (Lerner, 1995, p. 244). Elsewhere, Lerner (2003, p. 190) also argues that participation emerges from “sequences of actions” and “each course of action shapes the opportunities to participate within it”.

The following example illustrates how the steady accumulation of actions shapes participation. We again return to Titi, Ima, and Yaya. Extract (1.2) is a continuation of Extract (1.1).

(1.2) “Mrs Im” (Modified) (7_12_X1_TYP) [00:05-00:48]

- | | | | |
|---|-------|----------------|------|
| 1 | Titi | bu | ↑IM |
| | | Mrs | NAME |
| | | Mrs Im. | |
| 2 | (0.1) | | |
| 3 | Ima | apeɛ | WH |
| | | What? | |
| 4 | (0.1) | | |

5 Ima ada [apa,
 BE WH
 What is it?

6 Titi [ELU kalo seumpama masak ↑tuh =kalo gas lo a↑bis, cari di mane?
 2SG CONJ if cook DIST if LPG 2SG run.out find WH
 **If you're cooking and your LPG is running out, where will {you}
 find it?**

7 (0.5)

8 Ima-> oh kemaren awal- (0.1) suaranya udah nih nyambung;
 oh yesterday first voice.DEF already PROX.this connect
 Oh, previously-(0.1) Has the recording already started?

9 (0.6)

10 Yaya °m[m°
 Mm.

11 Titi [°ud[eh° ((nodding))
 already
 Already.

12 Ima [kemaren awal dapet dari johar,=
 yesterday first get PREP Johar
 Previously, {I've} got it from Johar.

As we have seen, Titi begins this extract by issuing a summons to Ima. Ima signals her availability with her responses in lines 3 and 5 with *Ape?* 'What?' and *Ada ape?* 'What is it?'. By giving go-ahead responses in lines 3 and 5, Ima acknowledges three issues: Titi has a specific goal to accomplish by calling out her name, there will be a future action directed to her, and she has the right and the obligation to respond. This is realised through a base first pair part (FPP) in line 6. Here, Titi delivers her foreshadowed action, questioning about where to find liquid petroleum gas. Ima begins to answer at line 8 before she aborts it, using a cut-off, and commences a different action. She asks *Suaranya udah nih nyambung?* 'Has the recording already started?' (line 8) while gazing at Yaya. This action changes the configuration of participation, with both Yaya and Titi replying at line 10 and 11, rather than Ima holding the floor. Ima, however, returns to answering in line 12. She completes the second pair part (SPP) that was previously abandoned at line 8 and re-embraces the participation configuration set in motion by Titi at line 1.

A number of the themes and ideas we have examined so far are evidenced in the work of conversation analysts focusing on participation. Mondada, for example,

demonstrates how talk and the body are used for actions that shape how people participate in the interaction. Mondada (2007) highlights the role of pointing gestures in turn-taking organisation. She examines conversations among agronomists and computer scientists, focusing on their pointing gestures. She finds that pointing is situated before and within a current turn-at-talk, and she claims that it is a device for participants to show “their engagement and participation in interaction” (p. 199). More specifically, Mondada demonstrates that pointing is involved in managing the transition between current and the next turns by signalling possible turn beginning. Mondada (2009) also discusses the production of talk and gesture in public spaces. This study collects data from conversations among pedestrians, exploring how people begin interacting with one another. Mondada (2009) shows how the initiating person identifies the prospective co-participant, “categorizing her as relevant for the future activity, organizing their coordinated walk towards her, and making recognizable, assessable and acceptable their proposal of a common action — in a very short time” (p. 1985). Mondada (2009) underlines how this is established via the coordination of talk and body movement. Gaze and body positioning are important for soliciting mutual engagement, which is achieved when participants stop walking and create a new interactional space, which is “a dynamic, flexible, adjustable realm that is locally and praxeologically configured by the action of the participants” (p. 1995).

Mondada (2013) explores how embodied resources are employed to maintain the floor and the organisation of turn-taking in an institutional setting; namely, a public meeting. She focuses not only on how the chairman controls the debate and allocates turns to participants, but also what participants do to get the chairman’s attention to be selected as a next speaker. For example, the meeting participants seek participation by raising a hand and gazing at the chairman. The chairman then points at the participant with a raised hand during the current turn, indicating that they will be the

next one to speak. The method of queuing can result in participants who are not being selected to opt for self-selection. Mondada (2013) also emphasises that the public debate or other group settings can be understood as “specific forms of participation” (p. 66), i.e., via the way the chairman and the participants construct talk and other visible conduct to take turns.

For the final time in this section, let’s return to Titi, Ima, and Yaya. The following example (Extract 1.3) illustrates in more detail how participation is managed in a multimodal fashion, through a complex interplay between talk and embodied conduct. At this stage, we find them discussing the characteristics of a gas cylinder promoted by the government to replace an existing cylinder model.

(1.3) “Straw” (7_12_X2_TYP) [02:03–02:44]

- 1 Ima modelnya kayak eg-(0.2) gas [itu tab-](0.1) ap[a-
model.DEF like gas DIST WH
{The} design {is} similar to (0.2) that gas (0.1) what-
- 2 Yaya [tabung >yang ni<] [blue GAS
cylinder REL this.PROX
This cylinder Blue gas
- 3 (.)
- 4 Ima blue GAS=gi[tu
like that
Blue gas, like that.
- 5 Titi-> [o::h gitu, =BU IM [minta #sedotan #dong?
oh like.that mrs NAME ask straw PRT
Oh, is that so? Mrs Im, give {me} a straw!
- fig #Fig.1.3a #Fig.1.3b



((Titi points at the shelf))



((Titi circles the mug))

- 6 Ima [((nodding))
- 7 [(1.0)
- 8 Ima [((moves her body back and then grabs a straw from the shelf))
- 9 Titi-> kayaknya mi[num ga sedotan kayaknya ini (0.3) ngilu °gigi°
seem.DEF drink NEG straw seem.DEF this.PROX cracked tooth
It seems that drinking without a straw, like (0.3) having cracked teeth.
- 10 Yaya-> [minum #\$begini aja tadi\$ aha \$ga\$ aha ha hah
drink this only earlier NEG
{I} drank {it} like this, aha ha, not - aha ha hah.
- fig #Fig.1.4



((Yaya simulates drinking))

11 [(0.2)
 12 Ima [((gives a straw to Titi))
 13 Yaya .HH[H
 14 Ima-> [>n[tar ↑ya<
 wait NAME
 Wait a minute, Ya (Yaya).
 15 Titi [oh ↓gitu ya,
 oh like that NAME
 Oh, is that so, Ya (Yaya)?
 16 (0.1)
 17 Ima-> a[da ↑ya<
 BE NAME
 Got one for you, Ya (Yaya).
 18 Yaya [>\$°iya°\$<
 INTJ
 Yeah.
 19 [(0.2)
 20 Ima [((stands up and then grabs a straw))

Over lines 1 to 4, the participants talk about a feature of the new gas cylinder; it has a similar shape to the previous design. In line 5, Titi closes off this sequence with 'oh, I see' (Schegloff, 2007), and then, in the second part of her turn, requests a straw *Bu im minta sedotan dong!* 'Mrs Im, give me a straw!'. Note that Titi designs this sign – or builds her action – via a complex interplay of verbal and non-verbal semiotic resources. First, Titi addresses Ima by name *Bu Im* 'Mrs Im', and she gazes at Ima, who is looking down. Second, she uses the verb *minta* 'request', which has an imperative mood (Sneddon, Adelaar, Djenar, & Ewing, 2010). Third, Titi utters the word *sedotan* 'straw' to locate the target of her request. Fourth, she attaches the emphatic particle *dong* to underline that the addressee should know what is being asked (Sneddon, 2006). It is also important to notice how Titi moves her hand alongside the nominal *sedotan* 'straw' (Figure 1.3a) and the particle *dong* (Figure 1.3b).

Titi points to the straws, and circles her hand above the glass she is holding. Although Ima, the addressed recipient, does not gaze to Titi nor does she verbally respond, she promptly complies with the request by grabbing a straw. As Ima moves her body backwards and grabs the straw, Titi provides an account for her request in line 9, giving information about her reasons for needing a straw, i.e., the effects of the sweet iced tea on her teeth. In overlap, the unaddressed participant, Yaya, also focuses on drinking iced tea, saying *Minum begini aja tadi* 'I drank (it) like this', followed by laughing and an abandoned TCU beginning with 'not'. As Yaya begins this turn, she also gestures as if she were drinking (Figure 1.4).

Note that Yaya also does not have a straw at this moment (and she seemingly had been looking for one before this extract began). Ima treats Yaya's turn as a request for a straw through her vocal and embodied responses at lines 14 and 20. It is interesting to compare the ways that Titi and Yaya come to acquire a straw from Ima. As we have discussed, Titi is highly explicit with her requesting action, with a variety of linguistic and embodied resources employed to solicit Ima's attention to the targeted object. She also gives an explicit reason for her request via an account. On the other hand, Yaya's turn at line 10 is designed as a bare declarative sentence, and might simply be heard as giving information about her drinking. By producing her turn at this moment, however, Yaya's turn gives rise to an interpretant that is influenced by Titi's prior participation. How is it that these very different turns-at-talk yield such similar forms of participation from Ima? And what is motivating the very different ways of participating used by Titi and Yaya? I will provide some insight into these issues through the analyses presented in this thesis by offering some analyses of the ways that maximally explicit practices are used in interaction.

Participation in interaction involves dynamic coordination between individuals engaged in social activity in real-time. Section 1.3 of this chapter has demonstrated

that participation in interaction results from the normative expectations that people bring to interacting (i.e., accountability, footing), the semiotic resources they employ (e.g., talk, gaze, gesture), the semiotic processes that take place (i.e., sign-interpretant relations, reflexivity), which develop in real-time (i.e., enchronically, through the iterative creation of a substrate of action). A detailed explanation of the ways that participation is managed through talk (i.e., the turn-taking system) will follow in the next section of this chapter. I will give an overview of how the seminal work of Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) begins to answer fundamental questions relating to the management of participation in conversation.

1.4 The organisation of turn-taking

This section addresses the foundational contributions of Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson in describing the management of turn-taking in everyday conversation. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) argue that the system of turn-taking provides participants in interaction with resources to manage two primary tasks: turn construction and turn allocation. The system also has some specific consequences for turn-taking organisation; for example, consistent exchange of speakership, one speaker producing talk at a time, and limited gap and overlap. In other words, the organisation of turn-taking is the product of a well-constructed system that consists of normative expectations for the production of talk. In discussing this system in Section 1.4, I will also, by necessity, address sequence organisation, and action, which are intrinsically linked to turn-taking.

The organisation of turn-taking offers a structural solution to the problems of regulating participation via the coordination and distribution of talk (Sacks et al., 1974). Schegloff argues that it is a fundamental and ubiquitous feature of talk-in-interaction:

One feature that underlies the orderly distribution of opportunities to participate in conversation, and of virtually all forms of talk-in-interaction that have been subjected to disciplined empirical investigation, is a turn-taking organization. This is an organization of practices designed to allow routine achievement of what appears to be overwhelmingly the most common default "numerical" value of speakership in talk-in-interaction: one party talking at a time. (Schegloff, 2000, p. 1)

In conversation, turn-taking is "locally managed, party-administered, interactionally controlled and sensitive to recipient design" (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 696). Locally managed means that the system only manages "current and next turn" (Sidnell, 2010, p. 39). Thus, speakers in conversation will manage the most proximal talk, and will not consider, for example, the following 30 seconds or the next ten minutes. In addition, this management is party-administered, which means that participants freely produce turns in a conversation and negotiate their allocation in real-time.

I will now address the features of the two components of the turn-taking system. I will begin with the turn-constructual component and then move on to the turn-allocational component. I will then address the issue of next speaker selection in detail.

1.4.1 Turn construction

Turn construction refers to the practices that speakers use to create turns-at-talk. The structure of turns is created from linguistic resources (in concert with other embodied semiotic modes). A turn can be composed of a single turn constructional unit (TCU) or multiple TCUs. The term TCU refers to the basic building block of a turn, and each TCU is made from "sentences or clauses more generally, phrases, and lexical items" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 3) that are marked by points of possible syntactic, prosodic, and pragmatic/action completion. Every TCU projects possible completion points at which a transition between speakers may follow. This is termed a transition relevance place (TRP).

There are two salient locations in turns that are most important for this study: turn-beginnings and (possible) turn endings. Turn beginnings are a place where the speaker projects “the turn shape or the turn style of the turn” (Schegloff, 1987, p. 71). In other words, turn beginnings can show what structures are likely to follow in the turn, and the sort of action that is being built (e.g., a disagreement) (Heritage, 2002), i.e., it “projects” important aspects of the structure and function of a turn. On the other hand, turn endings represent a point where different participation options becoming active for both the current speaker and possible next speakers. For the current speaker, one option is to add an “increment” to the turn. An increment can be defined as “a grammatical extension of the already completed unit” (Ono & Couper-Kuhlen, 2007, p. 507). That is to say, an increment is heavily linked to: “1) possible completion, 2) followed by further talk by the same speaker, 3) and built as *grammatical continuation* of what had just been possibly completed, fitted to its end” (Schegloff, 2016, p. 242). Additionally, speakers may add linguistic elements that are not grammatically integrated with the prior TCU (e.g. Ford, Fox, & Thompson, 2002). Like an increment, they also follow a point of possible grammatical completion.

Turn beginnings are often marked by turn-entry devices, including particles (Heritage, 2015; Schegloff & Lerner, 2009; Wu, 2014) response tokens (Golato, 2012; Hayashi, 2009; Heritage, 1998), various lexical tokens (Sidnell, 2007), and address terms (Clayman, 2013). Turn endings and post-possible completions of TCUs, however, consists of “lexical, phrasal, and clausal” (Schegloff, 2016, p. 252) resources that deal with speaker stance (Schegloff, 1996b, p. 90) or address terms (Clayman, 2012), for instance. Let us consider the following example taken from a conversation between schoolmates. Here, we can see an *eh*-prefaced turn with a post-possible grammatical completion address term that is used to ask a question. Before Extract (1.4), Dira had been telling Turi that she had recently seen someone’s Instagram

stories.¹ However, Dini raised a new topic by asking Caca about a fishpond behind her.

Let us focus on the arrowed turn in line 5.

(1.4) "What's the story?" (17_11_X23_TYP_FH) [02:13-02:23]

- 1 Dira eh en-(0.3) [>ke sono- ke sono pake apaan ↑ege,<
INTJ LOC LOC use WH stupid
Hey (0.3) how {do we} get there, dummy?
- 2 Dira [((pushes Caca's thigh with her knee))
- 3 (0.6)
- 4 Dira oh naek (.) >°liat liat liat°<=
oh use see see see
Oh, using (.) see, see, see.
- 5 Turi-> =eh↑ story #↑apaaan ↓dir.
INTJ WH NAME
Uh, what kind of {Instagram} story is it, Dir?
fig #Fig.1.5



((Turi gazes at Dira, Dira looking backward))

- 6 (0.6)
- 7 Dira [ya:lng↑
REL
That-
- 8 Dira [((turns her body and gazes at Turi))
- 9 Dini [JA[NGAN gossip ↑tau:;
NEG gossip know
Stop gossiping! You know.
- 10 Dini [((slaps Turi on the thigh))
- 11 (.)
- 12 Dira yang VS-[VS] i↑tu
REL NAME.BRAND DIST
It is {about} VS (A womenswear's brand)
- 13 Turi [°oh iya°]
oh INTJ
Oh, yeah.

At line 1, Dira looks backward, pushes Caca on the thigh, and produces a turn, asking Caca how to get to the fishpond. There is no immediate response from Caca, leaving a silence to develop at line 3. As Caca gazes at the fishpond, Dira seemingly

¹ A feature of Instagram that preview images and videos, also known as InstaStory.

realises how to get there (line 4). In line 5, Turi produces a question *Eh story apaan Dir?* ‘Uh, what kind of {Instagram} story is it, Dir?’, referring to the previous topic. As Dira begins to respond at line 7, Dini overlaps, and asks Turi to stop gossiping; she even slaps Turi on her thigh. Dira revives her previous TCU beginning, and answers the question *yang VS-VS itu* ‘it’s {about} VS’ (line 12). Let us now return to Turi’s question at line 5, and consider its structure, which is depicted in Figure 1.6.

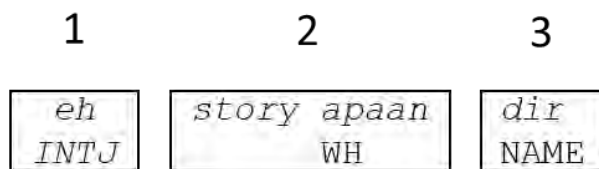


Figure 1.6. Turn construction (line 5 of Extract 1.4)

(“Uh, what kind of {Instagram} story is it, Dir?”)

Figure 1.6 splits Turi’s turn at line 5 into three slots. The first slot (1) is the turn beginning, where Turi uses the interjection *eh* to frame her action. The next slot (2) encompasses the core grammatical elements of her TCU (Auer, 2007; Couper-Kuhlen & Ono, 2007; Mazeland, 2007). The personal name (Dir) is positioned in the final slot (3), which follows a point of possible grammatical completion of the TCU. It should also be noted that, in this case, there is some prosodic segmentation of this element, with the sharp drop in pitch at *Dir* (see Extract 1.4).

Recent investigations of turn beginnings across languages have shown ways in which the tokens project aspects of the upcoming turn and action. When a speaker uses a *well*-prefaced response in the second position in response to a wh-question, for instance, this is a signal that they are not producing a straightforward response (Schegloff & Lerner, 2009). Hayashi (2009) studied the token *eh* in Japanese conversation, and he notes that speakers use this token at turn beginning “to propose a noticing of something in the talk that departs from his/her pre-existing knowledge,

supposition, expectation, or orientation” (p. 2100). Kim (2013) investigates the response token *kulenikka* ‘I know’ in Korean conversation and observes that the token functions “as departing from the question’s terms and signals a reshaping of the response space” (p. 33). So, these sorts of turn components mark a point of departure for displaying the speaker’s stance as well as projecting aspects of the upcoming action. Although these tokens do not strongly grammatically constrain what is to follow in the turn, they offer an early signal of the action the speaker is likely to form with their turn.

As noted above, the structure of turns is created from linguistic resources (in concert with other embodied semiotic modes), and TCUs consist of various syntactic unit types, such as lexical, phrasal, clausal, and sentential. Each TCU has “the feature of projectability” (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 702), which is understood in relation to the unit type in progress. The embodied semiotic resources that can arise alongside TCU structures include, for example, participant gaze (Goodwin, 1981), bodily demonstration (Keevallik, 2013), and pointing (Mondada, 2007).

The projectability of TCUs refers to the ways a speaker foreshadows possible completion via the development of its syntactic, prosodic, and pragmatic/action characteristics. Once speakers approach or reach a point of possible completion in their TCU, creating a TRP, another speaker may bid for the floor. This means that TRPs, and the possibility of transfer of speakership, make relevant the application of turn allocation techniques (Sacks et al., 1974) (which I will outline in detail below). So, an essential question a turn recipient must address is whether a TCU is sufficiently complete.

In the following extract, the speakers produce single and multi-unit turns using a variety of syntactic units. Extract (1.5) is taken from a conversation among neighbours: Mali, Muiz, Roni, and Ifan. Prior to this, Mali, a 58-year-old street food

vendor, had been talking about his age, and how people thought that he looked younger than his actual age.

(1.5) "How old are you?" (21_11_X7_TYP_FH) [16:37-17:31]

- 1 Mali ya kalo di kampung aja juga kalo ya:ng (.) adek-adek kita
 well for LOC village just also if REL RED.younger.brother 1SG
 Well, for {people} in my village also (.) my younger brothers {look}
- 2 >udah tua-tua banget<
 already RED.old very
 older than me.
- 3 (1.1)
- 4 Muiz-> kamu berapa?
 2SG WH
 How {old are} you?
- 5 (0.7)
- 6 Ifan saya baru dua puluh lima
 1SG just twenty five
 I'm just twenty-five.
- 7 (0.1)
- 8 Muiz °°oh dua puluh lima°°
 oh twenty five
 Oh, twenty-five.
- 9 (0.1)
- 10 Mali aha hah \$bohong dia= udah tiga puluan.\$
 aha hah lie 3SG PERF thirties
 Aha hah he's lying. {He's} already in his thirties.
- 11 (0.8)
- 12 Mali .HH aha [hah
 Aha hah
- 13 Ifan [\$tiga dua pak↑\$
 three two sir
 Thirty-two, sir.

At the end of his storytelling (lines 1-2), Mali claims that he looks younger than his brothers in his village with a sentential TCU. After a silence in line 3, Muiz asks Ifan a question about his age *kamu berapa?* 'How old are you?' to which he answers *saya baru dua puluh lima* 'I'm just twenty-five' (line 6). In response to this answer, Muiz employs a self-selection technique in the following line. He speaks with a whispery voice, beginning with a change of state token and a phrasal TCU *oh dua puluh lima* 'oh, twenty-five'. Mali adopts a different stance, asserting that Ifan is lying in a multi-unit turn in line 10 *bohong dia udah tiga puluan* 'he's lying, (he's) already in his

thirties'. Ifan then supplies his real age in line 13 by composing a single, phrasal TCU *tiga dua pak* 'thirty-two, sir'.

Possible completions of TCUs are monitored closely by speakers and recipients to coordinate speakership transfer. Of course, the speaker does not wink his/her eye to the recipient or ring a bell to signal turn completion. Instead, the speaker uses converging semiotic resources. Ford and Thompson (1996) explore the notion of TCU projectability as being built up through grammar, prosody, and action. They explain that both prosody and action support grammatical (i.e., syntactic) completion to create "complex TRPs" (CTRPs). This is a point where possible completion across each of these dimensions occurs at the same time. To put it another way, Ford and Thompson (1996) argue that turn completion in English is regulated not only by syntactical completion but also by intonational and pragmatic completion. Moreover, Ford and Thompson (1996) state that intonational completion (final pitch) almost always coincided with syntactic completion, but that possible syntactic completion was only paired with intonational completion about half the time. This means that syntactic completion may be a less strong indicator of possible turn completion in some circumstances.

With respect to the function of syntactic elements, Schegloff (2007, p. 3) insists that "grammar" plays a vital role in "building and recognizing TCUs", providing the shape of the turn. In this regard, it is essential to note that syntactic elements seemingly take the most central part in formulating TCUs. Fundamentally, Mazeland (2013) agrees with this perspective, but he also notes that the investigation of the turn-taking system does not equate to analysing grammar. Thus, turn-taking organisation, he outlines, is based on the "terms of interactionally relevant positions and interactional practices, not in terms of grammatical units" (Mazeland, 2013, p. 479).

1.4.2 Turn allocation

The second component of the turn-taking system sets out the rules for distributing turns at talk (Sacks et al., 1974). The turn-allocational component manages the exchange of turns between the current speaker and the next speaker.

The set of rules for allocating turns specifies the involvement of the current speaker and the next speaker, as formulated in Sacks et al. (1974, p. 704):

- (1) For any turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn- constructional unit:
 - (a) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then the party so selected has the right and is obliged to take next turn to speak; no others have such rights or obligations, and transfer occurs at that place.
 - (b) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then self-selection for next speakership may, but need not, be instituted; first starter acquires rights to a turn, and transfer occurs at that place.
 - (c) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then current speaker may, but need not continue, unless another self-selects.
- (2) If, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit, neither 1a nor 1b has operated, and, following the provision of 1c, current speaker has continued, then the rule-set a-c re-applies at the next transition- relevance place, and recursively at each next transition-relevance place, until transfer is effected.

The first rule is broken down into three parts. Rule 1(a) refers to a technique that the current speaker can use to select a single party as the next speaker. The addressed recipient has an obligation to take the next turn at the next TRP. If rule 1(a) is not applied at all, then the availability to speak at the next turn can be indicated by a current recipient, i.e., it allows someone other than the current speaker to use a self-selection technique. This is turn allocation rule 1(b). When rule 1(b) is not exercised, the current speaker may continue to speak by employing rule 1(c). Once a turn-allocational rule has been invoked, the system will reapply at the next TRP through Rule (2). By using these rules, the right to speak can be negotiated dynamically at TRPs, where speaker exchange should quickly occur. In other words, the possibility to take a turn (i.e., participate) emerges from one TCU to another TCU. In the sections to follow, I will

focus on discussing Rule 1(a), and how speakers and recipients orient to this rule in interaction.

1.4.2.1 Next speaker selection

Selecting someone to speak in a dyadic conversation offers relatively few complexities. One reason for this is that the abstract categories of current speaker and next speaker provided in the turn-taking system map directly to the number of people in the interaction. This becomes more complicated in multiparty interactions, with the potential for multiple people to be occupying each role. There is a reasonably small body of research examining how interactants use Rule 1(a) in multiparty interactions. Recent studies concerned with Rule 1(a) have enhanced our understanding of core aspects of the operation of next speaker selection. These studies have focused on methods used for next speaker selection (Gardner, Fitzgerald, & Mushin, 2009; Lerner, 1996, 2003), next speaker selection in paediatric medical appointments (Stivers, 2001), the relationship between next speaker selection and sequence organisation (Stivers & Robinson, 2006), next speaker selection in educational settings (Kääntä, 2012; Lauzon & Berger, 2015; Mortensen, 2008; Xie, 2011), various “tools of engagement” in multiparty conversations (Blythe, Gardner, Mushin, & Stirling, 2018), the role of gaze in next speaker selection (Auer, 2018; Weiss, 2018) and non-addressed parties anticipation of speakership transfer (Holler & Kendrick, 2015; Kendrick & Holler, 2017).

In everyday conversation, Sacks et al. (1974) suggested that next speaker selection by a current speaker “involves the affiliation of an address term (or some device for achieving ‘addressing’, e.g., gaze direction)” (p. 717). Recent studies have also indicated that embodiment can be crucial for next speaker selection in conversation (Kendon, 1967; Rossano, 2010; Rossano, Brown, & Levinson, 2009;

Stivers & Rossano, 2010). Blythe et al. (2018) provide an account of the “tools of engagement” that speakers use to mobilise responses from others (p. 148). They examined interactions involving speakers of four Australian Aboriginal languages and concluded that “recipient-directed gaze, voice projection, bodily orientation and epistemic skewing toward a particular recipient” are more likely to be important than interrogative and prosodic features for selecting a next speaker and mobilising a response (Blythe et al., 2018, p. 167-168). In particular, they found that some problems in mobilising a response were driven by participant positioning arrangements that generate gaze avoidance. In summary, Blythe et al. (2018) offer evidence that next speaker selection involves a complex interplay between linguistic and embodied resources. I will now discuss the linguistic and embodied methods that current speakers use when selecting next speakers, focusing on those that are maximally explicit.

1.4.2.2 Methods for next speaker selection by the current speaker

According to Lerner (2003), addressing someone is the most basic and explicit technique for a current speaker to indicate who will be next speaker. The current speaker, for example, can use names, nicknames, kinship terms, endearment terms, or forms of pronominal address that indicate a specific individual. Reasonably little is known about how the speaker uses address terms to manage turn-taking organisation. Lerner (2003) describes the use of address terms in two positions; he calls them “pre-positioned” address terms and “post-positioned” address terms. The examples that Lerner (2003) provides indicate that pre-positioned address terms occur at turn beginnings, whereas post-positioned address terms occur after a point of possible TCU completion. Lerner (2003) argues that the use of pre-positioned address terms (e.g., *Bob, who is she?*) can secure “the availability of a recipient in situations where this

may be problematic” (p. 184). Post-positioned address terms (e.g., *Who is she, Bob?*) are instead used “a device to demonstrate a particular stance toward or relationship with a recipient” (Lerner, 2003, p. 185) when matters of address and reciprocity are not in doubt. However, Lerner (2003, p. 186) notes that post-positioned address terms may also be used as “last ditch effort” to establish reciprocity as the turn develops.

Clayman (2012) observes that address terms can be used to enact floor management in dyadic conversations and institutional settings. For example, speakers can utilise address terms between TCUs. These address terms indicate the first TCU’s completion and “follows a transition space and launches the second TCU” (Clayman, 2012, p. 1859). He also argues that address terms “contribute to the substance of the actions in which they are embedded” (Clayman, 2012, p. 1866).

A second type of explicit addressing is gaze direction. This type is described by Lerner (2003) as a complex form of addressing. The successful use of gaze direction depends on the selected participant’s gaze direction. If the selected speaker gazes away or looks down while being addressed/selected, this practice is “vulnerable” (Lerner, 2003, p. 180). The role of gaze may also vary between cultures. For example, Rossano et al. (2009) found that recipient gaze was important in Italian and Yélî Dnye but not in Tzeltal. Along with gaze, the second person pronoun ‘you’ can single out one recipient to speak next. Yet, without gaze, ‘you’ can change from being a clear signal to being an unclear indicator because “it cannot specify who is being addressed” in a multiparty conversation (Lerner, 1996, p. 281). As such, Lerner (1996, 2003) calls this type of addressing a “recipient indicator”, not a “recipient designator”.

I will now briefly explore some of these issues with an example. Extract (1.6) is a conversation between three neighbours – Yati, Ela, and Rida – and is from the very beginning of the recording. They are sitting in a doorway. Rida is sitting further forward

Although explicit addressing is common, it is uncommon for current speakers to use address terms to accomplish it. The collection of studies on question sequences in everyday conversation compiled by Enfield, Stivers, and Levinson (2010) provide sound evidence of the infrequency of address terms. Comparing question sequences from everyday conversation in 10 languages, these studies explored question design and action, response design and action, and next speaker selection. Counts of questions that selected a next speaker and address terms in these questions are shown in Table 1.1. Note that these counts were not provided for Tzeltal (Brown, 2010) or Lao (Enfield, 2010).

Table 1.1 Frequency of address terms in questions in 8 languages

Language	Counts of selecting questions in the question corpus	Counts of address terms in selecting questions	Dataset notes
Danish	321 (91%)	13 (4%)	Multiparty interactions
Yéllɛ̃ Dnye	287 (90%)	7 (2%)	Multiparty interactions
Korean	246 (88%)	8 (3%)	Multiparty interactions
ʔákhoe Haillom	128 (56%)	23 (18%)	Includes some dyadic task-based interactions
Dutch	274 (95%)	4 (1%)	Includes some dyadic interactions
Italian	342 (100%)	3 (1%)	Dyadic interactions
Japanese	297 (99%)	11 (4%)	Multiparty interactions
English	165 (93%)	7 (4%)	Multiparty interactions (dyadic data excluded)

As Table 1.1 illustrates, with the exception of ʔákhoe Haillom (Hoymann, 2010), questions selecting a next speaker that included address terms were rare. In the case of Italian (Rossano, 2010), this is likely related to the dyadic-only corpus used. However, this also raises interesting questions about why speakers use the most

explicit (and least ambiguous) method for selecting a next speaker so infrequently. This is a significant point of departure for the present study.

Another type of current-selects-next technique is “tacit addressing”. Lerner states:

It is possible for a sequence-initiating action to be realized in the thick particulars of a singular interactional moment in a way that makes it clear at a glance – or even without a glance – who is being spoken to, even when no (explicit) addressing technique is used. When the requirements for responding to a sequence-initiating action limit eligible responders to a single participant, then that participant has been tacitly selected as next speaker (p. 190).

Lerner (2003) demonstrates that tacit addressing can allocate turns based on “content and context” of conversation (p. 190), narrowing down the list of possible next speakers. This is because the current speaker designs their talk to precisely indicate who is eligible and knowledgeable to respond to the sequence-initial action.

I will now demonstrate tacit addressing using Extract (1.7). The following fragment is taken from a conversation among co-workers: Adya, Bela, Cita, Dewi, and Elis. Prior to this, Elis had been asking her friends about bringing in her child to the next event in her department. A lapse in talk has formed at line 1.

(1.7) “Mr Feri” (16_11_X19_TYP_FH) [12:53-13:06]

1 (2.9)

2 Elis-> >#pa FERI hari minggu udah pulang?<
father NAME day sunday already get.back
Will Mr Feri get back to {his office} on Sunday?

Fig #Fig 1.8



((Elis gazes at Dewi and Dewi gazes at her mobile phone))

3 (0.2)
 4 Elis-> kira-kira?
 roughly
Roughly?
 5 #(0.6)
 fig #Fig 1.9



(captured from the second camera):((Adya, Bella and Elis gaze at Dewi))

6 Dewi ada: ,= entar juga ada_
 exist soon just BE
{He} will, {He will} be {here} soon.
 7 (.)
 8 Dewi besok masuk;
 tomorrow come.in
{He'll be} coming tomorrow.

During the silence in line 1, all participants disengage from the conversation by doing other activities (e.g., checking their mobile phones, drinking coffee). Elis shifts her gaze toward Dewi (Figure 1.8) and then asks whether their superior, Mr Feri, will return to Jakarta on the next Sunday. Since Dewi is busy with her mobile phone, Elis pursues an answer from the addressee by incrementing her question *kira-kira* ‘roughly?’ in line 4. Finally, Dewi responds over lines 6 to 8, explaining that Mr Feri will be in his office shortly.

Elis selects Dewi as the next speaker by requesting information that only she has access to at line 2. Dewi is Mr Feri’s personal assistant who arranges his daily business. Thus, by virtue of the topics it addresses, only Dewi has the right and obligation to talk in the next turn, but the question is not answered. Elis maintains her gaze toward Dewi and re completes the question at line 4. Here, she maintains an orientation to the preference for answering (Stivers & Robinson, 2006). The interface between turn-taking organisation and sequence organisation is also on display via the gaze of the unaddressed recipients (Adya and Bela) at the selected speaker in the

transition space at line 5 (Figure 1.9) (see Holler & Kendrick, 2015; see Weiss, 2018 for a review of unaddressed parties' gaze).

This example also provides a demonstration of the role of epistemics in sequence organisation where the current speaker is less knowledgeable (K-), and the next speaker is more knowledgeable (K+). These epistemic configurations formulate “the basis for sequence initiation” (Heritage, 2013, p. 388) that Elis utilises to form her question. In this way, these epistemic configurations are the basis for both turn-taking (i.e., tacit addressing) and sequence organisation.

In summary, this section sketches the procedures for selecting a next speaker in conversation. One basis for the current speaker to select the targeted recipient is to address them explicitly via address terms or gaze (or both). The present study will demonstrate how people employ these (and other) maximally explicit practices in Indonesian conversation.

1.5 Indonesian

1.5.1 The origin and features of Indonesian

Indonesian (also known as *Bahasa* or *Bahasa Indonesia*) is the national language of Indonesia and is spoken by approximately 269 million people. Since it was nominated as the official state language of administration, instruction, and education, Indonesian has increasingly gained popularity. The nation of Indonesia ranges from Sumatra in the south-west of the Malay Peninsula to Papua Island south of the equator and has 733 local languages (*Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa*, 2017). Given the diversity of languages spoken, the first Youth Congress of 1926 proposed the idea of language unification (Kridalaksana, 2018; Suryadinata, 1978).³ Then, the second Youth Congress was held on 28 October 1928 and declared the use of a

³ This conference discussed Indonesian nationalism and was attended by various ethnic and regional associations.

national language, *Bahasa Indonesia* (Englebretson, 2003; Sneddon, 2003; Suryadinata, 1978). Indonesian emerged from Malay or a variety of Malay (see Englebretson, 2003), with some vocabulary also borrowed from Dutch, Arabic, Sanskrit, Portuguese, Chinese, and regional languages (e.g., Javanese). From 1966, there were also lexical borrowings from English. For instance, words like “*signifikan, internal, brutal, brilian, agresif, domestik, arogan*” were borrowed since there were no precise synonyms in Indonesian” (Sneddon, 2003, p. 178).

Indonesian is written in the Latin alphabet and has used various spelling systems, including Van Ophuijsen (1901-1947), Republican (1947-1972), Enhanced Indonesian (1972-2015), and Indonesian Spelling System (2015-now). The Fifth Indonesian National Language Congress in 1988 introduced a “Standard Indonesian” to bring about “the new standard grammar” (Sneddon, 2003, p.134). However, as Sneddon (2003) notes, informal varieties of Indonesian “vary considerably from place to place and among different groups within the one area” (p. 10). This informal Indonesian and its variations are known as Colloquial Indonesian (Ewing, 2005), “*bahasa tak baku* ‘non-standard language’, *bahasa informal* ‘informal language’, *bahasa gaul* ‘social language’, *bahasa ABG* ‘teen language’, *bahasa remaja* ‘youth language’ “(Djenar, 2006, p. 3), and Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian (Sneddon, 2006). In summary, Arka and Yannuar (2016, p. 342) report that “Indonesian has a very complex polyglossic situation”, where speakers use both the high variety (Standard Indonesian) and the low variety (Colloquial Indonesian) in everyday communication, as well as other local languages (e.g., Javanese, Sundanese, Betawi).

A standard clause in Indonesian is subject and predicate (Alwi, Dardjowidjojo, Lapoliwa, & Moeliono, 2003; Chaer, 2015) whereas subject, predicate, and object normally occur in a transitive verbal clause. Some examples of clause structure are provided in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2 Word orders in Indonesian clause (Translated and adapted from Alwi et al., 2013, p. 322)

Function Type	Subject	Predicate	Object	Complement	Adverb
Subject+Predicate	<i>Orang itu</i> person that	<i>sedang tidur</i> IMPF sleep	-	-	-
	'That person {is} sleeping'				
Subject+predicate+ object	<i>Ayahnya</i> father.3SG.POSS	<i>membeli</i> buy	<i>mobil baru</i> car new	-	-
	'His/her father bought {a} new car'				
Subject+predicate+ complement	<i>Beliau</i> 3SG	<i>menjadi</i> become	-	<i>ketua koperasi</i> chairman cooperative	-
	'He/she becomes the chairman of cooperative'				
Subject+predicate+ adverb	<i>Kami</i> 1PL	<i>tinggal</i> live	-	-	<i>di Jakarta</i> in Jakarta
	'We live in Jakarta'				
Subject+predicate+ object+complement	<i>Dia</i> He/she	<i>Mengirim</i> send	<i>ibunya</i> mother.3SG. POSS	<i>uang</i> money	-
	'He sent money to {his/her} mother'				
Subject+predicate+ object+adverb	<i>Beliau</i> He/she	<i>memperlakukan</i> treat	<i>kami</i> 3PL	-	<i>dengan baik</i> with well
	'He/she treats us well'				

Table 1.2 shows a variety of word orders in Indonesian clause. However, they are much freer in ordering in spoken language, as shown in (1) and (2).

(1) *Cantik sekali gadis itu* (Sneddon et al., 2010, p. 266)

pretty very girl DIST

'That girl is very pretty'

(2) *Tertipulah kamu!* (Sneddon et al., 2010, p. 270)

trick.PART 2SG

'You were tricked!'

The subject *gadis itu* 'that girl' occurs after the predicate *cantik sekali* 'very pretty' in (1), while the word *tertipulah* comes before the second person singular pronoun *kamu* 'you' (2).

Morphological processes play an essential role in word formation in Indonesian, including affixation, compounds, and reduplication. Consider the following example.

(3) *Kelakuannya memalukan ibunya* (Sneddon et al., 2010, p. 76)

behaviour.DEF embarrass mother.DEF

'His behaviour embarrassed his mother'

Here, the verb *memalukan* is derived from the adjective *malu* 'embarrassed' and circumfix *me-...-kan*. The word *malu* 'embarrassed' can be the same adjective root as 'shy' in a reduplication *malu-malu* 'shy' as in *Dia malu-malu* 'She/he is very shy', or combined with a prefix *pemalu* 'shy person' in *Dia pemalu* 'She/she is shy'.

Another noteworthy phenomenon in Indonesian is the ellipsis of nouns and pronouns. According to Sneddon (2006), an ellipsis is "the omission from a sentence of a word when its presence is not necessary" (p. 109). This includes the omission of pronouns, "where their presence would be required in English" (Sneddon et al., 2010, p. 374).

(4) *Makan malam di luar?* (Sneddon et al., 2010, p. 375)

dinner outside

'Are {you} dining out?'

(5) *Mereka sudah lama kawin, tetapi belum punya anak* (Sneddon et al., 2010, p. 375)

they PERF long.time marry but not.yet have children

'They have been married a long time but {they} don't yet have any children'

In (4), the second person pronoun *kamu* 'you' is omitted because it might be clear who is being asked while the word *mereka* 'they' in (5) has already occurred at the beginning of the clause.

Let us turn to a more direct discussion of the relationship between Standard Indonesian and Colloquial Indonesian. Standard Indonesian is a standardised form of Malay that is mastered at school in spoken and written forms (Arka & Yannuar, 2016). As noted above, the main objective of this standardisation was to address the social context of Indonesia (Alwi et al., 2003). That is, Standard Indonesian was created to unify a multi-ethnic society. The first government-administered centre of language development was established in 1947 under the name "*Instituut voor Taal en Culture Onderzoek* (ITCO)" (Chaer, 2013, p. 9), later called *Badan Pengembangan dan*

Pembinaan Bahasa (Language Development and Fostering Agency). The main role of this institution was to introduce the use of Standard Indonesian in formal settings (e.g., education, the mass media).

While Standard Indonesian is considered the highest variety of the language, Colloquial Indonesian is understood as “a social style” of talk among Indonesian people (Ewing, 2005, p. 228). Furthermore, Sneddon (2006) argues that Colloquial Indonesian in Jakarta has made a great impact on the development of Colloquial Indonesian nationwide. According to Wouk (1999), Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian is a colloquial variety of Indonesian that has developed among “immigrants, not by Betawi” (p. 62).⁴ That is to say, Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian has been developed by people from all around Indonesia coming to Jakarta, and developing their own version of Colloquial Indonesian.

Ewing (2005, p. 228) has highlighted the fact that, although speakers of Colloquial Indonesian draw on the grammar of Standard Indonesian, they tend to have variations in “lexical, morphological, syntactic, and discourse markers” and draw on other languages “such as Arabic, English, and Javanese”. These variations appear to be unique features of Colloquial Indonesian. Consider the following examples in which Colloquial Indonesian has some variants in morphosyntax (6), discourse particle (7), and demonstratives (8).

- (6) a. *Jangan di-tanam-in apa-apa.* (loc: *in*) (CJI) (Arka & Yannuar, 2016, p. 349)

NEG PASS-plant-APPL what-REDUP

‘Don’t plant anything (here/there)’

- b. *Jangan di-tanam-i/*kan apa-apa* (loc: *i/*kan*) (SI)

NEG PASS-plant-APPL what-REDUP

‘Don’t plant anything (here/there).’

- (7) *Kok elu mau pulang enggak dadain gua sih?* (Sneddon, 2006, p. 46)

dp you want go.home not say.goodbye me dp

How come you’re going home without saying goodbye to me?

⁴ The local ethnic group of Jakarta.

(8) C: *Ini nanti biar Mbak Yuyu yang nentu-kan siapa* (Ewing, 2005, p. 237)

PRX later let.it.be sister Yuyu REL AV;fix-APP who

'So here, Mbak Yuyu's going to be the one to say who ['I'll do what]'

Arka and Yannuar (2016) give an example of the use of the suffix *-in* employed in Colloquial Indonesian (6a) and Standard Indonesian (6b). This suffix is embedded into "the locative applicative", where the standard Indonesian uses "the applicative *-i*" (p. 349). Example (7) illustrates how the speaker uses various linguistic resources of Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian rather than Standard Indonesian. For example, she/he uses question particle *Kok* 'How come' rather than *bagaimana*, the second person pronoun *elu* 'you' rather than *kamu*, the first person pronoun *gua* 'me' rather than *aku* or *saya*, and the particle *sih* in a question. In particular, this example shows the use of the suffix *-in* in the verb *dadain* 'say goodbye', which can only be found in Colloquial Indonesian (Arka & Yannuar, 2016; Wouk, 1999).⁵

The last example (8) shows how the demonstrative pronoun *ini* 'this' is used as "as discourse markers to introduce a proposition" (Ewing, 2005, p. 248). Also, the Standard Indonesian verb *menentukan* 'to decide' is shortened to *mentukan* in Colloquial Indonesian. Another feature of Colloquial Indonesian that is particularly relevant for the present study is the variety of second person pronouns available for speakers to use. For instance, the second person pronouns *kamu* 'you' and *lu* or *elu* 'you' from Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian are common in conversation, while the Standard Indonesian pronouns *saudara* or *anda* 'you' are used seldomly, and on formal occasions (Ewing, 2005, p. 246-247). Ewing (2005, p. 246) also mentions that Colloquial Indonesian speakers employ a wide range of "names, classificatory kinship terms, or both" (p. 246) to accomplish second person references (see also Ewing & Djenar, 2019). I will return to these particular issues in Chapter 3.

⁵ The word *dada* comes from *dadah* 'bye'.

1.5.2 Conversation analytic study of Indonesian

Since the late 1990s, a small number of studies have addressed Colloquial Indonesian from a conversation analytic perspective. Amongst this research, the pioneering contributions of Wouk (1998, 2001) explored particles in Colloquial Indonesian. Relying on dyadic and triadic interactions in Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian, Wouk (1998) examined the use of particle *kan* in conversation and identified that this particle was used as “a request for verification or confirmation” as well as “a marker of conjoint knowledge” (p. 403). Along the same lines, Wouk (2001) registered another observation about the particle *ya/iya* in colloquial Indonesian. She reported that this particle:

...invites agreement by creating presuppositions, marking new speaker information as old, backgrounded information which the listener could reasonably be expected to recognize or agree with (p. 189).

In sum, Wouk argued that the particles *ya* and *kan* functioned as devices to build solidarity and common ground. Wouk continued her work by examining the syntax of repair in Indonesian (Wouk, 2005) and in a cross-linguistic study of repair (Fox et al., 2009).

Hamdani and Barnes (2018) bridged the gap between the features of sentence-final particles of *ya* and *kan*. They examined dyadic and triadic interactions in Colloquial Indonesian involving 12 Indonesian speakers. They were primarily concerned with the epistemic characteristics of polar questions. They found that Indonesian speakers used unmarked polar questions (i.e., questions without a morphosyntactic indication of questionhood) to signal the weakest knowledge status (K-). Polar questions marked with *ya* and with *kan* reflected a stronger epistemic stance on the part of the speaker,

with *kan* motivating their strongest knowledgeable status (K+), i.e., a more symmetrical distribution of knowledge between the questioner and the recipient.

Very recently, Ewing and Djenar (2019) have examined how the use of address terms are sensitive to sequence and action in Indonesian interaction. Following Lerner (1996, 2003), they explored the features of pre-positioned and post-positioned address terms. Like Lerner (1996, 2003), they found that that post-positioning of address terms functioned as a stance-taking device for the speaker, and may be about the topic or the recipient. They also suggested that pre-positioned address terms were common when initiating a new topic, often after a “lull” in the conversation (Ewing & Djenar, 2019, p. 248). In addition, Ewing and Djenar (2019) note that shorter and longer versions of personal names may be associated with different actions and sequential positions, with information seeking question tending to include a full name.

1.6 Aphasia, conversation analysis, and Indonesian

The term aphasia refers to a language disorder as a result of various types of brain injuries, but stroke is the most common cause (Berthier, 2005). It is characterised by impairments to the ability to understand, speak, read, and write. These impairments lead to substantial communication problems.

Application of CA to the investigation of aphasia has grown over the past few decades. This research has focused on face-to-face interaction between people with aphasia and their familiar, everyday conversational partners (Barnes et al., 2013; Beeke et al., 2013; Beeke et al., 2001; Beeke et al., 2007, 2014; Damico et al., 1999). A major reason why CA has been applied in the field of communication disorders is that CA captures communication in day-to-day life directly, and provides insight into the factors that motivate participants' communicative practices (Antaki & Wilkinson, 2013).

In a review of communication disorders and conversation analysis, Wilkinson (2019) summarises the impact of communication disorders as being on progressivity in TCUs, problems with understandability, intelligibility, and hearing, and as causing atypical actions. In the case of aphasia, much of the existing research has focused on repair and turn construction (e.g., Beeke et al., 2007; Helasvu, Laakso, & Sorjonen, 2004; Laakso & Klippi, 1999) with a smaller number of studies on action and sequence (e.g., Barnes, Ferguson, & Candlin, 2013; Wilkinson, 1999). There is also a growing literature on how people with aphasia use embodied practices in conversation (Auer & Bauer, 2011; Goodwin, 2003; Klippi, 2015; Wilkinson, 2013). However, few studies have focused on issues of participation in general, and turn-taking in particular.

Goodwin (2003) studied a man with non-fluent aphasia (Chil) who participated in interaction by using limited linguistic resources (i.e., 'yes, no, and', various syllable with various prosodies) and gestures (e.g., hand movement and position). Focusing on Chil's semiotic resources, Goodwin (2003) demonstrated how Chil competently participated in ongoing talk to accomplish word search sequences and "relevant participation frameworks" (Goodwin 2003, p. 92). Chil's gestures and vocalisations enabled him to maintain his participation in conversation with his conversation partners helping to collaboratively establish what the meaning of his signs (e.g., counting with left hand) and their relevance for the ongoing talk. They did this by monitoring fine details of each other's conduct and its sequential positioning.

Ferguson (1998) is the only study to specifically examine turn allocation and aphasia. She did so in the context of a study on turn-taking and repair by two men with fluent aphasia (JB and EJ) and their conversation partners. This study, inspired by Schienberg and Holland (1980), adopted a controlled design. Each person with aphasia was paired with four different conversation partners to explore how turn allocation techniques were consistently employed in dyadic conversations. For the

most part, Ferguson (1998) found that pattern in turn-taking and repair conformed with conversation-analytic findings from typical interactions. When paired together, JB produced 34.2% of current-selects-next technique (14 out of 41), while EJ showed a similar distribution (40%). Ferguson (1998) also noted that “EJ had been less successful in turn allocation with JB as a partner” because the lack of response from JB (p. 1021).

The existing literature on aphasia in Indonesian is also small and has focused on the ways that aphasia manifests linguistically in this language. Anjarningsih and Bastiaanse (2011) explored how individuals with agrammatic Broca’s aphasia mark time reference. Rather than via verb morphology, tense and aspect are marked using adverbs in Standard Indonesian (Anjarningsih & Bastiaanse, 2011). The study focused on the production of temporal lexical adverbs in monologic discourse by six Indonesian speakers with Broca’s aphasia. They found that agrammatic speakers showed a very small number of aspectual adverbs. However, they were still able to produce “a normal number of lexical verbs” (Anjarningsih & Bastiaanse, 2011, p. 1574) but with reduced diversity. Using the same dataset, Anjarningsih et al. (2012) further explored grammatical phenomena in agrammatic speech and the way it diverges from typical speakers of Indonesian. They found that the speaker with aphasia produced shorter, less grammatically complex utterances, and relied on ellipsis more frequently than typical speakers. They also produced fewer sentence particles, but they were inconsistent patterns in affixing across the speakers with aphasia. Overtly ungrammatical sentences were not common, with omission of arguments the primary sign of impairment.

In summary, the linguistic restrictions caused by aphasia can provide insight into foundational communicative processes. Aphasia can offer evidence for how language relates to communication, and features that are universally present. It may

be particularly useful in the case of turn-taking because aphasia restricts the ability to participate in interaction through talking. This means that people with aphasia and their conversation partners may need to rely on the normative expectations intrinsic to the turn-taking system, providing valuable evidence about their nature and operation.

1.7 The present study

The present study aims to explore next speaker selection in Indonesian by investigating multiparty conversations. Specifically, it examines the practices used in typical and atypical interactions in Indonesian that are used to accomplish a current-selects-next technique. As noted above, it appears to be relatively rare that speakers use address terms to select a next speaker. This raises interesting questions. Why would they avoid using a practice that is maximally explicit? And what are the circumstances in which these maximally explicit practices are routinely used? Understanding the motivations for maximally explicit methods of next speaker selection can provide insight into the organisation of participation in interaction; both in Indonesian and more generally.

1.8 Research questions

This study will aim to answer the following research questions:

1. How do Indonesian speakers explicitly accomplish next speaker selection in multiparty conversation?
2. What motivates the use of maximally explicit practices in next speaker selection?
3. How does aphasia affect next speaker selection in multiparty conversation?

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 is organised as follows. Section 2.2 outlines the approach and the design used for the present study. In section 2.3, I will provide information about the participants who are divided into two groups: typical and atypical. In Section 2.4, the materials that I have used in this research are explained. Section 2.5 discusses the procedures adopted, while section 2.6 provides information about data analysis.

2.2 Approach and design

This study used descriptive quantitative and qualitative methods to investigate everyday interactions among Indonesian speakers. Descriptive quantification was used to explore the distributional characteristics of the practices and actions analysed in the present study. The qualitative methods were conversation-analytic principles and techniques, focusing on practices involved with next speaker selection in Indonesian multiparty conversations. This study was granted approval from the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee (reference: 5201700652), and conducted under this approval.

2.3 Participants

A total of 79 Indonesian speakers were recruited to participate in this study. Two distinctive sets of participants were recruited. One set of participants were competent speakers of Colloquial Indonesian. The second sets of participants were people with aphasia and their familiar conversation partners. They will be referred to as 'typical'

and ‘atypical’ datasets respectively. A full list of participants (including demographic information) is provided in Appendix A. All participant names are pseudonyms.

2.3.1 Typical interactions dataset

The typical dataset consisted of 19 multiparty conversations involving 64 participants totalling 9½ hours of recordings. Recruitment was undertaken by distributing an advertisement through local neighbourhood heads in Jakarta and the student investigator’s personal networks. The student investigator then gave further information to people who responded to the advertisement, including all information and consent forms, and then they agreed to participate.

There were 44 females and 20 males, and the median age was approximately 35 years old. All of them spoke Indonesian as their primary language, and two-thirds of them used Betawi Malay as their second language. They also spoke languages including Bataknese, Malay, Minangkabaunese, Dayak, Sundanese, Javanese, and English. All of the participants were friends, classmates, relatives, spouses, and they had known one another for about eight years on average. Because of its focus on Colloquial Indonesian, this research recruited Indonesian speakers that had lived in The Greater Jakarta area, including the special capital region of Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi, known as *Jabodetabek*. An indication of the recording locations is shown in Figure 2.1.

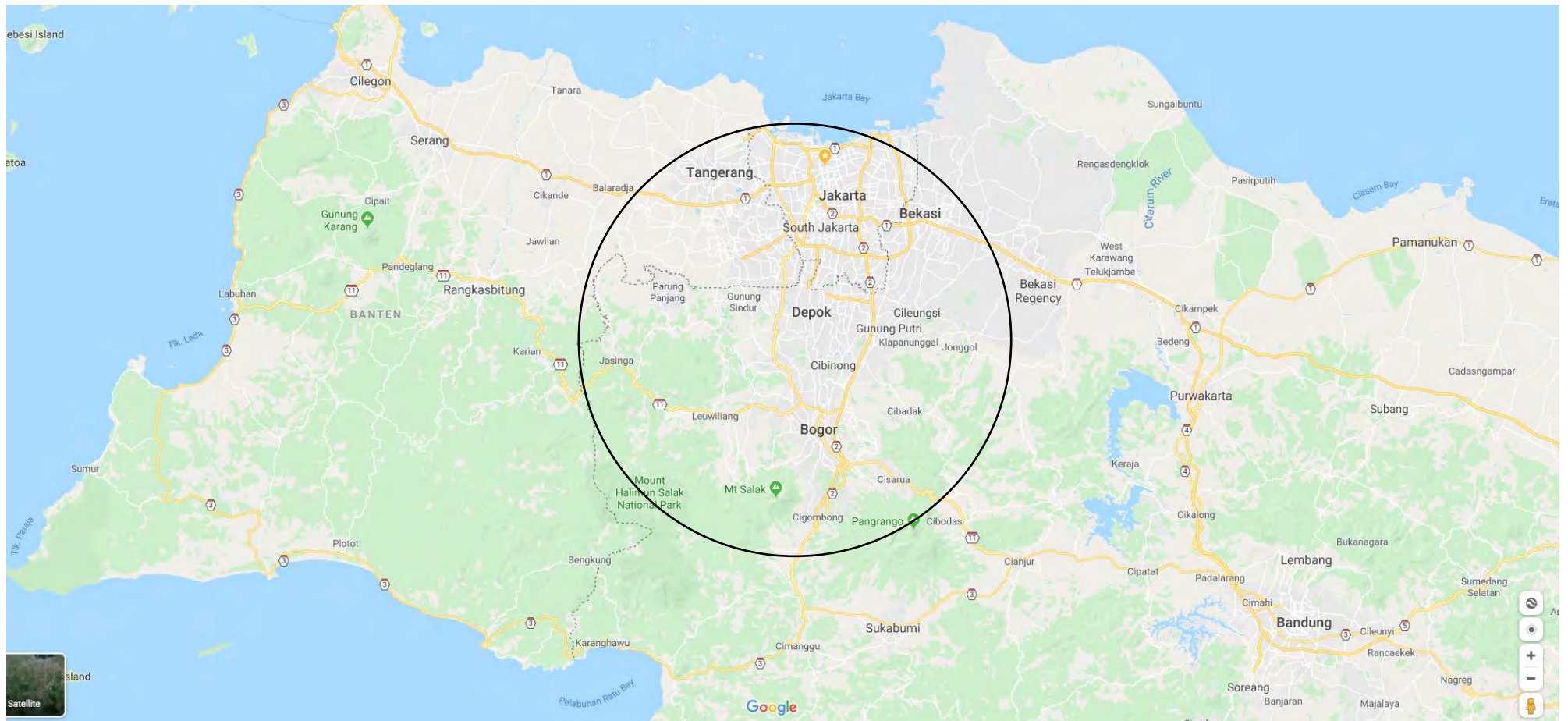


Figure. 2.1 The locations of recording

2.3.2 Atypical interactions dataset

The atypical dataset were collected from everyday conversations between four people with aphasia and their conversation partners. Siti, Susi, Amar, and Ucu joined the research by responding to advertisements in a public hospital and via local administrative villages. The recruitment advertisement can be found in Appendix E. The hospital administrator or the neighbourhood head then contacted the student investigator and informed him that there were some potential participants that responded to the advertisement. The investigator met the potential participants in both locations and explained the research. There were approximately 2½ hours of recordings collected. The conversations took place in the homes of the participants.

All participants with aphasia had suffered a left-hemisphere stroke, and this occurred between two to six years earlier. Only Amar had a documented history of aphasia intervention. All participants experienced weakness on the right side of their body, with Amar and Susi the most severely affected. Before their strokes, they had worked in several different fields. Susi and Siti had worked as street food vendors for about 30 years. Ucu had performed several jobs, including working at a wood factory for 25 years. Amar supported his family as a Human Resource Development manager in a prominent company for more than 36 years.

11 conversation partners were also recruited for this dataset, as shown in Appendix B. Ipeh, Odah, and Ida lived in the same village as Siti and Susi. They had known the participants for approximately 30 years. Wida was Amar's wife, and Elka was their daughter's close friend. Tubi was Ucu's old friend and used to live in the same village. Ucu lived with his four daughters (including Rina and Nada), a son-in-law (Eman), and three grandsons. His sister (Asih) and his niece (Nana) lived near his house.

2.4 Materials

Video recordings were made using three different devices: a Sony FDRAX33 4K digital video camera, a GoPro Hero5 4K, and an iPhone 7 128 GB. The video cameras were mounted on either a Joby GoPro Clamp or a Velbon EX-888 tripod. Camera flash brackets were also used to support the main camcorder and a supported microphone. Audio was captured from three lapel mics (RODE Link) and an on-camera microphone (RODE videomicro), both of which relayed signals to a Zoom H6 digital recorder. Recordings were then processed using the audio and video software such as PluralEyes4 (<https://www.redgiant.com>), AVS 9.1 (<https://www.avs4you.com>), and Adobe Premiere Pro CC 2018 (<http://www.adobe.com>).

2.5 Procedures and data collection

The typical dataset recordings took place in a variety of locations, including homes, cafes, *warung* (a small coffee shop), public spaces, and shopping centres. The atypical dataset recordings were collected at the participants' homes. The recordings were collected over a three month period, and the student investigator handled all operations of the camcorder and the audio recorder. Before the conversation began, the student investigator made sure that all devices were ready and that participants were visible and audible. The investigator informed participants that they could record as much as they like, and did not nominate topics for discussion. The investigator then began the recording and left the participants alone. The following figure shows typical seating configurations during recording.

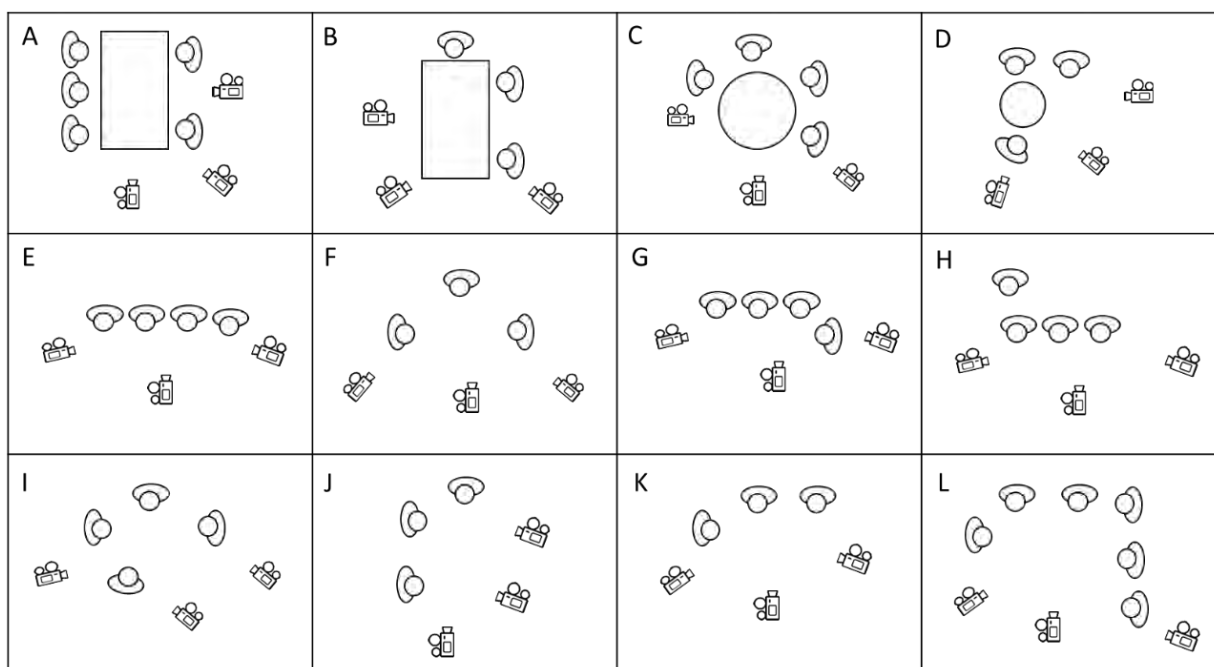


Figure. 2.2 Seating arrangements from 23 conversations.

About two-thirds of the speakers used semicircular (F, E), classic (C, I), and L-shaped F-formations⁶ (B, D, G, J, K) (see Blythe et al., 2018, p. 151). When participants are arranged in F-formations, they form a socio-spatial formation and establish a joint transactional space (called *o-space*) (Kendon, 1990). A summary of the corpus of recordings is presented in Table 2.1. The total length of the recordings was 688:12 minutes.

Table 2.1 The corpus of recordings

Code	Participants	Average Age	Duration	Relationship	Setting
16_11_TYP	Adia, Bela, Cita, Dewi, Elis	36	17:43:00	Friend	Café
17_11_TYP	Turi, Dini, Dira, Caca	20	25:40:00	Classmate	Campus
17_11_TYP_2	Noor, Yani, Musa	25	30:04:00	Friend	Campus
18_11_TYP	Ari, Jojo, Dedi	30	28:46:00	Neighbour	Front of House
18_11_TYP_2	Ela, Rida, Yeti	46	34:51:00	Neighbour	Front of House

⁶ The arrangement of participants when they are involved in interactions (Blythe et al., 2018, p. 151).

Code	Participants	Average Age	Duration	Relationship	Setting
18_11_TYP_3	Qiya, Eca, Rahma	34	15:46:00	Neighbour	Front of House
19_11_TYP	Ical, Aldi, Anis, Iyan	24	17:13:00	Relative	Shopping centre
19_11_TYP_2	Rini, Aris, Diana	18	30:04:00	Friend	Front of House
20_11_TYP	Juju, Mimi, Yani	30	17:06:00	Friend	School
20_11_TYP_2	Novi, Kara, Lina, Elvi	34	18:50:00	Friend	House
21_11_TYP	Ifan, Mali, Muiz, Roni	48	25:41:00	Neighbour	Backyard
21_11_TYP_2	Hani, Cucu, Siti	50	15:21:00	Neighbour	Backyard
22_11_TYP	Nina, Yani, Vita, Alia	25	19:58:00	Friend	Schoolroom
29_11_TYP	Rita, Wina, Juli	20	51:52:00	Classmate	Campus
30_11_TYP	Toto, Adam, Dani	24	60:01:00	Friend	Canteen
7_12_TYP	Titi, Ima, Yaya	51	20:15:00	Neighbour	Coffee shop
7_12_TYP_2	Juki, Hari, Joni	45	43:04:00	Neighbour	Coffee shop
12_1_TYP	Sari, Umi, Ami	64	61:04:00	Neighbour	House
5_6_TYP	KIntamani, Ali, Afifa	34	19:07:00	Friend	Graduate room
28_12_ATYP_1	Ipeh, Siti, Odah	58	36:20:00	Family, Neighbour	Front of House
28_12_ATYP_1	Ipeh, Susi, Ida	54	29:39:00	Family, Neighbour	House
3_1_ATYP	Amar, Wida, Elka	50	46:58:00	Acquaintance	House
8_1_ATYP	Tubi, Ucu, Nada, Nana, Rina, Eman, Asih	48	41:35:00	Family, Neighbour	House
Total			688:12:00		

2.6 Data analysis

Each recording was processed and analysed as follows. First, a code was assigned based on the order and the date of recordings, and audio and video were synced using PluralEyes4 and edited using Adobe Premiere Pro CC 2018 (including the split-screen effects). Second, recordings were annotated for details of talk and embodiment by using ELAN linguistic annotator (Version 5.7) (Lausberg & Sloetjes, 2016) (Figure 2.3). An example of this annotation is presented in Figure 2.3. Third, recordings were transcribed with conversation analysis transcription conventions (Hepburn & Bolden, 2013, 2017; Jefferson, 2004) in Microsoft Word 2016. An annotated transcript is presented in Figure 2.4. Given the need for the parameter of pitch contour, PRAAT (Version 6.1) (Faustion et al., 2014) was also used occasionally. Finally, data were analysed by: 1) applying the Stivers and Enfield (2010) coding scheme to identify questions in the datasets; 2) using single-case conversation analytic techniques; 3) using collection-based conversation analytic techniques. Single-case conversation analytic techniques focus on a single fragment of conversation to develop an analysis of that particular interactional moment. (Schegloff, 1987a, p. 101). On the other hand, collection-based conversation analytic techniques involve collecting a group of fragments to specify a single phenomenon or single domain of phenomena (and its variations) (Schegloff, 1987a, p. 101). These techniques were combined to capture the domain of phenomena related to explicit next speaker selection in Indonesian. The outcomes of these analyses were collated in spreadsheets in Excel 2016. This allowed for tracking of practices important for next speaker selection (e.g., address terms, speaker, and recipient gaze direction) across the datasets.

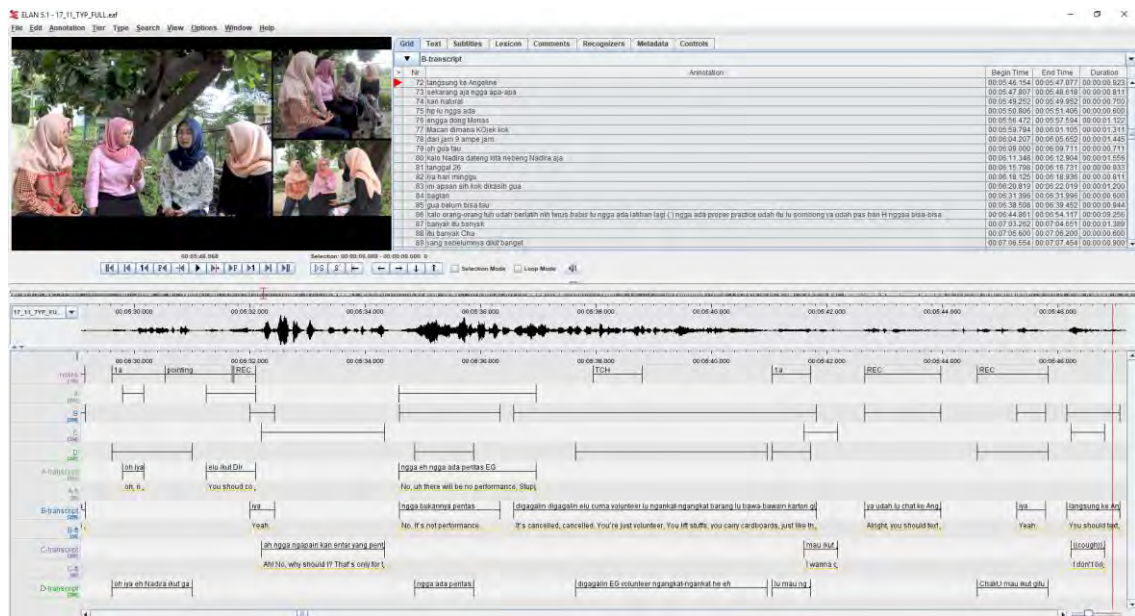


Figure. 2.3 Annotation software

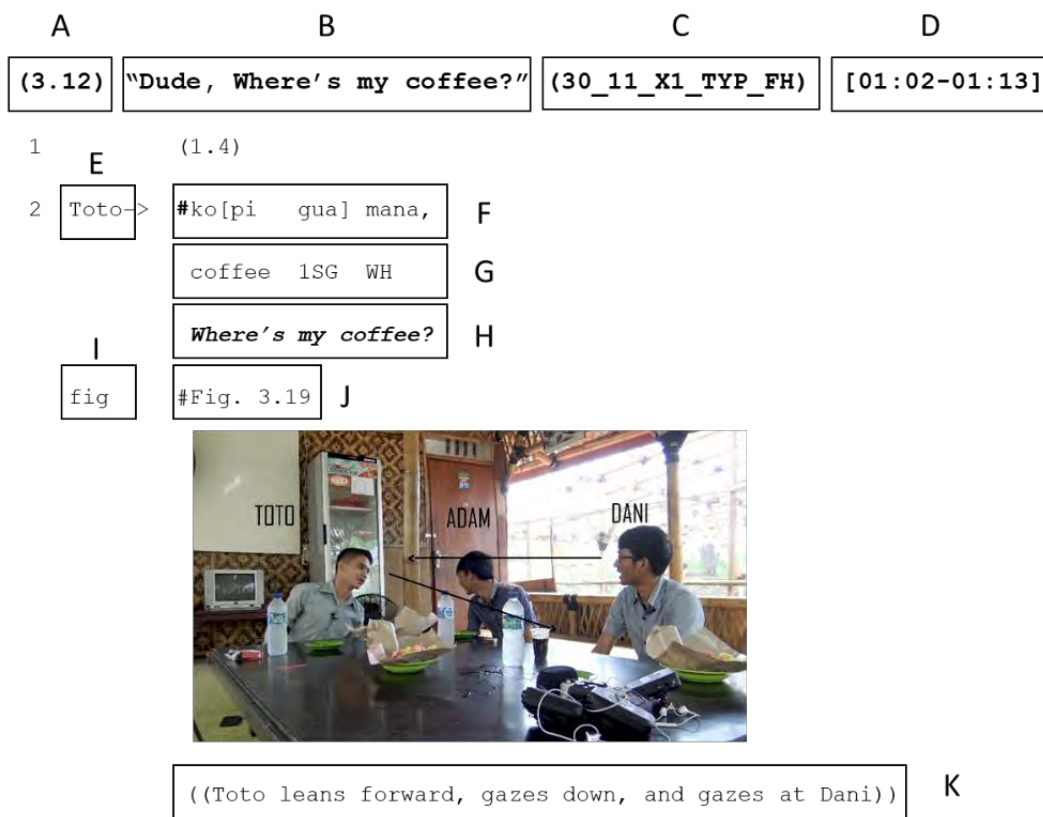


Figure. 2.4 Annotated transcript

Since study data were not in English, a three-line transcription was employed, including “the original talk gloss, a morpheme-by-morpheme English gloss, and the English translation” (provided in bold below) (Hepburn & Bolden, 2013, p. 69). Figure

2.4 presents the features of transcripts in this thesis. They include extract number (A), extract title (B), recording code (C), and duration of extract (D). The name of the participant is displayed in (E). The first line of transcript is delivered in Indonesian (F), while the second line (G) provides the Indonesian literal word-by-word translation and gloss using the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie, Bickel, & Haspelmath, 2008) . The third line presents a free translation into English (H). Screenshot figures are also integrated into some transcripts. The timing of these screenshots is indicated on the first transcript line with a “#” symbol. When a screenshot figure occurs in the transcript, it will have a dedicated line (I), and will be labelled to correspond with the number in the chapter (J). A description of embodiment may also be included (K). It should also be mentioned that aspects of embodiment are primarily conveyed via screenshot figures and descriptions. Although there are established, highly precise transcriptions methods for embodiment (e.g., Mondada, 2018), these transcript methods can be cumbersome and inaccessible. Given the already complex nature of the transcripts for the present study, I elected to provide a more summarised and accessible transcription of embodiment.

Questions are canonical initiating actions and are a frequent and robust resource for selecting a next speaker. Therefore, in order to investigate next speaker selection in Indonesian, questions were identified in the datasets. Given its previous use for cross-linguistic study, we employed the coding scheme outlined by Stivers and Enfield (2010). This coding scheme is summarised in Table 2.2. As per Stivers and Enfield (2010), rhetorical questions and requests for physical actions were excluded. There were 1533 questions identified across both the typical and atypical interaction datasets. Amongst these questions, questions that included practices that were potentially involved with explicit next speaker selection were sought. 238 questions including an address terms were identified, i.e., 15.53% of questions contained an

address term. This included a variety of words that uniquely indicated a single individual (e.g., personal names, nicknames, kin terms). 71 instances of touching by a question speaker to a question recipient were also identified, i.e., 4.63% of questions. These questions were then the primary focus of qualitative, conversation-analytic analysis.

Table 2.2 Stivers and Enfield (2010) coding scheme for questions

Inclusion criteria		Structure of question	Social action	Speaker selection
Included Questions	Excluded Questions			
Formal (marked by Lexico-morpho-syntax or prosodic interrogative)	A story telling	Polar question	Request for information	Achieved via Gaze
Newsmarks	Reported speech	Content question	Request for confirmation	Achieved via address term
	For physical actions	Alternative question	Other initiated repair	Achieved via epistemic authority
			Assessment	

Following Lerner (2003), the analyses of questions with address terms were informed by his notions of “pre-positioned” and “post-positioned” address terms. Pre-positioned address terms in the present datasets are found at turn beginnings, typically prior to the commencement of a TCU. They occasionally follow other linguistic practices (e.g., a particle). Post positioned address terms in the present data set follow a point of possible completion of a TCU. If they are prosodically integrated with the TCU, this is a point of possible grammatical and/or action/pragmatic completion. In some circumstances, however, they are produced following a prosodic break. As we will see, there are also some address terms that do not fit this contrast cleanly.

Chapter 3: Address terms and explicit next speaker selection

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will report on the use of address terms in questions, such as personal names, nicknames, titles, and kin terms. It will describe the interactional configurations associated with their use, focusing on their role in explicitly selecting a next speaker and securing reciprocity.

The analysis to follow will explore the functions of pre-positioned and post-positioned address terms in questions. This includes more and less straightforward examples of their use. I will then present contrasting cases of address term use in questions, and briefly explore how certain terms from regional languages are used to target specific individuals.

3.2 Pre-positioned address terms

3.2.1 Unproblematic next speaker selection with pre-positioned address terms

As discussed in Chapter 1, address terms are a straightforward resource for practising Rule 1(a) (Heritage & Clayman, 2010; Lerner, 2003). A current speaker can select a next speaker by employing these forms to minimise – or effectively eliminate – potential ambiguity. The use of personal names in a multiparty conversation, for example, can explicitly encode the addressee being selected as the one who should properly speak next. One way of using address terms involves pre-positioning them in the turn, i.e., producing the address term at turn beginning and/or in turn-initial position. The analyses presented in this section demonstrate that pre-positioned address terms in questions are used to select a next speaker when: 1) the speaker is commencing a

transition in a broader course of action (e.g., a topic shift); 2) there is a potential problem for reciprocity; namely, problems with embodiment or mutual orientation. It is these two converging pressures that drive the use of pre-positioned address terms. The analyses presented in this section are based on 30 questions (13% of the question corpus).

Through the extracts in this section, I will examine some clear-cut examples where people use pre-positioned address terms to accomplish these objectives. Extract (3.1) comes from a conversation between classmates: Turi, Dini, Dira, and Caca. They are sitting in a semicircular F-formation in front of a university building. Extract (3.1) is from the first twenty seconds of the recording where participants are testing the sound equipment. The arrowed line (line 7) shows how a pre-positioned address term is employed by Dini to nominate Caca as the next speaker. Prior to this extract, they had been discussing a mosquito that perched on Dini's hijab, and other participants confirmed that the mosquito was gone (lines 1 to 3).

(3.1) "The test" (17_11_X11_TYP_FH) [00:01-00:22]

```

1 Dira      °udah [ga [ada°
             already NEG BE
             {It} has already gone.

2 Caca      [>ada di situ< udah- udah terbang_
             BE LOC already already fly
             {It} was there, already- already flown.

3 Turi      [terbang_
             fly
             Flew.

4           (0.7)

5 Caca      gua kira apaan ↑itu nyamuk
             1SG think what DIST mosquito
             I thought what was that. {A} mosquito.

6           [(1.4)
             [(Dini, Dira & Caca gaze at Dira's mobile phone, Turi gazes at Dira))

7 Dini->    >CA ugun< #°hari ini ikut ga,°
             NAME NAME day this.PROX go NEG
             Ca, does Ugun take {it} today {or} not?

fig         #Fig 3.1

```



((Dini looks up at Caca))

- 8 (0.2)
- 9 Caca ENGgak↑
NEG
No.
- 10 (0.6)
- 11 Caca orang dia di ↑warsito
actually 3SG LOC NAME.COFFEE.SHOP
Actually he's at Warsito.

There is a long silence at line 6 where all participants (apart from Turi) gaze at Dira's mobile phone. Following this, Dini asks Caca about her boyfriend, Ugun, by using a personal name at the beginning of her turn, *Ca, ugun hari ini ikut ga?* 'Ca, does Ugun take {it} or not?' at line 7. As it turns out, she is referring to a test that Ugun is scheduled to complete. It is important to note that Dini is still gazing at Dira's mobile when she produces this question, and she meets her addressee's gaze in the middle of her turn (Figure 3.1). Caca gazes away, tilts in her head, and answers the question at line 9 *enggak* 'no' before self-selecting and extending her turn at line 11, explaining where Ugun is *Orang dia di warsito* 'Actually he's at Warsito'.⁷

The alternative question *Ca ugun hari ini ikut ga?* 'Ca, does Ugun take {it} today {or} not?' produced by Dini begins with a pre-positioned address term. They are two factors that influence its use in this circumstance. The first issue relates to securing mutual orientation and, ultimately, next speaker selection. To begin with, there are three people who might potentially speak next in this interaction, which could

⁷ *Orang* 'person' can be translated as 'because' or 'actually' in Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian if it is linked to prior talk.

complicate speakership transfer. In these circumstances, embodiment and gaze are likely to be important for indicating next speaker selection. In Extract (3.1), however, Dini is gazing towards Dira's mobile at the beginning of her turn (line 7), reducing the availability of gaze for making clear a recipient. The use of a personal name at the beginning of her turn not only compensates for her lack of recipient directed gaze at the beginning of the turn but also helps Dini to solicit gaze from her recipient.

The second issue relates to sequence organisation and the commencement of a new course of action via her topic-shifting question. New topics can be a source of trouble in interaction (see, e.g., Drew, 1997). Dini's explicit selection of a next speaker using an address term at the beginning of her turn may facilitate uptake of the action. Ultimately, this is what occurs, with Caca promptly and unproblematically taking up the floor and the topic at lines 9 to 11.

Extract (3.2) is taken from a conversation among neighbours. Ami, Umi, and Sari have known each other their whole lives as neighbours. Prior to this extract, Umi has been the target of a series of recruitments (Kendrick & Drew, 2016). Both Ami and Sari have been asking Umi to try the dodol (a Sundanese fudge), which is located in front of her. Sari has refused to eat the fudge, and has disengaged from other participants, grabbed a coffee, and started to drink it. When Sari takes the floor at line 1, she asserts that Umi cannot break her habit of drinking coffee. After a brief silence at line 2, Umi promptly describes what she has consumed in recent days; that she did drink coffee yesterday/the other day and ate all kinds of foods.⁸

(3.2) "Catfish" (12_1_X16_TYP_FH) [08:32-08:57]

- 1 Sari engGAK bisa dikuraꦁngin; =iye_
 NEG can PAS.reduce.APP INTJ
 {She} can't break it, yeah.
- 2 (.)

⁸ *Kemarin* can be translated as "yesterday" (Sneddon et al., 2010), "recent" (Djenar, 2007) or "the other day" (Englebretson, 2003).

3 Umi tapi kemaren, (0.8) BIASA begini ngopi ape_
but yesterday normal like.this drink.coffee so.on
But yesterday/the other day (0.8) it's normal, just like this, drinking coffee, {and} so on.

4 (0.7)

5 Sari i[ya=°he eh°
INTJ uh huh
Yeah, uh huh.

6 Umi [eh kalo rasa (0.5) kayaknya,
INTJ if flavour seem.DEF
Uh, if the flavour (0.5) {It} seems.

7 (.)

8 Ami-> >SAR= ↑lu udah< ke #↑PASAR?
NAME 2SG PERF LOC market
Sar, have you gone to {the} market?
fig #Fig 3.2



((Ami gazes at Sari))

9 (0.1)

10 Sari uda#h,
PERF
{I} have.
fig #Fig 3.3



((Sari turns to face Ami))

11 (0.2)

12 Sari itu enggak beli (.) beli lele ga ada
DIST NEG buy buy catfish NEG be
See, {I} didn't buy (.) {I planned} to buy catfish, but there's none.

13 (0.4)

14 Ami keSIANGAN kali ↑LE:K,
late perhaps aunt.JAVANESE
Perhaps {you} were late, Lek (Auntie).

15 (0.1)

16 Sari ayam mah ada,
 chicken PRT be
 {I} have chicken, though.

17 (0.3)

18 Sari di rumah_
 PREP home
 At home.

Sari provides an aligning response with *iya* 'yeah' and a continuer ("Uh huh") at line 5. At line 6, Umi overlaps Sari's turn, gazes away, and searches for a word to describe a coffee flavour. There is another brief silence in line 7. Here, Ami turns her head toward Sari (Figure 3.2) and asks a question, saying *Sar, lu udah ke pasar?* 'Sar, have you gone to the market?' in line 8.

At line 10, Sari provides an answer *udah* '{I} have', turns to face Ami (Figure 3.3), and then she gazes down toward something – perhaps a plastic bag she has placed between Ami and Sari – before she commences a new TCU *itu enggak beli* (.) *beli lele ga ada* 'See, {I} didn't buy- {I planned} to buy catfish, but there's none'. After a silence, Ami responds in line 14 *kesiangan kali lek* 'Perhaps {you} were late, *Lek* (Auntie)'.⁹ Sari then self-selects in line 16, producing an assertion about other food she has *ayam mah ada* '{I} have chicken, though' before she extends her turn in line 18 *di rumah* 'At home'.

In this extract, Ami uses gaze and a pre-positioned address term to select Sari as the next speaker in line 8. Unlike the previous extract, however, the current speaker quickly follows a personal name (*Sar*) with the second person singular pronoun *lu* 'you'. One might question why she uses this personal name at all. Why, for example, doesn't she just gaze at Sari and ask the question?

I will now describe several motivations for this turn design. First, as we have seen in Extracts (3.1) and (3.2), the deployment of a pre-positioned address term is

⁹ *Lek* is derived from the Javanese *Bu Lek* ("Auntie").



((Muiz gazes at Roni, mutual gaze))

- 5 (.)
- 6 Roni-> PA MUIZ berapa umurnya¿= °masih°
 father NAME WH age.2SG.POSS still
Mr Muiz, how old are you?
- 7 (0.1)
- 8 Muiz °enem lapan° °°baru°°=
 six eight just
Just sixty-eight.
- 9 Mali =°oh° [enem la°pan°=
 oh six eight
Oh, sixty-eight.
- 10 Ifan [°°oh enem lapan°°((heavy whisper))
 oh six eight
Oh, sixty-eight.
- 11 Roni =e[nem lapan,
 six eight
Sixty-eight?
- 12 Muiz [°udah reyot°
 already weak
Already weak.

At line 1, Muiz shifts his gaze to Ifan and proffers a candidate estimate of the woman's age *seratus?* 'Hundred?'. Ifan confirms the estimate as reasonable ("Uh huh") but then provides her exact age ("104 {years old}") in the following line. The non-selected recipient, Mali, also confirms the woman's age ("Yeah") at line 3 before Ifan delivers his assessment *uh keren* 'Wow, that's cool' in line 4. At lines 6-8, Roni asks *Pak muiz berapa umurnya masih?* 'Mr Muiz, how old are you?', and Muiz answers *enam lapan baru* 'Just sixty-eight'. Mali and Ifan provide change-of-state tokens *oh* and partial repeats ("Oh, sixty-eight") at lines 9 to 10, and then Roni swiftly deploys a partial questioning repeat *enam lapan?* 'Sixty-eight?' at line 11 before Muiz overlaps this turn in the following line *udah reyot* 'Already weak'.

Explicit next speaker selection occurs in line 6 when Roni asks a question that is addressed to Muiz. He accomplishes this selection via gaze and by using an address term (Mr Muiz). Note that Roni looks toward Muiz before delivering his question (Figure 3.4), but Muiz does not return his gaze. Before Ifan's turn approaches a point of possible completion (line 4), Muiz shifts his gaze to Roni, who monitors Muiz's behaviour through gaze direction (Kendon, 1967), waiting for Ifan's turn's completion. Roni and Muiz become oriented to each other as Roni takes the floor (Figure 3.5).

Again, we can see that a potential problem with reciprocity is targeted using a pre-positioned address term. In this case, as the course of action between Ifan and Muiz is reaching possible closure, Roni uses an address term to target a shift in the participation framework and begin a new sequence. This explicit addressing is also motivated by Muiz's body orientation, in that he reorients his body to attend to Roni.¹⁰ Thus, Roni successfully secures Muiz's reciprocity by explicitly selecting him.

Extract (3.4) comes from a conversation between four schoolteachers: Nina, Yuli, Vita, and Alia. Prior to this, they had been discussing some important equipment for a school camp. They had been sitting on the floor and preparing some stick flags in various colours for camping games. Nina and Vita are responsible for making the purple stick flags, while Yuli and Alia focus on the green flags. Prior to this extract, Vita had been asking Nina to pass the purple flags.

(3.4) "The Purple flag" (22_11_X1_TYP_FH) [07:59-08:10]

- | | | |
|---|------|---|
| 1 | Unid | °ini kapan mulainya,°
this.PROX WH start.DEF
When does this start? |
| 2 | | (0.6) |
| 3 | Nina | u↑dah dari tadi↑
already from just.now
{It's} already been {started}. |
| 4 | | (0.1) |

¹⁰ Muiz's seating is a little bit odd in that he sits at the rear left, just behind Ifan. Thus, Ifan and Mali cannot easily orient their body positions towards Muiz. However, Roni and Muiz can more easily come into mutual gaze because they are sitting diagonally to one another.

5 Unid °oh dari tadi°
 oh from just.now
Oh, {it's} been started.

6 (.)

7 Nina mm hm
Mm hm

8 [(1.1)
 ((Vita gazes at Nina then gazes at the flags, Nina gazes to the right))

9 Vita-> NA ↑ungu, (0.1) ↓di lu #semua berarti,
 NAME purple PREP 2SG all mean
Na {the} purple {flags} (0.1) you {got} them all?
 fig #Fig 3.6



((Vita gazes at Nina))

10 (.)

11 Nina iya di #NINA
 INTJ PREP NAME
Yeah, I {got them all}.
 fig #Fig 3.7



((Nina gazes at the flag))

12 (0.1)

13 Vita oke;
 okay
Okay.

An unidentified speaker enters the classroom and asks a question about the video recording in line 1 *Ini kapan mulainya?* 'When does this start?'. Nina responds by saying *udah dari tadi* '{It's} already started'. The unidentified speaker acknowledges this new information (line 5), and, after a brief silence, Nina provides a minimal

response (“mm hm”) at line 7. There is a long silence at line 8 in which Nina and Vita gaze toward the purple flags located at Nina’s right. At line, 9 Vita asks Nina if all the purple flags are ready *Na ungu (0.1) di lu semua berarti?* ‘Na {the} purple {flags} (0.1) you {got} them all?’. Following this, Nina swiftly responds with a confirmation *iya di nina* (“Yeah, I {got them all}”) in line 11.¹¹ There is a brief silence in line 12 that is followed by Vita’s sequence closing (“Okay”).

When Vita asks her question to Nina at line 9, she begins her turn with a personal name (*Na*) followed by a polar interrogative. This request for information is accompanied by recipient-directed gaze (Figure 3.6), slightly rising intonation, and a pointing gesture. Vita’s pre-positioned address term targets the fact that Nina is somewhat disengaged and gazing down as she commences a new course of action. In response, Nina takes the floor and shifts her gaze to Vita’s space, looking at the flag that Vita is holding (Figure 3.7).

3.2.2 Complex cases of next speaker selection with pre-positioned address terms

In Section 3.2.1, we have examined examples in which current speakers have minimal difficulty securing reciprocity from the selected next speakers when employing pre-positioned address terms. We have also seen that pre-positioned address terms are employed alongside a range of embodiment configurations (for both the speaker and the recipient), that they are regularly dealing with some potential problems relating to participants’ physical orientation, (particularly those that may complicate gaze between the speaker and recipient), and that they commence new courses of action. In Section 3.2.2, we will examine some examples where, despite the use of pre-positioned address terms, there are some problems with the uptake of the turn.

¹¹ Nina uses her own name for self-reference (see Djenar, 2007).

Extract (3.5) captures an instance where the sequential positioning of a turn, including a pre-positioned address term, causes problems for securing the reciprocity of the intended recipient. More specifically, the speaker's initial attempt at asking a question in line 13 is misplaced, and the speaker makes a second attempt at line 20. We return again to Dini, Dira, Caca, and Turi.

(3.5) "Student exchange" (17_11_X11_TYP_FH) [03:12-03:34]

1 Dira >eh kita di- diem aja< biar videonya lama ntar
INTJ 1PL keep.quiet just so.that video.DEF long soon
Hey, why don't we just keep quiet, so that {the} video keeps rolling,

2 [kan memorinya] pe[NUH ↑hu ↑ha] aha ha[aha hah a hah
PRT memory.DEF full
then {the} memory {card} will be full aha hah hah a hah hah.

3 Caca [aha hah hah]
Aha hah hah

4 Dini [aha hah hah] [\$kasian bege [kasian=][jangan
pity stupid pity NEG
Aha hah hah What a pity, dummy! What a pity!

5 kayak gitu↑\$
like that
Don't be like that.

6 Turi [aha hah]
Aha hah

7 Dira [.HH ahah
.HH Ahah

8 >iya enggak enggak_<
INTJ NEG NEG
Yeah, {I} won't.

9 (0.1)

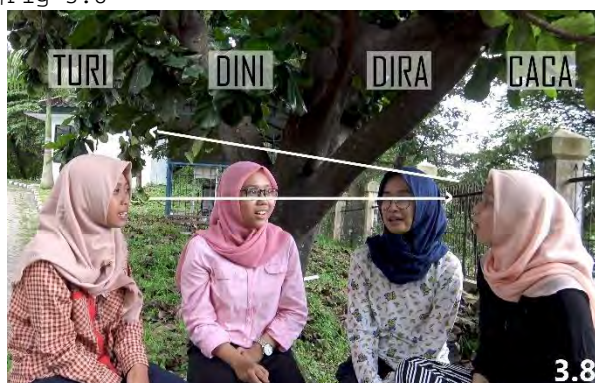
10 Dira >eh dia mau bikin ↑skripsi [ya?
INTJ 2SG want make thesis PRT
Uh, he's working on {a} thesis, right?

11 Dira [((gazes at Dini then gazes away))

12 [(0.6)
[((Turi and Dini gaze at mid-distance, Dira & Caca gaze at Dini))

13 Turi-> #la[h [CA] itu [↑si-
PRT NAME DIST DEM
Well, Ca, that-

fig #Fig 3.8



((Turi gazes at Caca, Caca gazes at mid-distance))

14 Dini [iya_]
INTJ
Yeah.

15 Caca [noh↑] [kakaknya berdua °bege°
there older.bro/sis.DEF both stupid
There Look at that couple, dummy.

16 (0.3)

17 Dira nah kalo bertigaan, (.)°namanya [bukan] berdua°
PRT if three name.DEF NEG both
Well, if {they} were three, it wasn't a couple.

18 Turi [seTAN]
devil
Devil.

19 (0.1)

20 Turi=> CA itu #ya:ng (0.2) si ugun doang yang ikut exchange,
NAME DIST REL DEM NAME only REL participate
Ca, that who (0.2) is it only Ugun who is participating in {the} exchange?

fig #Fig 3.9



((Caca turns to face Turi))

21 (1.0)

22 Caca enggak↑= [ama am↑rul
NEG with NAME
No, with Amrul.

23 Dini [ama am↑rul=
with NAME
With Amrul.

24 Turi =oh [berdua amrul,]
oh both NAME
Oh, with Amrul.

25 Dira [°ama amrul°]
with NAME
With Amrul.

26 (.)

27 Dini HABIB enggak?
NAME NEG
Habib isn't {going}?

28 (.)

29 Dira ENGGAK di[a↑
NEG 3SG
No. He-

30 Caca [habib [juga
NAME also
Habib as well.

31 Dira [>HABIB pengen= IYA<
NAME want INTJ
Habib as well, yeah.

32 (0.1)
 33 Caca amrul habib e:h °ugun°
 NAME NAME uh NAME
 Amrul, Habib, uh Ugun.

This extract begins with Dira's joke that proposes a joint activity ("Uh, why don't we just keep quiet, so that the video keeps recording then the memory (card) will be full"). Everybody laughs, and then Dini takes the joke seriously by saying *Kasian bege kasian jangan kayak gitu* 'What a pity, dummy! What a pity! Don't be like that!' over lines 4 to 5. Dira accepts this (line 8) and then asks Dini about the researcher ("He's working on {a} thesis, right?") in line 10. After a silence, Turi makes an initial attempt in line 13 to select Caca, but she abandons her TCU before reaching a point of possible completion. She abandons this turn because her target (Caca) has commenced speaking in overlap at line 15. After a short silence in line 19, Turi makes a second attempt to ask Caca a question at line 20. She queries whether anyone else will participate in a student exchange program alongside Caca's boyfriend Ugun *Ca itu yang (0.2) si Ugun doang yang ikut exchange?* 'Ca, that who (0.2) Is it only Ugun who is participating in (the) exchange?'. Turi produces a self-initiated repair in the same turn by aborting the initial turn segment (Schegloff, 2013). The speaker uses a personal name to target her addressee as well as gazing at the recipient in the middle of her turn. After a long silence in line 21, Caca provides a disconfirming reply ("No") and extends her turn *ama Amrul* 'With Amrul'. An unaddressed recipient, Dini, also provides a response at line 23 under Rule 1(b) at the juncture where Caca produces her second TCU *ama Amrul* 'With Amrul' under Rule 1(c).

Turi receipts and repeats at line 24 *Oh berdua Amrul?* 'Oh, with Amrul?'. Here, Turi's response acknowledges receipt of this new information. After a brief silence in line 26, Dini tilts her head, at the same time shifting her gaze toward Caca, asking whether another person might not be participating in the exchange *Habib enggak?*

'Habib isn't {going}?''. In response, Dira and Caca adopt strongly opposing stances to this polar question. Dira initially confirms it with *enggak* 'no' in line 29, but Caca indicates he will ("Habib as well") in line 30. At line 31, Dira revises her position *habib pengen iya* 'Habib as well, yeah'. Caca then extends her turn to list all the students who will participate in the event ("Amrul, Habib, uh Ugun") in line 33.

In this extract, Turi twice attempts to address Caca using a turn with a pre-positioned address term, the second of which is successful. She abandons her first attempt to address Caca in line 13 (Figure 3.8) ("Well, Ca, that-"). Turi starts this turn with a prefatory component (particle *lah* "well") and the short version of Caca's name (Ca). However, there are problems with the positioning of the turn. It immediately follows Dira's confirmation request at line 10, but it is not responsive to it. Turi's turn ends up on overlap with Dini's response to Dira at all. In addition, as she is commencing this turn, her targeted recipient, Caca, is also commencing a new course of action, directing others to look elsewhere.

Interestingly, Turi's second attempt at line 20 does not include the particle *lah*, producing the same turn elements as the first saying and treating the particle as dispensable (Schegloff, 2004). This time, she ensures that the very first item is the personal name ("Ca, that who (0.2) is it only Ugun who is participating in (the) exchange?"). The sequential environment is less troublesome, and she takes the floor immediately following Dira's assertion. As Turi begins her turn at line 20, she is not looking toward Caca. Caca also gazes to mid-distance and tidies up her hijab. Quickly, though, Caca begins to look toward Turi (Figure 3.9). They establish mutual gaze after Turi's self-repair in line 20.

As with the extracts presented in Section 3.2.1, we can see that Turi's turn accomplishes a topic shift in an environment where there are multiple possible next speakers. It is also interesting to note that other parties to the interaction seemingly

have knowledge of these matters. For example, Dini and Dira – who are non-addressed recipients – jump in and provide responses to the questions targeted matters known by Caca (i.e., Dini in line 23 and Dira in lines 25 and 29), indicating some claims to “rights and responsibilities” (Heritage & Raymond, 2005, p. 16) to this knowledge. However, their conduct also offers some insight into the notion of preference organisation; specifically, the relationship between sequence organisation and turn-taking (Stivers & Robinson, 2006). For example, although Dini provides an answer at 23 to the question addressed to Caca, she allows Caca to take the floor first. Stivers and Robinson (2006) demonstrate that there is pressure at a TRP to provide a second pair part, also known as progressivity, and that dealing with this is preferred over next speaker selection in a multiparty interaction. Consequently, a non-selected recipient may choose to respond to a question when a selected recipient fails to do so. In this case, despite the long silence at line 21, Dini upholds the preference for selected next speaker to take the floor but demonstrates her own knowledge of this matter at the first opportunity (i.e., at the TRP following the first TCU of Caca’s turn at line 22).

In Extract (3.6), the current speaker deploys her gaze, a pre-positioned address term, a polar question, and a slightly rising intonation to select a next speaker. However, despite the targeted recipient taking the floor, she initiates repair, delaying the development of the sequence. Here, Sari, Ami, and Umi are discussing their experiences of health and illness. Ami had been telling Sari about her illness, and that she had seen a doctor in a community health centre nearby.

(3.6) “Blood test” (12_1_X21_TYP_FH) [04:27-04:41]

- 1 Ami kan min[ta asam u]rat urat- (.) asam uratnya abis;
 PRT ask acid uric uric acid vein.DEF unavailable
 You know, {I} asked for uric acid {test} uric-(.) {but} it was not
 available.
- 2 Sari [°iya°]
 INTJ
 Yeah
- 3 (.)

4 Sari enggak_
 NEG
 No

5 (.)

6 Sari aduh↑ ga tau gua;=
 oh.dear NEG know 1SG
 Oh dear! I don't know.

7 Ami-> =#NEK >ga di- ikut lagi, (.) itu ↑laGI< (.)periksa ↑darah?
 grandma NEG go again DIST again check blood
 Grandma, didn't {you} go {there} again (.) that again (.) {the} blood test?

fig #Fig 3.10



((Ami gazes at Umi))

8 (0.8)

9 Umi di ↑ma#na?
 WH
 Where?

fig #Fig 3.11



((Umi gazes at Ami, mutual gaze))

10 (0.5)

11 Ami-> ↓itu (.) periksa darah laGI eng↑gak?
 DIST check blood again NEG
 That {one} (.) {Did you} run {the} blood test again, or not?

12 (0.3)

13 Umi enggak=
 NEG
 No.

14 (0.2)

15 Ami-> tinggi lagi ga,
 high again NEG
 {It's} high again, or not?

16 (.)

17 Ami ↓obatnya.
 medicine.DEF
 {The} medicine.

18 (0.3)
 19 Umi enggak=
 NEG
No
 20 (0.6)
 21 Ami tapi makannya di itu,
 but eat.DEF PREFIX.PAS DIST
But {your} meal {was being} that?¹²
 22 (0.6)
 23 Umi heh?
 huh
Huh?
 24 (0.1)
 25 Umi maKAN ↑biasa °lah°
 eat regular PRT
{I} eat regular {food}.

At line 1, Ami indicates that she asked for a uric acid test, but it was not available at that time. (Sari's minimal response token (line 2) is responsive to a previous turn, which is not shown in this extract). After a brief silence, Sari responds to Ami's turn, offering a polarity matching token, an assessment, and an account. Sari is a volunteer in the community health centre, and her account at line 4 is seemingly sensitive to the possibility that Ami is querying why the test wasn't available. Ami shifts her gaze, and then she asks Umi a question at line 7 *Nek ga di- ikut lagi (.) itu lagi (.) pereksa darah?* 'Grandma, didn't {you} go {there} again, that again (.) {the} blood test?'. After a long gap, Umi deploys a repair initiator *di mana* 'Where?' at line 9. Here, Umi tilts her head and looks toward Ami (Figure 3.11). There is a 0.5-second silence in line 10. In the following line, Ami offers a repair solution *Itu (.) pereksa darah lagi enggak?* 'That {one} (.) {did you} run {the} blood test again, or not?', which is a partial repeat of the previous question. In response to this question from Ami, Umi confirms it with a minimal response *enggak* 'no' in line 13. Ami asks a follow-up question in line 15, relating to her blood pressure. Once again, Umi provides a similar response *enggak* 'no'. After a

¹² The structure of prefix *di-* and a verb can form a passive type 1 in Indonesian (Cole et al., 2006; Sneddon et al., 2010). Ami's turn at line 21 has no verb after the prefix *di-*.

silence (line 20), Ami delivers her final question, which is grammatically elliptical (Fortin, 2018). This results in a second other-initiation of repair at line 23 (“Huh?”) before Umi responds *makan biasa lah* ‘{I} eat regular {food}’, demonstrating her understanding of the focus of the questioning.

In Extract (3.6), the addressee responds (i.e., she takes herself as the targeted next speaker), but she treats the turn as problematic. As Ami begins her question, the targeted recipient (Umi) is not gazing toward other participants and is seemingly disengaged. Instead, she looks up and then holds a mid-distance gaze (Figure 3.10). Umi then angles her head about 15 degrees as the turn is approaching possible completion at line 7 without altering her overall body position. Although this shift signals some orientation a response to the pre-positioned address term produced by Ami, Umi’s shift in attention is minimal.

Alongside these issues with embodiment, the action, sequential positioning, and design of Ami’s turn were likely challenging for Umi. That is, the prior topic does not receive strong closure, and Ami self-initiates repair within this TCU, which evidently leads to her replacing *itu* ‘that’ with a full noun phrase. In addition to being topically disjunctive, Umi does not appear to notice that Ami is gazing toward her when Sari produces her second TCU in line 6 *Aduh ga tau gua* ‘Oh dear! I don’t know’. Finally, it may also be the case that Umi is unsupportive of talk about her health. So, together, these issues make uptake of Ami’s turn problematic for Umi despite the use of a pre-positioned address term.

In Extract (3.7), we find an example of someone other than the selected next speaker taking the floor. Here, we return to the same interactional scene depicted in Extract (3.1). All participants have been busy with their individual activities (e.g., cutting, wrapping) except Alia, who had been waiting for her turn to use the double-sided tape.

(3.7) "Miss Alia" (22_11_X1_TYP_FH) [10:30-10:37]

```

1      [(2.8)
      [((Nina, Yani & Vita gaze down, Alia gazes at Vita))
2  Nina-> MISS alia #kenapa be- ter$diem$?
          NAME WH keep.quiet
          Miss Alia, why {are you} so quiet?
fig      #Fig 3.12

```



((Alia gazes at Nina, mutual gaze))

```

3      (.)
4  Nina-> terme#nung?
          lost.in.thought
          Lost in thought?
fig      #Fig 3.13

```



((Alia shifts gaze to Yani and points to the double sided tape))

```

5      (0.1)
6  Yani  $menunggu$ dou[ble tape_
          wait
          Waiting for [the} double-sided tape.
7  Alia  [he eh;
          Uh huh

```

At line 2, Nina gazes up, looks toward Alia, and asks *Miss Alia kenapa be- terdiem?* 'Miss Alia, why {are you} so quiet?'. Just after Nina produces a title and a personal name ("Miss Alia"), Alia shifts her gaze toward Nina (Figure 3.12). Nina then reformats her question after a brief silence *Termenung?* 'Lost in thought?' in line 4, offering a candidate answer. Following this, Alia swiftly displays her reason by gazing toward Yani and then pointing at the double-sided tape, which is being used by Yani (Figure

3.13). Alia exploits a pointing gesture as a response instead of taking the floor with a turn-at-talk. Although Yani is gazing downward and may not be able to see Alia's point, she still volunteers the response *menunggu double tape* 'Waiting for {the} double-sided tape' in the following line. Alia overlaps this turn by providing a confirmation token ("Uh huh") in line 7.

Yani's response is indicative of the turn-taking and sequence pressures implemented by Nina's turn. By taking the floor herself, she violates the preference for the selected addressee to take the floor and provide the implicated response. What might have motivated her to do this? The absence of a prompt vocal response from Alia may be indicative of an upcoming dispreferred action. By taking the floor and offering this reason on Alia's behalf, she addresses her own culpability in these circumstances. So, by departing from the normative organisation of next speaker selection, she is able to prevent the production of a disaffiliative action while at the same time maintain the progressivity of the sequence (Lerner, 2019; Stivers & Robinson, 2006).

Finally in this section, in Extract (3.8), we can find an example where a turn with a pre-positioned address term is met with other-initiation of repair, and another party responds to the question it conveys. This example is taken from a conversation among five women in their late 40s. The participants – Adya, Bela, Cita, Dewi, and Elis – are sitting in a coffee shop. They work for the government and have known each other for some years. Prior to this extract, they had been talking about some problems in the workplace.

(3.8) "The cake" (16_11_X1_TYP_FH) [14:41-14:53]

- | | | |
|---|------|--|
| 1 | Bela | HARUSNYA kalo wawancara it-
should if interview
{An} interview should be- |
| 2 | | (0.6) |
| 3 | Adya | he he[he
Aha hah |

4 Bela [he he he
Aha hah

5 (0.4)

6 Elis-> T[EH (0.2) emang] #beli kue di mana,=bukan yang [di::](1.0)=
old.sister indeed buy cake WH NEG REL LOC
Sister (0.2) actually, where do {you} buy {the} cake? Isn't from (1.0)

7 Bela [aha hah] [.HH ↑AHA HAH]
Aha hah .HH Aha hah

fig #Fig 3.14



((Cita gazes blankly at Elis))

8 Elis =>bu[kan yang di]< pakartiꞤ
NEG reL LOC NAME.SHOP
Isn't it from Pakarti (a shop)?¹³

9 Cita [°naon,°]
WH.SUNDANESE
What?

10 (0.3)

11 Dewi BEDA↑
different
Different {shop}.

12 (0.3)

13 Elis la [tereꞤ
NAME.SHOP
La Tere?

14 Cita [pakarti téh nu mana sih,
NAME.SHOP PRT.SUNDANESE REL.SUNDANESE WH PRT
Which one is {the} Pakarti?

15 (0.5)

16 Cita enggak; ((shakes head))=
NEG
No

17 Elis =°heh,°
Huh?

18 (0.1)

19 Cita ((shakes head))

20 (.)

21 Elis beda,
different
Different?

22 (.)

23 Cita ((shakes head))

¹³ *Téh* (Line 6) is derived from Sundanese *Tétéh* 'older sister' while another *téh* (line 14) functions as a particle.

Between lines 1 and 4, Bela begins and abandons a turn, and then she and Adya both laugh. After a silence at line 5, Elis alters her body orientation, leans forward, and then brings her gaze to Cita. Elis addresses Cita, who is wiping her closed eyes with a tissue in line 6. Here, she launches her question with an address term, and ask Cita (“Sister (0.2) actually, where do {you} buy {the} cake?”). She then offers the shop (“Pakarti”) in line 8 for confirmation. At line 9, Cita produces an open format repair initiator in Sundanese *Naon?* (“What?”).¹⁴ Dewi, a non-selected recipient, takes the floor at line 11, answering Elis’s question, and indicating that the cake is from a different shop. After a silence, Elis pursues a response from Cita by nominating another shop (“La Tere?”) at 13. Cita overlaps Elis’s turn in line 14 and asks a question about the previously mentioned shop in Sundanese *Pakarti téh nu mana sih?* ‘Which one is {the} Pakarti?’. There is a gap in line 15, and Cita responds to Elis’s previous question (“No”) and indicates that she did not buy it from La Tere. At line 17, Elis produces an other-initiation of repair (“Huh?”), which is followed by Cita’s head shake. Elis attempts to get Cita’s response at line 21 to confirm where she bought the cake *Beda?* ‘Different?’ but, once again, Cita simply shakes her head.

First, it is important to reflect on the method of addressing used by Elis in this example. Elis indicates her target, Cita, as the next speaker by gazing toward her as well as by altering her body orientation. She also opts to use the Sundanese address term *Téh* ‘older sister’. Note that both Elis and Cita are Sundanese, while other participants come from different backgrounds (e.g., Bataknese, Minagkabaunese, and Javanese). In doing so, she not only selects Elis but implicitly deselects the others as possible recipients of the upcoming turn. However, Cita gazes blankly and displays difficulty analysing the turn. This is perhaps related to the difficulties with the referent *kue* “the cake” (apparently, a cake that Cita bought a long time ago) or, as in Extract

¹⁴ Cita and Elis are both Sundanese.

(3.7), the sudden shift in topic. It is also interesting to note that, like Extracts (3.1), (3.5), and (3.7), Cita's dispreferred response results in another knowledgeable party taking the floor. Similar to Yani in Extract (3.7), Dewi's answer at line 11 maintains orientation towards the progression of the sequence at the expense of someone other than the selected next speaker providing an answer.

In summary, Section 3.2 has offered evidence that question speakers use pre-positioned address terms to manage converging sequential and participation pressures that are present prior to commencing their turn in multiparty interactions. These converging pressures relate to initiating a new course of action (typically, a new topic) and to securing mutual orientation when faced with competing activities or problems with embodiment. In the following section, I will demonstrate that post-positioned address terms deal with related, but rather different issues.

3.3 Post-positioned address terms

This section discusses how a question speaker targets an addressed question recipient using a post-positioned address term. Post-positioned address terms deal with different pressures than pre-positioned address terms. These pressures usually emerge over the course of the turn's development. I will demonstrate how post-positioned address terms are used to: 1) target problems with turn and sequence; 2) signal a person-specific action. As with pre-positioned address terms, however, post-positioned address terms are regularly employed when there are potential problems with embodiment. The analyses presented in this section are based on 118 questions (i.e., 50% of the question corpus).

3.3.1 Using post-positioned address terms to target problems with turn and sequence

In this section, I will examine instances where question speakers use post-positioned address terms to select a next speaker when there is overlap (Extract 3.9), a lack of sequence progression (Extracts 3.10 and 3.11), and problems with turn construction and embodiment (Extracts 3.12 and 3.13). Let us return to Turi, Dini, Dira, and Caca in Extract (3.9). Prior to this extract, Turi had been joking about how to write a good tweet on Twitter.

(3.9) "Twitter" (17_11_X19_TYP_FH) [17:05-17:19]

- 1 (0.2)
- 2 Dira ah ↑HA HAH .HHH=
Ah HA HAH .HH
- 3 Dini-> =>LAH [↑ELU ga main twitter]↑lagi #tur,<
PRT 2SG NEG play again NAME
So, you don't use Twitter anymore, Tur?
- 4 Dira [itu lucu ↑sih]
DIST funny PRT
That's funny, though.
- fig

#Fig. 3.15



((Turi gazes at Dini))

- 5 (0.1)
- 6 Turi heh;
Huh?
- 7 (0.2)
- 8 Dini udah ga main [twitter lagi,
PERF NEG play anymore
{You} haven't used Twitter anymore?
- 9 Turi [((gazes away from Dini to mid-distance))
- 10 (0.1)
- 11 Turi gua mau nulis, tapi ↑gua (.) ga tau mau nulis ↑apa,
1SG want write but 1SG NEG know want write WH
I want to tweet but I (.) don't know what to tweet.

In line 3, Dini turns her head to face Turi – her addressed recipient who is gazing to mid-distance – and asks whether she still uses Twitter *Lah elu ga main Twitter lagi Tur?* ‘So, you don’t use Twitter anymore, Tur?’. In overlap, Dira self-selects and assesses Turi’s previous joke *Itu lucu sih* ‘That’s funny, though’. At line 6, Turi produces an other-initiation of repair (“Huh?”), which is likely dealing with a problem of hearing due to the overlap (Blythe, 2015). Dini repeats her prior turn (with some modifications; see Schegloff (2004), and Turi answers with a type conforming but disconfirming response (Raymond, 2003).

As Dini produces her turn at line 3, there are a number problems that may prevent her targeted recipient from responding effectively. First, as she produces the recipient indicator *elu* ‘you’, she finds herself in overlap with Dira. Second, although she had her head pointed at Turi, and is gazing at her and directing her voice at her (see Blythe et al., 2018), Turi is not gazing at her. As Dini takes the floor, Turi gazes forward after joking about her tweets. Dini’s post-positioned address term deals with these problems that have emerged as (and after) she attempted to take the floor. It is also interesting to note how Dini’s turn changes after Turi’s other-initiation of repair. Because she has secured Turi’s reciprocity, she no longer has to deal with issues of selection, and does not use a pronoun or an address term in her turn at line 8 (Schegloff, 2004).

In Extract (3.10), the current speaker adds a post-positioned address term following a TRP and a lack of response from the addressed recipient. Prior to Extract (3.10), all participants had been talking about collective leave days and how to spend their time with their families. The interaction in this extract has schismed (Egbert, 1997), and we will focus only on the conversation between Elis and Bela in black text. The overlapping, parallel conversation between Adya and Cita is in grey text.

(3.10) "Leave" (16_11_X10_TYP_FH) [06:56-07:11]

1 Elis eh dua sem[bilan apa ya?
INTJ twenty.nine WH PRT
Uh, what day is 29th?

2 Adya [°berarti sekarang gini°
mean now like.this
{It} means like this.

3 (.)

4 Elis dua sembilan ↑jumat
twenty.nine Friday
29th is Friday.

5 (.)

6 Elis ber[arti kan,
mean PRT
Meaning {that}-

7 Cita [gua pi↑ngi:n (0.2) di bandUNG
1SG want.to PREP NAME.TOWN
I want to- (0.2) {stay} in Bandung

8 Bela-> =te[rus ngambilnya] cuman dua ↑hari DONG?
then take.DEF only two day PRT
So, {you} only take two day's leave?

9 Elis [°sabtu minggu°<]
Saturday Sunday
Saturday {and} Sunday.

10 (0.1)

11 Bela kalo m- misalnya sampe awal bulan,
if for.example until beginning month
If, say, {you} take {the leave} until the beginning of the month

12 (0.7)

13 Bela=> ↑téh,=
older.sister.SUNDANESE
Sister?

14 Elis =enggak,=↑jadi dua:: sembilan sampai tanggal lima:_
NEG so twenty.nine until date five
It won't be. {It's from} 29th {December} to 5th{January}.

In line 1, Elis gazes toward Bela and asks which day of the week is the 29th. Elis self-selects at line 4, telling Bela that the date is Friday *dua sembilan Jumat* '29th is Friday'. After a brief silence (line 5), Elis begins speaking but drops out, probably on account of the overlap with Cita. At lines 8 to 11, Bela maintains her gaze toward Elis, asking her for confirmation about the duration of Elis's leave. In line 9, Elis overlaps Bela's question and quickly and quietly says *Sabtu Minggu* 'Saturday {and} Sunday'. There is a gap in line 12, where Bela still gazes toward Elis, waiting for a confirmation. Bela then pursues a response by exploiting the address term at line 13. Here, Bela treats the 0.7s silence (line 12) as a problem of reciprocity and makes a second attempt to

address Elis with a Sundanese sibling term *téh* ‘older sister’ in line 13. Since Elis comes from West Java (and is Sundanese), this term not only points towards her cultural background but also eliminates the others as potential speakers. In response to this, Elis takes the floor and explains that she plans to take leave for six days.

Bela's addition of an address term following a TRP recompletes her turn. That is to say, in this case, the post-positioned address term at line 13 targets Elis' lack of uptake. This reflected both a failure in next speaker selection, and a failure in the development of the sequence. In the following line, Elis responds to the question *enggak jadi dua sembilan sampai tanggal lima* 'It won't be. {It's from} 29th {December} to 5th {January}', completing the sequence.

Extract (3.11) provides some further examples of post-positioned address terms being used to deal with problems of uptake. In this extract, we return to the group of teachers making flags. Before this extract, everyone had been teasing a staff member who is off-camera, Feri. I will focus on the arrowed turns in lines 6-8, 13, and 16.

(3.11) "MMC" (22_11_X5_TYP_FH) [05:11-05:22]

1 Nina handphoneya bagus ya_
 mobile.3SG.POSS good PRT
His mobile is good.

2 (0.2)

3 Alia iya ↑do[:ng,
 INTJ PRT
Yeah, of course.

4 Yani [IH ganti lagi ya,=handphone[nya ya_i
 INTJ replace again PRT mobile.2SG.POSS PRT
Wow, {you} get a new one, right? {You} mobile phone, right?

5 Nina [EH pak fer- (.)
 INTJ father NAME
Hey Mr Fer (.)

6 -> eh JADI #beli MMC ↑ga?
 INTJ do buy NEG
Hey, are {we} going to buy an MMC (Multimedia Card) or not?
fig #Fig. 3.16



((Nina gazes at Alia))

- 7 (0.1)
- 8 Nina-> miss_i
Miss?
- 9 [(0.7)
((Nina maintains her gaze, Alia gazes down))
- 10 Alia LOH ↑kan, (0.3)>bo↑leh tapi kata dia entar aja= [ya udah]<
PRT PRT allow but say 3SG later just alright
**You know (0.3) {It's} allowed but he/she said, "Sometime later",
alright then.**
- 11 Nina [o::h;]
Oh
- 12 (.)
- 13 Alia-> >[berarti pinjem- jadi pinjem ke primary,<
mean borrow do borrow to
Meaning borrow- {Are we} going to borrow {it} from Primary?
- 14 Alia [((shifts gaze at Feri (off screen))
- 15 (0.7)
- 16 Alia-> ↑pak_i
father
Sir?
- 17 (0.2)
- 18 Feri jadi
do
{We} will.

Over lines 1 to 4, Nina, Alia, and Yani continue joking about Feri and his new mobile phone. Over lines 5 to 6, Nina overlaps the previous turn and then restarts her turn. First, she seemingly summons Feri, but Nina then shifts her gaze toward Alia (Figure 3.16). When Alia meets Nina's gaze, Nina asks whether they are going to buy an *MMC* or not in line 6 *Eh jadi beli MMC ga?* 'Hey, are {we} going to buy an *MMC* (a multimedia card) or not?'. Nina adds the address term ("Miss") at line 8, and then Alia gazes down. After a 0.7s gap, Alia provides a non-conforming answer *Loh kan (0.3) boleh tapi kata*

dia entar aja ya udah 'You know (0.3) {It's} allowed but he/she said, "Sometime later", alright then' before she shifts her gaze to Feri (who is off camera) and asks about the possibility of borrowing the MMC from a primary school (line 13). After a long silence, Alia similarly pursues and elicits a response from Feri at line 16 *Pak?* 'Sir?', and then he quickly provides an answer in line 18.

The second post-positioned address term ('Sir') at line 16 is produced by Alia to seek a response from the previously targeted recipient, Feri. Much like in Extract (3.10), Alia fails to gain recipient attention and, after a silence, she appends the address term. The first post-positioned address term in this sequence is more difficult to analyse. At lines 5 to 6, Nina alters her focus from Feri to Alia. She employs the turn preface *Eh* 'Hey' in lines 5 and 6, indicating that she is initiating a new course of action. She chooses to use a post-positioned address term ("Miss") in line 8 following a clear point of possible completion, with strongly rising terminal intonation. It is possible that she used this address term because she had previously addressed Feri, which may complicate Nina's reliance on gaze alone at line 6.

The final two extracts in this section show how speakers manage the complex interplay between talk and embodiment using post-positioned address terms. We will stay with the teachers who are engaged in conversation while doing craft-related activities. As we will see, both the linguistic and embodied activities shape the emerging participation framework (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004), and encourage the use of post-positioned address terms.

In Extract (3.12), Nina experiences difficulty developing her TCU, and she self-initiates repair. Let us return to Alia, Nina, Yani, and Vita. Prior to this extract, Nina and a teacher (who is off camera) had been talking about the equipment they used in the recording session (e.g., lapel microphones). Nina then begins discussing of how she and other participants are wearing lapel microphones, and how they look.

(3.12) "Luna Maya" (22_11_X6_TYP_FH) [16:10-16:18]

1 Nina ini kita (.)↑e:h (.) pake, (0.7) kaya:k #a:h- siapa ↑vit?
 this.PROX 1PL INTJ wear like INTJ WH NAME
This, we (.) uh (.) wear- (0.7) {It looks} like, uh who's it, Vit?
 fig # Fig.3.17



2 ((Nina gazes at Vita))
 (0.2)
 3 Vita LUNA ma[ya_
 NAME.ACTRESS
Luna Maya.
 4 Yani [luna ma[ya:
 NAME.ACTRESS
Luna Maya.
 5 Nina-> [aku kayak cut TARI
 1SG look.like NAME.ACTRESS
I look like Cut Tari.
 6 (0.4)
 7 Yani ↑I:[:::H
 INTJ
Ugh!
 8 Alia [↑I:[:::H
 INTJ
Ugh!

At line 1, Nina consistently interrupts her turn with self-repair, eventually producing the verb *pake* 'wear'. Nina continues her turn with *kayak* 'like', swiftly shifts her gaze to Vita (Figure 3.17), and solicits assistance with completing her turn. She targets Vita, asking who they look like. After a short silence, Vita replies to the question with the name of a famous actress and scandal-affected television presenter, Luna Maya, at line 3, and Yani offers a similar response in line 4. At line 5, Nina characterises herself as another scandalous actress *Aku kayak Cut Tari* 'I look like Cut Tari', and this receives negative responses from other participants (lines 7 to 8).¹⁵

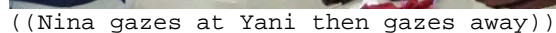
¹⁵ Both Luna Maya and Cut Tari were implicated in a shocking sex scandal involving the rock star Ariel.

The final extract in this section also focuses on Nina's use of an address term. Prior to Extract (3.13), the schoolteachers had been talking about their friends. As Yani tries to put a straw on the purple flag at line 1, she reveals an impending problem: the double-sided tape is about to run out (it is a *limited edition*). Nina then gazes at the double-sided tape handled by Yani (Figure 3.18).

```

1 Yani      aduh double tapenya          #limited edition ↑euy,
            INTJ double.sided.tape.DEF    PRT.SUNDANESE
            Ugh, the double-sided tape is {a} limited edition.
fig         #Fig. 3.18

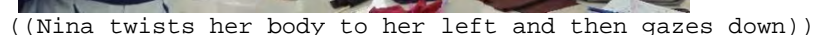
```



```

3  Nina->  #↑mm: (0.1)enggak,- pake es- solatip          ga bisa ya yan?
           mm      NEG      use      adhesive.tape NEG can  PRT NAME
           Mm (0.1) not- {Why} don't {you} use {the} adhesive tape, will it work,
           Yan?
fig      #Fig. 3.19

```



4 (0.2)
 5 Yani ga BISA=kalo sola↑tip (0.3) lebih (0.1) eh ga ini ga ↑KUAT,
 NEG can if adhesive.tape more INTJ NEG PROX.this NEG strong
*{It} can't, {the} adhesive tape {is} (0.3) more (0.1) uh not, you know,
 not strong enough.*

There is a long silence in line 2, and Nina starts looking to her left where some stationery is lying on the floor. At line 3, Nina initiates a turn with a non-lexical token (*Mm*) and continues her search by twisting her body posture (Figure 3.19). She eventually offers a potential solution to Yani's problem *Mm (0.1) enggak- pake es-solatip ga bisa ya Yan?* *Mm (0.1) not- {Why} don't {you} use {the} adhesive tape, will it work, Yan?'. In line 5, Yani rejects Nina's suggestion because the adhesive tape is not strong enough.*

Like in Extract (3.12), Nina's turn contains self-repair, and her possible recipients are all engaged with practical activities. At the same time, Nina herself is searching behind Yani. These converging problems of talk and embodiment are indicated through her use of a post-positioned address term. Her selection of Yani anticipates potential problems with the uptake of her turn but is ultimately successful in securing a quick response.

3.3.2 Using post-positioned address terms to accomplish a person-specific action

In this section, I will demonstrate that post-positioned address terms can be used to show that an action is of particular relevance for the person being addressed by virtue of the matters it is raising or its relationship to prior talk (see Lerner, 2003, p. 184-186). Commonly, this coincides with a shift in the turn-taking dynamics between the people involved in the interaction. As we will also see, this purpose for post-positioned address terms can arise alongside the problems with turn, sequence, and embodiment I examined in the previous section.

Extract (3.14) comes from a conversation between three neighbours: Ari, Jojo, and Dedi. Prior to this, they had been discussing a famous politician, Setya Novanto, who had been arrested by the KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission) after having previously evaded capture. Over lines 1 to 5, Jojo tells Dedi how good the corruption commission is. Here, our focus is on Ari's turn at line 7.

(3.14) "No politics" (18_11_X15_TYP_FH) [08:28-08:34]

- 1 Jojo kpk sekarang itu bagus ded_
 NAME.COMISSION now DIST good NAME
KPK is better now, Ded.
- 2 (0.2)
- 3 Jojo bagus_
 good
Good.
- 4 (2.0)
- 5 Jojo kalo bisa mah, kpk lebih mantap lagi ya kan,
 if can PRT NAME.COMISSION more good again PRT PRT
If at all possible, KPK become more successful {in the future}, you know.
- 6 (0.1)
- 7 Ari -> maSALAH [#Politik] nih ↑ahok, (0.2)#kapan dibebasinnya jo,
 matter politics this NAME WH PAS.release.DEF NAME
Speaking about politics, when will Ahok be released, Jo?
 fig #Fig.3.20a #Fig.3.20b



((Ari gazes at Dedi))



((Ari gazes at Jojo))

- 8 Jojo [.hh]
 .hh
- 9 (0.2)
- 10 Jojo >wa:h↑ gua ga tau deh cerita ahok ↑mah<
 INTJ 1SG NEG know PRT story NAME PRT
Gosh! I don't know about Ahok's story.
- 11 (0.1)
- 12 Jojo jangan ngomongin a↑ho:k,
 do.not talk.about NAME
Don't talk about Ahok.

As Ari begins his turn, he is initially gazing at Jojo. He then shifts his gaze toward Dedi (Figure 3.20a), and, finally, returns his gaze to Jojo (Figure 3.20b). Ari briefly pauses after he produces the name of the politician he will question Jojo about. Jojo and Ari meet gaze in the moments after the silence (Figure 3.20b), and Ari completes his question. Ari asks Jojo about another politician's scandal *Masalah politik nih Ahok (0.2) kapan dibebasinnya Jo?* Speaking about politics, when will Ahok be released, Jo?'. After a gap in line 9, Jojo produces a response token and an account *Wah gua ga tau deh cerita Ahok mah* 'Gosh! I don't know about Ahok's story' before extending his turn at line 12, suggesting not to talk about the topic.

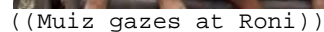
Let us now consider what motivates Ari to employ this post-positioned address term. First, we should note that there do not seem to be substantial problems of embodiment in this instance. Second, it is also clear from prior talk that Jojo has been adopting a knowledgeable position about the KPK, potentially creating a position of expertise for himself on this topic. Finally, and very importantly, Jojo is a supporter of the politician targeted by Ari's question: a previous Jakarta governor known as Ahok who, after being elected, was involved in blasphemy scandal and subsequently imprisoned. On the other hand, Dedi is a supporter of Anis Baswedan, a (then) candidate for Jakarta governor and political opponent.¹⁶ Ari's use of a post-positioned address term points towards these dynamics, effectively teasing Jojo about his political stance. In addition, it undermines the position of authority he has developed through prior talk. Jojo deals with this teasing by providing a non-answer response (line 10) and avoiding further development of the topic (line 12).

In the next example, the speaker uses a post-positioned address term to solicit an assessment from a particular person. Prior to Extract (3.15), Muiz had been asking

¹⁶ Both Dedi and Jojo are wearing campaign t-shirts in this conversation.

(3.15) "Look old" (21_11_X9_TYP_FH) [16:52-17:02]

#Fig. 3.21



17 (0.3)

18 Muiz ↑o:[:h,
 Oh.

19 Mali [a↑HA HAH
 Aha hah.

At line 1, Ifan extends his turn, indicating that he is the same age as Muiz's son, Encek. Mali confirms Ifan's age at line 3 and repeats the name Encek at line 5. Roni then looks toward Muiz and asks *Saya juga agak boros kayaknya pak Muiz ya?* 'It seems I look old too, Mr Muiz, right?', but he gets no response, leaving a 0.6-second delay in the following line. Roni subsequently re completes his turn with the first person pronoun *Saya* 'Me' at line 9. After a silence, Muiz raises his chin and then asks about Roni's age, *Situ berapa?* 'How {old are} you?' in line 11. There is a brief silence in line 12 before Ifan takes the floor and asserts why Roni looks older *Ngopi mulu bang* '{You} drink too much coffee, brother'. Just after Ifan expands his TCU at line 15, Roni answers Muiz' question *Baru tiga tujuh* 'Just thirty-seven'. After another silence at line 17, Muiz goes on to produce a change-of-state response ("Oh") at line 18.

In this extract, Roni attempts to solicit Muiz' evaluation of his appearance for his age in the same way that he had previously done for Ifan. He uses a post-positioned address term to accomplish a shift in turn-taking dynamics away from Muiz and Ifan and towards himself and Muiz. By using a post-positioned address term, he also indicates Muiz' specific role as the one who is responsible for evaluating appearance and age. Ultimately, however, Muiz does not offer an assessment and simply receipts the information with a change of state token.

A similar pattern is evident in Extract (3.16). As per previous extracts from this conversation, Turi, Dini, Dira, and Caca have been discussing their classmates who will participate in a student exchange program. At line 1, Dini changes to the topic to their own, immediate plans.

(3.16) "*Seblak*" (17_11_X13_TYP_FH) [00:30-00:47]

- 1 Dini >kita tuh< ntar jadi beli seblak?
3PL that later go buy NAME.FOOD
Are we going to buy seblak?
- 2 (0.1)
- 3 Turi jadi;
go
{We} go.
- 4 (.)
- 5 Turi insha Allah_=
EXCL.ARABIC
God willing.
- 6 Dira =>ya udah gua ga ikut deh<
alright 1SG NEG come PRT
Right, I'm not coming.
- 7 (.)
- 8 Dira-> >lu ga #ikut kan ↑ca?<
2SG NEG come PRT NAME
You aren't coming either, are you Ca?
- fig #Fig. 3.22



((Dira gazes at Dini))

- 9 (0.2)
- 10 Caca engGAK
NEG
No.

Dini looks to Turi in the middle of her question *Kita tuh nanti jadi beli seblak?* 'Are we going to buy *seblak*?'.¹⁷ Over lines 3 to 5, Turi responds to Dini's question, before Dira takes the floor and volunteers that she will not be coming in line 6. After a brief silence, Dira continues to hold the floor, requesting confirmation from Caca that she will not go either *Lu ga ikut kan Ca?* 'You aren't coming, are you Ca?' in line 8. Caca provides a confirming response *enggak* 'no' in line 10.

¹⁷ Seblak is a food; specifically, crackers cooked with vegetables, eggs and a spicy sauce.

Dira's post-positioned address term shifts the focus from herself, Turi, and Dini, and towards Caca. At this stage in the sequence, Caca is the only person who has not declared her intentions about going to get *seblak*. Dira's use of a post-positioned address term indicates this gap in information, while also giving Caca an opportunity to provide it. Perhaps, too, this explicit signal to Caca suggests that she should have already volunteered this information.

The final example in this section is Extract (3.17). Here, there are complex and overlapping issues that encourage the use of post-positioned address terms. This extract involves three co-workers – Toto, Adam, and Dani – who have known each other for about six years. Before this excerpt, Toto and Dani had been talking about their recent activities at work. In addition, Adam has gone to get himself a coffee, but he has not gotten any for Toto or Dani. This leads to a complaint-like question from Toto at line 2, and a period where they all ironically look for the non-existent coffee.

(3.17) "Dude, Where's my coffee?" (30_11_X1_TYP_FH) [01:02-01:13]

1 (1.4)
 2 Toto-> #ko[pi gua] mana,
 coffee 1SG WH
 Where's my coffee?
 fig #Fig. 3.23



((Toto leans forward, gazes down, and gazes at Dani))

3 Dani [aha hah]
 Aha hah
 4 [(0.5)
 ((Toto maintains his gaze at Dani, Dani gazes away, Adam gazes down))
 5 Dani \$mana,= lu mesen ga?\$
 WH 2SG order NEG
 Where {is it}? {Did} you order it or not?
 6 [(1.1)
 ((all participants gaze elsewhere))

7 Toto=> #↑EH, (0.3) [kopi satu ↑lagi mana]dam,
 INTJ coffee one more WH NAME
Uh (0.3) Where is another coffee, Dam?
 fig #Fig. 3.24



((Toto gazes neither at Adam nor Dani))

8 Dani [↑emang mesen berapa ↑dam,]
 indeed order WH NAME
How much {coffee} did {you} order actually, Dam?
 9 (1.0)
 10 Adam <teu apal>
 NEG.SUNDANESE know.SUNDANESE
{I} don't know

At line 2, Toto immediately asks a question *Kopi gua mana?* 'Where's my coffee?' and gazes at Dani at the end of his turn. Dani laughs at line 3. There is a silence in line 4, during which Dani and Adam gaze around to "find" Toto's coffee. At line 5, Dani asks Toto whether he ordered the coffee, while all participants continue to look for Toto's coffee (e.g., underneath the table). Toto then asks another question at line 7, targeting Adam as his recipient using a post-positioned address term. In overlap, Dani asks Adam how many cups of coffee ordered (line 8), and he also adds a post-positioned address term. Following another silence in line 9, Adam finally provides a non-answer response in Sundanese *teu apal* 'I don't know'.¹⁸

The use post-positioned address terms in Extract (3.17) are encouraged by, as per the previous section in this Chapter, some issues of turn and sequence. Toto and Dani overlap at lines 7 and 8, and Adam has failed to provide an answer to Toto's question at line 2. As well, the interactants break mutual gaze during their mock search. However, a key factor driving these patterns is Adam being held to account for only

¹⁸ Both Adam and Toto are *Sundanese* while Dani is *Minangkabau*nes.

getting coffee for himself. Both Toto and Dani use post-positioned address terms to indicate that their questions are of particular relevance for him, and point towards his failure to get coffee for anyone but himself.

3.3.3 A problematic instance of post-positioned address term use

To conclude my focus on post-positioned address terms, I examine an instance where a speaker uses a post-positioned address term in an inapposite way. This results in substantial problems for the course of action initiated through the turn. In particular, we will see that the turn is delivered in an environment more suited to a *pre*-positioned address term, alongside a variety of other issues that emerge during the turn.

Extract (3.18) is taken from a conversation amongst four male relatives – Anis, Ical, Iyan, and Aldi – who are sitting at a table nearby a shopping centre. Before this extract, Anis and Ical had been teasing Aldi by asking him to spell the abbreviation BCP (*Bekasi Cyber Park*) because he had struggled to correctly spell the word ‘park’. The turn in focus is produced at line 8 by Iyan, who attempts to change the topic to Ical’s studies.

(3.18) "Yeah, You" (19_11_X7_TYP_FH) [01:10-01:25]

```
1 Ical      park ji-sung aha hah          ] ha hah
NAME
Park Ji-Sung Aha hah ha hah.
```

2 Aldi [\$kan [gua ga bisa ngomongnya\$]
 PRT 1SG NEG can say.DEF
 You know, I can't spell it.¹⁹

3 Anis [aha hah hah ha hah=
Aha hah hah ha hah.

4 Iyan-> =i[↑tu,
DIST
That.

5 Aldi [aha [hah hah ha
Aha hah hah ha.

6 Ical [park ji-sung [aha ha hah=
NAME
Park Ji-Sung Aha hah ha hah.

¹⁹ Despite the literal meaning of *ngomongnya*, Aldi is referred to the fact that he cannot spell this word.

7 Iyan [((points at Ical))
 8 Iyan=> #sekarang [E[LU_↑] [(0.2)]kuli[ah_↑ (0.1) u-]udah sampai mana cal?
 now 2SG study already go WH NAME
Currently you (0.2) How's {your} study going, Cal?
 fig #Fig 3.25



((Iyan gazes at Ical))

9 Ical [Ahah]
Ahah.
 10 Ical [((glances at Iyan))
 11 Aldi [ahah]
Ahah.
 12 Ical [((gazes at mobile phone))
 13 Anis [\$prak prak\$]
 park
Park. Park.
 14 (2.7)
 15 Ical kena[pa,
 WH
What?
 16 Iyan-> [ku_↑LIAH, (.)kuliah_
 study study
Study (.) Study.
 17 (0.6)
 18 Iyan-> elu: iya [>kuliah sampai mana?<
 2SG INTJ study go WH
Yeah, you! How's {your} study going?
 19 Ical [ni, (.) beneran ngobrolin kuliah?
 this.PROX really talk.about study
{Are we} really {going to} talk about {the} study?
 20 (0.4)
 21 Iyan ↑iya [ga] a[pa-[apa]=emang [kenapa,
 INTJ NEG RDP.matter then WH
Yeah, that's fine. What's wrong with that?
 22 Anis [kema] [kemaren kan ke rumah téh ana ya,
 yesterday PRT to house older.sister.SUNDANESE NAME PRT
Yesterday {I} went to sister Ana's house, you know.
 23 Ical [be-] [belum beres_
 not.yet finish
Not finished yet.
 24 (.)
 25 Ical belum beres_
 not.yet finish
Not finished yet.

At line 1, Ical jokes with Aldi, linking the word 'park' to a Korean football player, Park Ji-Sung. Aldi overlaps this turn at line 2 and says *Kan gua ga bisa ngomongnya* 'You know, I can't spell it'. At line 4, Iyan says *itu* 'that' but does not immediately add further turn elements. Aldi and Ical continue to focus on the prior sequence at lines 5-6, with overlapping laughter and talk. Iyan then points at Ical, and asks about Ical's study *Sekarang elu (0.2) kuliah (0.1) udah sampai mana Cal?* 'Currently you (0.2) How's {your} study going, Cal?'. Ical glances at Iyan in the middle of this turn (line 10) as he, Aldi, and Anis continue to focus on the 'park' issue. Ical quickly gazes at his mobile phone at line 12 and provides no response to Iyan. A long silence ensues at line 14 before Ical gazes toward Iyan and initiates a repair by asking *Kenapa?* 'What?' in line 15.²⁰ In overlap, Iyan twice repeats the focus on his question *kuliah* 'study'. Again, there is no response from Ical, and Iyan attempts to solicit a response from Ical at line 18 by explicitly dealing with the issue of next speaker selection and reproducing the question *Elu iya kuliah sampai mana?* 'Yeah, you! How's {your} study going?'. Ical overlaps this turn and produces a counter/complaint *Ni beneran ngobrolin kuliah?* '{Are we} really {going to} talk about {the} study?' in line 19, which Iyan strongly confirms at line 21. Also in overlap, Anis commences a new course of action by producing a story-preface *Kemaren kan ke rumah téh Ana ya* 'Yesterday {I} went to Sister Ana's house, you know'. Ical finally relents and responds to Iyan's question, indicating his study is not finished yet.

There are number of interacting factors that contribute to the problematicity of Iyan's action. First, he produces it as the other participants are still expanding the prior sequence via their laughter and receipts. Second, he fails to secure persistent gaze from his targeted recipient, who ends up focusing on checking his phone. Third, it also becomes clear that Ical is reluctant to develop talk on this topic, treating Iyan's question

²⁰ The literal translation of *kenapa* is 'Why'.

as something of an imposition. Ical clearly demonstrates an unwillingness to talk about his study, as indicated by his other-initiation of repair at line 15, and more explicitly by the counter/complaint at line 19. On the issue of address, Iyan's use of a post-positioned address term is consistent with the other examples we have explored in this section. Issues of overlap and embodiment arise over the development of the turn, which place at risk his ability to effectively select a next speaker. In addition, the combination of topic shift and problems with embodiment are characteristic of environments where pre-positioned address terms are recurrently used. Iyan, however, uses a second person pronoun (*elu*), which may have provided a weaker signal than was required for the action he was attempting to accomplish. So, in this case, it seems that the absence of a *pre*-positioned address term contributes to the inefficiency of the eventual *post*-positioned address term, alongside the other factors outlined above.

In summary, Section 3.3 has examined the core functions of post-positioned address terms in questions. It has shown that these tokens deal with problems in the turn and sequence that arise as a turn emerges, and that they accomplish special, person-specific addressing to indicate some salient feature of the action. Like pre-positioned address terms, they may also be targeting a converging issue to do with mutual orientation and embodiment. However, they do not regularly indicate a more substantial shift in the ongoing course of action.

3.4 Using multiple address terms

In this section, I will examine instances where a speaker includes multiple address terms in their turn. I will focus on two instances where both pre- and post-positioned address terms are used in the same turn (Extracts 3.19 and 3.20), and one instance where multiple address terms arise over the duration of a turn (Extract 3.21).

nods and provides a confirmation *Lagi ngebangun* “{I’m} building {the house}”). Hari maintains his gaze at Juki and produces a continuer “mhm” (line 11) before Juki’s elaboration at line 12.

The focus of my analysis is on Hari’s turn at line 7. Here, Hari employs the second person pronoun *énté* and address terms in pre- and post-positions.²¹ The pre-positioned address term is employed to signal Hari’s commencement of a new topic/course of action, and establish the recipient’s attention. Immediately prior, Juki gazes at mid-distance and yawns. So, there is a lack of mutual gaze between Hari and Juki. As Hari develops his turn, although Juki glances at him (Figure 3.26), persistent mutual gaze is not achieved. In fact, Juki shifts his gaze from Hari back to mid-distance. Accordingly, Hari orients to this by adding a post-positioned address term to secure reciprocity.

The second example comes from a conversation among neighbourhood friends, Hani, Cucu, and Siti. Prior to this, Cucu had been telling Hani and Siti about a debt collector who came to see the person who lives next door. The turn in focus is arrowed at line 7.

(3.20) “At Home” (21_11_2_X1_TYP_FH) [13:17–13:24]

- 1 Hani itu↑ ga ada orangnya ↑kali ya?
DIST NEG BE people.DEF perhaps PRT
Perhaps nobody is there, right?
- 2 (.)
- 3 Hani lampunya masih nyala_
lights.DEF still on
The lights have been left on.
- 4 [(0.5)
 [((Siti gazes backwards, Hani gazes at mid-distance))
- 5 Siti tau= ↑onah
know NAME
Not sure. Onah’s {house}
- 6 (0.1)
- 7 Siti-> #baPAK ga ada onah ↑di rumah ya_ ↑pak?
 father NEG BE NAME at home PRT father
 Father, Onah is not at home, is she, father?
fig #Fig 3.27

²¹ The second person singular pronoun in *Betawi Malay*, derived from the Arabic *anta* ‘you’ (male).



((Siti gazes at Muiz))

- 8 (0.4)
- 9 Muiz heh;
Huh?
- 10 (0.2)
- 11 Siti onah ga ada di [rumah,
NAME NEG BE at home
Onah is not at home?
- 12 Muiz [ga ada_
NEG BE
{She}'s not.

At line 1, Hani gazes at mid-distance and then says *Itu ga ada orangnya kali ya?* 'Perhaps nobody is there, right?', referring to the house in question. Hani continues to speak in line 3 *Lampunya masih nyala* 'The lights have been left on'. Siti changes her body position and gazes backwards towards the house, but she is apparently unable to tell whether anyone is home. After a brief silence, Siti shifts her gaze to her husband Muiz, who is sitting on a bamboo bench behind Cucu (Figure 3.27). She asks Muiz whether the owner of that house (Onah) is at home or not (line 7). Following an other-initiated repair sequence, Muiz indicates that the owner is not at home.

Siti's weak epistemic stance is indicated via *tau* 'not sure' in line 5, and she then seeks assistance by asking her husband – who is the head of a community group – about whether *Onah* is at home. Siti's question includes both pre- and post-positioned address terms. The motivations for the pre-positioned address term should be clear: she is commencing a new course of action, and her addressed recipient is far outside her current participation framework and is engaged in a separate interaction. The

addition of the post-positioned address term may indicate that Muiz has not shown evidence of orienting to Siti's turn, and so it is anticipating a continuing problem with uptake. Perhaps this is evidenced by Muiz' other-initiated repair in line 9, which may additionally be dealing with the sequential problem caused by Siti's turn (Drew, 1997; Schegloff, 1979). Nonetheless, it is clear that soliciting Muiz participation is challenging for Siti, and the use of both pre- and post-positioned address terms reflects this challenge.

The final example in this section shows how the speaker inserts an address term in a developing TCU and adds a further post-positioned address term. Extract (3.21) is from a conversation among co-workers: Toto, Adam, and Dani. They had been working in the same department for about five years. Before the extract begins, Toto had been telling the others that they had to get married immediately. In response, Dani told Toto that one of their seniors – Nuri – was still single. As we will see, this might explain the problem with speaking Adam encounters later in this extract.

(3.21) "Who is she?" (30_11_X2_TYP_FH) [26:06-26:14]

1 Toto=> EH;#(0.4)[semalem masi-] de- eh sa- sama ↑siapa dam, mbak susi dam,
INTJ last.night INTJ with WH NAME sister NAME NAME
Hey (0.4) last night uh who was with, Dam, sister Susi, Dam?
fig #Fig 3.28



((Toto turns his head and gazes at Adam))

2 Dani [uda:h,]
already
Already
3 (0.5)
4 Dani apa,= ↑ngobrol?
WH chat
What? Chatting?
5 (0.2)

6	Toto	di ruangan, in room In {the} room?	
7		(0.1)	
8	Adam	téh older.sister.SUNDANESE Sister Nuri	↑NURI NAME
9		(0.4)	
10	Toto	heh? Huh	
11		(0.1)	
12	Adam	téh older.sister.SUNDANESE Sister Nuri	↑nuri NAME
13		(0.2)	
14	Adam	[EH téh INTJ older.sister.SUNDANESE Uh {not} sister Nuri (0.3) sister Nuni	↓nuri (0.3) ↑téh NAME older.sister.SUNDANESE NAME
15	Adam	[((gazes up and meets Toto's gaze))	
16		(0.4)	
17	Toto	↑o:h Oh	

As Toto begins his turn, he smiles, leans forward, and shifts his gaze to Adam. Note that Adam gazes at his mobile phone. He then asks Adam about the person who was speaking with his senior (Susi) in line 1. Despite Toto addressing Adam, Dani responds and asks Toto about what Susi was doing with that person, *Apa? Ngobrol?* ‘What? Chatting?’ in line 4. Toto does not respond to this question. Instead, he maintains his gaze at Adam and further pursues a response with *Di ruangan?* ‘In {the} room?’ at line 6. Adam provides an answer in line 8, explaining that Nuri was with Susi the other day. Toto leans his body forward and produces a repair (“huh?”) in line 10. Adam provides a repair solution by repeating his prior turn (line 12) Adam then gazes up from his phone and meets Toto’s gaze for the first time in this extract, self-repairing Nuri to Nuni at line 14. After a silence, Toto delivers a change of state token (“oh”) in line 17.

In Extract (3.21), Toto employs two address terms in line 1. His targeted addressee, Adam, gazes at his mobile phone from lines 1 to 13, and is in fact playing a game. The absence of vocal or embodied signs of orientation to Toto encourages

him to disrupt the development of his TCU, and insert an address term. However, this does not prove sufficient and Toto produces a second address term as a final attempt to gain reciprocity.

In summary, in this section, we have seen that multiple address terms are associated with persistent problems with mutual orientation. In these examples, the problems and pressures targeted through pre- and post-positioned address terms are persistently present. This is especially the case for issues of embodiment.

3.5 Analysis preface: Second person pronouns in Indonesian

Before examining some contrastive cases of address term use, it will be helpful to briefly summarise second person pronouns in Indonesian, and offer some single-case analyses of questions that include second person pronouns. As I have noted so far, in multiparty interaction, a second person pronoun can indicate a recipient but may not make clear who the precise recipient is. In English, Lerner (1996, 2003) suggests that, to designate who is being selected, the speakers must combine a second person pronoun with gaze direction.

Indonesian speakers can choose from a range of second person pronouns. This reflects both the diverse roots and influences on Indonesian itself, and the cultural and linguistic diversity of Indonesian speakers. Table 3.1 summarises the second person pronouns of Standard Indonesian, and Table 3.2 summarises the second person pronouns observed amongst the question corpus developed for the present study. The most common forms found were *elu* (and its variants *lu*, *elo*, *lo*) and *kamu*, which represent a little more than 85% of the second person pronouns used. Therefore, speakers have options for second person address and, in particular, various ways to indicate who the addressed recipient of a turn is. These pronouns also inevitably point

2 (0.1)

3 Dira °siapa,°
WH
Who?

4 (0.1)

5 Dini men↑tari .hh hah=
NAME
Mentari.

6 Caca =e:[h,]
INTJ
Ahh.

7 Dira [anjing,]
dog
Damn it.

8 (0.8)

9 Dini eh ntar (0.1) masuk ke video ga sih;
INTJ later record to video NEG PRT
Uh later (0.1) is this being included in the video or not?

10 (0.5)

11 Caca °°tau°°
know
{I don't} know.

12 (0.1)

13 Dira-> EH elu, >follow-followan #ama dia;<
INTJ 2SG RDP.follow with 3SG
Eh {are} you following each other {on Twitter}?

fig #Fig 3.29



((Dira gazes at Dini))

14 (0.5)

15 Dini enggak,= gua suka ngestalk twitternya dia;
NEG 1SG like stalk Twitter.3SG.POSS 3SG
No, I like stalking her Twitter.

16 (0.3)

17 Dini apa [sih, yang kata-kata bagus,
WH PRT REL RDP.word good
What are they? Inspirational quotes?

18 Caca [lu, (.) lu ngestalk semuanya deh_
2SG 2SG stalk everyone PRT
You (.) you {just} stalk everyone.

At line 1, Dini claims she intended to retweet the quotes, but she aborts the TCU, gazes toward Dira and starts a pre-announcement sequence *Siapa tebak?*

‘Guess who?’. Dira glances at Dini and produces a go-ahead *Siapa?* ‘Who?’ in line 3. After Dini supplies the name of the person who tweeted the quotes (“Mentari”), Caca and Dira provide negative responses over lines 6 to 7²⁴. Dini then seemingly orients to the sensitivity of this topic, and promptly asks Caca whether this part of the conversation is going to be included in the video or not. Caca’s non-answer is equivocal on this issue *tau* (“{I don’t} know”).²⁵

At line 13, Dira changes her body position, gazes at Dini (Figure 3.29), and asks whether Dini and Mentari follow each other on Twitter. After a gap, Dini responds to this question by saying that they do not *enggak* ‘no’, but that she stalks her tweets. Dini continues at line 17, specifying the type of tweets *Apa sih? Yang kata-kata bagus?* ‘What are they? Inspirational quotes?’. Caca overlaps Dini’s turn and says that she stalks everyone on Twitter, not only Mentari.

Dira selects Dini as the next speaker at line 13 by producing a turn including the second person singular pronoun *lu*. This turn is *eh*-prefaced, and it is immediately followed by *lu*, which commences the TCU. Alongside her talk, Dira uses her gaze and body orientation to target Dini as next speaker. It is also worth noting that Dira’s question emerges from and revives the line of talk Dini was developing at lines 1 - 5, which was interrupted by Dini’s question to Caca. There are also no substantial problems with mutual orientation. In brief, Dira exploits the second person singular pronoun along with recipient-directed gaze to select the next speaker.

In Extract (3.23), we return to the conversation between the neighbours Ari, Jojo, and Dedi. Prior to this extract, Jojo had been telling a story about why finding work in Jakarta is difficult. The turn in focus is produced by Ari at line 7.

²⁴ Caca and Dira express annoyance and disappointment by prolonging the interjection *eh* and the exclamation *anjing* ‘damn it!’.

²⁵ Despite the fact that *tau* is literally translated as ‘know’, Indonesian speakers use both *ga tau* ‘don’t know’ and the shortened version *tau* ‘don’t know’ in response to this sort of question.

(3.23) "I Quit (Modified)" (18_11_X10_TYP_FH) [19:07-19:16]

- 1 Jojo lu kira kerja di outsourcing ga makan ati;
2SG think work PREP NEG disappointing
Don't you think working with {an} outsourcing company not disappointing?
- 2 (0.1)
- 3 Jojo makan ati;
disappointing
Disappointing.
- 4 (0.7)
- 5 Jojo iye,
INTJ
Yeah/that's right.
- 6 [(0.7)
((Ari gazes at Jojo, Jojo and Dedi gaze to mid distance right))
- 7 Ari-> #lu kerja di mcdonald's berhenti?
2SG work PREP stop
You quit {your} job at McDonald's?
- fig #Fig 3.30



- ((Ari gazes at Jojo))
- 8 (0.8)
- 9 Jojo >berhenti,<
stop
{I} quit.
- 10 (0.3)
- 11 Jojo >karena gua udah ada outsourcing,<
because 1SG already have
Because I've already {joined the} outsourcing {company}.

Over lines 1 to 5, Jojo gazes toward Dedi and continues his telling, complaining about the outsourcing company he is currently working for. There is a silence at line 6 where Jojo and Dedi gaze away from each other and Ari, and Ari maintains his gaze toward Jojo. In the following line, Ari asks Jojo *Lu kerja di McDonald's berhenti?* 'You quit {your} job at McDonald's?'. Jojo responds to the question at line 9 *berhenti '{I}' quit* and continues speaking about the reason why he quit that job at line 11.

Let us first briefly focus on the talk produced by Jojo in line 1. Although Jojo uses the second person singular pronoun *lu* 'you' at line 1 followed by an interrogative format, this is treated as a rhetorical question, not functioning as a device to select the next speaker. He shifts his gaze from mid-distance to somewhere between Ari and Dedi. That is to say, Jojo is questioning himself (Blythe et al., 2018). At line 7, Ari selects Jojo by leveraging the second person pronoun *lu*, gaze, topical continuity, and possible sequence closure at line 5. In this instance, the second person pronoun is in both turn and TCU initial position (i.e., it is the first item in the turn) and, despite Dedi and Jojo gazing away, there are few clear problems with mutual orientation.

(3.24) "Look old (Modified)" (21 11 X9 TYP FH) [16:37-17:01]



5 (0.7)

6 Ifan saya baru dua puluh lima
 1SG just twenty five
I'm just twenty-five.

7 (0.1)

8 Muiz °°oh dua puluh lima°°
 oh twenty five
Oh, twenty-five.

9 (0.1)

10 Mali aha hah \$bohong=dia\$ \$udah tiga puluan.\$
 aha hah lie 2SG already thirties
Aha hah he lies.{He's} already 30s.

11 (0.8)

12 Mali .HH aha [hah
Aha hah

13 Ifan [\$tiga dua pak↑\$
 three two sir
Thirty-two, sir.

14 (0.5)

15 Ifan tiga dua_
 three two
Thirty-two.

16 (0.3)

17 Ifan beda setaun ama encek_
 different one.year with NAME
One year of age difference with Encek.

18 (0.4)

19 Mali iye .HH
 INTJ
Yeah .HH

20 (0.4)

21 Mali encek=
 NAME
Encek.

22 Roni-> =SAYA [juga] agak ↑BORos [kayaknya pak MUIZ ya;
 1SG also quite wasteful maybe father NAME PRT
It seems I might look old too, Mr Muiz, right?
 [((Roni & Muiz gaze at each other))

23 Mali [eh]
 INTJ
Uh

24 (0.6)

25 Roni saya,
 1SG
Me.

26 (0.2)

27 Muiz #°situ° berapa,
 2SG WH
How {old are} you?

fig #Fig 3.32



((Muiz gazes at Roni))

- 28 (.)
- 29 Ifan ngopi mulu BANG
 drink.coffee only older.brother
{You} drink {too much} coffee, brother
- 30 (.)
- 31 Ifan ba[gusnya mah;
 good.DEF PRT
Better {if}-
- 32 Roni [baru tiga ↑tujuh,
 just three seven
Just thirty-seven.
- 33 (0.3)
- 34 Muiz ↑o::h,
Oh.

After a long silence, Muiz touches Ifan (Figure 3.31) and says *Kamu berapa?* ‘How {old are} you’ in line 4, i.e., he uses the second person pronoun *kamu*. Ifan responds to the question *Saya baru dua puluh lima* ‘I’m just twenty-five’ in line 6 before Mali denies Ifan’s turn and tells Muiz about his age (line 10). Over lines 13 to 15, Ifan gives specific information regarding his age and explains that he is the same age as Muiz’s son. In his question, Roni uses a slang word *boros* ‘wasteful’ to indicate his lack of youth.²⁶ It is possible that Muiz is not familiar with this term, which may explain the immediate gap at line 24, and his weak responses subsequently. Muiz asks Roni his age *Situ berapa* ‘How {old are} you?’ at line 27 (Figure 3.32). In this question, he employs the second person pronoun *situ*²⁷. Roni supplies an answer at line 32.

²⁶ *Boros* is an Indonesian slang word that is used when someone looks older than his age.

²⁷ The word *situ* derives from a locative deictic (Betawi) meaning ‘there’.

Muiz' questions address a single participant and involve the second person pronouns *kamu* and *situ*, both of which are the first items in these turns. Both are also accompanied by embodiment that designates the targeted next speaker: *kamu* with touch (see Chapter 4) and *situ* with gaze. Each question also has a similar turn design, *Kamu berapa?* and *Situ berapa?* ("How {old are} you?/How about you?"). They both contain a pronoun and a question word, ellipting other potential arguments (e.g., *umurnya* '{your} age') and relying on sequential context. The specific differences between the pronouns *situ* and *kamu* relate to the status of the recipients, including age and social position. By using *kamu* to address Ifan as the next speaker, Muiz shows that there is an age difference between the speaker and the recipient (Ewing, 2005). On the other hand, Muiz produces *situ* to address Roni due to his status in their social environment. Note that Roni is an *ustadz* 'teacher' who is an expert in Islamic law. That is to say, Muiz uses *situ* in order to mark his respect to Roni.

In summary, the three extracts in this section offer some insight into the ways that second person pronouns are used in questions, and the kinds of turn, sequence, and embodied environments in which they can arise. We have seen that these pronouns can be combined with other practices to indicate the addressed recipient of a question.

In the next section, I will show that some address terms are used in a similar way.

3.6 Contrastive cases of address term use

This section offers examples of address term use in questions that do not conform with the key patterns set out in Section 3.2 (pre-positioned address terms), Section 3.3 (post-positioned address terms), and Section 3.4 (multiple address terms). Previous research has described these address terms as "pronouns substitutes".

Sneddon et al. (2010) describe pronoun substitution as a propensity for using names and personal names as alternatives to pronouns. This can occur when the speaker addresses someone who is older him/her (Sneddon, 2006) and can function to show the speaker's respect for the addressee (Sneddon et al., 2010). For the moment, I will avoid using the term pronoun substitute, and instead focus on describing the features and functions of these address terms. I will return to the notion of pronoun substitutes in Chapter 6.

The address terms analysed in this section are used in a greater variety of turn and TCU positions and do not involve the kinds of problems with mutual orientation we have seen so far. Instead, I will argue that these personal names, nicknames, kinship terms, and titles are used to register various social and honorific considerations (e.g., age, gender) (Agha, 1998; Ewing, 2005; Hassall, 2013; Sneddon et al., 2010) and issues of agency on the matters addressed. Their explicitness in relation to next speaker selection tends to be matched across other explicit resources (e.g., gaze). As a consequence, these address terms are less strongly implicated in coordinating participation, and more related to action formation. The analyses in this section are drawn from a set of 77 questions (i.e., 32% of the question corpus).

The following extracts involve a variety of address terms, including personal names (Extracts 3.25 and 3.26), kinship terms (Extracts 3.27 to 3.28), and a combination of a title and a kin term (Extracts 3.29 and 3.30).²⁸ The first example comes from a conversation between the neighbours Ami, Sari, and Umi. This excerpt is taken from the very beginning of the recording and commences with Ami soliciting topics for discussion from Sari.

(3.25) "See a doctor" (12_1_X18_TYP_FH) [00:44-00:52]

1 Ami ayo =lek dulu,=
 come.on aunty.JAVANESE first
 Come on! You {go} first!

²⁸ Following Ewing and Djenar (2019), I will record these address terms as "you" in the free translation line. As we will see, this seems to be the closest approximate available in English.

2 Sari->=#AMI masih (0.1) sa↑kit?
 NAME still unwell
 {Are} you still (0.1) {feeling} unwell?
 fig #Fig 3.33



((Sari gazes at Ami))

3 (0.2)
 4 Ami ma↑si[:h,
 still
Still.
 5 Sari [ape kata[nye,
 WH say.DET
What {does} it say?
 6 Ami [makanya dari dulu gue, (0.2) belum baik-bae[:k,
 that's.why from past 1SG not.yet RDP.good
That's why I've been (0.2) suffering so bad.
 7 Sari [makanya
 that's.why
That's why
 8 kon↑tro::l,
 see.doctor
{you have} to see {the doctor}.
 9 (.)
 10 Ami tiap hari juga gua kontrol [↑le::k,
 every day just 1SG see.doctor aunty.JAVANESE
I see {the doctor} every day, aunty
 11 Sari [mm hm
Mhm.
 12 (0.4)
 13 Sari iya:, (0.2) bo- bat- (.) obatnya mi↑nu::m,
 PRT medicine.2SG.POSS drink
Well (0.2) take your medicine!
 14 (.)
 15 Ami tiap hari mi↑nu::m,=
 every day drink
I take {it} every day.

Ami produces an imperative action at the beginning of the sequence, *Ayo Lek dulu!* 'Come on! You {go} first!'. At line 2, Sari immediately asks Ami *Ami masih sakit?* '{Are} you still feeling unwell?' as she and Sari gaze at each other (Figure 3.33). Ami responds to Sari's question by telling her that she does not feel well (line 4). Sari overlaps Ami at the end of her turn, asking for more information about Ami's health

(line 5). In the following line, Ami overlaps this turn and giving further information that she has been suffering from her illness over the years. Just before Ami's turn reaches its completion, Sari advises her to see the doctor (lines 7 to 8). After a brief silence, Ami rejects the advice with a (probably exaggerated!) claim that she sees the doctor everyday *Tiap hari juga gua kontrol Lek* 'I see {the doctor} everyday, aunty'. At line 11, Sari produces a continuer ("*Mm hm*") that is followed by a brief silence. In the absence of further talk from Ami, Sari gives her further advice in line 13 *Iya (0.2) bo- bat- (.) obatnya minum* 'Well (0.2) take your medicine', that Ami again undermines in line 15 *Tiap hari minum* 'I take it every day'. It should also be noted that, during this extract, the other participant, Umi, remains disengaged and gazing away, as per Figure 3.33.

The target turn here is at line 2 *Ami masih sakit?* '{Are} you still feeling unwell?'. The address term is the first item in the turn (and TCU), and Ami is initiating a new topic, so could this simply be a pre-positioned address term? As noted above, Sari and Ami are gazing directly at one another while Umi is disengaged, so there are few problems of embodiment to deal with. In addition, Sari's turn is consistent with the course of action projected by Ami's imperative. So, the embodied and sequential environment is quite different to the pre-positioned address term uses I have analysed in this chapter. This also appears to be an environment in which ellipsis or a second person pronoun could be employed. One possible, perhaps speculative, explanation for Sari's use of an address term is a gap in age; Sari is older than Ami, which may provide a basis for this choice. Note also that Ami addresses Sari with *lek* 'aunty' at lines 1 and 10, which also reflects an age-grounded relationship between them. Another issue here may be the topic Sari is raising with her question. Ami's health is something that she has privileged access to and knowledge of, and, as the subsequent talk suggests, is within her control. Perhaps her agency over the matter addressed with the question is contributing to Sari's use of an address term at line 2.

Extract (3.26) is from a conversation involving a pair of brothers (Aldi and Iyan) and their cousins (Anis and Ical) outside a shopping centre. Prior to this extract, Ical had been asking Aldi and Anis about the server that they had recently bought for their computer network. Anis and Aldi then volunteer the information regarding its specifications to provide specific information regarding its processor.

(3.26) "I-three" (19_11_X5_TYP_FH) [11:38-11:59]

```

1           (0.2)
2  Aldi     itu du[al [core
           DIST
           That's dual core.
3  Ical->   [anis masang tiga?
           NAME install three
           Did you install three (i3 processor)?
           [((Ical and Anis gaze at each other))
4  Anis     [prosesornya_
           processor.DEF
           {The} processor
5           (0.7)
6  Anis     heh?
           Huh?
7           (.)
8  Ical=>   anis masang °berapa,°
           NAME install WH
           What did you install?
9           (0.7)
10 Anis     i3 yang empat koma [nol ya;
           REL four point zero PRT
           It's {core} i3 at 4.0(GHz), right?
11 Anis     [((gazes at Aldi))
12          (.)
13 Aldi     tiga koma sembilan_
           three point nine
           3.9(GHz)
14          (0.2)
15 Aldi     °tiga [koma sembilan°
           three point nine
           3.9(GHz)
16 Anis     [tiga koma [sembilan, >gigahertz<
           three point nine
           3.9 GHz.
17 Ical     [((nods))

```

Aldi, Anis, and Ical find themselves in overlap between lines 1 and 4. Ical's overlapped turn at line 3 asks Anis a question, and employs an address term at turn beginning.

There is silence at line 5, and eventually Anis produces an other-initiation of repair (“*Heh*”) along with his slight eyebrow flash. Ical repeats and partially repairs his overlapped turn, saying *Anis masang berapa?* ‘What did you install?’ in line 8. After a gap of 0.7 seconds, Anis gazes away and says *i3 yang empat koma nol ya?* ‘It’s i3 at 4.0(GHz), right?’ in line 10. Note that Anis shifts his gaze toward Aldi in the middle of his turn, seeking confirmation about the processor. Aldi confirms over lines 13 to 15, before Anis repeats it in line 16. After receiving this confirmation, Ical gazes away from Anis, and then he nods (line 17).

Similar to the previous extract, we see Ical use an address term at turn beginning on two occasions. Interestingly, however, the second instance follows an other-initiation of repair. As we have seen (Extracts 3.6, 3.9, and 3.20), address terms accomplishing next speaker selection may be omitted in repair solutions following an other-initiation of repair (Schegloff, 2004). Ical’s decision to keep the address term at line 8 indicates that this address term is achieving something more than (or additional to) address. What might Ical’s motivation be? Perhaps it is pointing towards Anis’s responsibility for the design and/or assembly of the server itself. Ical may also be orienting to an age-related issue and their Sundanese family background. Although Ical is roughly Anis’s age, his father is Anis’s mother’s younger brother. Thus, this choice of address term may index respect between family members. Regardless, it is clear that the address term is central to the precision of the action Ical is accomplishing, and who he takes Anis to be.

Let us now consider another example. Extract (3.27) is taken from a conversation between an undergraduate student (Noor) and her seniors (Yani and Musa). Yani and Musa were friends from college. Having graduated already, they were tutors in a Department of English. At the time of the recording, Noor was a final-year student who had struggled with completing her final project. Just prior to this extract,

Musa had been telling Noor about how to study after she had lost motivation. Musa then told Noor that one of the biggest motivations to study hard was his parents. The focus is on the arrowed turns in lines 5 and 9.

(3.27) "What's your problem?" (17_11_2_X2_TYP_FH) [11:15-11:31]

1 Musa yang jadi motivasi ↑saya se- ↑itu sebenarnya;
REL become motivation 1SG DIST actually
That thing actually motivates me.

2 (1.3)

3 Musa ya: harus lulus_ ↑gimanapun; caranya↑
PRT must graduate no.matter.how way.DEF
Well, {you} must graduate {on time} no matter how.

4 (0.1)

5 Yani-> >sebenarnya masalahnya noor #sendiri ↑itu apa?<
actually problem.DEF NAME self DIST WH
What is your real problem actually?

fig #Fig 3.34



((Noor gazes at Yani))

6 (0.1)

7 Yani apa [dosennya] yang susah ↑ditemu↑i::n.= <atau e↑mang> (0.1)=
or lecturer.2SG.POSS REL hard PAS.meet or actually
Is {your} supervisor difficult to contact? Or actually (0.1)

8 Musa [mm]
Mm

9 Yani -> =noornya terlalu si↑bu:k gitu, =banyak aktivi↑tas di luar,
NAME.2SG.POSS too busy like.that many activity outside
{you are} too busy? Too many extracurricular activities?

10 Noor ((coughs))

11 Noor iya °nih°
INTJ PRT
Yeah.

12 Noor ((sniffs))

13 (0.2)

14 Noor >e↑mang dua faktor itu yang utama<=>>↑kan aku kuliah lagi<<
actually two factor DIST REL main PRT 1SG study again
Actually, those two factors are the main problems, you know, I take

15 di: (.) moestopo ya,
at NAME.UNI PRT
another major at (.) Moestopo (University), you know.

16 (0.1)

17 Noor ja[di seminggu] ampe tiga kali_
so one.week up.to three times
So, I go to my universities three times a week.

Over lines 1 to 3, Musa tells Noor about his motivation at university. At line 5, Yani shifts her gaze from Musa to Noor and asks her about her main problem with her study *Sebenarnya masalahnya Noor sendiri itu apa?* ‘What is your real problem actually?’. Noor gazes to Yani just after she hears her name (Figure 3.34). After a brief silence, Yani asks her an alternative question (lines 7 and 9) whether her problems relate to her supervisor or her extracurricular activities. Noor gazes away from Yani and then gazes down before she confirms with *Iya nih* ‘Yeah’ in line 11. Over lines 14 to 15, Noor continues, explaining the reasons why she has struggled with her final project. In overlap, Yani produces a news receipt token (“Oh”) in line 18.

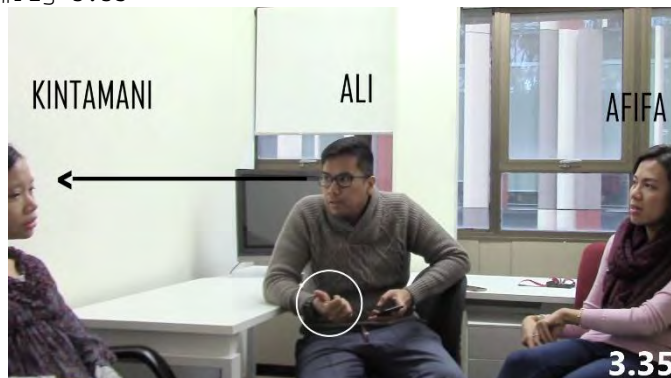
In this example, Yani employs address terms at line 5 and line 9. The address term at line 5 arrives well into the development of Yani’s first TCU, while the second address term at line 9 comes not long after she has indicated further expansion of her turn. It is possible that the first address term could be a subtle pursuit of gaze from Noor, but this seems unlikely for the second because she has secured Noor’s reciprocity by the time the name is produced, in the middle of the turn. Again, these address terms are used in a context where the addressed recipient is directly and actively responsible for the matters targeted by the question, i.e., her difficulty with study. There is also the fact that Noor is a junior, and the use of address terms may reflect Yani’s position of seniority (see Hassall, 2013).

So far in this section, we have examined examples that involve personal names. Let us now move to an example involving the kin term *mbak* ‘older sister’. This kin term is derived from Javanese and commonly used by Colloquial Indonesian speakers. This extract is from a recording involving three university students, Afifa, Ali, and Kintamani. Before Extract (3.28), they had been talking about the department and faculty structure of the university they all attend. Kintamani had also been telling Afifa about her

experiences in studying a double master's degree program. Afifa had asked Ali about their friends who were studying counter-terrorism and intelligence. Afifa asserts that the program is challenging at line 1.

(3.28) "Faculty of Arts" (05_11_16_X1_TYP_FH) [14:56-15:19]

- 1 Afifa ah busyet dah itu °su[sah;°
oh hell PRT DIST difficult
Oh hell! That's challenging.
- 2 Ali [ARTS juga sih,=faculty of arts=
too PRT
{That's} Arts too. Faculty of Arts.
- 3 Afifa =>iya [=iya< ((nodding))
INTJ INTJ
Yeah. Yeah.
- 4 Ali [kalo °°ga [salah°°
If NEG wrong
If {I'm} not mistaken.
- 5 Afifa [°beli[au mah arts°
3SG PRT
He's from {the Faculty of} Arts.
- 6 Kinta [he eh= faculty of arts ((nodding))
uh huh
Uh huh, {the} Faculty of Arts.
- 7 (.)
- 8 Ali-> #MBAK kan, faculty of arts juga [↑kan?
older.sister PRT too PRT
You're from {the faculty of} Arts as well, right?
- fig #Fig 3.35



- 9 Kinta ((Ali gazes at Kintamani)) [arts ((nodding))
Arts.
- 10 (0.1)
- 11 Ali seba[gian kan,
half PRT
One of {them}, right?
- 12 Kinta [arts satunya_ ((nodding))
one.DEF
Arts, one of them.

Ali looks toward Afifa and says that the program is offered by the Faculty of Arts (line 2). Afifa strongly confirms Ali's turn with *Iya Iya* 'Yeah, yeah' in line 3 before Ali

downgrades his claim about the program at line 4 *Kalo ga salah* 'If I'm not mistaken'. Kintamani and Afifa then employ another confirmation over lines 5 to 6. Ali shifts his gaze from Afifa to Kintamani, points toward her (Figure 3.35), and says *Mbak kan Faculty of Arts juga kan?* 'You're from {the faculty of} Arts as well, right?'. Kintamani responds to this turn (line 9), followed by a head nod. After a brief silence, Ali extends his turn by asking another question 'One of {them}, right?' in line 11, which is followed by Kintamani's confirmation.

Ali's turn beginning with *Mbak* 'older sister' in line 8 shifts his focus away from Afifa and towards Kintamani. But what does he accomplish by choosing this address term? This is challenging to analyse, but there are a few key points that can be made. With regard to next speaker selection, both Kintamani and Afifa are from East Java, where this kin term comes from. So, it is equally applicable to them both and does not function to, by itself, select Kintamani as next speaker. As such, Ali accompanies his talk with gaze to Kintamani and a point with his thumb (circled in white in Figure 3.35). Another point is that this address term may be uniquely suited to the topic in question: university status and study. Given that Ali is Kintamani's junior colleague, the choice of *Mbak* may provide a way for Ali to foreground his collegial relationship with Kintamani rather than some other relationship that may be foregrounded through, for example, a pronoun. It may also be relevant that Ali failed to confirm the information with Kintamani earlier in the sequence when she too was knowledgeable about the Faculty of Arts. Indonesian university students conventionally use *mbak* 'older sister', *mas* 'older brother', and *kak* 'older brother or sister', in particular with reference to more senior university colleagues (see Hamdani and Barnes, 2018).

Extract (3.29) offers an example involving another kin term, *tétéh*. We now return to the conversation among the co-workers Adya, Bela, Cita, Elis, and Dewi. As we have noted previously, they are from diverse cultural backgrounds. Cita and Elis

are from West Java and are Sundanese, while the others have different backgrounds (Bataknese, Javanese, and Betawi Malay). Before Extract (3.29), Cita had been telling Dewi and Elis about snacks and coffee breaks that were usually provided by caterers. The turn in focus is in line 17.

(3.29) "The Stall" (16_11_X1_TYP_FH) [15:11-15:26]

- 1 Cita >kalo yang di la tere satu: kue, (.) yang itu
As.for REL in NAME.SHOP one cake REL DIST
As for La Tere, one cake (.) that cake {is}
- 2 enam ribu lima ratus_
six thousand five hundred
sixty-five hundred (Rupiah).
- 3 (.)
- 4 Cita kue yang sushi, (.) yang biasa itu enam- enam ribu lima ratus;
cake that sushi REL regular DIST six thousand five hundred
The cake like sushi (.) the regular {one} is sixty-five hundred.
- 5 (0.4)
- 6 Bela-> .HH EH [TEH,
INTJ older.sister.SUNDANESE
Hey, sister!
- 7 Cita [terus yang kue-kue,(.) roti [sembilan ribu,
then REL RDP.cake bread nine thousand
Then {the} cakes (.) {the} bread is nine thousand (Rupiah).
- 8 Bela [((touches Cita on the shoulder))
- 9 (.)
- 10 Bela ngo[mong-ngomong alku udah bilang sama, (0.7) bu: itu yang=
by.the.way 1SG PERF tell to mother DIST REL
By the way I have spoken to (0.7) Mrs {someone} who
- 11 Cita [°°paling murah°°]
most cheap
{The} cheapest one.
- 12 Bela =ngurusin_koperasi buat (0.1) e:h [kantin itu,]
organise cooperative for INTJ canteen DIST
organises {the} cooperative for (0.1) uh that canteen.
- 13 Elis [°oh iya°]
oh INTJ
Oh, right.
- 14 (0.7)
- 15 Cita kenapa,
WH
What?
- 16 (0.2)
- 17 Bela=> TETEH #udah ngambil ↑kan?
old.sister.SUNDANESE already book PRT
You have already booked {it}, haven't you?
fig #Fig 3.36



((Cita gazes at Bela))

18 (0.6)
 19 Cita siapa,
 WH
 Who?
 20 (.)
 21 Cita °sama siapa,°
 with WH
 With who?
 22 (0.1)
 23 Bela yang pak- mas anton,
 REL father brother NAME
 Which {is} Mr- brother Anton?
 24 (0.5)
 25 Cita belum; ((shaking head))
 not yet
 Not yet.

Over lines 1 to 4, Cita continues to explain the dessert package she had recently ordered for the previous event in her department, which included a steamed cake. After a silence in line 5, Bela gazes toward Cita and starts producing a summons *eh téh* (Hey, sister!) in line 6 but drops out when her addressee (Cita) self-selects in the middle of the summons, mentioning the price of another dessert in line 7 *Terus yang kue-kue (.) roti sembilan ribu* 'Then {the} cakes (.) {the} bread is nine thousand (Rupiah)'. At the end of this turn, Bela makes a second attempt to secure Cita's attention by touching her shoulder. Shortly after Cita shifts her gaze to Bela, Bela announces that she has met with a person who organises a canteen stall, beginning with a "misplacement marker" *ngomong-ngomong* 'By the way' (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 92). This turn is overlapped by Cita's turn extension regarding the cake and Elis's news receipt. At line 14, Cita gazes away from Bela and starts wiping her eyes with a tissue paper before initiating a repair in line 15 *Kenapa?* 'What?'. Bela's repair solution at 17 is rather

indirect. She asks for confirmation whether Cita has already booked the canteen stall (although this is not directly expressed in her turn). In the middle of this turn, Cita returns her gaze to Bela, and they establish mutual gaze, as seen in Figure 3.36. There is a 0.6 second gap in line 18 where Cita continues to wipe her eyes. Following this, Cita produces further other-initiations of repair in lines 19, *Siapa?* 'Who?' and line 21, *Sama siapa?* 'With who?'. Bela's repair solution offers a name *Yang pak-mas Anton* 'Which {is} Mr- brother Anton?'. Cita treats it as sufficient through her response at 25 *belum* 'not yet', indicating that she had not booked it.

Bela's first attempt at securing Cita's reciprocity is a summons at line 6, which also involves the kin term *téh* 'older sister'. Our target turn in line 17, like in Extract (3.28), follows an other-initiation of repair, which indicates that the address term is less oriented to managing issues of next speaker selection. Given that *tétéh* is a Sundanese kin term, it is possible that Bela has chosen to use it because she is discussing something of particular cultural relevance for someone with a Sundanese background. There is little evidence to support this possibility. The matter they are talking about is, however, something that Cita is uniquely responsible for, something that she implicitly acknowledges through her response at line 25. Again, this address term appears to be involved with the fine design of the action for its recipient, rather than managing an issue of participation/turn-taking.

Finally, let us examine Extract (3.30), which is taken from a conversation between Tubi, Ucu, and Ucu's family (Nada, Eman, Asih, and Nana). In this extract, we will see that the address term used is a combination of a kinship term *bang* 'older brother' and a title *haji* 'hajj'.²⁹ Tubi is visiting his old friend from school, Ucu, who has had a stroke and developed aphasia. Just prior to this extract, Tubi, Nana, and Asih

²⁹ A title that is used for a Muslims who have performed the Islamic pilgrimage, The Hajj.

had been talking about a member of Ucu's family who is not yet married. Asih confirms that this family member is her nephew and names him ("Zainul Ali") in line 1.

(3.30) "Haji" (8_1_X1_ATYP_FH) [24:11-24:26]

1 Asih °zainul ali°
NAME
Zainul ali.

2 [(0.2)
[(Nana gazes down, Tubi gazes at Mid-distance))

3 Nana-> >sekarang ↑di mana #bang haji tinggalnya?<
now WH older.brother hajj live.DEF
Where do you live?

fig #Fig 3.37



((Nana gazes at Tubi))

4 (0.4)

5 Tubi di ↑depok
in NAME.CITY
In Depok.

6 (0.3)

7 Asih di sana dia_
there 3SG
He {lives} there.

In this case, the target address term is employed well after the commencement of the turn and TCU, and Nana and Tubi achieve mutual gaze just as she produces it (Figure 3.37). By choosing to use this address term, Nana is signifying who she understands Tubi to be. Very concretely, Nana was Tubi's junior while attending high school, and he is the only one who has performed the Hajj. This unambiguously identifies him as the target of the turn. However, as the only visitor in the interaction, he is the only person for which this question would be sensible. By including this address term, she finds a way of asking this question that is respectful and highlights important parts of her relationship to Tubi.

3.7 Summary of Chapter 3

Chapter 3 has provided an analysis of address terms used in questions, focusing on their role in next speaker selection. It has outlined a variety of functions for address terms, many of which vary with their position a turn. In Sections 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4, I argued that pre-positioned address terms signal the beginning of a new course of action and deal with issues of embodiment and orientation, while post-positioned address terms deal with problems of turn and sequence that emerge during a turn, or they can be used to indicate a person-specific action. In Section 3.6, I then focused on contrastive cases of address terms in questions. I argued that these address terms dealt with finer issues of action formation, including (but not limited to) age and seniority, the topic being discussed, and the role of the recipient in the topic. This means that address terms in questions appear to be employed for managing issues of participation (e.g., turn-taking, sequence, and embodiment) and issues of action formation.

Chapter 4: Touch and explicit next speaker selection

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines touch in Indonesian multiparty interaction, focusing on touches implicated in speaker selection. The first section discusses recent studies examining associations between touch and interactional practices. The second section explores the organisation of touches aligned with questions and describes their role in dealing with problems of mutual orientation, pursuing a response, and enhancing some quality of a person-specific action. The third section summarises the findings of Chapter 4.

Few studies have examined the specific distribution of touch and its functions in everyday conversation. Although Lerner (2003) and Gardner et al. (2009) have mentioned touching in everyday conversation between adults, there is limited information on the systemic reasons that people employ touching. Other recent investigations have examined touch in adults-child interactions (Cekaite, 2015; Cekaite & Kvist Holm, 2017; Goodwin, 2017; Goodwin & Cekaite, 2013), medical examination (Nishizaka, 2007) and tactile sign language (Iwasaki, Bartlett, Manns, & Willoughby, 2019).

Focusing on an institutional setting, Nishizaka (2007) addresses how touching activities are used by midwives in consultations with pregnant women. He examines tasks that might ordinarily be carried out using medical ultrasound, and in which the pregnant woman's visual access is limited. Nishizaka (2007) argues that touch has a vital role in referring to babies and their body parts, which are not visually displayed (i.e., because of the absence of ultrasound). Here, touch is used to indicate the location

of a body part, creating and reference form and action that is a multisensory accomplishment.

Goodwin and Cekaite (2013) highlight the role of touch in directives produced by parents to their children. They argue that parents and children use touching to build “an intercorporeal framework for mutual engagement” (Goodwin and Cekaite, 2013, p. 136). For example, touching can be appended by the speaker when producing a sequence closing turn, such as the closure of a telling (Goodwin and Cekaite, 2013). They indicate that touch can be used to regulate mutual orientation, as well as to “recycle or upgrade the requested action” (Goodwin and Cekaite, 2013, p. 136).

People also employ touch to comfort someone or to build intimacy. According to Cekaite and Kvist Holm (2017), adults may use touch as a form of “haptic soothing” to calm children along with verbal resources. Similarly, touching each other during simultaneous talk can help shape communication within a family. By focusing on tactile activities and acts (e.g., hugs and kisses), Goodwin (2017) links touch in family interactions to functions including reconciliation, comforting, celebration and positive assessment, and grooming. In this case, touch-based acts are done as an independent response to others’ actions.

Another noteworthy study exploring touch from a CA perspective is Denman and Wilkinson (2011). Focusing on the dyadic interaction between a person with traumatic brain injury and his carer, they highlight that touching functions to display ‘emphatic or heightened style’ (2011, p. 249). They also note that these touches occur after negative forms of verbs (e.g., can’t, don’t).

As reported in Chapter 2, the analyses to follow are based on 71 questions that included a touch from a question speaker to a question recipient (or prospective question recipient). 21 of these questions (29%) also included an address term, and 9 questions (13%) had a second person pronoun. The remaining 41 questions (58%)

included touch but no address term nor second person pronoun. Regarding the touches themselves, they include single and multiple touches imparted by various parts of the body (e.g., palms, fingers, shoulders, thighs, and elbows).

4.2 Touch, questions, and explicit next speaker selection

As we have seen in previous chapters, there are various ways to explicitly select a next speaker in conversation, with address terms constituting an unambiguous talk-based practice. As Goodwin and Goodwin (2004) argue, the management of participation is a complex multimodal activity, composed verbal resources and embodied resources. They note that participants exploit “the semiotic resources provided by their bodies to construct a range of relevant displays about orientation toward others and the actions in progress” (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004, p. 239). That is, a speaker and a recipient can negotiate mutual orientation through a variety of bodily-visual actions (Ford & Stickle, 2012), such as gesture (Streeck, 1993) and eye gaze and body positioning (Kidwell, 1997). Touch, although conveyed through a different modality, has the potential to be as (and perhaps more) explicit than any visual or talk-based resource for next speaker selection.

In the analyses to follow, I will demonstrate that touch can play an important role in addressing questions to particular recipients. I will show that touches accompanying questions are used for a variety of distinct functions. Like address terms, these functions span issues of participation and action formation. First, question speakers use touches when there are obvious and significant problems with mutual orientation (Section 4.2.1). Second, touching is also used when pursuing a response from a targeted recipient (Section 4.2.2). Third, and finally, I will show that some quality of an action can encourage the question speaker to touch the question recipient (Section 4.2.3).

4.2.1 Using touch to deal with problems of mutual orientation

One function of touch is to indicate a next speaker when there are problems with mutual orientation, as shown in Extracts (4.1) to (4.5). In these extracts, we will see a number of examples where speakers' and recipients' orientation is interrupted due to their seating arrangements.

Prior to Extract (4.1), Ami and Sari had been talking about common health issues among elderly people. Over lines 1 to 7, Ami and Sari keep mentioning these age-related diseases (e.g., heart attack, stomach ulcers, liver problems, and diabetes), culminating in a collaborative list at lines 6 and 7. The question in focus is produced by Umi at line 13 and is addressed to Ami. The arrowed lines prior to the question show the bodily movements that occur before and within Umi's turn.

(4.1) "I've been asking you!" [12_1_X4_TYP] (00:17:01-00:17:07)

- 1 Ami sakit maag sakit ini [ntar larinya ke] mane-↑ma↑ne;
stomach.ulcer ill this.PROX then run.DEF to everywhere
Stomach ulcer, other illnesses then causing {your} body to ache.
- 2 Sari [he eh]
Uh huh
- 3 (0.2)
- 4 Umi he eh_
Uh huh
- 5 (.)
- 6 Ami ta[kut ke jantung=] =takut ke le[ver_
fear to heart fear to liver
{I'm} afraid {they cause} heart attack, liver problems.
- 7 Sari [°°kencing°° manis] [jant↑tung
diabetes heart
Diabetes Heart attack
- 8 (0.4)
- 9 Sari kuNING
jaundice
Jaundice.
- 10 -> #(0.3)
fig #Fig. 4.1



((Umi glances at Ami))

11 Sari-> °sekarang #mah°
nowadays PRT
Nowadays.

fig #Fig. 4.2



((Umi raises her hand, and starts gazing))

12 -> #(.)
fig #Fig. 4.3



((Umi touches Ami, raises and lowers her hand))

13 Umi -> mak #titi saꞑkit?
mother NAME unwell
{Is} Mrs Titi unwell?

fig #Fig. 4.4



((Mutual gaze, Umi's second touch))

14 (0.3)

15 Sari °he[eh°
Uh huh.

16 Umi [dari TADI ditanyain;
 from just.now PAS.ask
{I} have been asking {you} for ages.

17 (0.8)

18 Ami iye sakit,= >begitu aja die mah ↑mak jarang kelua::r<
 PRT unwell like.that just 2SG PRT mother rarely go.out
Well, she's just like that, mother, {she's} a homebody.

After a silence, Sari lists another symptom, *Kuning* ‘Jaundice’ in line 9, but closes the list in line 11 with *Sekarang mah* ‘Nowadays’. In the middle of this turn, Umi starts to change her body posture and glances at Ami. After an intra-turn pause, Umi keeps gazing at Ami (Figure 4.1) and launches her first touch with an open palm (Figure 4.3). A brief silence begins to emerge at line 12, at the point where Umi’s hand touches Ami’s left arm, and then she raises and lowers her hand to implement a second touch. Just after Umi has touched Ami for the second time, they establish mutual gaze (Figure 4.4) and Umi’s question immediately follows in line 13, *Mak Titi sakit?* ‘Is Mrs Titi unwell?’. There is a gap in line 14 and Sari produces continuer (“Uh huh”). Umi then produces a possible complaint in line 16. Ami deflects this complaint in line 18 after a long gap, telling Umi that she does not know anything about Mrs Titi *Iye sakit begitu aja die mah mak jarang keluar* ‘Well, she’s just like that, mother, {she’s} a homebody’.

In Extract (4.1), Ami and Sari had been exchanging turns, with Umi not bidding for the floor. In addition, Umi’s head, trunk, and legs are positioned away from Ami and Sari. Before touching and questioning Ami, Umi reorients herself into Ami and Sari’s interactional space. Umi’s touches foreshadow her question, and accomplish a shift in the local participation structure (i.e., between Ami and Sari alone) and cause Ami to shift her gaze from Sari to Umi. Note, too, that Umi had asked this question earlier in the conversation but it had previously gone unanswered. This may be part of the basis for her account/complaint at line 16 (and perhaps her touch; see Section 4.2.3).

16 Nana udah meninggal juga=benteng dalem
 already passed.away also NAME.DISTRICT
{He} has already passed away as well, {at} Benteng Dalam.

17 (0.4)

18 Tubi iya benteng dalem= datang ke situ
 INTJ NAME.DISTRICT go there
Yeah Benteng Dalem, {I} went there.

19 (0.4)

20 Nana mm
Mm

21 (0.1)

22 Tubi Ji katanya siapa,
 NAME.TITLE say.3SG.POSS WH
"Ji", he said, "Who {are} you?"³⁰

23 -> #(.)
 fig #Fig 4.5



((Leaning forward, Asih shifts her gaze toward Nana))

24 Asih-> #emang cing oim masih #ada na?<
 actually uncle NAME still exist NAME
Is Uncle Oim still alive, Na?

fig #Fig 4.6a #Fig 4.6b



((Asih raises her left arm))



((Asih touches Nana on the elbow))

25 -> #(0.2)

fig #Fig 4.7



((Nana and Asih establish mutual gaze))

³⁰ Ji is a shortened version of *Haji* 'Hajj', someone who has performed an Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca.

26 Nana cing oim udah ENGGAK
 uncle NAME already NEG
 Uncle Oim has already {passed away}.

27 (0.1)

28 Asih oh udah ga juga ya,
 oh already NEG also PRT
 Oh, he's already passed away as well.

Nana extends her turn in line 5, explaining that her aunt (Asih) told her to come over to Ucu's house. Nana then self-selects in line 9, repeating her previous assertion *Nana ga ngenalin* 'I wouldn't have recognised you'. Here, Nana uses her own name for self-reference (Djenar, 2007). Nana and Tubi then laugh. After a brief silence, Tubi takes the floor at line 14 and tells Nana that he met his old friend (Oim) and could not recognise him. However, he struggles to remember where he last met him. At line 16, Nana responds by saying that Oim *Udah meninggal juga* '{He} has already passed away as well' and indicating Oim's neighbourhood ("*Benteng Dalam*"). After a silence, Tubi provides a receipt ("*Yeah, Benteng Dalem*") and then tells Nana that he went there. After Nana's go-ahead response in line 20, Tubi continues to speak about the day he met Oim, enacting how he did not recognise him at all. There is a brief silence in line 23, where Asih shifts her gaze toward Nana and asks her *Emang cing Oim masih ada Na?* 'Is Uncle Oim still alive, Na?'. After they establish mutual gaze, Nana confirms that Oim has indeed passed away. A moment later, Asih provides an oh-prefaced response in line 28.

I will now focus on Asih's question in line 24 that selects Nana as the next speaker, and also includes a post-positioned address term (*Na*) after she touches Nana's arm. Asih shifts her gaze toward Nana at line 23 (Figure 4.5), but Nana is gazing at Tubi. Asih then produces a question in line 24, enquiring about whether uncle Oim – the person being referred by Nana and Tubi – is still alive or not. Asih is sitting a little behind Nana and, as her turn approaches possible completion, she leans forward and tries to secure Nana's orientation by touching her elbow (Figure 4.6b). The



((Muiz touches Ifan on the shoulder))

- 5 (0.7)
- 6 Ifan saya baru dua puluh lima
1SG just twenty five
I'm just twenty-five.
- 7 (0.1)
- 8 Muiz °°oh dua puluh lima°°
oh twenty five
Oh, twenty-five.
- 9 (0.1)
- 10 Mali aha hah \$bohong dia= udah tiga puluan.\$
aha hah lie 2SG PERF thirties
Aha hah he's lying. {He's} already in his thirties.
- 11 #(0.8)
fig #Fig 4.9



((Ifan and Muiz establish mutual gaze))

- 12 Mali .HH aha [hah
Aha hah
- 13 Ifan [\$ti[ga dua pak↑\$
three two sir
Thirty-two, sir.
- 14 Ifan [((touches Muiz's right knee))
- 15 (0.5)
- 16 Ifan tiga dua_
three two
Thirty-two.

Let us now consider how Muiz engages Ifan as the next speaker. Muiz looks toward Ifan from the beginning of line 3. Muiz then signals a single addressee by producing the second person singular pronoun *kamu* (Figure 4.8). However, Ifan is gazing

forward and Muiz is sitting behind him; so they cannot possibly meet each other's gaze. Just after *kamu*, Muiz adds touch to the wh-question word *berapa* 'how many/how much'. By doing this, he ensures that the second person singular pronoun *kamu* 'you' explicitly targets Ifan. One might query, though, how the unaddressed recipients – Mali and Roni – might come to understand that *kamu* is directed to Ifan. Mali has just revealed his age before this extract, which makes *kamu* a relevant reference form for Muiz to address him with. As Hassall (2013) has noted, *kamu* is mainly used in an aged-oriented way, for people who are "equal or lower status, or to address children" (p. 4). It could potentially be appropriate for Roni, but Muiz's reaching out to Ifan is likely to be visually available to Roni (Figure 4.9). On the other hand, Ifan is less able to see Roni, who he might take as being addressed by Muiz's *kamu* question. That is to say, Ifan is really the only party for whom this question might possibly be ambiguous, and this is exactly what the touch disambiguates.

In examining the first three extracts in this section, we can see that there are obstacles to establishing mutual gaze in each instance. The question speakers must deal with seating arrangements that restrict visual access to their question recipients. This is summarised in Figure 4.10.



Figure 4.10. The seating arrangements of Extracts: 4.1 (left), 4.2 (middle), and 4.3 (right)

In Extract (4.1) (Figure 4.10 left), Sari, Umi, and Ami sit in an L-shaped formation with their backs against the brickwall. Because she experiences rheumatic pains in the middle of the conversation, Umi stretches her legs while sitting. As a result, she changes her body position, leaving a space between her and Ami. She also disengages from the conversation for a while falling out of mutual gaze with the others.

5 Juli [i↑ya] [pertama kali gua belajar motor kan,
INTJ first time 1SG learn motorcycle PRT
Yeah *The first time I learned {to ride}*

6 diajarin temen gua;_
PAS.teach friend 1SG
a motorcycle my friend taught me, you know.

7 #(.)

fig #Fig 4.11



((Rita gazes at Wina and begins to raise her left arm))

8 Rita-> inget ga, yang #kemaren (0.4) pas #kemaren di (0.3)
remember NEG REL yesterday when yesterday in
Do {you} remember on the other day when (0.4) when the other day in (0.3)

fig #Fig 4.12a



#Fig 4.12b



((Rita gazes at Juli, keeps arm up)) ((Rita gazes at Wina, keeps arm up))

9 -> mobil truk #gua berhenti?
car truck 1SG stop
{there was} a truck {and} I stopped {the motorcycle}?

fig #Fig 4.13



((Rita touches Wina on the knee))

10 (0.6)

11 Wina #ma↑NA:?
WH
Where?

fig #Fig 4.14

on the knee (Figure 4.13). They establish mutual gaze (Figure 4.14) in line 11 as Wina produces an other-initiation of repair *Mana?* 'Where/Which one?'. Shortly after a silence at line 12, Wina again attends to her bag. Rita begins a repair solution at line 13, but has difficulty progressing her turn. She pauses for 0.7 seconds, and touches Wina with her finger. Wina takes the floor and supplies a place reference (*Nida's place*) in line 14 which she then corrects at line 17.

Rita's use of touch alongside her question targets Wina's shifting gaze over the course of the question. Interestingly, just prior to the question, Rita raises her left arm and keeps it up. She then begins the question and shifts her gaze between Juli and Wina as she produces it (Figures 4.12a and 4.12b). As Rita develops her turn, Wina gazes down to her bag. This means that Rita is less able to use gaze to explicitly select Wina as next speaker. Note also that the question does not contain a second person pronoun or address term. With her touch, Rita both signals that Wina is her addressed recipient and solicits the return of her gaze (which happens at line 11).

The final extract in this section sees a question speaker accomplish explicit selection across different modalities simultaneously. That is, she finds an economical solution to an interesting problem with mutual orientation. Extract (4.5) is drawn from a conversation between three friends; Juju, Mimi, and Yani. The participants are seated in a semicircular F-formation in front of a school building and are waiting to pick up their children. Extract (4.5) is from first 30 seconds of the video recording. The focus will be on the arrowed turn (line 4).

(4.5) "Meatballs" (21_11_X2_TYP_FH) [00:03-00:35]

- 1 Mimi yuk=
 come on
 Come on!
- 2 Yani =mula[i
 start
 {Let's} start!
- 3 Juju [udah,=
 already
 Already?

4 Yani-> =#ngomong °apa°,
 speak what
 What {are we going} to talk about?
 fig #Fig 4.15



((Yani gazes at Juju and touches Mimi on the thigh))

5 (0.1)
 6 Juju udah_
 already
 Okay.
 7 [(0.4)
 ((Juju tidies up hijab, Mimi gazes at mobile, Yani gazes at Juju))
 8 Juju >terserah yani<
 up.to NAME
 Up to you.
 9 (.)
 10 Juju entar pulang makan apa yani?
 soon go.home eat WH NAME
 What will {you} eat after {this}, Yani?
 11 (.)
 12 Juju soTENG?
 NAME.FOOD
 Soteng?³¹
 13 (0.7)
 14 Yani makan baso ge: ↑ayuk,
 eat meatball PRT let's.go
 Let's eat meatball soup!

Over lines 1 to 2, Mimi and Yani initiate the conversation by saying to each other that the video recording has already begun. Juju checks her mobile and asks whether they are ready for a conversation at line 3. Following this, Yani gazes at Juju, touches Mimi, and asks a question *Ngomong apa?* ‘What {are we going} to talk about?’ (see Figure 4.15). Juju then acknowledges that the recording has already started at line 6, and then raises her head. Yani continues to gaze at Juju and Mimi gazes at her mobile. Juju then counters Yani’s question in line 8, saying *Terserah Yani* ‘Up to you’. Juju,

³¹ Sundanese meatball soup with cucumber.

who is still looking at her mobile, initiates a new topic by asking Yani about the food that she will eat after picking up her child, and suggests *soteng* at line 12.

Let us now consider how Yani directs her talk, her gaze, and her touch alongside her question. First, we should note that Yani uses the verb *ngomong* ‘speak’ and *apa* ‘what’ but does not include a pronoun in her question (e.g., the first person plural *kita* ‘we’). As shown in Figure 4.15, Yani economically utilises her voice, gaze, and hand to simultaneously allocate the floor to either Juju or Mimi. Both Mimi and Juju are attending to their mobile phones, and are therefore not gazing at Yani (or each other). Since Yani is seated next to Mimi, Yani is able to touch her thigh as she begins her question, offering an explicit signal to Mimi that she is an addressed recipient. In addition, Yani projects her voice in the direction of Juju and gazes towards her. Alongside the absence of a pronoun, this might be sufficient for Juju to take herself as an addressed recipient of the question. (Juju is also unlikely to be able to perceive Yani’s touch to Mimi). Indeed, this is what happens, and Juju responds to Yani’s question. Conversely, her touch is ineffective in reorienting and selecting Mimi. By exploiting touch, gaze, and voice projection, Yani is able to attempt next speaker selection across different modalities at the same time.

In summary, this section has demonstrated that touch can be used to manage problems with mutual orientation between question speakers and question recipients. It may be particularly useful when people are oriented in formations that prevent mutual gaze. (Of course, the option of touch is only available when they are within reaching distance of one another). One of the key outcomes of touch in these examples, alongside selecting a next speaker and gaining a response to the question, is soliciting the gaze of the question recipient.

4.2.2 Using touch to pursue a response

This section examines how speakers employ touch as a device to pursue a response. In these instances, question speakers use touch to pursue outcomes related to sequence organisation and next speaker selection; and sometimes both. That is, their use of touch points towards issues of conditional relevance and the preference for selected next speakers to take the floor (Schegloff, 2007; Stivers & Robinson, 2006). In some cases, touch can upgrade the semiotic resources employed previously (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). We will also see that, when pursuing a response in multiparty interaction, touch can provide a subtle means for changing the addressed recipient (i.e., selecting a different next speaker) and pursuing a second pair part.

Extract (4.6) provides an example of using touch to pursue a second pair part, and is taken from the conversation involving the participants who are waiting to pick up their children at school (i.e., Juju, Mimi, and Yani). Before this extract, they have been discussing a problem of Yani's; specifically, someone accused her of starting rumours about some other parents. At line 1, Mimi proposes an altogether new topic: the hijab colours they are going to wear at the next student carnival. Juju and Yani take up this topic in lines 3 and 5, and Yani proposes that they wear the same colour. The sequence in focus commences around line 28.

(4.6) "Change the topic!" (20 11 X9 TYP FH) [16:27-16:50]

- [illegible]

8 Mimi =iya ha hah aha hah
INTJ
Yeah, aha hah hah.

9 Yani yo yo [ah kerudungan
let's let's INTJ hijab
Let's {wear the same} hijab!

10 Yani [((touches Mimi on the arm))

11 (0.2)

12 Juju merah,
red
Red?

13 (0.3)

14 Mimi kerudungnya↑ (.) [>merah [ya,
hijab.DEF red PRT
The hijab (.) {is} red, right?

15 Mimi [((gazes at Yani, mutual gaze))

16 Juju [merah,
red
Red?

17 (.)

18 Mimi merah marun ya,<=
maroon PRT
Maroon, right?

19 Juju =merah marun_
maroon
Maroon.

20 Mimi =merah [marun=[°ntar gua°-
maroon soon 1SG
Maroon. I'm going-

21 Yani [°merah marun° ((nodding))
maroon
Maroon.

22 Juju [o:h udah keluar
oh already leave
Oh, {they} are already leaving.

23 Juju [((gazes at mid-distance))

24 [(0.3)
[((Mimi and Yani gaze at each other))

25 Mimi EH ITEM, (0.3) [item,
INTJ black black
Uh, black (0.3) black?

26 Yani [((Yani moves her body & gazes back over her shoulder))

27 -> # (0.2)

fig #Fig 4.16



((Mimi shifts gaze to Juju, Juju gazes mid-distance))

28 Mimi-> item bagus #ga? =item,
 black good NEG black
Is {the} black {hijab} good or not? Black?
 fig #Fig 4.17



((Mimi touches Juju on the thigh))

29 -> #(0.4)

fig #Fig 4.18



((Juju and Mimi establish mutual gaze))

30 Juju item LAH=sesuai TANGAN_
 black PRT suit arm
Black, of course, suitable to arms.

31 (.)

32 Juju kalo ke sini mah kelelep [ya,
 if to PRX.ADV PRT drown PRT
If {matching with} this, {it} won't fit, you know.

33 Mimi [sama rata=iya_
 equal INTJ
Similar. Yeah.

Juju suggests black as a choice of colour at line 7, and then gazes at Yani and offers a new colour *merah* 'red' in line 12. There is no response from Yani at this moment. After a silence, Mimi shifts her gaze toward Yani and ask for confirmation, *Kerudungnya (.) merah ya?* 'The hijab (.) {is} red, right?' in line 14. Then, they establish mutual gaze. Again, this turn receives no response. Mimi takes the floor, looks at Yani, and offers a new colour ("Maroon, right?") in line 18. This commences a series of receipts, with both Juju and Yani responding (lines 19 and 21).

At line 22, Juju gaze away past Yani, and asserts that the students are leaving the class soon, *Oh udah keluar* 'Oh, {they} are already leaving'. Mimi gazes toward Yani at line 25 and proposes black once more, *Eh item* 'Uh, black'. At this moment, Yani turns her body and looks toward the students. As such, Mimi shifts her gaze toward Juju (Figure 4.16) and asks her, *Item bagus ga item?* 'Is {the} black {hijab} good or not?' in line 28, adding a touch just before her second question *item* 'Black?' (Figure 4.17). After the touch, Juju looks toward Mimi. Juju and Mimi establish mutual gaze at line 29 (Figure 4.18). After the brief silence, Juju answers at lines 30 to 32 that the black hijab goes with the black shirt they will wear, which Mimi then agrees with at line 33.

I will now focus on Mimi's shift from Yani to Juju at line 27 through 29. Faced with Yani's unresponsiveness and disengagement, Mimi gazes to Juju and commences a new version of the turn previously addressed to Yani via gaze. However, she finds Juju gazing in the same direction as Yani. Mimi produces a two-part TCU at line 28 ("Is {the} black {hijab} good or not? Black?"), with her touch arriving at a point of possible syntactic completion, and as Juju continues to gaze away from her. The negative format also provides some evidence of response pursuit, and the possibility of a dispreferred response. Mimi's touch works perfectly, and then they achieve mutual gaze (Figure 4.18), followed by Juju's responses. It is also worth mentioning that Juju prioritises returning her gaze toward Mimi over responding (i.e., she does this first). Perhaps, this offers some evidence of Juju orienting to a summoning-type function of the touch (i.e., the person selecting aspect) being a higher priority than providing a response. Nonetheless, Extract (4.6) demonstrates that the question speaker used a touch in pursuit of a response to her question. In doing so, she shifted the question recipient in an unambiguous but subtle way when her original recipient was unwilling to respond.

In Extract (4.7) we return to the conversation between Ical, Aldi, Anis, and Iyan outside a shopping centre. Prior to this extract, Aldi, Anis, and Iyan had been talking about a new computer Aldi and Anis had recently bought. Ical asked Aldi and Anis where they bought it, and then Aldi tells Ical that they chose “Core i3” as a processor. The turns in focus are at lines 23 to 25, with Ical asking a question to Anis before re-addressing it to Aldi.

(4.7) “WD” (19_11_X20_TYP_FH) [08:16-08:46]

1 Ical ke↑NA[PA jadi] i THREE¿
WH BE brand
Why is it "{core}i3"?

2 Iyan [abi:s]
cost
{It} costs-

3 (0.9)

4 Ical tapi ramnya¿
but ram.DEF
But {how about} the RAM?

5 (0.4)

6 Anis ram [delapan_
RAM eight
8 {GB} of RAM.

7 Aldi [ram delapan,
RAM eight
8 {GB} of RAM.

8 (0.4)

9 Ical enggak- ininya_ (.) apa (.) hardisknya¿
NEG this.PROX.DEF WH haddisk.DEF
No, I mean (.) what (.) the hard disk?

10 (0.5)

11 Anis hard disk [limaratus_
five.hundred
{The} hard disk {is} 500{GB}

12 Aldi [hard disknya make, (0.5) ini apa (0.5) .HH blue
hard.disk.DEF use this.PROX WH NAME.BRAND
The hard disk uses (0.5) what's that? (0.5) .HH blue (a brand)

13 (0.3)

14 Aldi /WEDE/ BLUE_
WD
WD Blue (a brand)

15 (0.6)

16 Iyan >/widi,/=[/widi,/ <
WD WD
WD, WD.

17 Aldi [>/widi=[/widi/<
WD WD
WD, WD.

18 Ical [iya /wede/ si itu,
INTJ WD DET DIST
Yeah WD, {just like} that {person}-

19 (1.4)
 20 Aldi iya =[makenya_]
 INTJ use.DEF
Yeah, {we} use that.
 21 Anis [>/wede/ blue<]
 WD blue
WD Blue.
 22 (0.2)
 23 Ical-> #wede téh apa,
 WD PRT.SUNDANESE WH
What is WD?
 fig #Fig 4.19



((Ical and Anis establish mutual gaze))

24 (0.1)
 25 Ical=> APA,(.)#APA singka#tan #nya?
 WH WH abbreviation DEF
What? (.) What does it stand for?
 fig #Fig 4.20a #Fig 4.20b #Fig 4.20c



((Ical touches Aldi three times, on the thigh & the knee))

26 (0.1)
 27 Aldi °°ga tau°°
 NEG know
{I} don't know.
 28 (0.1)
 29 Aldi ga \$tau [gua\$
 NEG know 1SG
I don't know.
 30 Ical [Aha hah
Aha hah.

Ical asks Anis *Tapi ramnya?* 'How about the RAM'? (Random Access Memory)

in line 4. Anis and Aldi both answer, indicating the size of the RAM over lines 6 and 7.

After a silence, Ical carries out a third position repair (Schegloff, 1992), maintains his gaze toward Anis, and asks him about the hard disk drive at line 9. In line 11, Ical answers, treating the question as referring to the size of the drive (“500{GB}”), but Aldi also answers, treating the question as being about the drive more generally. Aldi returns his gaze toward Ical and extends his turn in line 14 by specifying the brand (“WD Blue”). After a silence, Iyan tries to correct Aldi’s pronunciation of the brand name, which is incorrect in line 16 (“Wi Di”). Ical then tries to link the pronunciation of the brand name to a person, *Si itu* ‘That person’, but he fails, leaving a 1.4-seconds silence in line 19. At line 20 and 21, Aldi and Anis reconfirms the drive they have chosen. After a brief silence at line 22, Ical shifts gaze from Iyan to Anis, establishes mutual gaze, and then asks what WD stands for at line 23 (Figure 4.19). Ical then shifts his gaze to Aldi and revises his question in line 25, touching Aldi three times as he does so. Aldi responds with an account over lines 27 to 29, telling Ical that he does not know about the acronym.

Ical’s question does not receive an immediate response at line 24. He gazes at Anis as he delivers his question, but Anis shows no signs of responding. In addition, his second try at the question suggests that he identified potential problems with the specificity of the question. He therefore made the acronym its focus in the next version at line 25. Alongside the revisions to his talk, Ical shifts his gaze, and touches Aldi’s right thigh three times (Figure 4.20). With these touches, Ical deals with the initial lack of uptake from the recipient he initially indicated with gaze, potential problems with the design of his turn, and strongly indicates to Aldi that he is the person who should provide an answer. That is to say, these touches are central for readdressing his turn, and selecting someone else to speak next. (There may also be a dimension of managing Anis’ previous disalignment with his action; see Section 4.2.3). These touches are

successful in that Aldi takes the floor and provides a response, but it takes the form of an account for not knowing the answer.

The next example is from a conversation between neighbours: Ima, Yaya, Titi, and Yuda. Ima, Titi, and Yaya are sitting together in the local shop that Ima runs. Yuda is also present, but is further away, outside of the camera shot. Before Extract (4.8), they had been talking about the misuse of *Kartu Jakarta Pintar* ‘Jakarta education cards’ by parents.³² As the extract begins, Ima topicalises the research recording.

(4.8) “Ask him!” (7_12_X10_TYP_FH) [16:15–16:25]

- 1 Ima udah belum?
 done not.yet
 {*Is it*} *done yet?*
- 2 (0.5)
- 3 Yaya heh,
 Heh?
- 4 (0.3)
- 5 Yaya udah duapuluh menit;
 done twenty minute
 {*Is it*} *done for twenty minutes?*
- 6 (1.4)
- 7 Yuda teꞤRUS
 go.on
 Go on.
- 8 #(1.3)
- fig #Fig 4.21



((Yaya returns gaze at Ima, Ima gazes mid-distance))

- 9 Yaya-> °sampe jam° #°°bera #pa,°°
 until hour WH
 What time {does it} end?

³² A subsidised educational program launched by the local government.

fig

#Fig 4.22a #Fig 4.22b



((Yaya leans forward, mutual gaze)) ((Yaya touches Ima on the knee))

- 10 [(0.2)
[((Ima raises her eyebrows and shifts her gaze to her brother (off-screen)))
- 11 Yaya-> ji,=
TITLE
Ji (Haji).
- 12 Ima =berapa menit [lagi?
WH minute more
How many minutes {are} left?
- 13 Yaya [\$tanya\$
ask
Ask {him}!
- 14 (0.6)
- 15 Yuda kurang, (.) kurang duapuluh menit;
less less twenty minute
Less (.) less than twenty minutes.

Over lines 1 to 5, Ima, Yaya, and Yuda are involved in a brief exchange about the duration of the recording. Ima's question at line 1 is directed to Yuda, as is Yaya's turn at line 5. After a long silence in line 6, Yuda says that they should continue recording in line 7, *terus* 'Go on'. Although this fits Ima's question, it does not conform with Yaya's. There is another silence in line 8, in which Yaya returns her gaze toward Ima (Figure 4.21). Yaya maintains her gaze and quietly asks Ima what time they will finish the recording, *Sampe jam berapa?* 'What time {does} it end?'. Here, Yaya leans her body forward. They establish mutual gaze at the middle of the turn, and Yaya touches Ima on the knee just before her turn reaches possible completion (Figure 4.22b). At line 10, Ima raises her eyebrows and then shifts her gaze in the direction of her brother Yuda, who is off-camera. Yaya treats this behaviour as non-responsive and, as a result, Yaya adds a post-positioned address term (*Ji*) and produces an imperative turn,

Tanya! 'Ask {him}!' in line 13. In response, Yuda finally offers a time reference at line 15.

The problems that emerge in this sequence are related to Yuda's non-confirming response to Yaya's question at line 5. Yaya deals with this issue by redirecting the question to Ima (who herself had asked a similar question to Yuda). Yaya's quiet delivery, combined with the possible dismissiveness of Yuda's turn at 7, convey a possible sensitivity to the question; perhaps due to Yuda's answer, or even the recording itself. Nonetheless, her touch to Ima conveys an explicit signal to Ima that it is her responsibility to address Yaya's unanswered question. Yaya then makes this responsibility even more explicit with the post-positioned address term and the directive. Ima eventually yields and asks Yuda once more.

We remain with Titi, Ima, and Yaya in Extract (4.9). Before this extract, the focus of the talk had been on issues surrounding subsidised liquefied petroleum gas (LPG), and Titi had asked Ima how to source an LPG container. There are two questions with accompanying touch in this extract, and both are produced by Titi. We will focus on the second one at line 23.

(4.9) "No cook" (7 12 X1 TYP FH) [00:28-00:48]

1 Titi tuh gi[mane tuh,] =kalo seumpam- (.) kan katanya mau diLANGKain=
DIST WH DIST if PRT say.DEF will PAS.reduce
How about, If- (.) you know, {it's} said that {it} will be

2 Yaya [°sering°]
 often
 Often {came}.

3 Titi =tuh ye,
 DIST PRT
 a shortage, right?

4 (0.4)

5 Ima ((nodding))

6 (0.1)

7 Titi NAH terus kita gantinya pake APAan?
 PRT next 3PL replace.DEF use WH
 So what are we going to use?

8 (0.7)

9 Ima ya:: [balik] lagi ke minyak tanah;
 PRT back again kerosene
 Well, {we're} going to use kerosene again.

10 Yaya [°°hmm°°]
Hmm

11 (.)

12 Yaya A hah=
A hah.

13 Titi =↑KA:[LO MINYAK] TANAH[nya [ADA JU]GA
 if kerosene.DEF BE also
If the kerosene is available.

14 Ima [((gazes away from Titi))

15 Yaya [A HA HAH] [minyaknya,]
 A ha hah oil.DEF
A ha hah. The oil-

16 (.)

17 Titi-> kalo ga ade #↑GIMANA ya?=
 if NEG BE WH NAME
What if it's not {available}, Ya?

fig #Fig 4.23



((Titi touches Yaya with her finger))

18 Yaya =minyak #tanah kan ↑ma[HAL,
 kerosene PRT expensive
Kerosene is expensive, you know.

fig #Fig 4.24



((Titi and Yaya establish mutual gaze))

19 Titi [na::h=
 PRT
I See!

20 Yaya =orang ma[na:-
 people WH
Where people-

21 Titi [minyak tanah aja per liter bisa, (.) berapa ↑duit itu,
 kerosene just per litre can WH money DIST
The price of kerosene per litre can (.) how much is that?

22 (.)

23 Titi-> yang duluan aja #berapa duit?
 REL previous just WH money
How much did it cost before?

fig #Fig 4.25



((Titi touches Yaya with her finger))

24 # (0.5)

fig #Fig 4.26



((Titi and Yaya establish mutual gaze))

25 Titi se[LITERNYA itu?
one.litre.DEF DIST
Per litre?

26 Yaya [tiga belas_
thirteen
Thirteen {thousand}.

At line 1, Titi gazes toward Ima and asks whether a rumored shortage of LPG is likely to happen. In response, Ima nods in line 5. Titi maintains her gaze toward Ima and launches another question *Nah kita gantinya pake apaan?* ‘So, what are we going to use?’. Ima gazes away from Titi, shifts her gaze toward Yaya, and answers that they are going to use kerosene, just as they did before. In line 12, Yaya gazes at Ima and then laughs. At line 13, Titi – who is still gazing at Ima – raises her voice, and responds *Kalo minyak tanahnya ada juga* ‘If the kerosene is available’.

At line 17, Titi turns her gaze toward Yaya (who is gazing at Ima), touches her on the arm, and asks her a question *Kalo ga ade gimana Ya?* ‘What if it’s not {available}, Ya?’. Yaya swiftly turns toward Titi, establishes mutual gaze (Figure 4.24),

and then responds by noting that the kerosene is expensive, which Titi receipts with a minimal post-expansion *nah* 'I See!' in line 19. At line 21, Titi gazes toward Ima and asks her about the price of kerosene but Ima does not attend to Titi; she is gazing to mid-distance at neither Titi nor Yaya. At line 23, Titi pursues the question by changing its recipient. She shifts her gaze toward Yaya, touches Yaya on the elbow with her finger (Figure 4.25), and then asks her *Yang duluan aja berapa duit?* 'How much did it cost before?'. Yaya shifts her gaze toward Titi, and they establish a mutual gaze at line 24 (Figure 4.26) after a 0.5-seconds silence. Again, Titi pursues a response at line 25 with the turn increment *Seliternya itu?* 'Per litre?' and Yaya answers in overlap.

As noted above, there are two questions produced by Titi that are accompanied with touch. The first instance at line 17 is akin to the touches presented in Section 4.2.1. That is, the participants are seated such that Yaya cannot gaze to both Titi and Ima. The touch that accompanies this question deals with this problem of mutual orientation. Thus, Titi uses touch to compensate for the unavailability of gaze (alongside a post-positioned address term) to select Yaya as next speaker.

At line 23, however, Titi's touch aims to pursue a response to her question from line 21. As she produces her question in line 21, Titi is gazing at Ima, but Ima is not returning her gaze. (It is also important to note that Yaya aborts her turn at line 20 because Titi overlaps her). Like Ical in Extract (4.7), Titi also displays some orientation to a problem with her turn design, refocusing the question to the previous cost of kerosene. With the touch added to this question, she shifts the addressed recipient from Ima to Yaya, who has previously displayed knowledge of the price of kerosene. Note too that Yaya gazes toward Ima as Titi produce the second version of her question, and prioritises shifting her gaze to Titi over responding. Again, Titi's touch is effective at gaining Yaya's orientation, readdressing her question, and seeking a response to it.



((Dini touches Turi twice on the knee with an open palm))

8 Dira iya_
INTJ
Yeah.

9 (.)

10 Dini-> #>apa¿=ini [#pohon apa¿<
WH this.PROX tree WH
What? What tree is this?
fig #Fig 4.29a #Fig 4.29b



((Dini touches Turi twice on the knee with an open palm))

11 Dira [ini pohon kipas tau,
this.PROX ginkgo tree know
This is a ginkgo tree, you know.

12 #(0.3)
fig #Fig 4.30



((Dini gazes at Turi while Turi gazes upward))

13 Turi ↑e:::h (.) ga tau po[hon apaan;
INTJ NEG know tree WH
Uh (.) I don't know what tree {this} is.

14 Dini [mana buahnya SIH, =orang ga ada [bu:ah,]
WH fruit.DEF PRT in.fact NEG BE fruit
Where is the fruit? There is actually none.

15 Turi [ADA]
BE
{They} are.

16 (.)

17 Turi bulet-bulet= >NOH NOH =kayak gitu<
 round DIST DIST like.that
 Round shapes, that one, just like that.

At line 4, all the participants look at the tree, and Dini asks about the type of the tree in the following line, and touches Turi alongside the question word *apaan*. At line 6, Dira overlaps Dini and asks the same question. Dini continues to touch Turi between lines 7 and 10, with further touches coinciding with another production of this question *Apa? Ini pohon apa?* ‘What? What tree is this?’ (Figures 29a and 29b). Dira again overlaps and offers an answer by nominating a kind of tree (a ginkgo tree) in line 11. After a brief silence, Turi keeps her gaze toward the tree and produces an account for not answering, *Eh (.) ga tau pohon apaan* ‘Uh, I don’t know what type of tree {it} is’ in line 13.

Dini’s first touch alongside her question in line 5 (Figure 4.27b) occurs as both she and Turi gaze upwards at the tree. This touch compensates for their lack of mutual orientation, selecting Turi as the targeted recipient of her question and next speaker. Dira also asks a similar question at line 6, but it is not specifically addressed to anyone. Turi continues to inspect the tree, and Dini touches her multiple times in the moments that follow (Figures 4.28, 4.29a, and 4.29b). These touches display a continued orientation to Turi providing an answer, despite Dira offering a candidate type of tree. It is possible that this pursuit of an answer from Turi relates to her claim that the tree has fruit. Immediately after Turi’s account, Dini asserts that the tree has no fruit. So perhaps Dini’s questioning was providing Turi with an opportunity to support (or abandon) this claim. Nonetheless, Dini’s touches from line 7 onwards (and her gaze at line 12, see Figure 4.30) display an orientation towards pursuing a response from her selected next speaker, pressuring Turi to take the floor and produce a turn. In summary, then, Dini’s first touch at line 5 functions to address Turi because of

problems with mutual orientation, and her subsequent touches function to pursue a response.

In Section 4.2.2, I have shown that touch may be used by question speakers to pursue responses from question recipients. Touch appears to be a highly effective strategy when resources like “interrogative lexico-morphosyntax, interrogative prosody, recipient-focused epistemicity, and speaker gaze” (Stivers & Rossano, 2010, p. 4) have not been sufficient to gain a prompt response. It also seems that touch offers a subtle strategy for readdressing questions, shifting the responsibility for responding in a way that is clear to the new recipient, but without necessarily making this explicit to the previous one. Interestingly, however, touched recipients may prioritize returning gaze to the speaker over providing a response to the question.

4.2.3 Contrastive and complex cases of using touch

This section examines some contrastive and complex cases of touch. In this section, I will present some examples of touch that appear to be encouraged by a quality of action that is being implemented with the question. The final two extracts in this section offer complex cases of touch.

In Extract (4.11), we return to the neighbours Ami, Sari, and Umi. Just before this extract had been talking about fasting for *Mawlid*.³³ Ami had forgotten about *Mawlid*, and she tells Sari that she would have been happy to fast if Sari had reminded her beforehand. In the middle of the conversation, Sari – the only one who is currently fasting – forgets that she is fasting and accidentally has water. The targeted turn is at line 15. Ami addresses a question to Sari, and raises a new topic.

(4.11) “He’s alright” (12_1_X14_TYP_FH) [09:38–10:09]

1 Ami >udeh mak ngopi aja= ga usah puasa< [↑la::h,]
alright mother drink.coffee just NEG have fast PRT
Okay mother, just drink coffee, don’t fast.

³³ *Mawlid* is the birth of Prophet Muhammad.

2 Sari [iya udah]
INTJ alright
Yeah, right.

3 (0.4)

4 Sari ENGGAK =aku ENGGAK
NEG 1SG NEG
No, I {am} not.

5 (0.1)

6 Sari >udeh ga apa-apa kalo lupa<
all.good if forget
All good, if {you} forget.

7 (0.1)

8 Sari >sedikit baru- °un[tung° °°tadi°°<
few just luckily just.now
Just few- luckily just now.

9 Ami [NI TADI beli apa?an?
this.PROX just.now buy WH
What did {you} buy?

10 (0.4)

11 Sari CAMpuran;
mixed
Mixed {groceries}.

12 (0.3)

13 Ami [oh:: mau- gitu,
oh want like.that
Oh, want- I see.
[((gazes down))]

14 [(0.3)
[((Ami shifts her gaze at Sari))]

15 Ami-> HENDRA #gimana kabarnya?
NAME WH news.3SG.POSS
How is Hendra {these days}?
fig #Fig 4.31



((Ami touches Sari on the arm))

16 (.)

17 Ami baik?
good
Good?

18 (.)

19 Sari mendingan #kali_
better perhaps
{He's} better, perhaps.
fig #Fig 4.32



- 20 (.)
- 21 Sari BELUM nelpon lagi;
 not.yet call.up again
 {I} haven't called {him} up again.
- 22 (.)
- 23 Sari °°ga tau°°
 NEG know
 {I} don't know.

Ami begins to tease Umi in line 1, telling her to keep drinking coffee and to not think about fasting. After a silence, Sari claims over lines 4 to 8 that it is forgiven if she drinks water mistakenly in the middle of fasting. Ami then gazes down, looks to Sari's left, touches a plastic bag belonging to Sari, and asks her what kind of things she has inside. In line 11, Sari leans backward and answers the question, saying *campuran* 'mixed {groceries}' which Ami receipts ("Oh, want- I see"). At line 15, Ami turns her gaze to Sari – who is gazing at Umi – and asks a question about Sari's child, Hendra, touching her as she does so (Figure 4.31). Ami extends her turn in line 17, *Baek?* 'Good?'. Sari gazes toward Ami (Figure 4.32) and responds, answering that she assumes he is better. She also accounts for not being very sure by saying that she has not called him (line 21), and then adds *Ga tau* '{I} don't know'.

In Extract (4.11), Ami and Sari have been exchanging turns with one another with Umi positioned off to the side. Although Sari is gazing towards Umi as the question begins, her body remains broadly oriented towards Ami. In addition, the topic Ami is raising – Sari's son – has the potential to tacitly select Sari as next speaker, and his

name is in fact the first item in the turn. However, she chose to touch Sari alongside her topic-initiating question. Why might this be? Evidently, Sari's response to Ami's question indicates that Hendra may have been, in some way, not so good in the past. Her lack of expansion on the topic and claims not to know keep open the possibility of trouble. Put simply, this appears to be a delicate topic. Ami's touch might therefore address this delicacy (and the possibility of disalignment and disaffiliation), softening the question and showing Ami's genuine, perhaps caring interest in it.

Extract (4.12) is from a conversation between some parents who are waiting to pick up their children from school; that is, Juju, Mimi, and Yani. Prior to this extract, Juju had been asking Yani about the food she would eat after school. The focus of attention will be on Juju's turn in line 6.

(4.12) "Meatballs III" (20_11_X5_TYP_FH) [00:10-00:22]

- 1 Yani makan baso ge: ayuk,
eat meatball.soup PRT let's.go
Let's eat meatballs!
- 2 [(0.9)
[(Yani gazes at Juju then gazes at Mimi))
- 3 Mimi ba[so?
Meatball.soup
Meatball soup?
- 4 Juju [>doyok sore< ga dagang ya;
NAME afternoon NEG trade PRT
Doyok (a meatball stall) is closed in the afternoon, right?
- 5 (0.8)
- 6 Juju-> >eh [kema]#ren< kata: mimi, (.)baso #di mana yang enak mi?
INTJ yesterday say NAME meatball WH REL tasty NAME
Hey, you were telling {me} yesterday (.) Where was {the} tasty meatballs, Mi?

fig

#Fig 4.33a



((Juju leans backward,
gazes at Mimi, mutual gaze))

#Fig 4.33b



((Juju touches Mimi on the
thigh))

- 7 Yani [iya]
INTJ
Yeah.

- 8 (0.7)

9 Mimi baso [aku ↑mah, (0.7) bukan (0.1)]baso itu di rawa JULANG
 meatball 1SG PRT NEG meatball DIST LOC NAME.PLACE
The meatballs I mentioned (0.7) not (0.1) the meatballs are in Rawa Julang.

10 Yani [↑eh mana,= aku belum maka:n↑]
 INTJ WH 1SG NEG eat
Uh, where? I've never tried {them}.

11 (.)

12 Mimi aku belum nyoba[in↑]
 1SG NEG try
I've never tried {them}.

13 Juju [#o::h
 Oh
 fig #Fig 4.34



((Juju keeps her hand off Mimi))

At line 1, Yani gazes at Juju and produces a proposal, *Makan baso ge ayuk!* 'Let's eat meatballs!'. Mimi gazes at Yani, responds by saying *Baso?* 'Meatballs?', and then she returns her gaze to her mobile. Juju overlaps this turn and suggests that *Doyok* (a meatball stall) will be closed in the afternoon in line 4 (which Yani agrees with at line 7). After a silence, Juju changes her body posture, leans backward, produces a turn, and establishes mutual gaze with Mimi in the middle of her turn (Figure 4.33a). Juju then continues, and asks Mimi about the tasty meatball soup she had mentioned the day before, touching her during this question (Figure 4.33b). After a silence, Mimi answers the question, telling Juju that the meatball soup is in *Rawa Julang* (a sub-district in West Cikarang). At line 10, Yani gazes at Juju and overlaps Mimi's turn, explaining that she has never tried the meatball soup, *Eh mana? aku belum makan* 'Uh, Where? I've never tried {them}'. Mimi then asserts that she has not tried that meatball soup either.

Juju's use of touch in this extract is interesting because, prior to her question, she has already established mutual gaze with Mimi, and addressing has seemingly already been accomplished. One possible motivation for this touch is the substantial lack of uptake from Mimi from lines 1 to 6. She has been gazing at her phone, has failed to respond to Yani's proposal, and has not responded to Juju's confirmation-seeking turn. In addition, she does not display any clear recognition of the direction Juju is taking the talk in at the beginning of line 6, despite being explicitly referred to in the turn, *Eh kemaren kata mimi* 'Hey, you were telling {me} yesterday. Juju may therefore employ touch to manage this disalignment, and add some sort of personalised salience to the question.

A similar example is provided in Extract (4.13). Here, there are again somewhat mild issues of mutual orientation that converge with the beginning of a topic; in this case, a salacious or humorous one. Extract (4.13) is drawn from the conversation between the Ari, Jojo, and Dedi. Before this extract, they have been talking about flooding in Jakarta and heavy rain in Bandung. The targeted turn is in line 6, with Dedi questioning Jojo's knowledge of a recent scandal involving a politician; the Speaker in Indonesia's parliament, Setya Novanto, who faked a car crash when he was on the run from the KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission).

(4.13) "The fugitive" (18_11_X11_TYP_FH) [03:52-04:25]

- 1 Ari >gua bilang< ampe:: (0.6) kasian tuh,
1SG say till poor that
I'm saying, till (0.6) {they are} poor thing.
- 2 (0.9)
- 3 Ari >gua bilang< (0.4) katulampa udah siaga ↑satu, di bandung;=
1SG say NAME.DAM already alert first in NAME.PLACE
I'm saying (0.4) Katulampa has shown flood alert in Bandung
- 4 Jojo =apalagi macet wah;
moreover traffic.jam EXCL
And then the road traffic, ugh!
- 5 [(1.1)
((Dedi gazes at Jojo, Ari and Jojo gaze at mid-distance))
- 6 Dedi-> >eh elu tau ga #yang katanya,[(.) mo- mobil](.)#mobil=
INTJ 2SG know NEG REL say.DEF car car
Hey, don't you know that {it's} said (.) car-

fig

#Fig 4.35a

#Fig 4.35b



((Dedi touches Jojo on the knee))



((Dedi and Jojo establish mutual gaze))

- 7 Jojo [GERAH kalo macet]
hot if congestion
{It gets} hot when the road is congested.
- 8 Dedi =setya novanto nabrak tiang listrik,<
car NAME hit pole electric
Setya Novanto's car hit {the} electric pole?
- 9 (.)
- 10 Dedi i[tu, (0.2) di mana] jo,
DIST WH NAME
That (0.2) Where {was the smash} Jo?
- 11 Jojo [WAH itu mah, [(0.1) moDUS]
EXCL DIST PRT excuse
Gee! That's (0.1) fake
- 12 Ari [itu mah,[(.) MODUS↑
DIST PRT excuse
That's (.) fake.
- 13 Dedi [iya =dima]na sih ↑itu?
INTJ WH PRT DIST
Yeah, where was {the smash}?
- 14 (0.3)
- 15 Jojo di [depan permata HIJAU,
in.front.of NAME.PLACE
In front of Permata Hijau.
- 16 Ari [di: permata HIJAU,
PREP NAME.PLACE
In Permata Hijau.

Over lines 1 to 3, Ari reports that he has seen on television that heavy rain has been pounding *Bandung* and *Katulampa* (a dam located between Bandung and Jakarta). Jojo self-selects in line 4, bringing up a further dire situation in Jakarta: the traffic congestion. A long silence occurs in line 5. Here, Ari gazes away from Jojo, and Jojo is gazing into the distance. Dedi, who maintains his gaze toward Jojo, asks whether Jojo knows about the incident with Setya Novanto, and touches him after the word *ga* 'not'. At line 7, Jojo overlaps part of this question, continuing the topic he had

previously introduced at line 4 by saying *Gerah kalo macet* ‘{It gets} hot when the road is congested’. After a brief silence, Dedi produces a further question in line 10, just before Jojo overlaps him (line 11) responding to his initial question, *Wah itu mah (0.1) modus* ‘Gee! That’s (0.1) fake’.³⁴ Ari similarly suggests that this news is *modus* ‘fake’ in line 12. Dedi then makes another attempts at his second question *Iya di mana sih itu?* ‘Yeah, where was {the smash}?’ with both Jojo and Ari responding that it took place at *Permata Hijau* (a district in South Jakarta).

At line 6, Dedi uses the second pronoun *elu* ‘you’ to indicate that his turn has a recipient, and he then touches Jojo soon after (Figure 4.35a). Again, although the question recipient’s gaze does seem important in this case, Jojo’s response suggests that there may be something more to this touch. By touching Jojo, Dedi may be signifying a salient quality of this question for Jojo. This is supported by Dedi’s addition of a post-positioned address term at line 10, which also functions to make clear the person-specific nature of these questions. (Recall, too, in Chapter 3 that Ari and Dedi worked together to tease Jojo about his political preferences). This is also a similar to Extract (4.11). While Ami delivers a new topic with touch for its delicacy (Extract 4.11), here, Dedi initiates a new topic (line 6) with touch to signal that it is salacious and humorous, and possibly a mild tease directed at Jojo.

The next example sees Turi, Dini, Dira, and Caca discussing the same incident with Setya Novanto. As we will see, the politician’s attorney reported that his client had a bun-sized lump on his forehead, which caused several related memes to go viral on social media. The targeted turn in Extract (4.14) is delivered by Dini and is addressed to Turi at line 15.

(4.14) “A steamed bun” (21_11_X45_TYP_FH) [24:14–24:30]

1 Dini >>dia ga benerean mati ya?<<
 3SG NEG real die PRT
 He’s not really dead, right?

³⁴ The slang word *modus* comes from *modal dusta* ‘fake’.

2 (0.7)

3 Turi °tau deh°
know PRT
{I don't} know.

4 (0.3)

5 Turi oh dia bilangnya ↑emang ma↑ti?
oh 3SG say.DEF really die
Oh, did {the news} say he's dead?

6 (0.5)

7 Caca eng↑ga:k,=katanya hampir (0.1) itu (0.1) hampir game over_
NEG say.DEF almost DIST almost
No, it said that {he's} almost (0.1) that (0.1) {he's} almost dead.

8 Dira =loh orang bo- benjol palanya [segede BAKPAO
PRT in.fact lump head.2SG.POSS as.big.as steamed.bun
In fact he had a bun-sized lump on {his} head.

9 Caca [\$benjol segede bakpau\$ AHA [HA HAH
lump as.big.as steamed.bun
A bun-sized lump A ha hah.

10 Turi [aha hah
aha hah
Aha hah

11 ↑HA HAH HAH .HH \$emang betu[lan?\$
Ha hah hah indeed real
Ha Hah hah for real?

12 Dira [↑YA:[LU GA BA]°ca°
PRT 2SG NEG read
Ugh! You didn't read {the news}.

13 Dini [↑iya,]
INTJ
Yeah.
[((touches Turi on the thigh with fist))

14 (0.1)

15 Dini-> lu ema[ng belum #liat [↑FOTO#NYA:?
2SG indeed not.yet see picture.DEF
Haven't you seen {the} picture?

16 Dini [((points at Turi))

fig #Fig 4.36a #Fig 4.36b

((Turi gazes down))

((Dini touches Turi on the thigh))

17 Dira [>makanya [baca line] TO[DA::Y<
no.wonder read NAME.NEWS.APPLICATION
That's why, read Line Today.

18 Turi [be:↑lom]
not.yet
Not yet.

19 Dini [>astagh
EXCL.ARABIC

20 firullahaladzim
EXCL.ARABIC
God forgive me.

At line 1, Dini asks Turi for confirmation about whether the politician is dead, and Turi responds that she does not know. Turi then asks whether the news reported he was dead. Caca indicates that he is almost dead, and Dira offers that he had a bun-sized lump on his head. Caca and Turi laugh over lines 9 to 11, with Turi adding a newsmarking response, *Emang betulan?* 'For real?'. Dira, in overlap, asserts that Turi had not read the news, *Ya lu ga baca* 'Ugh! You didn't read {the news}', implying that Turi should have been aware of the situation.

I will now focus on Dini's turn at line 15. As Dini begins her turn, she and Turi have established mutual gaze. However, as Dini develops her question, Turi gazes down (Figure 4.36a) and Dini touches her soon after (Figure 4.36b). Dira overlaps Dini's turn in line 17, telling Turi to use a news application as Turi answers Dini, saying *Belom* 'Not yet'. Dini's touch at line 15 appears to both deal with Turi's shifting gaze over the course of the turn (similar to Extract 4.4) and the potentially disaffiliating nature of her question. By this stage, it is clear that only Turi is uninformed about this important national event, and this apparent transgression is strongly indicated by Dira at line 12 and Dini over lines 19-20. By touching Turi alongside her question, Dini may be acting to ensure that her question is not heard as questioning Turi's competence, and therefore risking disaffiliation. In other words, this touch may function maintain Turi's alignment and affiliation at a moment where both of these things are at risk.

In the final two extracts in this section, I will examine some complex cases of questioning and touch that bring together a number of the patterns and functions we have seen in Chapter 4. This first is Extract (4.15), and involves Ifan touching Muiz. Before this extract, Muiz had been telling Roni about his age, and how his old age has weakened him. Roni says jokingly that the reason Muiz is weak is because he quit smoking too soon. Mali then tells Ifan that he has never seen Muiz smoking.

(4.15) "Quit smoking" (21_11_X4_TYP_FH) [13:16-13:40]

1 Mali si keli=si isit, (0.5) bad[run, ga pernah ngeRO]KO dia,=
 DET NAME DET NAME NAME NEG ever smoke 3SG
Keli, Isit (0.5) Badrun, he never smokes

2 Muiz [°ga ada°]
 NEG BE
None of {them}

3 Ifan-> =oh [ngeroko #JUGA?]
 oh smoke too
Oh, {you used} to smoke as well?

fig #Fig 4.37



((Ifan touches Muiz on the knee))

4 Muiz [kalo saya mah,] (.)# °ngeroko dulu°=
 for 1SG PRT smoke past
I {was} (.) {I} used to smoke.

fig #Fig 4.38



((Ifan and Muiz establish mutual gaze))

5 Ifan-> =#ngeroko juga dulu ba[pak¿
 smoke too past father
Did you use to smoke too?

fig #Fig 4.39



((Ifan keeps touching and squeezes Muiz on the knee))

6 Muiz [taUN SEMBILAN DUA #saya °berhenti°=
 year ninety two 1SG quit
I quit in ninety-two.

fig

#Fig 4.40



((Ifan retracts his hand))

- 7 Ifan =°oh sembilan [dua°
 oh ninety two
 Oh, ninety-two.
- 8 Roni [kuat ngeroko pak MUIZ
 heavy smoke father NAME
 He {was} a heavy smoker.
- 9 (0.1)
- 10 Ifan °°sembilan du[a°°
 ninety two
 Ninety-two.
- 11 Roni [NAH di ↑situlah,
 PRT LOC.PRT
 Well, there you are.
- 12 (0.8)
- 13 Roni >kalo pak muiz terus ngerokok sehat kali,<
 if father NAME keep smoke well maybe
 If you kept smoking, {you} might have been healthier.
- 14 (0.2)
- 15 Muiz sehat,
 well
 Healthy?
- 16 (0.1)
- 17 Muiz iya haha hah
 INTJ haha hah
 Yeah, haha hah.

At line 1, Mali lists Muiz's children (Keli, Isit, Badrun) who do not smoke. Muiz confirms this, saying that none of his children smoke cigarettes in line 2. At line 3, Ifan turns his body to Muiz, touches Muiz on the knee, and asks whether he used to smoke (Figure 4.37). At this moment, Muiz is already looking at Roni and directing a turn to him. He therefore overlaps Ifan's turn before looking towards him (Figure 4.38). Muiz asserts that he used to smoke at line 4, shifting his gaze from Roni to Ifan as he says this. Despite this, Ifan prolongs his touch (Figure 4.39) and asks him this question for a second time at line 5, while also appending a post-positioned address term *bapak*

'father'. At line 6, Muiz raises his eyebrows and answers the question, saying that he quit smoking in 1992. During this turn, Ifan retracts his hand, and receipts Muiz's claim at 7 and 10. Roni also raises his head, gazes away from Muiz, and says that Muiz was a heavy smoker. Over lines 11 to 13, Roni again jokingly says to Muiz that quitting smoking has caused his weakness, which Muiz mildly resists at line 15, *Sehat?* 'healthy?', before laughing.

In Extract (4.13), Ifan has contorted his body position (Schegloff, 1998) such that he is tilted towards Muiz. However, Muiz remains gazing at Roni as Ifan commences his question at line 3. Ifan's touch at line 3 targets this issue with mutual orientation, and Muiz progressively shifts his body towards Ifan during line 4. At the same time, Muiz's talk at line 4 seemingly addresses Ifan's question, but Ifan both continues to touch Muiz and asks the question again (see Figures 4.38 and 4.39). Why does he do this? There is a subtle shift in Ifan's question at line 5, which solicits an answer from Muiz that provides more precise timing about his smoking. So, his changed question and prolonged touch might help accomplish subtle pursuit for further information at a moment where his question may appear redundant. In addition, Ifan uses a post-positioned address term *bapak* 'father' at line 5, which is a respectful form of address for younger men to use when speaking with older men (Ewing & Djenar, 2019, p. 256).³⁵ Together with Ifan's prolonged touch, perhaps this signals a personalised interest in the topic (and in Muiz) from Ifan. If this analysis is correct, it means that Ifan's touch effectively evolves over the course of lines 3-6, from dealing with the absence of gaze, to pursuing a response, to signaling a particular, genuine quality to his question.

The final extract in this section sees us return to Turi, Caca, Dira, and Dini. In Extract (4.16), Dira uses a series of touches to seek a response from Caca while she

³⁵As per the analysis presented in Chapter 3, I have translated this kin term as 'you'.

is gazing at her mobile phone. In addition, through these acts, she is seeking to cause a schism in the conversation. The grayed lines in the transcript for Extract (4.16) indicate the other track of the conversation involving Dini and Turi (and occasionally Caca). Prior to Extract (4.16), Dira had been asking everyone about some recent extracurricular activities at campus she had missed. Caca, Dini, and Turi then explained that they were in an art stream that dealt with crafting activities at campus. At line 1, Turi announces that she has already mastered these crafting activities. The turns in focus are at lines 6, 16, 17, 20, and 29.

(4.16) "Crafting" (17_11_X1_TYP_FH) [06:40-06:59]

- 1 Turi ya untung sih gua [dah jago;
PRT lucky PRT 1SG PERF master
Well, luckily I've already mastered {it}.
- 2 Caca [>gua jug-<
1SG also
I also-
- 3 (0.5)
- 4 Dira \$anjing_\$
Damn
Damn it!
- 5 [(1.6)
[(All participants gaze at mid-distance)]
- 6 Dira-> #>eh trus,< (.) pas kema#REN [LU NGAPAIN [↑AJA?
INTJ then when yesterday 2SG WH only
Uh, so (.) what did you do yesterday?
- fig #Fig 4.41a #Fig. 4.41b



((Dira gazes at mid-distance))



((Dira gazes at her mobile phone))

- 7 Dini [kalo orang-orang tuh udah=
if RDP.people DIST already
The other {students} have practiced
- 8 Caca [aha hah ↑HA HAH
Aha hah ha hah.
- 9 (0.1)
- 10 Dini =↑berlatih, nih terus abis tu↑ (0.2) ENGGAK ADA latihan lagi↑
practice PROX then after DIST NEG BE practice anymore
Then after that (0.2) {there} is no more practice.
- 11 (0.2)
- 12 Caca >lu dah lupa ya,<=
2SG already forget PRT

You already forget {it}, right?

13 Dini =ga ada proper practice_
NEG BE
{There} is no proper practice.

14 (0.1)

15 Dini abis tuh elu, [(0.1)] †SOMBONG
after DIST 2SG arrogant
And then you (0.1) {seem} arrogant.

16 Dira-> [EH =EH]
INTJ INTJ
Hey! Hey!

17 -> #(.)
fig #Fig 4.42



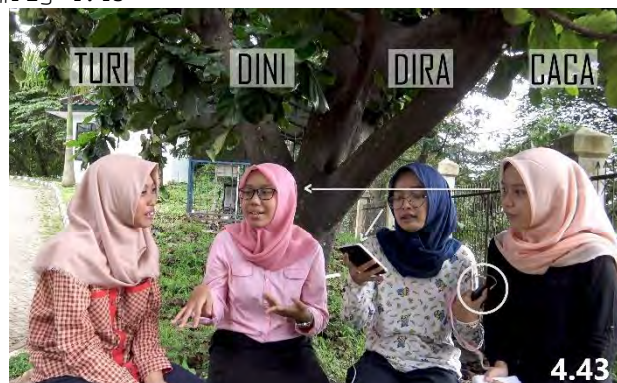
((Dira touches Caca with her elbow))

18 Dini ya udah
alright
Okay.

19 (.)

20 Dira-> IYA #LU [KEMAREN, (.)>ngap- ngapain aja kemalren¿<
INTJ 2SG yesterday WH just yesterday
Yeah, you yesterday (.) What did {you} do yesterday?

fig #Fig 4.43



((Dira touches Caca with her portable charger))

21 Dini [pas hari H °ga bisa-bisa°]
when D.day NEG RDP.can
When the D-day comes {you} couldn't {do that}.

22 (.)

23 Dira coba ce[ri†TAIN,<
please tell
Please tell {me}!

24 Turi [>memori gua [sih enambelas GI†GA<
memory 1SG PRT sixteen Gigabyte
My memory {is} 16Gb, though.

25 Caca [>.HH ngebikin †anyaman;<
create weaving craft
Weaving craft.

26 (0.3)

27 Dira ↑o:h,
Oh.

28 (0.3)

29 Dira-> #>terus ga ngapa-ngapain ↑lagi?=<
so NEG RDP.doing again
So, {you} didn't do anything else?

fig #Fig 4.44



((All participants gaze elsewhere))

30 Caca =anyaman_
weaving craft
Weaving craft.

31 (.)

32 Caca udah ya [↑tur?
just PRT NAME
{That's} all, right Tur?

33 Caca [((shifts gaze to Turi))

34 (0.1)

35 Turi °°he eh°° ((nodding))
Uh huh.

Dira responds to Turi's claim of mastery with *Anjing* 'Damn it!' at line 4. There is a long silence in line 5, where all participants gaze to mid-distance. Dira then looks straight ahead, gazes at her mobile phone, and asks Caca what she did yesterday at line 6 (Figures 4.41a and 4.41b), proposing a schism in the conversation (Egbert, 1997). However, in overlap, Dini maintains her focus on weaving craft over lines 7 to 15, telling Turi to respect the other students, indicating her apparent lack of humility. Caca also remains on this track in the conversation, responding to Dini in line 12. Therefore, Dira's proposal to schism with Caca has been unsuccessful.

Dira, who is still looking at her mobile phone, vigorously pursues her question to Caca in line 16 with two *eh* tokens, and then she touches Caca with her elbow in line 17, as shown in Figure 4.42. With these actions, Dira treats the lack of response

to her question in line 6 as problematic. Dira makes her third attempt at line 20 (Figure 4.43). Here, Dira topicalises her selection of Turi, touches her once more, and asks the same question again. However, she ends up on overlap with Dini, who continues to admonish Turi. Dira produces this turn while still gazing at her mobile phone. Still, there is no response at all from Caca.

Dira's fourth attempt follows quickly, and employs an imperative form, *Coba ceritain!* 'Please tell {me}!'. At line 25, Caca finally responds, offering the rather minimal answer *Anyaman* 'Weaving craft', which Dira receipts with a change of state token ("Oh") in line 27. After a brief silence, Dira produces another question, *Terus ga ngapa-ngapain lagi?* 'So, {you} didn't do anything else?', soliciting further expansion from Caca. However, Caca does not do so, offering the minimal *Anyaman* 'Weaving craft' once more in line 30. Interestingly, Caca then shifts her gaze to Turi in line 32 and seeks confirmation from her, *Udah ya Tur?* 'That's all, right Tur?'. Turi confirms Caca's turn ("Uh huh") in line 35, which is succeeded by a head nod. That is, she seeks support from Turi to firmly establish yesterday's activities, close Dira's questioning, and prevent this being used as a reason for schism.

The touches that Dira employs in Extract (4.16) are clearly in pursuit of a response from Caca, and they are combined with explicit signals of pursuit through her talk. This raises the question of how Caca was able to resist responding for so long. Focusing on the question produced by Dira in lines 6, she produces this at a moment where Caca is seemingly still committed to the other track of conversation. In addition, despite using the second person pronoun *lu* 'you', she does not gaze at her targeted recipient. Instead, she gazes at her mobile phone, which she does persistently throughout this response pursuit. Dira's touches therefore compensate for her gaze to her phone. However, her gaze at her phone likely also provides a strong basis for Caca to resist responding (alongside other factors, e.g., resistance to the topic and schism).

So, even though touch explicitly selects Caca as the next speaker, and pursues a response from her, Dira's lack of consistent gaze undermines her attempts to gain a response to her question.

4.2.4 Summary of Chapter 4

In Chapter 4, I have demonstrated that question speakers can use touch in a variety of ways. Touch is employed to deal with problems of mutual orientation between question speakers and recipients, to pursue responses to questions, and may be used to add a specific quality or salience to a person-specific action. As we have also seen, these pressures and functions may be simultaneously (or sequentially) present. Touch appears to be especially useful for overcoming challenging seating arrangements that prevent mutual gaze, and for changing the recipient of a question. In addition, it may be useful for designing actions that may risk disalignment and/or disaffiliation.

Chapter 5: Aphasia and explicit next speaker selection

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explores explicit next speaker selection in Indonesian multiparty interactions involving people with aphasia. In the previous chapters, I examined the use of various explicit practices for selecting a next speaker in everyday conversations involving typical speakers. Those findings provide context for exploring how explicit next speaker selection is accomplished by people with aphasia and their conversation partners, and for determining the effects of aphasia on this aspect of conversation. The chapter is divided into two primary sections according to the direction of selection by current speakers. The first section (Section 5.2) focuses on moments when people with aphasia explicitly select a next speaker with a question. The second section (Section 5.3) focuses on moments when people with aphasia are explicitly selected to speak next with a question. The final section (Section 5.4) provides a summary of Chapter 5's findings.

The analyses presented in Chapter 5 are based on 208 questions drawn from the atypical interaction dataset. In total, there were 313 questions identified in these recordings. 44 questions (14%) were produced by people with aphasia and 164 questions (52%) were addressed to people with aphasia, i.e., 208 questions in total. The remaining 105 questions (34%) were not produced by and not addressed to people with aphasia, and were not used for the analyses presented in this chapter.

5.2 Questions produced by people with aphasia

As noted above, the four participants with aphasia produced a total of 44 questions. In these questions, there were zero address terms used. In addition, these questions included only two second person pronouns, and one instance of touching. As such, it is clear that people with aphasia relied on less explicit linguistic practices for indicating the addressed recipients of their questions, and that gaze was the primary (embodied) resource for explicit addressing. It is also important to consider the actions they accomplished with their questions. Table 5.1 shows the distribution of questions based on their actions (as per the Stivers and Enfield, 2010, coding scheme). Half of their questions functioned as information requests, and over a quarter were delivered to initiate repair.

Table 5.1 Counts of social actions accomplished by questions produced by people with aphasia

Social actions	Count (percentage)
Information request	22 (50.00%)
Confirmation request	7 (15.91%)
Other-initiation of repair	13 (29.55%)
Assessment	2 (4.55%)
Total	44 (100%)

Let us now consider some examples of questions produced by people with aphasia. The first instance is taken from a conversation between a person with aphasia (Amar), his wife (Wida), and his daughter's close friend (Elka). Amar suffered a left-hemisphere stroke six years prior to his participation. Alongside aphasia, he also experiences motor impairments affecting his arm and leg. Extract (5.1) is taken from the beginning of the conversation. At line 1, Wida tells Elka that her husband, Amar, always hides things away in his mind and never speaks to anybody about it, *Akhirnya*

dipendem-dipendem di sini orang ga tau kan? ‘Finally, {he} hid {the problem} away in his mind. No one knows, right?’. The focus is on Amar’s turn in line 8.

(5.1) “What to say?” (3_1_X1_TYP_FH) [00:01-00:19]

1 Wida >akhirnya dipendem-[dipendem [di sini,]<= †orang ga tau †kan;
finally RDP.hide.away LOC PRX.ADV people NEG know PRT
Finally, {he} hid {the problem} away in his mind. No one knows, right?

2 Wida [((points at forehead))

3 Elka [°oh iya°]
oh INTJ
Oh, yeah.

4 (0.2)

5 Wida aha [ha hah
Aha ha hah.

6 Elka [he eh a ha hah ((nodding))
Uh huh. A aha hah.

7 (0.2)

8 Amar-> <ya mau #ngomong #†apa:¿>
PRT want speak WH
Well, what {am I} going to say?

fig #Fig 5.1a #Fig5.1b



((Amar gazes at Wida))



((Amar and Wida establish mutual gaze))

9 (.)

10 Wida †loh [(0.2) ya] [ngomong †tuh ngomong apa] †AJA
PRT speak DIST speak anything
Well (0.2) well, just say something whatsoever.

11 Elka [°ngomong apa,°]
speak WH
What’s to say?

12 Amar [ga penting; .HHH]
NEG important
{It’s} not important.

Elka acknowledges Wida’s assertion about Amar, and she and Wida both laugh. Amar then takes the floor and responds to Wida, saying, *Ya mau ngomong apa?* ‘Well, what {am I} going to say?’. He shifts his gaze towards Wida over the course of his turn (Figure 5.1a) and they meet each other’s gaze as the turn approaches possible completion (Figure 5.1b). Wida begins to respond as Elka receipts Amar’s turn quietly

in overlap, with Amar self-selecting again at 12 as Wida answers. In summary, in this example, Amar selects Wida as next speaker by gazing to her as he produces his turn. This explicitly addresses his question to Wida.

In Extract (5.2), the person with aphasia also utilises gaze to address her questions, and maintains her gaze to pursue a response from her recipient. This extract is from a conversation between a person with aphasia (Siti), her niece (Odah), and her niece's (i.e., Odah's) daughter-in-law (Ipeh). During the conversation, they were seated together in front of Siti's house. Before retiring a long time ago, Siti was a street food vendor. Six years prior to this recording, Siti suffered a stroke. She now has aphasia and cannot walk. Just prior to this extract, Siti had been telling the others that she also suffered from another disease: rheumatoid arthritis. The focus of attention will be on the arrowed turns at lines 14 and 16.

(5.2) "How long?" (28_12_1_X2_TYP_FH) [17:33-17:47]

- 1 Ipeh ↑nek, ↓jadi udah berapa ↑la:ma tuh sakitnye;
 grandma so already WH long that unwell.DET
 Grandma, so, how long have {you} been unwell?
- 2 (0.1)
- 3 Odah la:↑ma sakitnya [↑mah
 long ill.DEF PRT
 {It's} been ages.
- 4 Siti [lama=udeh ada, (0.4)
 long already BE
 A long time ago. {It's} been-
- 5 Odah lepas DAGANG
 after sell
 After {she} stopped selling (the food).
- 6 (0.4)
- 7 Ipeh ↑o::[:h
 Oh
- 8 Odah [llepas dagang langsung sakit_
 after sell quickly ill
 Shortly after {she} stopped selling (the food), {she got} ill.
- 9 (1.1)
- 10 Ipeh udeh [lama ye,
 already long PRT
 {It's} been a long time, hasn't it?
- 11 Odah [pelo-pe[lo_
 RDP.speak.disorderly
 Disorder speech
- 12 Siti [((nodding))
- 13 (0.2)

14 Siti-> udah lima taun #ya;
 already five year PRT
{It's} been five years, hasn't it?
 fig #Fig 5.2



((Siti turns her gaze to Odah))

15 (0.2)
 16 Siti-> #enem taunan,
 six year
About six years?
 fig #Fig 5.3



((Siti and Odah establish mutual gaze))

17 (0.5)
 18 Odah ADA le#bih
 BE more
{It's} more.

Ipeh starts the sequence by asking a question about Siti's health in line 1. Here, Ipeh explicitly selects Siti by beginning her turn with an address term *nek* 'grandma'. However, the non-addressed recipient, Odah, answers the question after a very brief silence at line 3. Siti overlaps this turn and also provides an answer, *lama* 'a long time ago', and starts to produce another TCU, which remains incomplete, *udah ada* 'it's been'. Odah takes the floor again in line 5 and provides further information about the timing of Siti's illness. Ipeh registers a change-of-state token at line 7, and Odah expands her previous assertion at line 8. After a long silence, Ipeh gazes toward Siti

and asks for confirmation, *Udah lama ye?* ‘{It’s} been a long time, hasn’t it?’ in line 10. Odah self-selects and overlaps in line 11, specifying the nature of Siti’s illness, *pelo* ‘speech disorder’. At line 12, Siti nods.

There is another silence at line 13, and then Siti produces a turn. This is seemingly a continuation of her abandoned TCU in line 4, *Udah lima taun ya?* ‘It’s been five years, hasn’t it?’. She selects Odah as the next speaker by gazing at her at a point of possible completion in line 14 (Figure 5.2). At this juncture, Odah gazes at Siti’s dress, leaving a short delay in line 15. After they establish mutual gaze (Figure 5.3), Siti makes her second attempt and revises her estimation, *Enem taunan?* ‘About six years?’. Here, Siti’s question is hearable as dealing with the lack of uptake following her prior attempt. Odah responds to the question in line 18, asserting that it had been longer than five or six years.

In Extract (5.2), Ipeh’s questions about Siti’s illness receive responses from both Siti and Odah, with Odah adopting a strong epistemic stance on this topic. Siti seeks confirmation from Odah about the length of time since her stroke, and she addresses this question to Odah using gaze. However, Odah is gazing at Siti’s dress, and she does not immediately respond to this question. Siti then treats the silence at line 16 as disalignment with her question, and she repairs the timeframe from five to six. In addition, she sustains her gaze toward Odah, thereby maintaining pressure on her to respond (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). Another silence develops at line 17, but Siti does not engage in any further repair, and Odah responds at line 18.

In Extract (5.3), the speaker with aphasia also pursues a response to her question, but does so by changing the addressed recipient. The speaker poses virtually identical questions to different recipients due to a lack of response. Again, she accomplishes next speaker selection via gaze. Extract (5.3) is taken from a conversation between a person with aphasia (Susi), her son-in-law’s sister (Ipeh), and

the chief of the neighbourhood unit (Ida). Prior to this extract, they had been talking about *Kartu Jakarta Pintar* ‘the Jakarta smart card’ (KJP).³⁶ Susi had never heard of the program, and then the other two explained that their children received money from it monthly. The turns in focus are arrowed (lines 9 and 17).

(5.3) “Poor Adam” (28_12_2_X1_TYP_FH) [27:15–27:43]

- 1 Ipeh entar ↑mah (0.4) anak ↑sd (0.7) SATU TIGA kalo saya;
 soon PRT child primary one three if 1SG
Soon (0.4) the primary students (0.7) my {child will get} 1.3 {million}.
- 2 (.)
- 3 Ida satu tiga?
 one three
1.3 million?
- 4 Ipeh ((nodding))
- 5 (0.2)
- 6 Ida kalo nisa, (0.1) udah dicek (0.1) LIMA jutaan_
 if NAME already PAS.check five million
Nisa (0.1) has been checked (0.1) {it's} around five million.
- 7 (0.6)
- 8 Ida LIMA juta °lebih°=
 five million more
More than five million.
- 9 Susi-> =#si [ADAM dapet ga ye;
 DET NAME receive NEG PRT
 Did Adam receive {the money} or not?
 fig #Fig 5.4



((Susi gazes at Ida))

- 10 Ipeh [dia sd ↑ape ↑A[PE?
 3SG primary or WH
 Is she in the primary school or what?
- 11 Ida [SMK NISA
 high.school NAME
 Nisa {is} in high school.
- 12 (0.2)
- 13 Ipeh ↑iye, ↓smk mah lima juta_
 INTJ high.school PRT five million
 Yeah, the high school students get five million.
- 14 (0.2)

³⁶ As noted in Chapter 4, an educational assistance program given to low-income families in Jakarta.

15 Ida ↑he eh
 Uh huh

16 (.)

17 Susi-> #ADAM dapet enggak?
 NAME receive NEG
 Did Adam receive {it} or not?

fig #Fig 5.5



((Susi gazes at Ipeh))

18 [(0.3)
 [((Susi and Ipeh gaze at each other))

19 Ipeh adam ga da[pet ↑MBA::H
 NAME NEG receive grandma.JAVANESE
 Adam didn't receive {it}, grandma.

20 Ida [ADAM ga ↑dapet
 NAME NEG receive
 Adam didn't receive {it}.

At line 1, Ipeh gazes at Ida and says that there will be some increases in the program's subsidy. She then refers to her child, who will get 1.3 million (US \$90) a year. In line 3, Ida produces a partial repeat, which receives confirmation at line 4 via Ipeh's head nod. Ida then tells Ipeh that her daughter (Nisa) has already received the money (around five million) over lines 6-8. Susi, who has been looking toward Ida (Figure 5.4), latches her question to Ida's turn and asks whether her grandson (Adam) receives the money. However, this question does not receive an answer.

Ipeh overlaps Susi's question at line 10, asking Ida about her daughter. At line 11, Ipeh then asserts that *Iye SMK mah lima juta* 'Yeah, high school students get five million', which Ida receipts at 15. After a brief silence, Susi shifts her gaze from Ida to Ipeh and quickly asks a highly similar question about her grandson, *Adam dapet enggak?* 'Did Adam receive {it} or not?'. Shortly after, Ipeh meets Susi's gaze at line

18, and both she and Ida answer Susi's question, indicating that her grandson did not receive the money.

In Extract (5.3), Susi addresses the same question to both Ida and Ipeh, employing gaze in each case. In this first instance, her question addressed to Ida overlaps with Ipeh, who also asks Ida a question. (Note also that Ida is the chief of the neighbourhood unit in their area, and may therefore be in a position to answer this sort of question). Ida prioritises responding to Ipeh, and Susi's question is unanswered. Rather than pursuing a response from Ida, Susi opts to wait for a more suitable sequential location. Following Ida's potentially sequence closing turn at line 15, Susi revises and reproduces her question while gazing at her new addressed recipient, Ipeh. This attempt is successful, with both Ipeh and Ida responding to her inquiry. (In fact, Ida's response may reflect her previous failure to answer).

Extract (5.4) presents the only question in which a speaker with aphasia used a second person pronoun. However, we will see that this pronoun is not involved with next speaker selection. Instead, it forms an important part of an other-initiation of repair. Extract (5.4) is taken from the conversation Ucu, his old friend Tubi, Ucu's sister (Asih), Ucu's daughters (Nada and Rina), Ucu's son-in-law (Eman), and Ucu's niece (Nana). By the time Ucu participated in this recording, he had suffered from aphasia caused by stroke for about two years. Prior to this extract, Ucu and Tubi had been reminiscing about childhood memories. As the extract begins, Tubi asks Ucu a known-answer or "test" question (Beeke, Beckley, Best, Johnson, Edwards, & Maxim, 2013) focused on naming a person who lived nearby Ucu during his childhood. The targeted turn is produced by Ucu at line 7, and is addressed to Tubi.

(5.4) "Yours?" (8_1_X13_ATYP_FH) [07:19-07:31]

1 Tubi terus itu depan rumah, (0.2) depan rumah ↑lu siapa tuh cuꜰ
 so DIST in.front house in.front house 2SG WH DIST NAME
 Then in front of house (0.2) who {lived} in front of your house, Cu?
2 (0.2)

3 Tubi inget ga,
remember NEG
Don't {you} remember?

4 (0.1)

5 Tubi siapa,
WH
Who?

6 (0.5)

7 Ucu-> depan #rumah ↑lu,
in.front home 2SG
In front of your house?

fig #Fig 5.6



((Ucu gazes at Tubi, mutual gaze))

8 (0.3)

9 Tubi de[pan rumah ↑LU
in.front home 2SG
In front of your house.

10 Ucu [(2 syll)>

11 (0.3)

12 Tubi siapa?
WH
Who?

13 (0.5)

14 Ucu <↑(2 syll)>

15 (1.5)

16 Tubi heh,
Huh?

17 (0.1)

18 Tubi [siapa,
WH
Who?

19 Tubi [((gazes at Asih))

20 (0.1)

21 Asih si↑ape?
WH
Who?

22 (0.4)

23 Ucu </↑(2 syll) oehæ↑ni, />
NAME
Rohayani.

24 (0.1)

25 Tubi iya_
 INTJ
 Yeah.

At line 1, Tubi gazes toward Ucu and asks whether he still remembers the person who lived in front of his childhood home. This test question does not receive a response from Ucu, and Tubi pursues a response in line 3 with *Inget ga?* ‘Don’t {you} remember?’ and in line 5 with *Siapa?* ‘Who?’. Ucu then other-initiates repair at line 7 using a restricted format, i.e., a partial repeat of the trouble-source turn. With this other-initiation of repair, Ucu targets whose home Tubi is referring to. Tubi’s candidate repair solution is overlapped by Ucu, who produces some unintelligible talk. Tubi’s next turn in line 12 with *Siapa?* ‘Who?’ may be a pursuit of the test questioning sequence, or an other-initiation of repair targeting Ucu’s talk at line 10. Regardless, Ucu offers a two syllable vocalisation that is not intelligible, and Tubi continues to pursue a response from Ucu at lines 16 and 18. Tubi then gazes at Ucu’s sister (Asih), who then shifts her gaze toward Ucu and asks a question *Siapa?* ‘Who?’. Ucu produces a partially intelligible turn at line 23, which seemingly conveys the person’s name. Tubi accepts this with *iya* ‘yeah’ in line 25.

In Extract (5.4), despite the fact that there are a number of others present, Ucu and Tubi effectively schism and exchange turns in a dyadic way (until line 19-21). As Ucu delivers his turn at line 7 he gazes at Tubi. The action he accomplishes with this question is an other-initiation of repair. Together, this means that the issue of next speaker selection is not in question as Ucu produces his question in line 7. This second person pronoun (*lu*) instead functions to clarify whose house Tubi is referring to, so that Ucu may attempt to produce the targeted name.

Over the final three extracts in this section, I will present some complex instances of questions asked by people with aphasia. We will see that, although these

questions receive talk from the selected next speaker, it does not conform with the question itself or the course of action it projects. In Extract (5.5), we return to Susi, Ipeh, and Ida. Here, Susi produces an imprecisely articulated question that leads its addressed recipient – Ida – to take it up incorrectly. In addition, we will also see that Ipeh intervenes to ensure that Susi's question is taken correctly. Prior to this extract, Ida had been telling Susi and Ida about her recent health issue: kidney stones. The turns in focus are arrowed and at lines 5 and 11.

1 Ida kalo mau kencing↑ (.) sa↑ki::t, minta ampun nangis-nangis;=
if want pee pain for.mercy.sake RDP.cry
It was painful urination (.) for mercy's sake, {I} cried.

3 Ipeh =he eh
Uh huh.

5 Susi-> m- [/kan apɛ, /
 eat WH
What did you take?

7 (0.2)

8 Ida ↓ginJAL DULU
 kidney past
 {It} *was kidney stones.*

10 Ida .HHH [SAYA minumnya] cuman↑ (0.3) saya ↑di- (0.3) beli=
1SG drink.DEF only 1SG buy
I only took (0.3) I (0.3) bought

```
fig #Fig 5.7a#Fig.5.7b
```

((Ipeh points at Ida))

12 Ida =↓koyo kino↑ (0.2) abis dua ↑boks (0.5) terus (.) minumnya
 salve NAME.BRAND use two box then drink.1SG.POSS
 Kino's salve (0.2) took two boxes (0.5) then (.) I {only} took

14 (0.7)
 15 Ipeh ↑TUH=
 that
 See?
 16 Susi =°°o::h°°
 Oh

At line 1, Ida gazes toward Susi and describes her physical pain, and Ipeh responds with *he eh* ‘Uh huh’ in line 3. There is a silence in line 4 where Ida and Ipeh establish mutual gaze. Susi maintains her gaze at Ida, and takes the floor, asking what sort of medicine she had at line 5. However, the articulation of her turn is unclear, and it is ambiguous as to whether she said *kan ape* ‘What did {you} take?’ or *Kenape?* ‘What {happens}?’. Ida self-selects in line 6, adding further information about her pain *Pengen loncat rasanya* ‘{I} felt frightened’. She then responds to Susi’s question in line 8, telling her that it is kidney stones *Ginjal dulu* ‘{It} was kidney stones’. This suggests that she heard her turn as *Kenape?* ‘What {happens}?’. After a brief silence, Ida produces a pre-TCU in-breath, but Ipeh overlaps and says *pake ape* ‘What did {you} use?’. As she does so, Ipeh also points to Ida (Figure 5.7a) and Susi (Figure 5.7b). Ida quickly shifts her turn beginning at 10, eventually reporting what medicine she took in lines 12 and 13. Ipeh gazes at Susi and says *Tuh* ‘See?’ in line 15, which is followed by Susi’s receipt in the following line.

In this extract, Susi successfully selects Ida as next speaker with gaze, but her difficulties with articulation result in problems with the uptake of her turn. Ipeh diagnoses these problems, and solicits a different answer from Ida on Susi’s behalf. This “brokering” on Susi’s behalf (Bolden, 2012; see also Barnes, 2016, on aphasia) is made explicit through her points at line 11 (Figures 5.7a and 5.7b) and her turn to Siti at 15.

A similar pattern emerges in Extract (5.6). Here, the person with aphasia manages to successfully address his question, but the selected next speaker does not take up the action he is implementing with it: a topic initiation. Prior to Extract (5.6),

Wida had been advising her husband (Amar) about being a more positive person, which continues at lines 1 and 3. Amar responds at 4 by linking this positive outlook to being from a place called Garut, which is where Elka is originally from. The arrowed turns at lines 8 and 12 will be our focus. With them, Amar addresses Elka.

(5.6) "Earthquake?" (3_1_X2_TYP_FH) [02:12-02:24]

- 1 Wida maksudnya↑ >semua tuh kan bisa< <diprogram>iya kan,
mean.DEF all that PRT can PAS.program PRT PRT
I mean, all of those {things} can be managed, you know.
- 2 (0.3)
- 3 Wida semua tuh datang dari kita ↓sen[diri↑
all that come from 1PL alone
Start doing those {things} from yourself.
- 4 Amar [kalo orang /galut↑/ ya wajar ↓la(h)h
if people NAME.TOWN PRT fair PRT
For people of Garut, well, it's fair
- 5 [.HHH (.)] /galō ↑san (.)] daerah se↑jō: ena(h):/ .HH
NAME.TOWN PRT area mild cosy
{because} Garut {is} (.) a mild area, a cosy {place}.
- 6 Elka [he eh aha ha hah hah]
Uh huh. Aha ha hah hah
- 7 (0.2)
- 8 Amar-> /kemari #↓gimana /kempa(h)a_/ .HHH
yesterday WH earthquake
How was the recent earthquake?
#Fig. 5.8



((Amar gazes at Elka, mutual gaze))

- 9 (0.2)
- 10 Elka he eh
Uh huh
- 11 (0.2)
- 12 Amar-> /kemp(h)a (.) kem↑p(h)a:_/ .HHH
earthquake earthquake
Earthquake (.) earthquake
- 13 (0.2)
- 14 Elka oh gempa,
oh earthquake
Oh, {the} earthquake?
- 15 (0.2)
- 16 Amar ((nodding))
- 17 (2.0)

[illegible]

Amar's decision to talk about Garut seems to be a ploy to move away from the rather delicate (or bothersome!) topic Wida has been pursuing, i.e., why Amar should be more positive. At line 6, Elka produces a response token and laughs. After a brief silence, Amar returns his gaze to Elka, and raises another topic, asking her about the recent earthquake that occurred in some cities in West Java, including Garut (line 8). In response, Elka delivers another response token in line 10, but Amar treats this as inadequate, and pursues a response by partially repeating his previous turn *gempa* 'earthquake'. Elka offers stronger uptake in line 14, *Oh gempa?* 'Oh {the} earthquake?', which Amar confirms with a head nod at line 16. However, this line of talk is not developed any further, and a new course of action commences (lines 18 to 19).

In Extract (5.6), Amar selects Elka as the next speaker by gazing at her in the middle of his question at line 8 (Figure 5.8). With this question, Amar projects an extended response from Elka detailing information about this recent earthquake. In response, Elka produces a response token only, suggesting she experienced some difficulty hearing or understanding his turn (but she did not initiate repair; see Barnes and Ferguson, 2015). Amar's simplified turn at line 12 is successful at getting Elka to identify the word *gempa* 'earthquake', but she still does not recognise Amar's turn as a topic initiating question. Alongside Amar's articulation, the dramatic change in topic likely affected Elka's understanding of his turns. Unlike Extract (5.5), Wida does not intervene on Amar's behalf, and his proposed topic is not developed.

The final example in this section involves a complex word search initiated by the person with aphasia. She pursues participation in the search by gazing to and touching her targeted recipient. Let us return to Ipeh, Siti, and Odah. Before this

16 Odah °°mak [si dian°°]
 mother DET NAME
Dian's mother.

17 Ipeh [YATI?]
 NAME
Yati?

18 (0.2)

19 Siti ya- ↑itu mak nen- (.) maknye #yang ↑ini yang ↑MUDA
 DIST mother mother.2SG.POSS REL this.PROX REL young
That, mother, (.) her mother which is like, {the} young {one}.
 fig #Fig 5.10



((Siti shifts gaze at Ipeh, mutual gaze))

20 (0.1)

21 Siti -> #sapa #↑sih?
 WH PRT
Who is it?

fig #Fig 5.11a #Fig.5.11b



((Siti returns gaze to Odah,
 and pushes her on the arm))



((Siti raises her left shoulder
 (the red circle) and pushes Odah
 on the arm))

22 (0.3)

23 Odah °siape,°
 WH
Who?

24 (0.3)

25 Siti ya:ng, ↑mak /ci/ yati, (.) ma- (>) /ci/- anak /ci/ YA↑TI: .HH=
 REL mother DET NAME DET child DET NAME
She's Yati's mother (.) Yati's child.

26 Odah =°anak si ya[ti°
 child DET NAME
Yati's child.

27 Ipeh [NITA?
 NAME
Nita?

28 (0.1)

In Extract (5.7), Siti transitions from an independent word search to a collaborative one, with both Odah and Ipeh becoming involved. Siti's first question to Odah at 14 narrows the search to Dian's mother, but this does not help Odah who displays a puzzled facial expression. On this occasion, Siti explicitly addresses Odah using gaze (Figure 5.9). Let us now focus on line 21. After giving further description about the person to Ipeh in line 19 (Figure 5.10), Siti shifts her gaze to Odah (Figure 5.11a), produces a *wh* question ("Who is it?"), and touches Odah by raising her left shoulder (Figure 5.11b, circled in red) in order to make contact with Odah's right arm (Figure 5.11b, circled in white). With this touch, Siti seemingly accomplishes more than just addressing, signifying the person-specific nature of her question to Odah; perhaps that this person *should* be accessible to her for some reason.

In summary, in this section I have demonstrated that people with aphasia rely on gaze for explicitly addressing their questions. I have also shown that questions produced by people with aphasia may not be taken up efficiently or at all despite effective next speaker selection.

5.3 Questions addressed to people with aphasia

This section describes how turns were allocated to people with aphasia by their conversation partners. As noted above, more than half of the questions (52%) in the atypical interaction dataset were addressed to people with aphasia. There were 45 questions that included an address term (27%), 24 questions that included a touch (15%), and 11 questions that included a second person pronoun (7%). Table 5.2 outlines the distribution of address terms in this dataset. As it shows, the majority of address terms were kin terms, and came from the recordings including Siti, Susi, and Amar. The only recording in which a personal name and a pronoun was used involved Ucu and Tubi. Clearly, then, some of the patterns in address term use reflect the social

relationships and ages of the participants; particularly, the much younger Ipeh, Ida, and Elka, and the peer relationship between Ucu and Tubi. Nonetheless, let us now explore some instances when people with aphasia were explicitly selected as next speaker.

Table 5.2 Distribution of address terms and second person pronouns by age

Recording	Person with aphasia (age)	Conversation Partner (age)	Address terms	Second person pronouns
28_2_1_ATYP	Siti (73)	Ipeh (38) & Odah (58)	<i>Nenek</i> 'grandma'	-
28_2_2_ATYP	Susi (62)	Ipeh (38)	<i>Mbah</i> 'grandma'	-
		Ida (45)	<i>Ibu</i> 'mother'	-
3_1_ATYP	Amar (65)	Elka (29)	<i>Bapak</i> 'father'	-
		Wida (57)	-	-
8_1_ATYP	Ucu (63)	Tubi (63)	Name ("Cu")	<i>Lu</i> 'you'
		Asih (61)	-	-
		Nana (50)	-	-
		Nada (29)	-	-
		Eman (31)	-	-
		Rina (33)	-	-

The first two extracts in this section provide examples of explicit next speaker selection practices being used to target issues with the embodiment of people with aphasia. Extract (5.8) is taken from the conversation between Susi, Ida, and Ipeh. In this extract, Ipeh uses post-positioned address terms to targeted Susi's apparent disengagement. Before Extract (5.8), Ipeh had been telling a story about her friend's rather extreme suggestion for a headache treatment. The turns in focus are at lines 9-10 and line 13.

(5.8) "No food problem" (28_12_2_X11_TYP_FH) [11:57-12:10]

- 1 Ipeh jangan (.) makan BODRE::X↑= >makan aja baso yang ↑PEDES
NEG eat BRAND.MEDICINE eat just meatballs REL spicy
"Don't take Bodrex, just eat spicy meatballs", she said,
- 2 ↓kata[nya;< entar juga ↑ILANG]
say.3SG.POSS soon just disappear
"Soon {you} will get better".
- 3 Ida [AHA ↑HA HAH ↑HA HAH]
Aha ha hah ha hah.
- 4 (0.2)

5 Ipeh yang ada juga sakit ↑perut, AHA [↑HA HAH]↑HA HAH
REL BE just pain stomach
On the contrary it causes {the} stomach pain Aha hah hah hah.

6 Ida [emang aha hah]
indeed
Indeed, Aha hah.

7 (1.0)

8 Ida itunya hilang↑(.) pusing#nya↑ [perutnya yang sakit;
DIST.DEF go.away headache.DEF stomach.DEF REL pain
That goes away, the headache, {but} the stomach {feels} painful.
fig #Fig 5.12



((Susi gazes down))

9 Ipeh [iya↑ perutnya melilit
INTJ stomach.DET squeeze
Yeah, the stomach feels tight,

10 ya mbah [ye,
PRT grandma.JAVANESE PRT
doesn't it, Grandma?

11 Susi [he je:h.
Uh huh

12 (1.4)

13 Ipeh=> >tapi kalo makan #mah↑ enak #aja ↑mbah ye<
but if eat PRT good just grandma.JAVANESE PRT
But you are okay with the food, aren't you grandma?

fig #Fig 5.13a #Fig 5.13b



((Ipeh touches Susi on the thigh))



((Ipeh and Susi establish Mutual gaze))

14 [(0.7)
[((Susi gazes away from Ipeh & gazes frontward, Ipeh & Ida gaze at Susi))

15 Susi iya biasa aja [°°makan mah°°
PRT ordinary just eat PRT
Well, {it's} pretty ordinary.

16 Ipeh [iye maksudnya↑ GA ADA KELU↑HAN
PRT mean.DEF NEG BE complaint
Well, {I} mean, {you} have no problem {with it}.

17 (0.1)

18 Ida -> *enggak,*
NEG
No?

19 (0.4)

20 Ipeh-> *enggak?*
NEG
No?

21 (0.1)

22 Susi ((shaking head))

Ipeh continues the story, telling that her friend told her to eat as much spicy food as she could (lines 1-2), but she does not believe it (line 5). At line 8, Ida describes some possible side effects of this treatment. Ipeh agrees with Ida's stance through her response at line 9. She then quickly gazes at Susi, who is gazing down, and produces a turn over lines 9 to 10, *Iya perutnya melilit ya mbah ye?* 'Yeah the stomach feels tight, doesn't it, grandma?'. At line 11, Susi agrees with Ipeh's turn ("uh huh"), which is followed by a 1.4 second silence (line 12). At this moment, Susi continues gazing down and folds her hands, and both Ipeh and Ida gaze at her. Ipeh self-selects in line 13, commencing a new but related topic. She uses *tapi* 'but' as a preface for her turn, indicating a departure from the previous talk. She then asks whether Susi is okay with this kind of food, but Susi provides a nonconforming response in line 15 *Iya biasa aja makan mah* 'Well, {it's} pretty ordinary' after a silence in which she is gazing directly ahead, away from both Ipeh and Ida. Ipeh formulates Susi's turn, and then Ida pursues a response from Susi *Enggak?* 'No?' in line 18. After a silence, Ipeh also pursues a response with *Enggak* 'No?' (line 20), and Susi promptly confirms it with a head shake.

In Extract (5.8), Ipeh (and Ida) solicit contributions to the interaction from Susi. Ipeh, in particular, orients to Susi's gaze away from the others, culminating in her question at line 13 in which she touches and addresses Susi with the kin term *mbah*. As Ipeh develops her turn in line 13, Susi continues to gaze away from her, with her head tilted downwards. With her touch (Figure 5.13a), she solicits Susi's gaze, which Susi delivers quickly (Figure 5.13b). In addition, Ipeh appends a post-positioned

address term that both points towards Susi's apparent disengagement and strongly projects her taking the floor and contributing. The pursuit of Susi's participation is also shown through both Ida and Ipeh seeking confirmation at 18 and 20.

Extracts (5.9) is from the conversation between Ucu, Tubi, and Ucu's family In this extract, Tubi addresses questions to Ucu using touch and address terms. These questions relate to a word search commenced by Tubi. Prior to this extract, Tubi had been telling the others about his trip to Saudi Arabia back in 1998. While there, he met an old friend who lived close to Ucu's home, but, as he was telling the story, he could not remember the person's name. The arrowed lines at 5 and 23 are the turns in focus.

(5.9) "Who is he?" (8_1_X19_TYP_FH) [21:49-22:09]

1 Tubi >satu lagi siapa ↑sih,= ustadz siapa ↑sih,<= ↓ya Allah lupa;
one more WH PRT teacher.ARABIC WH PRT oh.my.God forget
Who's the other guy? Mr who? My dear God, I forgot.

2 (0.7)

3 Tubi mahmud↑ siapa ↑ye;
NAME WH PRT
Mahmud {or} someone else?

4 (0.6)

5 Tubi-> si[ape ↑cu,]#(0.2) yang suka ke ↑masjid;
WH NAME REL always to mosque
Who's the one, Cu (0.2) who always {prays} in the mosque?

fig

#Fig 5.14



((Tubi touches Ucu on the thigh))

6 Eman [°°siape°°]
WH
Who?

7 (0.2)

8 Asih si ↑SULE
DET NAME
Sule

9 (0.5)

10 Ucu-> #/°s(h)apε,°/
WH
Who?

fig #Fig 5.15



((Ucu gazes at Asih, mutual gaze))

- 11 (0.1)
- 12 Asih si kiya kali ya, >yang ustadz di sono<
 DEY NAME maybe PRT REL teacher.ARABIC LOC
Maybe it's Kiya, the one who teaches there.
- 13 (1.5)
- 14 Tubi >rahman (.) rahman-< abduroh- abduroh↑man
 NAME NAME NAME
Rahman (.) Rahman- Abduroh- Abdurrohman.
- 15 (0.1)
- 16 Eman oh okim- inian↑ (.) ↓haji maman_
 oh NAME this.PROX hajj NAME
Oh Okim- it's (.) Haji Maman.
- 17 (0.1)
- 18 Tubi haji ma↑MAN
 hajj NAME
Haji Maman.
- 19 (0.1)
- 20 Asih ↑oh [si maman,
 oh DET NAME
Oh, Maman?
- 21 Eman [°maman abdurrahim °
 NAME NAME
Maman abdurrahim.
- 22 (0.1)
- 23 Tubi-> kenal [↑cu¿
 know NAME
You know {him}, Cu?
- 24 Asih [maman ABDURRA↑HIM
 NAME NAME
Maman abdurrahim.
- 25 (0.1)
- 26 Eman pak ↑rw
 father community.group
The chief of community group.
- 27 (.)
- 28 Ucu ((nodding))

Over lines 1 to 3, Tubi gazes at Asih and seeks collaboration in naming the person he met in Saudi Arabia, along with a candidate guess at the name, *Mahmud atau siape ye?* ‘Mahmud {or} someone else?’. Asih does not respond. After a silence at line 4, Tubi turns his head sharply towards Ucu, begins his turn, touches Ucu, and asks him, *Siape cu (0.2) yang suka ke mesjid?* ‘Who’s the one, Cu (0.2) who always {prays} in the mosque?’. Asih then takes the floor, and offers a candidate name, which is followed by an other-initiation of repair from Ucu /^os(h)apε,^o/ ‘Who?’ (Figure 5.15). Asih responds with another, tentative guess in line 12 (“Kiya”), along with a brief description of this person. A long silence ensues at line 13. Tubi then appears to remember the person in line 14, eventually settling on the name Abdurrahman. Both Eman and Asih display recognition of this person between lines 16 and 21. At line 23, Tubi turns his gaze toward Ucu and asks him whether he knows this person, adding a post-positioned address term. Asih and Eman respectively name the person again and provide further description of him, and Ucu nods in confirmation at line 28.

There are two questions addressed to Ucu from Tubi in this extract, both of which include an address term. Tubi’s word search is initially directed to Asih, who does not immediately provide a candidate name. Tubi then alters his target from Asih to Ucu. Tubi begins his turn with *siape* ‘who’, but finds that Ucu is gazing elsewhere. Tubi addresses his recipient with a personal name (“Cu”) and touches Ucu on the thigh (Figure 5.14). That is, Tubi solicits Ucu’s orientation via this address term and touch. In response, Ucu looks to him, but he does not take the floor. Instead, Asih produces a name, and Ucu attends to her. Tubi’s second question to Ucu comes after the word search has been resolved, and includes a post-positioned address term. Note that Ucu’s only contribution to the word search was his other-initiation of repair directed to Asih at line 10. With his question at line 23, Tubi pursues participation from Ucu,

orienting to his previous failure to take the floor when selected as next speaker. Again, however, Ucu fails to take the floor, offering only an embodied response.

A similar response pursuit between Tubi and Ucu is presented in Extract (5.10). Here, Tubi uses touch alone to pursue a response from Ucu after he has failed to answer a previous question, and others have responded on his behalf. Prior to Extract (5.10), Asih had been telling Tubi about Ucu's current daily activities, and his activities in the past (e.g., working in a manufacturing factory, reciting the Quran). The two questions in focus in this extract are at line 1 and line 10.

(5.10) "Recital" (8_1_X11_TYP_FH) [01:35-01:38]

1 Tubi-> #>tapi sekarang masih ngaji¿<
but now still recite.Quran
Well, {are you} still reciting {the Quran}?
fig #Fig 5.16



((Tubi gazes at Ucu and Ucu gazes at mid-distance))

2 (0.3)

3 Tubi-> udah enggak¿
already NEG
Not anymore?

4 (0.2)

5 Tubi-> ↑lu[pa¿
forget
Forget?

6 Asih [\$udah enggak ah hah\$
already NEG
Not anymore. Ah hah

7 (1.2)

8 Asih °ngomongnya° °°ga bisa dia°°
Speak.DEF NEG can 3SG
He couldn't recite it.

9 (0.2)

10 Tubi=> #masih ngaji #↑ga seka↑rang?=
Still recite NEG now
{Aren't you} still reciting {the Quran}?

fig #Fig 5.17a #Fig 5.17b



((Tubi touches Ucu on the knee))



((Tubi and Ucu establish mutual gaze))

- 11 Nada =°°\$udah [enggak\$°°
already NEG
Not anymore
- 12 Asih [ah hah
Ah hah
- 13 (0.1)
- 14 Ucu ma- masi /↑wisa/
still can
{I} still can {recite the Quran}.
- 15 (0.5)
- 16 Tubi ↑heh?
Huh?
- 17 (0.2)
- 18 Ucu ↓bi:\$↑sa\$
can
{I} can
- 19 (0.3)
- 20 Tubi a ha [hah
A hah hah
- 21 Ucu [a hah
A hah

Tubi shifts his gaze from Asih to Ucu (Figure 5.16) and asks a polar question in line 1, which does not receive an answer. Tubi maintains his gaze toward Ucu, and adds to his question, saying *Udah enggak?* ‘Not anymore?’ in line 3. This second attempt also fails and the targeted recipient is gazing to mid-distance. Tubi’s third attempt occurs at line 5 *Lupa?* ‘Forget?’, but again, there is no response from Ucu. Asih then provides an answer in line 6, which she expands at line 8, telling Tubi that Ucu couldn’t recite the Quran anymore. Tubi sustains his gaze toward Ucu, touches him on the knee (Figure 5.17a), and asks the question, but with a negative polarity *Masih ngaji ga sekarang?* ‘Aren’t you still reciting {the Quran}?’ They achieve mutual gaze in the

middle of this turn (Figure 5.17b), following Tubi's touch. Again, an unaddressed recipient (Nada) provides an answer in line 11. Ucu finally responds at line 14, indicating that he can still recite, however his articulation of the word *bisa* 'can' is incorrect. After a silence, Tubi other-initiates repair using an open format ("Huh?"), and Ucu repairs his response in line 18. Tubi and Ucu both laugh over lines 20 to 21.

In this extract, Tubi's touch functions as a resource for pursuing a response from the selected next speaker, Ucu. Tubi's response pursuit culminating in this touch displays his orientation to the preference for the selected next speaker to take the floor and take a turn. Despite Asih providing an answer, he still pursues a response. Note too that this touch functions to summon the gaze of Ucu, who looks away from Tubi until his touch at line 10. On the other hand, Tubi maintains his gaze at Ucu, supporting his response-mobilising pursuit (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). As a result, Ucu gazes at Tubi (Figure 5.17b) and provides a turn at talk.

We remain with Ucu and Tubi in Extract (5.11). Again, Tubi's selection of Ucu as next speaker is initially unsuccessful, and this leads everyone to directly question Ucu's competence. Before this extract, Tubi and Nana had been discussing about their last school reunion. We will now focus on the arrowed turn at line 9, and the sequence of turns in results in.

(5.11) "Gani" (8_1_X23_TYP_FH) [26:29-26:39]

- | | | |
|---|------|--|
| 1 | Nana | ketemu gani, (0.1) ↓gani masih ADA (0.3) ↑ama: agusTINA
meet NAME NAME still BE with NAME
{I} met Gani (0.1) when he's alive (0.3) and Agustina. |
| 2 | | (0.4) |
| 3 | Tubi | ↓iya °he eh°
INTJ uh huh
Yeah, uh huh. |
| 4 | | (0.2) |
| 5 | Nana | °iya°
INTJ
Yeah. |
| 6 | | (0.2) |
| 7 | Tubi | gani ya umurnye;
NAME PRT age.DET
Poor Gani! His age! |
| 8 | | (0.2) |

9 Tubi-> gani kenal #↑kan lo?
 NAME know PRT 2SG
You know Gani, don't you?
 fig #Fig 5.18



((Tubi touches Ucu on the thigh))

10 # (0.5)
 fig #Fig 5.19



((Tubi and Ucu establish mutual gaze))

11 Nana ga ke[nal ↑di]e
 NEG know 3SG
He doesn't know {him}.

12 Tubi-> [ga[niꞤ]
 NAME
Gani?

13 Tubi [((detaches his hand from Ucu's thigh))

14 (0.1)

15 Ucu -> /sapɛ, /=
 WH
Who?

16 Nana =ga ke[nal_
 NEG know
{He} doesn't know {him}.

17 Tubi [GANI
 NAME
Gani.

18 (0.7)

19 Nana gani [suji↑WO]
 NAME NAME
Gani sujiwo.

20 Tubi [su↑jiwo]
 NAME
Sujiwo.

21 (0.6)

22 Nana aye [kata-
1SG word
Like I said-

23 Ucu [<kena:l>
 know
 {I} **know** {him}.

24 (0.1)

25 Tubi-> >kenal lu,<
 Know 2SG
 You know {him}?

26 (0.1)

27 Ucu <↓iye>
 INTJ
 Yeah.

28 (0.5)

29 Tubi-> >keɲnal gaɿ<
 know NEG
 Do you know {him} or not?

30 (0.2)

31 Ucu -> /ʊwo:ɿ/
 uwo
 Sujiwo?

32 (0.1)

33 Tubi ↓iya:
 INTJ
 Yeah.

34 (0.1)

35 Ucu <keɲna:l>
 know
 {I} **know** {him}.

At line 1, Nana mentions some people she met at the event (line 1), including their late friend, Gani. This leads Tubi to lament Gani's early death at line 7. Tubi swiftly gazes to Ucu and asks whether he knows Gani (line 9). This question includes an epistemic particle *kan* (Hamdani & Barnes, 2018), a second person pronoun, and a touch from Tubi to Ucu. Ucu gazes at Tubi during the 0.5 second silence in line 10. An unaddressed recipient, Nana, treats this silence as problematic (Lerner, 2019; Stivers & Robinson, 2006) and she intervenes in line 11, saying to Tubi, *Ga kenal die* 'He doesn't know {him}'. In overlap with this turn, Tubi makes another attempt to secure a response from Ucu, and repeats the name of the person ("Gani?"). Ucu initiates repair by saying *Sape?* 'Who?' in line 15. Tubi supplies the name once more in line 17, while Nana repeats her assertion in overlap at line 16. After a silence, Nana shifts her stance

somewhat, supplying Gani's full name at line 19, with Tubi also supplying part of the name at 20. Nana then self-selects, and in overlap Ucu finally responds at line 23, claiming to know who Gani is. Tubi solicits confirmation with *Kenal lu?* 'You know {him}?' at line 25, and Ucu responds with a simple confirmation *iyé* 'Yeah' in line 27. Tubi maintains his gaze toward Ucu and seek another confirmation at line 29. This suggests that Ucu's confirmation at line 27 was too weak given Nana's previous assertions and his own delays. At line 31, Ucu repeats the name with imprecise articulation, which Tubi then receipts. Finally, Ucu again says *kenal*, claiming once more to know Gani.

In Extract (5.11), Tubi shifts his focus from Nana, and selects Ucu as the next speaker. However, Ucu's lack of immediate uptake results in both Nana and Tubi questioning his competence; specifically, whether he knows a person they have been talking about. This results in an extended sequence where Ucu must employ a series of strong linguistic practices (particularly, repeating practices; see Stivers, 2005) in order for the others accept that he is knowledgeable on this topic. So, in this case, Ucu's failure to take the floor when selected is directly implicated in undermining his competence. Regarding Tubi's touch, similar to Extract (5.10), it functions as a tool to elicit mutual orientation, while also signally a participation opportunity for Ucu.

In the final two extracts in this section, I will present instances where address terms and touches are employed alongside questions to support aspects of action formation. Let us now consider Extract (5.12), in which Siti is describing her experience of a heart condition. Prior to this extract, Siti had been telling Ipeh that she had been diagnosed with heart problems. Ipeh employs touches alongside her questions at lines 7 and 31, and a post-positioned address term at line 19.

19 Ipeh-> aha hah [/(ha heh ha heh↑)/ ↓apaan↑ nekꞤ
 aha hah WH grandma
Aha hah, what is {it}, grandma?

20 Siti [AHA HAH HA HAH AHA HAH
Aha hah ha hah aha hah

(10 lines of transcript omitted, all participants keep laughing))

31 Ipeh=> ↑apa#anꞤ ah ha [hah
 WH
What? Aha hah

fig #Fig 5.21



((Ipeh touches Siti on the arm))

32 Siti [/\$ (ngas nges ↑ngos)\$ / aha hah
Ngas nges ngos. Aha hah

33 (0.2)

34 Ipeh ngos[-ngo↑s]anꞤ
 RDP.panting
Panting?

35 Odah [aha hah]
Aha hah

36 (0.1)

37 Siti °he eh ° ((nodding))
 uh huh
Uh huh

The extract commences with Ipeh producing a change-of-state token and a confirmation request. Siti produces a minimal response (“Uh huh”) and nods slowly in line 2, while Odah repeats the word *jantung* ‘heart’ at line 3. Siti then asserts that a doctor gave her a referral for a cardiologist. Ipeh maintains her gaze toward Siti and asks whether she experiences a constant pounding of her heart at line 7, touching Siti on the shoulder around the middle of her turn (Figure 5.20). After a long silence, Siti responds to this question in line 9, indicating that it is not a problem with her heart pounding, but her turn is grammatically problematic. Ipeh probes further with *Cuman?* ‘But?’, following up her initial question (Bolden, 2010).

At line 12, Siti responds to this, but seemingly struggles with finding the right words. Instead, she produces the onomatopoeia-like utterance *nyah nyeh nyoh*. Ipeh then produces an open format other-initiation of repair (*heh*) in line 14, and Siti begins to laugh. Ipeh makes her first guess about the meaning of Siti's onomatopoeia utterance at line 17, *Engap?* 'Breathless?'. Ipeh begins to laugh herself, and asks Siti a wh-question *Apaan nek?* 'What's it, grandma?'. This question also remains unanswered, and everyone starts laughing together. At line 31, Ipeh produces another attempt to pursue a response *Apaan?* 'What?', touching Siti once more (Figure 5.21). Siti responds to the question at line 32, which generates another guess from Ipeh, *Ngos-ngosan?* 'Panting?'. Siti accepts this guess with a minimal acknowledgment ("uh huh") and a head nod.

Ipeh's turn at line 7 is directed to Siti while they are gazing at each other, the targeted topic is ongoing, and clearly within Siti's epistemic domain. Put simply, it is clear that Ipeh is addressing Siti, but she still touches Siti in the middle of the turn. As discussed earlier in Chapter 4, this sort of touch seemingly adds a quality to the action being implemented. Here, it may convey Ipeh's genuine, caring interest in Siti's health (much like Ami's question to Sari in Extract 4.15). (Alternatively, it is also possible that her touch conveyed some aspect of the sensation or movement she was referred to in her question). Regardless, Ipeh's touch conveyed some special emphasis for her question. This may well also be the case for her post-positioned address term at line 19 and her touch at line 31. However, these practices were employed after Siti had failed to respond to Ipeh's pursuit of further information at lines 11, 14, and 17. Her use of response mobilising tools (interrogative lexico-morphosyntax, gaze) were not sufficient to secure a response from Siti, suggesting that these explicit practices for next speaker selection were primarily directed towards pursuing a response.

The final extract in this section is also drawn from the conversation involving Siti, Odah, and Ipeh. I will focus on a question that Odah addresses to Siti in which she employs an address term. Like the contrastive cases of address term use in Chapter 3 (see Section 3.6), there are no issues of mutual orientation in this instance. Before Extract (5.13), Siti had been telling Ipeh and Odah that she fell and hit her head, which caused her dizziness. As the extract begins, Siti is telling Ipeh about the medications she takes, which Ipeh acknowledges with *oh* at line 3. The turn in focus is at line 13.

(5.13) "Herbs" (28_12_1_X7_TYP_FH) [05:36-05:58]

- 1 Siti enggak=m- (0.1) makan darah ting- (.) buat darah ↑tinggi;
 NEG eat blood for blood high
No (0.1) {I} take blood- (.) {medications} for high blood pressure.
- 2 (0.1)
- 3 Ipeh ↓o::h↑
 Oh
- 4 (0.2)
- 5 Siti (empat) kali minum_
 four time drink
{I} take {them} four times {a day}.
- 6 Ipeh =>he eh he eh [he eh<=
 Uh huh, uh huh, uh huh.
- 7 Siti =atu atu, [tuh_(0.1)] °sore°
 one one that afternoon
One by one (0.1) {in the} afternoon.
- 8 Ipeh [o:h↑]
 Oh
- 9 (1.5)
- 10 Siti kalo ga makan ↑itu, (0.8) .HH (0.5) nah malam minggu jep- (1.1) an-
 if NEG eat DIST PRT night Sunday
If {I} didn't take it (0.8).HH (0.5) well Saturday's night (1.1)
- 11 entar gitu lagi;
 soon like.that again
soon {I will feel the dizziness} again.
- 12 (.)
- 13 Odah-> sekarang [ne↑nek]ga, (.) udeh, (.) >udeh (.) ga makan jamu ↑lagi?<
 now grandma NEG already already NEG eat herb anymore
**Now, you don't (.) already (.) already (.) don't take the herbal
 medicines anymore?**
- 14 Siti [(2 syll)]
- 15 (.)
- 16 Siti ↓enggak↑=udah lama↑
 NEG already long.time
No. It's been a while.

Siti provides further information about the medications she takes regularly in line 5. Following this, Ipeh produces a continuer (“uh huh”) in line 6, and Siti specifies when she takes them in the afternoon. After Ipeh produces another change-of-state token, a long silence ensues at line 9. Siti then produces a turn that is marked by self-repair. She abandons the first part of her turn *Kalo ga makan itu* (“If {I} didn’t take it”), initiates a new one *nah malam minggu* (“well Saturday’s night”), and then abandons it again to resume her first one *entar gitu lagi* ‘Soon {I will feel the dizziness} again’. Odah then asks whether Siti still takes *jamu* (traditional herbal medicine) or not in line 13, with the kin term *nenek* produced as the second item in the turn. In response, Siti confirms that she no longer takes this medicine, *Enggak udah lama* ‘No. It’s been a while’ (line 16).

Odah’s question to Siti continues the course of action that Ipeh and Siti had been developing together. Like Extract (5.12), there is no question of mutual orientation, and the topic is within Siti’s epistemic domain. In this instance, Odah’s use of an address term early in her turn points towards the social relationship between Odah and Siti; recall that Odah is Siti’s niece. In addition, the question targets a matter Siti has direct agency over: whether she takes *jamu* or not. It is these pressures that encourage Odah to employ an address term in her question to Siti.

5.4 Summary of Chapter 5

This chapter has described how people with aphasia and their conversation partners accomplish explicit next speaker selection with questions, focusing on address terms and touch. These practices appear to be employed and function in similar ways to typical speakers, but some important patterns and differences were noted. I found that people with aphasia did not exploit address terms in their questions (and very rarely touch), and instead relied on gaze. In addition, although they regularly achieved next speaker selection successfully, this did not mean that their actions would

be taken up successfully. I also found that conversation partners used a range of practices to select people with aphasia as next speakers, with kin terms figuring prominently. On occasions where next speaker selection was slow or unsuccessful, this could result in the speaker and other participants orienting to, and questioning, the competence of people with aphasia. So, the opportunity to participate provided by being selected as next speaker can become problematic in some circumstances.

Chapter 6: Discussion and conclusions

6.1 Summary of findings

This thesis has examined explicit practices for selecting a next speaker in Indonesian multiparty typical and atypical interactions. It focused on explaining how speakers use maximally explicit selection methods – in particular, address terms and touch – and exploring how aphasia may affect their organisation in conversation. I will now summarise the key findings presented in Chapter 3, Chapter 4, and Chapter 5.

The uses of address terms in questions and their role(s) in next speaker selection were presented in Chapter 3. It examined pre-positioned address terms, post-positioned address terms, multiple address terms, and address terms with contrastive functions. Pre-positioned address terms indicated the beginning of a new course of action and issues of embodiment and orientation. Post-positioned address terms managed problems of turn and sequence that emerged during a turn, or they were used to indicate a person-specific action. These functions also influenced the use of multiple address terms. The cases of contrastive address terms in questions suggested that speakers used these address terms to deal with finer issues of action formation, including (but not limited to) age and seniority, the topic being discussed, and the role of the recipient in the topic. In summary, the findings highlighted how address terms are used to manage issues of participation and action formation.

Touch as a practice for next speaker selection was examined in detail in Chapter 4. Question speakers employed touch to manage issues with mutual orientation between themselves and question recipients. In particular, touch was often exploited when the seating arrangements of the participants limited mutual gaze. Soliciting the

gaze of a question recipient appeared to be a key outcome of this practice. It was also found that question speakers employed touch when pursuing responses to questions, pressuring recipients for a response (Lerner, 2019; Stivers & Rossano, 2010). Touch was particularly useful for changing the selected addressee of a question. Touch was also used to add a specific quality or salience to a person-specific action and for delivering actions that may risk disalignment and/or disaffiliation.

The findings of Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 provided important context for the atypical interactions examined in Chapter 5. Question speakers with aphasia used essentially no maximally explicit verbal resources, and instead relied on gaze direction to accomplish Rule 1(a). However, successful next speaker selection did not guarantee that their initiating action would be successfully taken up. By contrast, their conversation partners employed address terms and touches in ways that were consistent with typical interactions, including to pursue responses from people with aphasia. On occasion, however, this led to sequences that topicalised the problems people with aphasia were experiencing with participating, responding, or speaking.

The findings of this thesis have made a number of unique contributions to knowledge. It is the first study to systematically describe the use of these maximally explicit practices in questions for next speaker selection in conversation, and the first to examine the role of touch in next speaker selection. It is also the first to link Rule 1(a) with both topic initiation *and* issues of mutual orientation. A number of studies have explored issues of topic initiation and explicit next speaker selection (Clayman, 2010; Rendle-Short, 2007), including in conversations in Indonesian (Ewing & Djenar, 2019). However, this is the first study to show that pre-positioned address terms are used when speakers are initiating topics/larger courses of action and there are also issues of mutual orientation. It is also the first study to examine turn allocation and aphasia in depth, and the first to examine conversations involving Indonesian speakers

with aphasia. I will now discuss these contributions to knowledge in more detail in Sections 6.2, 6.3, and 6.4.

6.2 Explicit practices for next speaker selection

The collection of studies presented in Enfield et al. (2010) indicated that address terms were not commonly used for explicit next speaker selection in questions. The findings of the present study are consistent with this, in that address terms were rather rare in the question corpus assembled. As noted previously, this study found that 15.53% of questions (238 out of 1533) in the present corpus included an address term. This is more frequent than almost all of the languages studied in the Enfield et al. (2010) collection. I will return to this point below in Section 6.3.

The turn-taking system provides a way of coordinating participation through talking and is a fundamental aspect of conversation (Sacks et al., 1974). Other studies have shown how patterns in turn-taking, and departures from everyday conversation, contribute to institutional objectives, such as participation in public meetings and debates and ordering and selection in classroom interactions (Lerner, 1995; Mondada, 2013; Tainio, 2011). For example, in classroom interaction, a teacher can exploit features of the turn-taking system to selectively address an inattentive pupil (Lerner, 1995) or a group of students (Tainio, 2011) by producing a first pair part with a post-positioned address term. A unique aspect of this study is that it has demonstrated how an aspect of the turn-taking system – turn allocation – interfaces with other basic aspects of interaction. In this sense, this study shows that the turn-taking system is subservient to these other, more general aspects of interaction. That is to say, the findings of the present study have made clear that turn allocation is strongly associated with action formation and embodied aspects of reciprocity and participation. It is also interesting to note that the association with the sequential organisation of talk seems

to vary between explicit practices. Pre-positioned address terms were linked with sequentially new courses of action/topic initiation but touch was not (or not as strongly). This suggests that there may be a modality-specific effect here, or at least that touch is employed in a more ad-hoc manner than some kinds of address terms. Along similar lines, the findings of the present study have also highlighted that touch may encourage question recipients to return their gaze first. Again, this may indicate that explicit practices have differing effects across modalities.

With regard to the turn-taking system more generally, the present study contributes to our current understanding of it in a number of ways. First, it adds another modality to the turn-allocational component, i.e., touch. This aspect of the turn-taking system has always included gaze (see Auer, 2018), and so positioning yet another non-talk mode alongside it should not be problematic. Put another way, although it is conveyed through a different modality, touch can comfortably sit alongside gaze in the turn-allocational component of the turn-taking system because turn-taking is always richly multimodal in face to face interaction. However, turn-taking is still a system for organizing talk that consists of normative expectations for talking, and there is much to be discovered about how embodied modes routinely combine with and contextualise talk-based practices (and each other). Second, the present findings are important for developing the notion of pre- and post-positioned address terms (Lerner, 2003). I have shown that these practices engage in fundamentally different work, with pre-positioned address terms dealing with issues that exist prior to the commencement of the turn, and post-positioned dealing with issues that contingently arise in the turn. So, although pre-positioned address terms are realised via the turn-taking system, they actually deal with issues that sit outside it, i.e., embodied orientation and sequence organisation. It is also worthwhile to consider how the present findings show how “pre” and “post” should be understood. These address terms are, effectively, pre- and post-*TCU*

objects, and are organised relative to the unit of a turn. This is different from, for example, a pre-beginning to a request, which is better understood as organised relative to the unit of action (Keisanen & Rauniomaa, 2012). Third, these findings also make clear that highly explicit practices have a limited scope, and that the system itself may be tilted towards inexplicitness and self-selection. Perhaps this is an expression of a more general “preference for minimization” in interaction (Schegloff, 2006, p. 86), with speakers aiming to use the most minimal/unmarked forms possible. Studying the interface between Rule 1(a) and Rule 1(b) is likely to be important for testing this idea (see Lerner, 2019).

The features and utility of touch as a practice for selecting a next speaker also offers some interesting theoretical and methodological challenges (see Iwasaki et al., 2019). The findings of Chapter 4 suggested that question speakers may use touch when the primary resources for mobilising response (e.g., gaze, lexico-morphosyntax, prosody) were not successful, and that it can be used to shift recipients. The touch revives the prior action and makes clear who is being selected. Switching modalities in this way is an interesting choice, and may reflect the consequences of continuing to fail in the vocal modality, and/or the salience of the haptic (i.e., touch) modality. This finding also suggests that touch may be a “secondary” modality, with talk and gaze prioritised as the “unmarked” default. Finally, it should be noted that, because of the nature of touch, core aspects of the design of this practice are not available to video-based research (Iwasaki et al., 2019). Understanding its precise role in selection will likely require new methodologies that better document aspects of its tactile design.

This study has also shown that explicit practices associated with next speaker selection can be employed for various special tasks in action formation. That is to say, their explicitness/salience can encourage question recipients to reflect on the special import of the practice for the action implemented by the question. The quality provided

by these explicit practices is highly contextualised; like the process of action formation in general (Enfield & Sidnell, 2017). Nonetheless, address terms and touch can be used to show that there is something about the question (or its environment) that is special or additional; not just questioning “simpliciter” (see Schegloff, 1996a). That is to say, explicitness is vital not only avoiding for ambiguity, but also showing how speakers are “accountable for what they have said or done” (Sidnell & Enfield, 2012, p. 303), i.e., they highlight accountability, and commit a speaker to an unambiguous position.

6.3 Language and culture-specific practices

Important aspects of interaction appear to be universal, with every society using verbal conversation and linguistic resources (e.g., grammar, pragmatics, prosody) “to organise our social lives” (Hayano, 2013, p. 396). Conversational practices also differ across languages and cultures (Stivers et al., 2009). The findings of this study offer some preliminary insights into conversational practices that may be characteristic of Indonesian speakers.

First, the present analysis of explicit practices for next speaker selection indicates that gaze is a part of “doing reciprocity” in Indonesian conversation. In their quantitative study of Italian, Yélî Dnye, and Tzeltal, Rossano et al. (2009) concluded that gaze was not vital for showing reciprocity in Tzeltal. The use of address terms and touch to target problems with mutual orientation (and particularly gaze) provides evidence of the relevance of gaze for reciprocity in Indonesian.

Second, the relatively high frequency of address terms in Indonesian questions suggests some distinctive practices used by Indonesian speakers. One distinctive aspect is the availability of culture specific terms, such as the Sundanese kin term *tétéh* ‘older sister’. In a multiethnic conversation, such terms can signal explicitly that

someone with a specific cultural background – in this case, Sundanese – is being selected as a next speaker. In addition, as outlined in Chapter 3, many address terms in Indonesian conversation were employed in ways that were less related to next speaker selection, and more related to action formation. These address terms in Indonesian have often been described as pronoun substitutes (Hassall, 2013). Structurally, these address terms do not fit the pre-positioned and post-positioned paradigm, and should instead be understood as a TCU component, playing a core role in the development of TCUs themselves. This kind of phenomenon is reasonably well attested in Indonesian. For example, Sneddon et al. (2010) suggest that Indonesian speakers employ address terms as pronoun substitutes, which means “personal names and kinship terms used instead of pronouns” (p. 166), e.g., the words *bapak* ‘father’ and *ibu* ‘mother’ might be used in place of a relevant second person pronoun (e.g., *anda*, *lu*) (see also Ewing and Djenar, 2019). In the analysis in Chapter 3, I offered some preliminary findings about the kinds of social and topical factors that can motivate the use of address terms for action formation and as an internal component of a TCU. However, as discussed in Chapter 3 (and demonstrated throughout the analyses in the thesis), ellipsis is also possible in questions, with pronouns and address terms both absent (Hamdani & Barnes, 2018). Therefore, some address terms can be meaningfully considered as an alternative to ellipsis as well as an alternative to pronouns. So, although the idea of pronoun substitute is intuitively plausible, it restricts the framing of the practice. While the slot they fill grammatically in a TCU is often similar to a pronoun, the meaning they convey might be more than what is conveyed with a pronoun, with the present findings suggesting that they emphasise agency, relationship, and status. By terming these practices a “pronoun substitute”, it describes what they are not, not what they *are*.³⁸ In summary, it is clear that the factors driving

³⁸ It is, however, true that these address terms can help avoid contrasts intrinsic to pronoun systems.

ellipsis, pronoun use, and address term use in questions require more detailed investigation. This has the potential to show how the use of address terms by Indonesian speakers is distinctive.

Finally, it is also possible that the use of touch has a cultural dimension; that is to say, perhaps Indonesian people touch others more often in conversation than people from other cultures. There are likely additional factors at play in the present data. The participants in the present study were seated nearby each other, in an urban environment, and were very familiar with one another. They had known each other on average for eight years. These factors may be just as consequential as cultural background. Nonetheless, the qualitative and quantitative findings of the present study provide a potential starting point for cross-cultural comparison.

6.4 Aphasia and participation

Aphasia limits the linguistic and multimodal resources available for use in conversation. This study has demonstrated that people of aphasia heavily relied on gaze while addressing questions. The finding that people with aphasia did not use maximally explicit practices is not unexpected given that aphasia affects production of proper nouns (Robson, Marshall, Pring, Montagu, & Chiat, 2004) and reduces overall linguistic complexity in Indonesian (Anjarningsih et al., 2012). In addition, it is possible that motor impairments affected the use of touch. However, these patterns may also reflect a change in overall participation and action formation for people with aphasia. People with aphasia may have produced less initiating and more responsive actions in this dataset relative to conversation partners. So, the lack of maximally explicit next speaker selection practices may reflect (or cause) a reduction in topic-initiating actions in conversation (Barnes et al., 2013).

It is also clear that turn allocation appeared to operate in a qualitatively similar way in the atypical interactions studied. Moreover, the patterns of collaborative participation in which conversation partners were involved in problem-solving activities, including hint and guess sequences (Laakso & Klippi, 1999) and word searches (Oelschlaeger, 1999), were consistent with previous findings about aphasia. With these activities, conversation partners ensured that people with aphasia were actively involved in conversation. On the other hand, we saw that selecting people with aphasia could cause their linguistic and interactional problems to be topicalised, with selection pursued in a way that risked failure to develop a fitted response to the question. We also saw that questions produced by people with aphasia could fail despite successful next speaker selection. These findings have the potential to support conversation partner training for Indonesian people with aphasia (Lock et al., 2001).

The findings of the present study also offer some interesting directions for quantifying conversations involving people with aphasia. This is vital for clinical practice with aphasia, and something that has proven difficult for researchers and clinicians (Beeke, Maxim, Best, & Cooper, 2011). For example, the distribution of social actions accomplished by questions from people with aphasia (see Chapter 5, Table 5.1) could offer a basis for comparison with typical speakers, and cross-linguistically, much like Enfield et al. (2010). This might be a way of meaningfully quantifying the changes to participation in conversation caused by aphasia across different languages, cultures, and contexts.

6.5 Study limitations and future research

This study has a number of limitations. First, this study was confined to questions. Including a wider range of actions may have allowed for a deeper understanding of patterns in next speaker selection. Second, by focusing on the

characteristics of questioning turns, this study has sacrificed some depth of analysis in recipient responses to questions. Again, this could have provided further insight into the mechanics of next speaker selection. Third, the role of unaddressed recipients' embodied actions was not well explored in these multiparty interactions. This could have offered another, converging source of evidence to support the present analyses (Weiss, 2018). Fourth, more direct and systematic comparison between questions with ellipsis, pronouns, and address terms would have been valuable for understanding the functions of address terms. Fifth, this study collected little specific information about the nature of participants' aphasia. This would have allowed for a more detailed exploration of the way aphasia affected conversation in Indonesian, and the features of aphasia in Indonesian. Finally, the smaller corpus of atypical interactions prevented direct and valid quantitative comparisons to typical interactions, and may have limited the identification of qualitative differences between these datasets.

The present study suggests a variety of potential directions for future research on conversational Indonesian. First, it would be valuable to more systematically sample and manipulate demographic factors (e.g., gender, age, familiarity, social relationships) in future studies of address term use and touch. In addition, there is a clear need for direct comparison of address terms, pronouns, and ellipsis in questions. Both will provide a sound basis for cross-linguistic comparison of conversational and linguistic practices (Dingemanse et al., 2014), providing insight into the different resources languages provides as tools to achieve actions (Sidnell & Enfield, 2012). This would benefit from including a wider range of actions (e.g., recruitments, complaints, news announcements). Finally, future studies should explore the relationship between touch and gaze direction in more detail.

With regard to aphasia, it would be valuable to examine how the linguistic profiles of Indonesian speakers with aphasia relate to their conversational participation

(Beeke, Wilkinson, & Maxim, 2007). As well, it would be useful to explore which questions produced by people with aphasia are treated as problematic, and which aren't. This might provide insight into the sorts of ellipsis that are impermissible in Indonesian (Anjarningsih et al., 2012). Generally speaking, studying non-Indo-European languages has great potential to improve our understanding of how aphasia affects language and communication (Nedergaard, Martínez-Ferreiro, Fortescue, & Boye, 2019).

6.6 Concluding remarks

This study contributes to our understanding of the organisation of next speaker selection in Indonesian conversation, and the operation of the turn-taking system for conversation. It has shown the deep and mutual connections between linguistic and embodied practices and their meaning in social interaction. This study has contributed to a small body of research on conversational Indonesian, and is the first study to explore conversations involving Indonesian speakers with aphasia. It also offers insight into next speaker selection using a multimodal resource that has not been explored before: touch. By investigating multimodal, social actions composed of talk, gaze, gestures, touch, and body postures in everyday conversation, this study has offered a variety of insights into conversational practices used by Indonesian speakers.

References

- Agha, A. (1998). Stereotypes and registers of honorific language. *Language in Society*, 27(2), 151–193. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0047404500019849>
- Alwi, H., Dardjowidjojo, S., Lapoliwa, H., & Moeliono, A. (2003). *Tata bahasa baku Bahasa Indonesia*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- Anjarningsih, H. Y., & Bastiaanse, R. (2011). Verbs and time reference in Standard Indonesian agrammatic speech. *Aphasiology*, 25(12), 1562–1578. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02687038.2011.626844>
- Anjarningsih, H. Y., Haryadi-Soebadi, R. D., Gofir, A., & Bastiaanse, R. (2012). Characterising agrammatism in Standard Indonesian. *Aphasiology*, 26(6), 757–784. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02687038.2011.648370>
- Antaki, C., & Wilkinson, R. (2013). Conversation analysis and the study of atypical populations. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 533–550). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Arka, I. W., & Yannuar, N. (2016). On the morphosyntax and pragmatics of -in in Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian. *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 44(130), 342–364. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2016.1215129>
- Auer, P. (2007). Why are increments such elusive objects? An afterthought. *Pragmatics*, 17(4), 647–658. <https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.17.4.03aue>
- Auer, P. (2018). Gaze, addressee selection and turn-taking in three-party interaction. In B. Geert & O. Bert (Eds.), *Eye-tracking in Interaction* (pp. 197–232). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Auer, P., & Bauer, A. (2011). Multimodality in aphasic conversation: Why gestures sometimes do not help. *Journal of Interactional Research in Communication Disorders*, 2(2), 215–243. <https://doi.org/10.1558/jircd.v2i2.215>
- Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa. (2017). *Data bahasa daerah 2017*. Jakarta: Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Retrieved from <http://118.98.223.79/petabahasa/infografik.php>
- Barnes, S. (2016). Aphasia and open format other-initiation of repair: Solving complex trouble in conversation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 49(2), 111–127. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2016.1164399>
- Barnes, S., Candlin, C. N., & Ferguson, A. (2013). Aphasia and topic initiation in conversation: A case study. *International Journal of Language and Communication Disorders*, 48(1), 102–114. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-6984.2012.00186.x>
- Barnes, S., & Ferguson, A. (2015). Conversation partner responses to problematic talk produced by people with aphasia: Some alternatives to initiating, completing, or pursuing repair. *Aphasiology*, 29(3), 315–336. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02687038.2013.874547>
- Beeke, S., Beckley, F., Best, W., Johnson, F., Edwards, S., & Maxim, J. (2013). Extended turn construction and test question sequences in the conversations of three speakers with agrammatic aphasia. *Clinical Linguistics and Phonetics*, 27(10–11), 784–804. <https://doi.org/10.3109/02699206.2013.808267>
- Beeke, S., Johnson, F., Beckley, F., Heilemann, C., Edwards, S., Maxim, J., & Best, W. (2014). Enabling better conversations between a man with aphasia and his

- conversation partner: Incorporating writing into turn taking. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 47(3), 292–305.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2014.925667>
- Beeke, S., Maxim, J., Best, W., & Cooper, F. (2011). Redesigning therapy for agrammatism: Initial findings from the ongoing evaluation of a conversation-based intervention study. *Journal of Neurolinguistics*, 24(2), 222–236.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jneuroling.2010.03.002>
- Beeke, S., Maxim, J., & Wilkinson, R. (2007). Using conversation analysis to assess and treat people with aphasia. *Seminars in Speech and Language*, 28(2), 136–147. <https://doi.org/10.1055/s-2007-970571>
- Beeke, S., Wilkinson, R., & Maxim, J. (2001). Context as a resource for the construction of turns at talk in aphasia. *Clinical Linguistics & Phonetics*, 15(1), 79–83. <https://doi.org/10.3109/02699200109167635>
- Beeke, S., Wilkinson, R., & Maxim, J. (2007). Individual variation in agrammatism: A single case study of the influence of interaction. *International Journal of Language and Communication Disorders*, 42(6), 629–647.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13682820601160087>
- Berthier, M. L. (2005). Poststroke aphasia: Epidemiology, pathophysiology and treatment. *Drugs and Aging*, 22(2), 163–182. <https://doi.org/10.2165/00002512-200522020-00006>
- Blythe, J. (2015). Other-initiated repair in Murrinh-Patha. *Open Linguistics*, 1(1), 283–308. [https://doi.org/DOI 10.1515/opli-2015-0003](https://doi.org/DOI%2010.1515/opli-2015-0003)
- Blythe, J., Gardner, R., Mushin, I., & Stirling, L. (2018). Tools of engagement: Selecting a next speaker in Australian Aboriginal multiparty conversations. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 51(2), 145–170.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2018.1449441>
- Bolden, G. B. (2010). “Articulating the unsaid” via and-prefaced formulations of others’ talk. *Discourse Studies*, 12(1), 5–32.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445609346770>
- Bolden, G. B. (2012). Across languages and cultures: Brokering problems of understanding in conversational repair. *Language in Society*, 41(1), 97–121.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404511000923>
- Boo, M., & Rose, M. L. (2011). The efficacy of repetition, semantic, and gesture treatments for verb retrieval and use in Broca’s aphasia. *Aphasiology*, 25(2), 154–175. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02687031003743789>
- Brown, P. (2010). Questions and their responses in Tzeltal. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42(10), 2627–2648. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.04.004>
- Cekaite, A. (2015). The coordination of talk and touch in adults’ directives to children: Touch and social control. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 48(2), 152–175. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2015.1025501>
- Cekaite, A., & Kvist Holm, M. (2017). The comforting touch: Tactile intimacy and talk in managing children’s distress. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 50(2), 109–127. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2017.1301293>
- Chaer, A. (2013). *Pembinaan Bahasa Indonesia*. Jakarta: Rineka Cipta.
- Chaer, A. (2015). *Sintaksis Bahasa Indonesia*. Jakarta: Rineka Cipta.

- Clayman, S. E. (2010). Address terms in the service of other actions: The case of news interview talk. *Discourse and Communication*, 4(2), 161–183. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481310364330>
- Clayman, S. E. (2012). Address terms in the organization of turns at talk: The case of pivotal turn extensions. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 44(13), 1853–1867. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2012.08.001>
- Clayman, S. E. (2013). Turn-constructive units and the transition-relevance place. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 150–166). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Cole, P., Hermon, G., & Tjung, Y. (2006). Is there pasif semu in Jakarta Indonesian? *Oceanic Linguistics*, 45(1), 64–90. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4499947>
- Comrie, B., Bickel, B., & Haspelmath, M. (2008). *The Leipzig glossing rules : Conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses*.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E., & Ono, T. (2007). “Incrementing” in conversation. A comparison of practices in English, German, and Japanese. *Pragmatics*, 17(4), 513–552. <https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.17.4.02cou>
- Couper-Kuhlen, E., & Selting, M. (2018). *Interactional linguistics: An introduction to language in social interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Damico, J. S., Oelschlaeger, M., & Simmons-Mackie, N. (1999). Qualitative methods in aphasia research: Conversation analysis. *Aphasiology*, 13(9–11), 667–679. <https://doi.org/10.1080/026870399401777>
- Denman, A., & Wilkinson, R. (2011). Applying conversation analysis to traumatic brain injury: Investigating touching another person in everyday social interaction. *Disability and Rehabilitation*, 33(3), 243–252. <https://doi.org/10.3109/09638288.2010.511686>
- Dingemanse, M., Blythe, J., & Dirksmeyer, T. (2014). Formats for other-initiation of repair across languages: An exercise in pragmatic typology. *Studies in Language*, 38(1), 5–43. <https://doi.org/10.1075/sl.38.1.01din>
- Djenar, D. N. (2006). Patterns and Variation of Address. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, 29(2), 1–16.
- Djenar, D. N. (2007). Self -reference and its variation in Indonesian. *Electronic Journal of Foreign Language Teaching*, 4(1), 23–40. Retrieved from <http://e-flt.nus.edu.sg/v4sp12007/djenar.pdf>
- Drew, P. (1997). ‘Open’ class repair initiators in response to sequential sources of troubles in conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 28(1), 69–101. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s0378-2166\(97\)89759-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/s0378-2166(97)89759-7)
- Egbert, M. M. (1997). Schisming: The collaborative transformation from a single conversation to multiple conversations. *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, 30(1), 1–51. <https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327973rlsi3001>
- Enfield, N. J. (2010). Questions and responses in Lao. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42(10), 2649–2665. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.04.004>
- Enfield, N. J. (2011). Sources of asymmetry in human interaction: Enchrony, status, knowledge and agency. In T. Stivers, L. Mondada, & J. Steensig (Eds.), *The morality of knowledge in conversation* (pp. 285–312). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Enfield, N. J. (2013). *Relationship thinking: Agency, enchrony, and human sociality*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Enfield, N. J. (2015). Linguistic relativity from reference to agency. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 44, 207–224. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-102214-014053>
- Enfield, N. J. (2017). Elements of agency. In N. J. Enfield & P. Kockelman (Eds.), *Distributed agency* (pp. 3–8). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Enfield, N. J., & Sidnell, J. (2015). Language structure and social agency: Confirming polar questions in conversation. *Linguistics Vanguard*, 1(1), 131–143. Retrieved from <https://www.degruyter.com/view/j/lingvan.2015.1.issue-1/lingvan-2014-1008/lingvan-2014-1008.xml>
- Enfield, N. J., & Sidnell, J. (2017). *The concept of action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Enfield, N. J., Stivers, T., & Levinson, S. C. (2010). Question-response sequences in conversation across ten languages: An introduction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42(10), 2615–2619. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.04.001>
- Englebretson, R. (2003). *Searching for structure: The problem of complementation in Colloquial Indonesian conversation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Ewing, M. C. (2005). Colloquial Indonesian. In A. Adelaar & N. P. Himmelmann (Eds.), *The Austronesian languages of Asia and Madagascar* (pp. 227–258). London: Routledge.
- Ewing, M. C., & Djenar, D. N. (2019). Address, reference and sequentiality in Indonesian conversation. In B. Paul (Ed.), *The social dynamics of pronominal systems: A comparative approach* (pp. 253–287). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Faustion, N. B., Rocio, G. M., González, M. B. P., G.L., I., María, F. F., & M.M.Galan. (2014). Acoustic voice analysis using the Praat programme: Comparative study with the Dr. Speech programme. *Acta Otorrinolaringologica (English Edition)*, 65(3), 170–176. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.otoeng.2014.05.007>
- Ferguson, A. (1998). Conversational turn-taking and repair in fluent aphasia. *Aphasiology*, 12(11), 1007–1031. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02687039808249466>
- Field, T., Harding, J., Soliday, B., Lasko, D., Gonzalez, N., & Valdeon, C. (1994). Touching in infant, toddler, and preschool nurseries. *Early Child Development and Care*, 98(1), 113–120. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0300443940980111>
- Ford, C. E., Fox, B. A., & Thompson, S. A. (2002). Constituency and the Grammar of Turn Increments. In C. E. Ford, B. A. Fox, & S. A. Thompson (Eds.), *The Language of Turn and Sequence* (pp. 14–38). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ford, C. E., & Stickle, T. (2012). Securing reciprocity in workplace meetings: Multimodal practices. *Discourse Studies*, 14(1), 11–30. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445611427213>
- Ford, C. E., & Thompson, S. A. (1996). Interactional units in conversation: Syntactic, intonational, and pragmatic resources for the management of turns. In E. Ochs, E. A. Schegloff, & S. A. Thompson (Eds.), *Interaction and grammar* (pp. 134–184). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Fortin, C. (2018). Indonesian. In J. van Craenenbroeck & T. Temmerman (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of ellipsis* (pp. 841–864). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fox, B., Wouk, F., Hayashi, M., Fincke, S., Tao, L., Sorjonen, M. L., ... Hernandez, W. F. (2009). A cross-linguistic investigation of the site of initiation in same-turn self-repair. In J. Sidnell (Ed.), *Conversation analysis: Comparative perspectives* (pp. 60–103). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gardner, R., Fitzgerald, R., & Mushin, I. (2009). The underlying orderliness in turn-taking: Examples from Australian talk. *Australian Journal of Communication*, 36(3), 65–90.
- Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in ethnomethodology*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction ritual: Essays in face-to-face behavior*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Goffman, E. (1983). The interaction order. *American Sociological Association*, 48(1), 1–17.
- Golato, A. (2012). German oh: Marking an emotional change of state. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 45(3), 245–268.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2012.699253>
- Goodwin, C. (2000). Action and embodiment within situated human interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 32(10), 1489–1522. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166\(99\)00096-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(99)00096-X)
- Goodwin, C. (2003). Conversational frameworks for the accomplishment of meaning in aphasia. In C. Goodwin (Ed.), *Conversation and brain damage* (pp. 90–116). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goodwin, C. (2013). The co-operative, transformative organization of human action and knowledge. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 46(1), 8–23.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2012.09.003>
- Goodwin, C. (2017). *Co-operative action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goodwin, C., & Goodwin, M. H. (2004). Participation. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *A companion to Linguistic Anthropology* (pp. 222–244). London: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Goodwin, M. H. (2017). Haptic sociality: The embodied interactive construction of intimacy through touch. In M. Christian, J. Streeck, & J. J. Scott (Eds.), *Intercorporeality: Beyond the body* (pp. 73–102). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goodwin, M. H., & Cekaite, A. (2013). Calibration in directive/response sequences in family interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 46(1), 122–138.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2012.07.008>
- Hamdani, F., & Barnes, S. (2018). Polar questions in Colloquial Indonesian: A pilot study. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 132, 1–20.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2018.05.002>
- Hassall, T. (2013). Pragmatic development during short-term study abroad: The case of address terms in Indonesian. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 55, 1–17.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2013.05.003>
- Hayano, K. (2013). Question design in conversation. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 395–414). Chichester: Wiley-

Blackwell.

- Hayashi, M. (2009). Marking a “noticing of departure” in talk: Eh-prefaced turns in Japanese conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41(10), 2100–2129.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2008.12.008>
- Helasvuo, M.-L., Laakso, M., & Sorjonen, M. L. (2004). Searching for words: Syntactic and sequential construction of word search in conversations of Finnish speakers with aphasia. *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, 37(1), 1–37.
<https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327973rlsi3701>
- Hepburn, A., & Bolden, G. B. (2013). The conversation analytic approach to transcription. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 56–76). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Hepburn, A., & Bolden, G. B. (2017). *Transcribing for social research*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Heritage, J. (1984). *Garfinkel and ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Heritage, J. (1998). Oh-prefaced responses to inquiry. *Language in Society*, 27(03), 291–334. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404598003017>
- Heritage, J. (2002). Oh-prefaced responses to assessments: A method of modifying agreement/disagreement. In C. E. Ford, B. A. Fox, & S. . Thompson (Eds.), *The language turn and sequence* (pp. 196–224). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heritage, J. (2013). Epistemics in conversation. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 370–394). Chichester: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Heritage, J. (2015). Well-prefaced turns in English conversation: A conversation analytic perspective. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 88, 88–104.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.08.008>
- Heritage, J., & Clayman, S. E. (2010). *Talk in action*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Heritage, J., & Raymond, G. (2005). The terms of agreement : Indexing epistemic authority and subordination in talk-in- interaction. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 68(1), 15–38. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019027250506800103>
- Holler, J., & Kendrick, K. H. (2015). Unaddressed participants’ gaze in multi-person interaction: Optimizing reciprocity. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 6, 1–14.
<https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2015.00098>
- Hoymann, G. (2010). Questions and responses in Åkshoe Hai||om. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42(10), 2726–2740. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.04.008>
- Iwasaki, S., Bartlett, M., Manns, H., & Willoughby, L. (2019). The challenges of multimodality and multi-sensoriality: Methodological issues in analyzing tactile signed interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 143, 215–227.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2018.05.003>
- Jefferson, G. (2004). Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In G. H. Lerner (Ed.), *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation* (pp. 13–31). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kääntä, L. (2012). Teachers’ embodied allocations in instructional interaction. *Classroom Discourse*, 3(2), 166–186.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19463014.2012.716624>
- Keavallik, L. (2013). The interdependence of bodily demonstrations and clausal

- syntax. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 46(1), 1–21.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2013.753710>
- Keisanen, T., & Rauniomaa, M. (2012). The Organization of Participation and Contingency in Prebeginnings of Request Sequences. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 45(4), 323–351.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2012.724985>
- Kendon, A. (1967). Some functions of gaze-direction in social interaction. *Acta Psychologica*, 26, 22–63. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0001-6918\(67\)90005-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/0001-6918(67)90005-4)
- Kendon, A. (1990). *Conducting interaction: Patterns of behavior in focused encounters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kendrick, K. H., & Drew, P. (2016). Recruitment: Offers, requests, and the organization of assistance in interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 49(1), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2016.1126436>
- Kendrick, K. H., & Holler, J. (2017). Gaze direction signals response preference in conversation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 50(1), 12–32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2017.1262120>
- Kidwell, M. (1997). Demonstrating reciprocity: Knowledge displays as a resource for the unaddressed participant. *Issues in Applied Linguistics*, 8(2), 85–96.
- Kim, H. R. S. (2013). Reshaping the response space with *kulenikka* in beginning to respond to questions in Korean conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 57, 303–317. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2013.04.006>
- Kita, S. (2003). Pointing: Where language, culture, and cognition meet. In S. Kita (Ed.), *Pointing: Where Language, Culture, and Cognition Meet* (pp. 1–339). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781410607744>
- Klippi, A. (2015). Pointing as an embodied practice in aphasic interaction. *Aphasiology*, 29(3), 337–354. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02687038.2013.878451>
- Kockelman, P. (2007). Agency: The relation between meaning, power, and knowledge. *Current Anthropology*, 48(3), 375–401.
- Kridalaksana, H. (2018). *Masa-masa awal Bahasa Indonesia*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Laakso, M., & Klippi, A. (1999). A closer look at the “hint and guess” sequences in aphasic conversation. *Aphasiology*, 13(4–5), 345–363. <https://doi.org/10.1080/026870399402136>
- Lausberg, H., & Sloetjes, H. (2016). The revised NEUROGES–ELAN system: An objective and reliable interdisciplinary analysis tool for nonverbal behavior and gesture. *Behavior Research Methods*, 48(3), 973–993. <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13428-015-0622-z>
- Lauzon, V. F., & Berger, E. (2015). The multimodal organization of speaker selection in classroom interaction. *Linguistics and Education*, 31, 14–29. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2015.05.001>
- Lerner, G. H. (1995). Turn design and the organization of participation in instructional activities. *Discourse Processes*, 19(1), 111–131. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01638539109544907>
- Lerner, G. H. (1996). On the place of linguistic resources in the organization of talk-in-interaction: “Second person” reference in multi-party conversation.

- Pragmatics*, 6(3), 281–294. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327973rlsi3702_3
- Lerner, G. H. (2003). Selecting next speaker: The context-sensitive operation of a context-free organization. *Language in Society*, 32(2), 177–201. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S004740450332202X>
- Lerner, G. H. (2019). When someone other than the addressed recipient speaks next: Three kinds of intervening action after the selection of a next speaker. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 52(4), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2019.1657280>
- Levinson, S. C. (1998). Putting linguistics on a proper footing: Explorations in Goffman's participation framework. In P. Drew & A. Wootton (Eds.), *Goffman: Exploring the interaction order* (pp. 161–227). Oxford: Polity Press.
- Lock, S., Wilkinson, R., Bryan, K., Maxim, J., Edmundson, A., Bruce, C., & Moir, D. (2001). Supporting partners of people with aphasia in relationships and conversation (SPPARC). *International Journal of Language & Communication Disorders*, 36(s1), 25–30. <https://doi.org/10.3109/13682820109177853>
- Mazeland, H. (2007). Parenthetical sequences. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39(10), 1816–1869. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2007.05.005>
- Mazeland, H. (2013). Grammar in conversation. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 475–491). Chichester: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Mondada, L. (2007). Multimodal resources for turn-taking: Pointing and the emergence of possible next speakers. *Discourse Studies*, 9(2), 194–225. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445607075346>
- Mondada, L. (2009). Emergent focused interactions in public places: A systematic analysis of the multimodal achievement of a common interactional space. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41(10), 1977–1997. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2008.09.019>
- Mondada, L. (2013). Embodied and spatial resources for turn-taking in institutional multi-party interactions: Participatory democracy debates. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 46(1), 39–68. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2012.03.010>
- Mondada, L. (2018). Multiple temporalities of language and body in interaction: Challenges for transcribing multimodality. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 51(1), 85–106. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2018.1413878>
- Mortensen, K. (2008). Selecting next speaker in the second language classroom: How to find a willing next speaker in planned activities. *Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 5(1), 55–79. <https://doi.org/10.1558/japl.v5i1.55>
- Nedergaard, J. S. K., Martínez-Ferreiro, S., Fortescue, M. D., & Boye, K. (2019). Non-fluent aphasia in a polysynthetic language: Five case studies. *Aphasiology*, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02687038.2019.1643000>
- Nishizaka, A. (2007). Hand touching hand: Referential practice at a Japanese midwife house. *Human Studies*, 30(3), 199–217. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10746-007-9059-4>
- Nishizaka, A. (2011). Touch without vision: Referential practice in a non-technological environment. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(2), 504–520. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2009.07.015>
- Oelschlaeger, M. L. (1999). Participation of a conversation partner in the word

- searches of a person with aphasia. *American Journal of Speech-Language Pathology*, 8(1), 62–71. <https://doi.org/10.1044/1058-0360.0801.62>
- Oelschlaeger, M. L., & Damico, J. S. (2000). Partnership in conversation: A study of word search strategies. *Journal of Communication Disorders*, 33(3), 205–225. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0021-9924\(00\)00019-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0021-9924(00)00019-8)
- Ono, T., & Couper-Kuhlen, E. (2007). Increments in cross-linguistic perspective: Introductory remarks. *Pragmatics*, 17(4), 505–512. <https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.17.4.01ono>
- Peräkylä, A. (1998). Authority and accountability : The delivery of diagnosis in primary health care. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 61(4), 301–320.
- Postman, W. A. (2004). Processing of complex sentences in a case of aphasia in Indonesian: Thematic vs. linear strategies. *Journal of Neurolinguistics*, 17(6), 455–489. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jneuroling.2004.09.001>
- Raevaara, L. (2011). Accounts at convenience stores: Doing dispreference and small talk. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(2), 556–571. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.01.020>
- Raymond, G. (2003). Grammar and social organization: Yes/No interrogatives and the structure of responding. *American Sociological Review*, 68(6), 939. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1519752>
- Rendle-Short, J. (2007). “Catherine, you’re wasting your time”: Address terms within the Australian political interview. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39(9), 1503–1525. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2007.02.006>
- Robinson, J. D. (2016). Accountability in social interaction. In J. D. Robinson (Ed.), *Accountability in Social Interaction* (pp. 1–44). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Robson, J., Marshall, J., Pring, T., Montagu, A., & Chiat, S. (2004). Processing proper nouns in aphasia: Evidence from assessment and therapy. *Aphasiology*, 18(10), 917–935. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02687030444000462>
- Rose, M. L., Raymer, A. M., Lanyon, L. E., & Attard, M. C. (2013). A systematic review of gesture treatments for post-stroke aphasia. *Aphasiology*, 27(9), 1090–1127. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02687038.2013.805726>
- Rossano, F. (2010). Questioning and responding in Italian. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42(10), 2756–2771. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.04.010>
- Rossano, F., Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (2009). Gaze, questioning, and culture. In J. Sidnell (Ed.), *Conversation analysis: Comparative perspectives* (pp. 187–249). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A., & Jefferson, G. (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Linguistic Society of America*, 50(4), 696–735. <https://doi.org/10.2307/412243>
- Schegloff, E. A. (1979). The relevance of repair to syntax-for-conversation. In T. Givon (Ed.), *Syntax and Semantics 12: Discourse and Syntax* (Vol. 12, pp. 261–286). New York: Academic Press. <https://doi.org/0002-9602/97/10201-0005>
- Schegloff, E. A. (1987a). Analyzing Single Episodes of Interaction : An Exercise in Conversation Analysis. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 50(2), 101–114.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1987b). Recycled turn beginnings: A precise repair mechanism in conversation’s turn-taking organisation. In G. Button & J. R. E. Lee (Eds.), *Talk*

- and *Social Organization* (pp. 70–85). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
<https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2458-12-1017>
- Schegloff, E. A. (1992). Repair after next turn. *American Journal of Sociology*, 97(5), 1295–1345.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1996a). Confirming Allusions : Toward an Empirical Account of Action. *American Journal of Sociology*, 102(1), 161–216.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1996b). Some practices for referring to persons in talk-in-interaction. In B. Fox (Ed.), *Studies in anaphora* (pp. 437–485). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1996c). Turn organization: One intersection of grammar and interaction. In E. Ochs, E. A. Schegloff, & S. A. Thompson (Eds.), *Interaction and grammar* (pp. 52–133). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1998). Body torque. *Social Research*, 65(3), 535–596.
- Schegloff, E. A. (2000). Overlapping talk and the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language in Society*, 29(01), 1–63.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500001019>
- Schegloff, E. A. (2004). On dispensability. *Language*, 37(2), 95–149.
<https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327973rlsi3702>
- Schegloff, E. A. (2006). Interaction: The Infrastructure for social institutions, the natural ecological niche for language and the arena in which culture is enacted. In N. J. Enfield & S. C. Levinson (Eds.), *Roots of human sociality: Culture, cognition and interaction* (pp. 70–96). London: Berg.
- Schegloff, E. A. (2007). *Sequence organization in interaction: A primer in conversation analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, E. A. (2013). Ten operations in self-initiated, same-turn repair. In M. Hayashi, G. Raymond, & J. Sidnell (Eds.), *Conversational repair and human understanding* (pp. 41–70). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511757464.002>
- Schegloff, E. A. (2016). Increments. In J. D. Robinson (Ed.), *Accountability in social interaction* (pp. 239–263). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schegloff, E. A., & Lerner, G. H. (2009). Beginning to respond: Well-prefaced responses to wh-questions. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 42(2), 91–115. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08351810902864511>
- Schegloff, E. A., & Sacks, H. (1973). Opening up closings. *Semiotica*, 7, 289–327.
- Schlenker, S., & Holland, A. (1980). Conversational turn-taking in Wernicke aphasia. In R. H. Brookshire (Ed.), *Clinical Aphasiology* (pp. 106–110). Minneapolis: BRK Publisher.
- Sidnell, J. (2007). 'Look'-prefaced turns in first and second position: Launching, interceding and redirecting action. *Discourse Studies*, 9(3), 387–408.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445607076204>
- Sidnell, J. (2010). *Conversation analysis: An introduction*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Sidnell, J., & Enfield, N. J. (2012). Language Diversity and Social Action. *Current Anthropology*, 53(3), 302–333. <https://doi.org/10.1086/665697>
- Sneddon, J. (2003). *The Indonesian language: Its history and role in modern society*.

- Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.
- Sneddon, J. (2006). *Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Sneddon, J., Adelaar, A., Djenar, D. N., & Ewing, M. C. (2010). *Indonesian reference grammar*. St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin.
- Stivers, T. (2001). Negotiating who presents the problem: Next speaker selection in pediatric encounters. *Journal of Communication*, 51(2), 252–282.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/joc/51.2.252>
- Stivers, T., & Enfield, N. J. (2010). A coding scheme for question-response sequences in conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42(10), 2620–2626.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.04.002>
- Stivers, T., Enfield, N. J., Brown, P., Englert, C., Hayashi, M., Heinemann, T., ... Levinson, S. C. (2009). Universals and cultural variation in turn-taking in conversation. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 106(26), 10587–10592.
<https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0903616106>
- Stivers, T., & Robinson, J. D. (2006). A preference for progressivity in interaction. *Language in Society*, 35(3), 367–392.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404506060179>
- Stivers, T., & Rossano, F. (2010). Mobilizing response. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 43(1), 3–31. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08351810903471258>
- Streeck, J. (1993). Gesture as communication I: Its coordination with gaze and speech. *Communication Monographs*, 60(4), 275–299.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03637759309376314>
- Suryadinata, L. (1978). Indonesian nationalism and the pre-war youth movement. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 9(1), 99–114.
- Tainio, L. (2011). Gendered address terms in reproach sequences in classroom interaction. *Linguistics and Education*, 22, 330–347.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2010.09.004>
- Weiss, C. (2018). When gaze-selected next speakers do not take the turn. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 133, 28–44. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2018.05.016>
- Wilkinson, R. (1999). Sequentiality as a problem and resource for intersubjectivity in aphasic conversation: Analysis and implications for therapy. *Aphasiology*, 13(4–5), 327–343. <https://doi.org/10.1080/026870399402127>
- Wilkinson, R. (2013). Gestural depiction in acquired language disorders: On the form and use of iconic gestures in aphasic talk-in-interaction. *AAC: Augmentative and Alternative Communication*, 29(1), 68–82.
<https://doi.org/10.3109/07434618.2013.767558>
- Wilkinson, R. (2019). Atypical interaction: Conversation analysis and communicative impairments. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 52(3), 281–299.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2019.1631045>
- Wouk, F. (1998). Solidarity in Indonesian conversation: The discourse marker kan. *Multilingua*, 33(4), 379–406. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166\(99\)00139-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(99)00139-3)
- Wouk, F. (1999). Dialect contact and koineization in Jakarta, Indonesia. *Language Sciences*, 21, 61–68.
- Wouk, F. (2001). Solidarity in Indonesian conversation: The discourse marker ya.

Journal of Pragmatics, 33(2), 171–191. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166\(99\)00139-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(99)00139-3)

Wouk, F. (2005). The syntax of repair in Indonesian. *Discourse Studies*, 7(2), 237–258.

Wu, R. J. R. (2014). Managing turn entry: The design of El-prefaced turns in Mandarin conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 66, 139–161. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2014.03.003>

Xie, X. (2011). Turn allocation patterns and learning opportunities. *ELT Journal*, 65(3), 240–250. <https://doi.org/10.1093/elt/ccq064>

Appendices

Appendix A: Demographic information of the participants

Table A. Demographic information*

No	Name	Age	Gender	Language spoken	Relationship	Known for (years)	Occupation
1	Adia	38	Female	Indonesian, Bataknese	Co-worker	5	Public servant
2	Bela	40	Female	Indonesian, Javanese	Co-worker	5	Public servant
3	Cita	35	Female	Indonesian, Sundanese	Co-worker	5	Public servant
4	Dewi	37	Female	Indonesian, Minangkabaunese	Co-worker	5	Public servant
5	Elis	32	Female	Indonesian, Sundanese	Co-worker	5	Public servant
6	Turi	20	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Classmate	4	Undergraduate student
7	Dini	20	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Classmate	4	Undergraduate student
8	Dira	19	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Classmate	4	Undergraduate student
9	Caca	20	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Classmate	4	Undergraduate student
10	Noor	22	Female	Indonesian, English	Senior	3	Undergraduate student
11	Yani	27	Female	Indonesian, Javanese, English	Friend	7	Graduate student
12	Musa	28	Male	Indonesian, English	Friend	7	Graduate student
13	Ari	28	Male	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour	10	Casual part-time
14	Jojo	29	Male	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour	10	Casual part-time
15	Dedi	33	Male	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour	10	Taxibike driver
16	Yeti	47	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay, Sundanese	Neighbour	10	Casual part-time
17	Ela	46	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay, Sundanese	Neighbour	10	House duties
18	Rida	48	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour	10	Casual part-time
19	Qiya	35	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour	16	Teacher
20	Eca	33	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour	16	Teacher
21	Rahma	35	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour	16	Teacher
22	Ical	26	Male	Indonesian, Betawi Malay, Sundanese	Relative	20	Undergraduate student
23	Aldi	22	Male	Indonesian, Betawi Malay, Sundanese	Relative	20	Undergraduate student
24	Anis	24	Male	Indonesian, Betawi Malay, Sundanese	Relative	20	School staff
25	Iyan	25	Male	Indonesian, Betawi Malay, Sundanese	Relative	20	School staff
26	Rini	19	Female	Indonesian, Malay, Dayak	Friend	3	Undergraduate student
27	Aris	17	Male	Indonesian, Malay, Dayak	Friend	3	Undergraduate student

No	Name	Age	Gender	Language spoken	Relationship	Known for (years)	Occupation
28	Diana	17	Female	Indonesian, Malay, Dayak	Friend	3	Undergraduate student
29	Juju	30	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Friend	3	House duties
30	Mimi	33	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Friend	3	House duties
31	Yani	28	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Friend	3	House duties
32	Novi	35	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Friend	3	House duties
33	Kara	38	Female	Indonesian, Sundanese	Friend	3	House duties
34	Lina	41	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Friend	3	House duties
35	Elvi	52	Female	Indonesian, Sundanese	Friend	3	Retired
36	Ifan	32	Male	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour	10	Casual part-time
37	Mali	56	Male	Indonesian, Javanese	Neighbour	10	Retired
38	Muiz	68	Male	Indonesian, Sundanese	Neighbour	10	Retired
39	Roni	37	Male	Indonesian, Javanese	Neighbour	10	Casual part-time
40	Hani	56	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour	10	House duties
41	Cucu	51	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour	10	House duties
42	Siti	53	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour	10	House duties
43	Nina	26	Female	Indonesian, Sundanese, English	Co-worker	4	Teacher
44	Yani	25	Female	Indonesian, Sundanese, English	Co-worker	4	Teacher
45	Vita	25	Female	Indonesian, Sundanese, English	Co-worker	4	Teacher
46	Alia	25	Female	Indonesian, Sundanese, English	Co-worker	4	Teacher
47	Rita	21	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Classmate	4	Undergraduate student
48	Wina	21	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Classmate	4	Undergraduate student
49	Juli	21	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Classmate	4	Undergraduate student
50	Toto	25	Male	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Friend	5	Casual part-time
51	Adam	25	Male	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Friend	5	Casual part-time
52	Dani	27	Male	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Friend	5	Casual part-time
53	Titi	55	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour	10	House duties
54	Ima	57	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour	10	Coffee shop owner
55	Yaya	46	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour	10	House duties
56	Juki	43	Male	Indonesian, Betawi Malay, Sundanese	Neighbour	10	Casual part-time
57	Hari	49	Male	Indonesian, Betawi Malay, Sundanese	Neighbour	10	Teacher
58	Joni	47	Male	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour	10	Casual part-time
59	Sari	60	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay, Javanese	Neighbour	15	Retired
60	Ami	56	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour	15	Retired

No	Name	Age	Gender	Language spoken	Relationship	Known for (years)	Occupation
61	Umi	77	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour	15	Retired
62	Kintamani	35	Female	Indonesian, Javanese, English	Friend	7	Public servant
63	Ali	32	Male	Indonesian, Minangkabau, English	Friend	7	Public servant
64	Afifa	35	Female	Indonesian, Javanese, English	Friend	7	Public servant
65	Siti	73	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour, relative	20	Retired
66	Ipeh	39	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour, relative	20	Teacher
67	Odah	63	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour, relative	20	House duties
68	Susi	62	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour, relative	20	House duties
69	Ida	48	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Neighbour	20	House duties
70	Amar	65	Male	Indonesian, Javanese	Spouse	38	Retired
71	Wida	58	Female	Indonesian, Javanese	Spouse	38	Public servant
72	Elka	30	Female	Indonesian, Sundanese, Javanese	Acquaintance	1	House duties
73	Ucu	63	Male	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Friend, relative	40	Retired
74	Tubi	62	Male	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Friend	40	Retired
75	Asih	60	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Relative	40	House duties
76	Nana	45	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Relative	40	House duties
77	Nada	26	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Relative	26	House duties
78	Rina	38	Female	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Relative	38	House duties
79	Eman	28	Male	Indonesian, Betawi Malay	Relative	5	Part-time

*All names used above are pseudonyms.

Appendix B: Details of conversation partners of people with aphasia

Table B. Details of conversation partners*

Participant	Age	Post onset of stroke (months)	Conversation partner	Relationship between participants
Siti	73	72	Ipeh	Daughter-in-law's niece
			Odah	Niece
Susi	62	72	Ipeh	Son-in-law's sister
			Ida	Neighbour
Amar	65	72	Wida	Wife
			Elka	Acquaintance
Ucu	63	24	Tubi	Friend
			Asih	Sister
			Nana	Niece
			Nada	Father-Daughter
			Rina	Father-Daughter
			Eman	Son-in-law

*All names used above are pseudonyms.

Appendix C: Transcription conventions

Based on Jefferson (2004, p.24-31) and Hepburn and Bolden (2013, 2017)

[and]	Brackets mark overlaps between speaker's talk and actions. A left bracket indicates the point of overlap onset. A right bracket indicates the point at which two overlapping utterances end.
=	Equal signs marks no break or gap.
(0 . 2)	Numbers in parentheses signify elapsed time by tenths of seconds.
(.)	A dot in parentheses indicate a brief interval.
?	A question mark indicates strongly rising terminal intonation.
¿	An inverted question indicates less strongly rising terminal intonation.
,	A comma indicates slightly rising terminal intonation.
—	An underline indicates level terminal intonation.
;	A semi-colon indicates slightly falling terminal intonation.
.	A period indicates strongly falling terminal intonation.
↑ ↓	Up and down arrows indicate shifts into especially high or low pitch.
AND	Upper case indicates loud sounds relative to the surrounding talk.
°and°	Degree signs signify the sounds are softer than the surrounding talk.
◦and◦	Subscript degrees signs indicate talk delivered voicelessly.
a : nd	A colon signifies a lengthening of a sound.
and-	A hyphen marks that the preceding sound has been cut-off abruptly.
.hh	Signifies a breath
a hah	Indicates a laughter
<and>	Left/right carats indicate that talk is slower than the surrounding talk.
>and<	Right/left carats indicate that talk is faster than the surrounding talk.
(h)	Indicates plosiveness (e.g., a breath or laughter) within a word.
\$and\$	Dollar signs indicate talk delivered in a smiling voice.
()	Empty parentheses indicate that the transcriber was unable to get what was said.

- ((touch)) Doubled parentheses contain transcriber's descriptions of events.
- (and) Words in parentheses indicate that the transcriber was only able to tentatively get what was said.
- > A horizontal arrow indicates the focus of attention in the extract.

Appendix D: Abbreviations used in glosses

Based on The Leipzig glossing rules (Comrie et al., 2008).

1	: First person
2	: Second person
3	: Third person
ADJ	: Adjective
ADV	: Adverb
APP	: Applicative
CONJ	: Conjunction
DEF	: Definite
DET	: Determiner
DEM	: Demonstrative
DIST	: Distal
EXCL	: Exclamation
IMPF	: Imperfective
INTJ	: Interjection
LOC	: Locative
NEG	: Negator/Negation
PAS	: Passive
PERF	: Perfective
PL	: Plural
POSS	: Possesive
PROX	: Proximal/Proximate
PRT	: Particle
REL	: Relative
RDP	: Reduplication
SG	: Singular
WH	: WH-Questions

Appendix E: Research advertisement, information and consent forms



PROYEK PENELITIAN

“Percakapan dalam Bahasa Indonesia”

Apakah anda atau orang yang anda kenal menderita penyakit stroke?

Apakah anda sering berbicara dengan teman dan keluarga?

Apakah anda sering mengalami masalah saat berkomunikasi?

Jika jawaban anda “Ya”

KAMI MEMBUTUHKAN ANDA!

Dr. Scott Barnes, Dr. Joe Blythe dan **Fakry Hamdani** dari **Macquarie University** sedang melakukan studi tentang percakapan dalam Bahasa Indonesia. Kami sedang mencari penutur Bahasa Indonesia yang menderita **afasia**, dipicu oleh **stroke**, untuk berpartisipasi secara langsung. Dalam studi ini, anda akan melakukan percakapan sehari-hari dengan keluarga, teman atau seseorang yang biasa anda ajak bicara.

Untuk informasi lebih lanjut,³⁹ silahkan kontak **Fakry Hamdani**:

Email: fakry.hamdani@students.mq.edu.au

Telepon:

³⁹ Aspek etika penelitian ini telah disetujui oleh Komite Etik Penelitian Manusia Macquarie University. Jika Anda menemukan adanya masalah atau kekurangan yang berhubungan dengan aspek etis dari partisipasi anda dalam penelitian ini, anda dapat menghubungi Komite melalui Direktur Etika Penelitian (telepon (02) 9850 7854 ; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Keluhan yang anda buat akan dirahasiakan serta ditindaklanjuti, dan anda akan diberitahu hasilnya di kemudian hari.



MACQUARIE
University

Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Human Sciences
Macquarie University
NSW 2109

RESEARCH PROJECT

“Conversation in Bahasa Indonesia”

Do you or your loved one suffered from stroke?

Do you like to chat with your family and friends?

Do you have troubles to communicate sometimes?

If you answered “yes” to any of these questions...

WE NEED YOUR HELP!

Dr Scott Barnes, Dr Joe Blythe and Fakry Hamdani from **Macquarie University** are doing a **research study** on **Conversation in Bahasa Indonesia**. We are looking for **Aphasic Bahasa speakers** who have had **stroke** to participate. In this study, you will do casual conversations with your family, friends or other who you often speak with.

For **more information**,⁴⁰ please contact **Fakry Hamdani**:

Email: **fakry.hamdani@students.mq.edu.au**

Phone:

⁴⁰ The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any concern you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.



PROYEK PENELITIAN

“Percakapan dalam Bahasa Indonesia”

Apakah anda berbicara Bahasa Indonesia dengan keluarga dan teman-teman anda?

Apakah percakapan anda menyenangkan dan menarik?

Apakah anda pikir percakapan dalam Bahasa Indonesia unik?

Jika jawaban anda “Ya”.....

KAMI MEMBUTUHKAN ANDA!

Dr. Scott Barnes, Dr. Joe Blythe dan **Fakry Hamdani** dari **Macquarie University** sedang melakukan studi penelitian tentang percakapan dalam Bahasa Indonesia. Kami sedang mencari penutur Bahasa Indonesia untuk berpartisipasi secara langsung. Dalam studi ini, anda akan melakukan percakapan sehari-hari dengan lawan bicara anda.

Untuk informasi lebih lanjut,⁴¹ silahkan kontak **Fakry Hamdani**:

Email: fakry.hamdani@students.mq.edu.au

Telepon:

⁴¹ Aspek etika penelitian ini telah disetujui oleh Komite Etik Penelitian Manusia Macquarie University. Jika Anda menemukan adanya masalah atau kekurangan yang berhubungan dengan aspek etis dari partisipasi anda dalam penelitian ini, anda dapat menghubungi Komite melalui Direktur Etika Penelitian (telepon (02) 9850 7854 ; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Keluhan yang anda buat akan dirahasiakan serta ditindaklanjuti, dan anda akan diberitahu hasilnya di kemudian hari.



MACQUARIE
University

Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Human Sciences
Macquarie University
NSW 2109

RESEARCH PROJECT

“Conversation in Bahasa Indonesia”

Do you speak Bahasa with your family and friends?

Are your conversations fast, fun, and interesting?

Do you think that Bahasa conversations are unique?

If you answered “yes” to any of these questions...

WE NEED YOUR HELP!

Dr Scott Barnes, Dr Joe Blythe and Fakry Hamdani from **Macquarie University** are doing a **research study** on Conversation in Bahasa Indonesia. We are looking for **Bahasa speakers** to participate. In this study, you will do casual conversations with your conversation partner.

For **more information**,⁴² please contact **Fakry Hamdani**:

Email: fakry.hamdani@students.mq.edu.au

Phone:

⁴² The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any concern you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.



MACQUARIE
University

**Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Human Sciences
Macquarie University
NSW 2109**

Dr Scott Barnes
Lecturer
Department of Linguistics

Telepon: 02 9850 7960
Fax: 02 9850 9199
Email: scott.barnes@mq.edu.au

Dr Joe Blythe
Lecturer
Department of Linguistics

Telepon: 02 9850 8089
Email: joe.blythe@mq.edu.au

Fakry Hamdani
Ph.D. Candidate
Department of Linguistics

Telepon: +61410877472
+6281646887272
Email: fakry.hamdani@students.mq.edu.au

LEMBAR KESEDIAAN PARTISIPAN

Proyek Penelitian: “Alih tutur dalam Bahasa

Indonesia: Studi interaksi tipikal dan atipikal”

Anda diundang untuk berpartisipasi dalam sebuah studi yang berfokus pada bagaimana penderita aphasia melakukan percakapan sehari-hari dalam Bahasa Indonesia. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengkaji bagaimana penderita afasia dan mitra tuturnya mengatur percakapan mereka dan bagaimana hal tersebut dilakukan dengan teknik pilihan penutur selanjutnya.

Studi ini dilakukan oleh Fakry Hamdani, mahasiswa program doktor. Pembimbingnya adalah Dr. Scott Barnes dan Dr. Joe Blythe, dosen di Departemen Linguistik, Macquarie University, Sydney Australia.

Jika anda memutuskan untuk berpartisipasi, kami akan meminta anda dan seseorang yang anda kenal baik untuk:

- merekam video selama setengah jam dari percakapan anda
- memberikan beberapa informasi demografis umum tentang diri anda (misalnya, usia, jenis kelamin, pendidikan)

Rekaman percakapan akan dilakukan di tempat biasa anda melakukan percakapan (misalnya rumah anda). Kami juga akan memfasilitasi anda dengan kamera video jika dibutuhkan.

Selama berpartisipasi, ada kemungkinan bahwa anda akan merasa tidak nyaman saat sedang direkam. Jika hal ini terjadi, anda dapat menghentikan perekaman video. Selain itu, anda juga dapat meminta video tersebut untuk diedit atau dihapus.

Informasi atau data pribadi yang dikumpulkan selama penelitian bersifat rahasia. Anggota tim peneliti akan menjadi satu-satunya pihak yang memiliki akses ke dalam data penelitian anda. Jika anda setuju, data anda akan digunakan dalam proyek penelitian selanjutnya oleh Dr. Barnes, Dr Blythe dan saudara Hamdani. Ketika rekaman video anda (dan informasi identitas lainnya) tidak lagi digunakan untuk penelitian, data tersebut akan dihapus secara permanen.

Setelah penelitian selesai, anda dapat meminta ringkasan hasil penelitian ini. Selanjutnya, anda akan menerima umpan balik tertulis melalui surat atau *email*. Anda juga dapat meminta umpan balik lisan melalui telepon atau secara langsung. Hasil penelitian ini akan dipublikasikan dalam jurnal akademik, dan disajikan di konferensi akademik dan beberapa *workshop* profesional.

Partisipasi anda dalam penelitian ini sepenuhnya adalah sukarela. Selain itu, jika anda memutuskan untuk berpartisipasi, anda bebas untuk mengundurkan diri setiap saat tanpa harus memberikan alasan dan tanpa konsekuensi.

Untuk informasi lebih lanjut tentang studi ini, silahkan hubungi saudara Fakry Hamdani⁴³:

Telepon:

Email: fakry.hamdani@students.mq.edu.au

Jika anda ingin melakukan keluhan tentang penelitian ini silahkan kontak Macquarie University:

ethics@mq.edu.au atau Dr Amanda Tiksnadi, SpS(K):

Telepon:

Email:

⁴³ Aspek etika penelitian ini telah disetujui oleh Komite Etik Penelitian Manusia Macquarie University. Jika Anda menemukan adanya masalah atau kekurangan yang berhubungan dengan aspek etis dari partisipasi anda dalam penelitian ini, anda dapat menghubungi Komite melalui Direktur Etika Penelitian (telepon (02) 9850 7854 ; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Keluhan yang anda buat akan dirahasiakan serta ditindaklanjuti, dan anda akan diberitahu hasilnya di kemudian hari.



MACQUARIE
University

Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Human Sciences
Macquarie University
NSW 2109

Dr Scott Barnes

Lecturer
Department of Linguistics

Phone: 02 9850 7960

Fax: 02 9850 9199

Email: scott.barnes@mq.edu.au

Dr Joe Blythe

Lecturer
Department of Linguistics

Phone: 02 9850 8089

Email: joe.blythe@mq.edu.au

Mr Fakry Hamdani

Ph.D Candidate
Department of Linguistics

Email: fakry.hamdani@students.mq.edu.au

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT

PROJECT: “Turn taking in Bahasa Indonesia: A study of typical and atypical interactions”

You are invited to participate in a study focused on how aphasic persons conduct casual conversations in Bahasa Indonesia. The purpose of this study is to examine how aphasic speakers and their conversation partners organise their conversations, and how it is done by the technique of next speaker selection.

The study is being conducted by Mr Fakry Hamdani for the degree of Ph.D. His supervisors are Dr Scott Barnes and Dr Joe Blythe, Lecturers in the Department of Linguistics at Macquarie University.

If you decide to participate, we will ask you and someone you know well to:

- Video record about half an hour of your conversations
- Provide some basic demographic information about yourself (e.g., age, gender, education)

The conversation recording will occur in the place where you regularly hold conversations together (e.g., your home). We will also provide you with a video camera to use.

It is possible that, during your participation, you might become slightly uncomfortable while being filmed. If this is the case, you can stop the video recording. As well, you can request that the video be edited or deleted.

Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study are confidential, except as required by law. Members of the research team will be the only parties who have access to your research data. If you choose, you may also consent to your data being used in future related projects conducted by Dr Barnes, Dr Blythe and Mr Hamdani. When your video recordings (and any other identifying information) are no longer being used for research, they will be permanently deleted.

Once the study is complete, a summary of the results will be made available to you, if you request it. You will receive written feedback via mail or email. You can also request verbal feedback over the phone or in person.

The results of this research will be published in academic journals, and presented at academic conferences and professional workshops.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. In addition, if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without any consequences.

For more information about this study, contact Mr. Hamdani⁴⁴:

Phone:

Email: fakry.hamdani@students.mq.edu.au

If you have any concerns about this research study, you can contact Macquarie University:

ethics@mq.edu.au or Dr Amanda Tiksnadi, SpS(K):

Phone:

Email:

⁴⁴ The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any concern you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.



MACQUARIE
University

Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Human Sciences
Macquarie University
NSW 2109

Dr Scott Barnes
Lecturer
Department of Linguistics

Telepon: 02 9850 7960
Fax: 02 9850 9199
Email: scott.barnes@mq.edu.au

Dr Joe Blythe
Lecturer
Department of Linguistics

Telepon: 02 9850 8089
Email: joe.blythe@mq.edu.au

Fakry Hamdani
Ph.D. Candidate
Department of Linguistics

Telepon:
Email: fakry.hamdani@students.mq.edu.au

LEMBAR INFORMASI REKRUTMEN

Proyek Penelitian: “Alih tutur dalam Bahasa

Indonesia: Studi interaksi tipikal dan atipikal”

Penderita stoke dapat mengalami gangguan bahasa dan komunikasi yang sangat vital. Gangguan bahasa yang terjadi pada stoke dan penyakit kerusakan otak lainnya dikenal dengan afasia. Penelitian tentang afasia pada penutur Bahasa Indonesia dan bagaimana efeknya terhadap komunikasi sehari-hari masih sangat sedikit.

Saudara Fakry Hamdani sedang meneliti sebuah penelitian bagaimana afasia berpengaruh pada komunikasi sehari-hari. Saudara Hamdani mengambil studi ini sebagai bagian dari program doktor. Pembimbing saudara Hamdani adalah Dr.Scott Barnes dan Dr. Joe Blythe, dosen di Departemen Linguistik, Macquarie University, Sydney Australia.

Penelitian ini membutuhkan: 1) penderita afasia, dan 2) lawan bicaranya. Partisipan akan diminta untuk:

- merekam video selama setengah jam saat melakukan percakapan.
- memberikan beberapa informasi demografis (contohnya usia, jenis kelamin, pendidikan).

Penting untuk diingat bahwa penderita afasia dapat memberikan *informed consent* dengan jelas untuk berpartisipasi dalam studi ini. Kami tidak mencari partisipan yang:

- memiliki penyakit akut lainnya selain afasia
- mengalami kesulitan atau masalah emosi akut lainnya.
- memiliki kekurangan dalam pemahaman bahasa secara komprehensif
- memiliki kekurangan aspek kognitif yang signifikan
- pernah mengalami kondisi neurologis atau kerusakan kognitif otak dikarenakan cedera otak sebelumnya
- memiliki diagnosa atau tanda-tanda klinis dari penyakit dementia
- berusia lebih dari 80 tahun

Jika anda mengetahui seseorang dengan ciri-ciri di atas dan tertarik untuk berpartisipasi dalam studi ini, mohon berkenan untuk menyebarkan iklan penelitian ini, atau menganjurkan mereka untuk menghubungi saudara Hamdani dengan menggunakan rincian di atas.

Sangat penting untuk diperhatikan bahwa segala hal yang berhubungan dengan partisipan dilakukan secara teliti dan tanpa paksaan. Mohon untuk meyakinkan kembali pasien anda bahwa partisipasi dalam penelitian ini tidak akan memiliki efek terhadap pelayanan yang dilakukan selama ini, dan bahwa anda tidak tertarik pada temuan dan penyelesaian studi tersebut.

Untuk informasi lanjut tentang penelitian ini, atau anda ingin mengetahui tentang penelitian ini lebih jauh, silahkan menghubungi saudara Fakry Hamdani dengan menggunakan kontak di atas.⁴⁵

Jika anda memiliki keluhan tentang studi ini, silahkan kontak dr. Amanda Tiksnadi, SpS(K):

Telepon:

Email:

⁴⁵Aspek etika penelitian ini telah disetujui oleh Komite Etik Penelitian Manusia Macquarie University. Jika Anda menemukan adanya masalah atau kekurangan yang berhubungan dengan aspek etis dari partisipasi anda dalam penelitian ini, anda dapat menghubungi Komite melalui Direktorat Etika Penelitian (telepon (02) 9850 7854 ; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Keluhan yang anda buat akan dirahasiakan serta ditindaklanjuti, dan anda akan diberitahu hasilnya di kemudian hari.



MACQUARIE
University

Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Human Sciences
Macquarie University
NSW 2109

Dr Scott Barnes

Lecturer
Department of Linguistics

Phone: +61 2 9850 7960

Fax: +61 2 9850 9199

Email: scott.barnes@mq.edu.au

Dr Joe Blythe

Lecturer
Department of Linguistics

Phone: +61 2 9850 8089

Fax: +61 2 9850 9199

Email: joe.blythe@mq.edu.au

Mr Fakry Hamdani

Ph.D Candidate
Department of Linguistics

Email: fakry.hamdani@students.mq.edu.au

RECRUITMENT INFORMATION STATEMENT

PROJECT: “Turn Taking in Bahasa Indonesia: A study of typical and atypical interactions”

People who have strokes can experience substantial language and communication problems.

Language impairments following strokes and other brain injuries are known as aphasia. Little is known about how aphasia manifests in speakers of Bahasa Indonesia, nor how it affects communication in their everyday lives.

Mr Fakry Hamdani is conducting a study about how aphasia affects communication for speakers of Bahasa Indonesia. Mr Hamdani is undertaking this study for the degree of PhD. His supervisors are Dr Scott Barnes and Dr Joe Blythe, Lecturers in the Department of Linguistics at Macquarie University.

This study is seeking to recruit: 1) people who have aphasia, and; 2) their familiar communication partners. Participants will be asked to:

- Video record about half an hour of their routine conversations
- Provide some basic demographic information about themselves (e.g., age, gender, education)

It is important that people with aphasia are able to provide clear informed consent to participate. We are **not** seeking people who:

- Have substantial illnesses in addition to aphasia
- Are experiencing distress or other severe emotional problems
- Have severe language comprehension deficits
- Have significant cognitive deficits
- Had a neurological condition or cognitive impairment prior to their brain injury
- Have a diagnosis of, or clinical signs of, dementia
- Are older than 80 years of age

If you know someone who may be appropriate for and interested in participating in this study, please offer them a research advertisement, or encourage them to contact Mr Hamdani using the details listed above. Alternatively, if requested by a potential participant, you can provide their contact details directly to Mr Hamdani.

It is vitally important that the issue of participation is approached in a sensitive, non-coercive fashion. Please reassure your clients that their participation in this research will have no effect on services received in your setting, and that you have no direct interest in this project's completion or findings.

For further information about this study, or if you wish to be informed about the results of this research, please contact Dr Barnes using the details listed above.⁴⁶

If you have any concerns about this research study, you can contact Dr Amanda Tiksnadi, SpS(K):

Phone:

Email:

⁴⁶ The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics and Integrity (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any concern you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.



MACQUARIE
University

Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Human Sciences
Macquarie University
NSW 2109

Dr Scott Barnes

Lecturer
Department of Linguistics

Telepon: 02 9850 7960

Fax: 02 9850 9199

Email: scott.barnes@mq.edu.au

Dr Joe Blythe

Lecturer
Department of Linguistics

Telepon: 02 9850 8089

Email: joe.blythe@mq.edu.au

Fakry Hamdani

Ph.D. Candidate
Department of Linguistics

Telepon: +61 410 877 472

+62 816 468 872 72

Email: fakry.hamdani@students.mq.edu.au

LEMBAR PERSETUJUAN PARTISIPAN

**PROYEK PENELITIAN: “Alih tutur dalam Bahasa
Indonesia: Studi interaksi tipikal dan atipikal”**



1. Saya (partisipan) memahami lembar persetujuan partisipan dan ingin berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini.

TIDAK ☐

YA ☐

2. Setiap pertanyaan telah dijawab tanpa paksaan

TIDAK ☐

YA ☐

3. Saya tahu bahwa saya dapat membatalkan partisipasi saya dalam penelitian ini kapanpun saya mau.

TIDAK ☐ YA ☐

4. Saya setuju bahwa data penelitian ini dapat digunakan dalam studi terkait yang dilakukan oleh Dr. Barnes, Dr. Blythe dan saudara Hamdani serta kolabolator mereka.

TIDAK ☐ YA ☐

5. Saya setuju bahwa kutipan rekaman video yang digunakan dapat digunakan dalam konferensi akademik dan untuk tujuan pengajaran.

TIDAK ☐ YA ☐

6. Saya menginginkan umpan balik dari hasil penelitian ini jika sudah selesai.

TIDAK ☐ YA ☐



☐ Surat

☐ Surat elektronik

☐ Telepon

☐ Tatap muka

Saya (partisipan) menyimpan salinan lembar persetujuan ini.

Nama Partisipan _____

Tanda Tangan partisipan _____ Tanggal: _____

Nama Peneliti _____

Tanda Tangan peneliti _____ Tanggal: _____

SALINAN UNTUK PARTISIPAN / SALINAN UNTUK PENELITI

(lingkari salah satu)⁴⁷

⁴⁷Aspek etika penelitian ini telah disetujui oleh Komite Etik Penelitian Manusia Macquarie University. Jika Anda menemukan adanya masalah atau kekurangan yang berhubungan dengan aspek etis dari partisipasi anda dalam penelitian ini, anda dapat menghubungi Komite melalui Direktorat Etika Penelitian (telepon (02) 9850 7854 ; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Keluhan yang anda buat akan dirahasiakan serta ditindaklanjuti, dan anda akan diberitahu hasilnya di kemudian hari.



MACQUARIE
University

Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Human Sciences
Macquarie University
NSW 2109

Dr Scott Barnes

Lecturer
Department of Linguistics

Phone: 02 9850 7960

Fax: 02 9850 9199

Email: scott.barnes@mq.edu.au

Dr Joe Blyhe

Lecturer
Department of Linguistics

Phone: 02 9850 8089

Email: joe.blythe@mq.edu.au

Mr Fakry Hamdani

Ph.D Candidate
Department of Linguistics

Email: fakry.hamdani@students.mq.edu.au

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

PROJECT: “Turn taking in Bahasa Indonesia: A study of typical and atypical interactions”



1. I (the participant) understand the Participant Information

Statement and want to participate in this research study

NO ☐

YES ☐

2. Any questions have been answered to my satisfaction

NO ☐ YES ☐

3. I know that I can withdraw from the study at any time

NO ☐ YES ☐

4. I consent to my data being used in related future studies done by
Dr Barnes, Dr Blythe and Mr. Hamdani and his collaborators

NO ☐ YES ☐

5. I consent to my video being used at academic conferences and for
teaching

NO ☐ YES ☐

6. I want to receive feedback about the results of the research study

NO ☐ YES ☐



☐ Mail

☐ Email

☐ Phone call

☐ Face to face

I (the participant) have a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name _____

Participant's Signature _____ Date: _____

Investigator's Name _____

Investigator's Signature _____ Date: _____

PARTICIPANT'S COPY / INVESTIGATOR'S COPY (circle one) ⁴⁸

⁴⁸ The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any concern you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.



MACQUARIE
University

Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Human Sciences
Macquarie University
NSW 2109

Dr Scott Barnes

Lecturer
Department of Linguistics

Telepon: 02 9850 7960

Fax: 02 9850 9199

Email: scott.barnes@mq.edu.au

Dr Joe Blythe

Lecturer
Department of Linguistics

Telepon: 02 9850 8089

Email: joe.blythe@mq.edu.au

Fakry Hamdani

Ph.D. Candidate
Department of Linguistics

Telepon: +61410877472

+6281646887272

Email: fakry.hamdani@students.mq.edu.au

LEMBAR PERSETUJUAN PUBLIKASI GAMBAR

PROYEK PENELITIAN: “Alih tutur dalam Bahasa Indonesia: Studi interaksi tipikal dan atipikal”

Saya, _____, setuju bahwa gambar yang diambil dari rekaman video dapat digunakan untuk kepentingan publikasi (misalnya jurnal artikel akademik).

Silahkan pilih beberapa opsi berikut.

☐

Screenshots lengkap tanpa modifikasi



☐ *Screenshots* dengan fitur wajah diburamkan



☐ *Screenshots* diubah menjadi fitur *drawing* dan diburamkan



Nama Partisipan _____

Tanda Tangan partisipan _____ Tanggal: _____

Nama Peneliti _____

Tanda Tangan peneliti _____ Tanggal: _____

SALINAN UNTUK PARTISIPAN / SALINAN UNTUK PENELITI

(lingkari salah satu)⁴⁹

⁴⁹Aspek etika penelitian ini telah disetujui oleh Komite Etik Penelitian Manusia Macquarie University. Jika Anda menemukan adanya masalah atau kekurangan yang berhubungan dengan aspek etis dari partisipasi anda dalam penelitian ini, anda dapat menghubungi Komite melalui Direktur Etika Penelitian (telepon (02) 9850 7854 ; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Keluhan yang anda buat akan dirahasiakan serta ditindaklanjuti, dan anda akan diberitahu hasilnya di kemudian hari.



MACQUARIE
University

Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Human Sciences
Macquarie University
NSW 2109

Dr Scott Barnes

Lecturer
Department of Linguistics

Phone: 02 9850 7960

Fax: 02 9850 9199

Email: scott.barnes@mq.edu.au

Dr Joe Blythe

Lecturer
Department of Linguistics

Phone: 02 9850 8089

Email: joe.blythe@mq.edu.au

Mr Fakry Hamdani

Ph.D Candidate
Department of Linguistics

Email: fakry.hamdani@students.mq.edu.au

IMAGE CONSENT FORM

PROJECT: “Turn Taking in Bahasa Indonesia: A study of typical and atypical interactions”

I, _____ consent to images from video recordings being used in print publications (e.g., academic journal articles).

Please select from the options below.

☐ Complete screenshots with no modification



☐ Screenshots with key facial features blurred



☐ Screenshots transformed into line drawings and blurred



Participant's Name _____

Participant's Signature _____ Date: _____

Investigator's Name _____

Investigator's Signature _____ Date: _____

PARTICIPANT'S COPY / INVESTIGATOR'S COPY (circle one)⁵⁰

⁵⁰ The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any concern you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.



KUISIONER DEMOGRAFI

Proyek Penelitian: “Alih tutur dalam Bahasa Indonesia: Studi interaksi tipikal dan atipikal”

Silahkan lengkapi pertanyaan-pertanyaan di bawah ini. Data ini bersifat rahasia.

1. Siapa nama anda?

2. Berapa umur anda?

3. Apa jenis kelamin anda?

4. Apa kebangsaan anda?

5. Apa bahasa utama anda?

6. Apa bahasa lain yang anda kuasai?

7. Apa pendidikan terakhir anda?

8. Apa pekerjaan anda?

9. Apa hubungan anda dengan teman bicara anda dalam rekaman ini?

10. Berapa lama anda mengenal teman bicara anda dalam rekaman ini?



DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

PROJECT: "Conversation in Bahasa Indonesia"

Instructions: Please provide a response for each of the following questions:

1. What is your name?

2. What is your age?

3. What is your gender?

4. What is your nationality?

5. What is your primary spoken language?

6. What other languages do you speak?

7. What is the highest degree or level of education you have completed?

8. What is your occupation?

9. What is your relationship to the other participants in the recording?

10. How long have you known the other participants in the recording?

Appendix F: Ethics approval letter

Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor
(Research)

Research Office
Research Hub, Building C5C East
Macquarie University
NSW 2109 Australia
T: +61 (2) 9850 4459
<http://www.research.mq.edu.au/>
ABN 90 952 801 237



MACQUARIE
University
SYDNEY • AUSTRALIA

12 September 2017

Dear Dr Barnes

Reference No: 5201700652

Title: *Turn-taking in Bahasa Indonesia: A study of typical and atypical interactions*

Thank you for submitting the above application for ethical and scientific review. Your application was considered by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC (Human Sciences & Humanities)).

I am pleased to advise that ethical and scientific approval has been granted for this project to be conducted by:

- Macquarie University

This research meets the requirements set out in the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2007 – Updated May 2015) (the *National Statement*).

Standard Conditions of Approval:

1. Continuing compliance with the requirements of the *National Statement*, which is available at the following website:

<http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/book/national-statement-ethical-conduct-human-research>

2. This approval is valid for five (5) years, subject to the submission of annual reports. Please submit your reports on the anniversary of the approval for this protocol.

3. All adverse events, including events which might affect the continued ethical and scientific acceptability of the project, must be reported to the HREC within 72 hours.

4. Proposed changes to the protocol and associated documents must be submitted to the Committee for approval before implementation.

It is the responsibility of the Chief investigator to retain a copy of all documentation related to this project and to forward a copy of this approval letter to all personnel listed on the project.

Should you have any queries regarding your project, please contact the Ethics Secretariat on 9850 4194 or by email ethics.secretariat@mq.edu.au

The HREC (Human Sciences and Humanities) Terms of Reference and Standard Operating Procedures are available from the Research Office website at:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics

The HREC (Human Sciences and Humanities) wishes you every success in your research.

Yours sincerely

Dr Karolyn White

Director, Research Ethics & Integrity,

Chair, Human Research Ethics Committee (Human Sciences and Humanities)

This HREC is constituted and operates in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council's (NHMRC) *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2007) and the *CPMP/ICH Note for Guidance on Good Clinical Practice*.