Overlap and impoliteness: Managing overlap with gestures in Iraqi Arabic

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This study investigates the way participants make use of gestures and other tactile practices to manage overlap in Iraqi Arabic. From the perspectives of multimodality and sequential analysis (Sidnell, 2010; Streeck, 2009a), this study incorporates different aspects of gesturing in simultaneous talk. By elucidating their functions, it looks at how gestures can aid in overlap resolution. This study also describes how the participants use gesture as an embodied interactional resource for moral considerations, taking into account the inherently evaluative nature of rudeness in interactions (Eelen, 2001; Kadar & Haugh, 2013). The findings show that participants use four distinct hand gestures, each typical of Iraqi culture, to resolve overlaps.

Keywords: overlap, impoliteness, gesture, turn-taking, multimodality, overlap resolution.

تعـالج هـذه الدراسـة الطـرق غيـر الكلاميـة التي يسـتعملها المشــاركون في إدارة ظاهرة المقاطعة الكلامية في العربية العراقية. تنطلق الدراسة من منظور تعدد الوسائط والتحليـل التتابعي (سيدنيل 2010: سـتريك 2009) ، لتشــمل جوانب مختلفـة مـن توظيـف إشــارات اليـد في أثنـاء الحـديث. ويركـز البحـث علـى الكيفيـة التـي يمكـن لإيمـاءات الجسـم ان تسـاعد في حـل المقاطعـات الكلاميـة وعلـى توضيح الوظائف

الناتجـة عـن اسـتعمال الجـوارح ولا سـيما اليـدين. فضـلاً عـن ذلـك، تصـف الدراسـة الكيفية التي يستعملها المتكلمون بوصفها مورداً تفاعلياً مبطناً لاعتبارات اخلاقية و مـع التركيز على الطبيعـة التقييمية المتأصلـة بالوقاحة فـي التفـاعلات (إيلين، 2001؛ كـادار وهـاوج، 2013). تُظهـر النتـائج أن المشـاركين يسـتخدمون أربعـة أنـواع مـن إيماءات اليد في الثقافة العراقية لحل المقاطعات الكلامية.

Introduction

The seminal work of Sacks et al. (1974) promotes the minimization of gaps and overlaps in conversation under the general rule "turn-allocation component." According to the turn-allocation rule, the current speaker selects the next speaker, or the next speaker self-selects if the first speaker fails to do so (p. 11). Such rules, which represent "one party-at-time," are neither applicable invariably nor do they specify how overlap occurs and is oriented to by participants. These features of Sacks' et al.'s system account for the turn-taking "describes a normative order of interaction" (West, 1979, p. 82) in accordance with the rules of etiquette or politeness. There are places in conversation where "speakers "collide" as it were—one speaker continuing and one self-selecting" (Sidnell, 2010a, p. 55). Such collisions may happen in places far from turn-completed places where transition is expected. This paper is concerned with such environments.

Researchers classify overlap as either problematic or non-problematic (or competitive versus noncompetitive) (Zimmerman and West, 1975; West and Zimmerman, 1977; West, 1979; Kurtic ́ et al., 2013). When an overlap happens in a location other than the transition relevance place and is perceived by participants as competitive, it is considered problematic. West used the term "deep interruption" to characterize the second type. Problematic overlap manifests itself in a number of interactional practices, among which louder volume, higher pitch, faster or slower pace, sudden cut-offs, sound prolongation, and recycling prior elements (Schegloff, 2000, p. 12), which enable participants

to strategically maneuver "a fight for the floor" (p. 12). Competitive "interruptions violate the other's speakership rights; interruptions are viewed as rude and

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disrespectful acts" (Goldburg, 1990, pp. 884–885). In one way or another, the recipient orients to this kind of overlap interactionally by, for example, showing that his right to speakership has been breached.

When overlap is problematic, there is an interactional necessity for what Schegloff (2000) called an "overlap resolution" (p. 4). Analysts have described various techniques for resolving overlapping talk. One of them is "recycled turn beginnings" for a smooth transition of turn-taking in which "speakers will repeat, re-say, recycle some part of their utterances" (Schegloff, 1987, p. 70). Another is through "interruption markers" such as "wait a minute, oh, etc.) (p. 72). Early starters may also use some forms of politeness markers, such as "if you don't mind, excuse me, etc." (p. 73). A further technique is what Sacks et al. (1974) called "appositional beginnings" such as "well, but, so, etc." which are classified as "turn entry devices" (p. 719). These techniques constitute only verbal practices of overlap resolution. There are, however, other multimodal techniques to overlap resolution that will be discussed in the coming sections of this paper.

Gesture and the management of overlap

Turn-taking, in particular turn-allocation, is one domain in which gesticulation plays a pivotal role. Participants tend to use a variety of visual resources when they do not amplify verbal resources. Rutter and Stephenson (1977) found that preventing a conversational breakdown motivates participants to use nonverbal techniques in simultaneous talk. They also found that interruption is a feature of face-to-face interaction in which

participants can presumably see one another's nonverbal cues. Gestures contribute to turn-allocation in various ways, among which two are prominent. Participants use gestures either for the continuation of speakership or for self-selection (Duncan, 1972, p. 287). The speaker who intends to continue his turn rejects overlapping talk, showing 'attempt-suppressing' gesticulation (p. 283). Likewise, if intelligibility is at stake due to overlapping talk, a recipient tends to visualize his incipient speakership.

Within the turn-taking system, gestures occur in different positions. Schegloff (1984) uses the term "projection space" to describe "the span in which some element of talk is "in play" before being produced, and with the evidence of that which a speaker's turn may make available to its incipient" (p. 267). The "projection space" encompasses how an incipient-speaker signals his speakership status through verbal and nonverbal (gestures) signals (Duncan, 1972) and how he accounts for the transition-relevance-place of the current speaker's turn. Streeck and Hartge (1992) provide two examples of gesture use at transition-relevance-place in the Ilokano language in Philipin. The first is what they called [a]-face which is a gesture recognized by Ilokano speakers as a sign that an incipient speaker is gearing up to self-select himself and as a sign for resolving the ongoing overlap (pp. 142-143). The second example is when an incipient speaker configures a palm-up gesture that precedes turn-beginnings.

In addition to turn-allocation, overlapping talk is another location where gestures prove significant. Mondada and Oloff (2011) examined the participants' orientation to overlap as problematic or otherwise cooperative through gesticulation. They discovered that gestures display not only the participants' orientations to overlapping talk but also their moral considerations. What is striking in their findings is the correlation between "gesture perturbation," overlap competitiveness, and "sequential implicativeness." Their examples show that a speaker's gesture perturbation shows his determination of the

completion of his turn or his immediate response to the emerging overlap of the recipient. Mondada (2007) examined how incipient speakers utilize hand and pointing gestures for self-selection during turn-taking circulation. She found that during an overlapped talk, an incipient speaker uses a projecting hand gesture to foreshadow her emergent participation, claiming the floor. Mondada also points out the role of gesture in resolving overlapping talk when she differentiates between gestures and other prosodic resources in overlap as follows:

> Whereas verbal and other acoustic resources are vulnerable to overlaps in these early starts, pointing gestures are not and can be produced simultaneously with the terminal segment of the ongoing turn. This allows at the same time the opportunity to achieve an early self-selection and to display an orientation to the minimization of gap and overlap. (pp. 207-208).

This may be due to the fact that gestures are different species that constitute an additional layer of interaction, both for participants and for analysts. Projecting gestures help not only the emergent speaker but also the recipient prepare for their turn-completion to come to an end. Clark & Lindsey (2015) found that children often use gestures before answering questions verbally. They concluded that gestures before talking spare the speakers some time to prepare themselves better (p. 1).

Adapting the perspectives of sequential analysis and multimodality, this paper examines how participants deploy hand gestures to manage overlapping talk in Iraqi Arabic. Specifically, it focuses on the victims' embodied responses when they respond to the pranksters' interruptions. It studies four gestural practices, which are: purse gesture' (Kendon, 1995), palm-up facing toward the recipient, or what I call stop-gesture, patting, and hand grasping. It also discovers the connection between overlap and first-order impoliteness (Watts et al., 1992), represented in participants' own perspectives of impoliteness, their local and embodied evaluations (Kadar & Haugh, 2013; Culpeper &

Haugh, 2014), and their orientations toward overlap trajectories. This connection manifests itself in Hutchby's (2008) description of "the status of an instance of overlapping speech as "interruptive," which cannot be traced simply to its sequential placement. It must also involve a moral dimension; in other words, it should be somehow oriented to as interruptive" (p. 227). The paper will discuss in detail how the evaluative character of the moral order is embodied within the multimodal resources deployed by the participants.

Overlap and impoliteness

Since overlap is closely related to the participants' rights and obligations, there is always a possibility that it may stimulate moral evaluations. In "the prudish view" (Lycan, 1977), overlap is generally viewed as a site of hostility and confrontation (Schegloff, 1988; Hutcby, 1992; 1996). West and Zimmerman (1975; 1977) view overlap as a sign of dominance and difference in relation to gender studies. High-level participants, for example, were found to be more successful than low-level participants in obtaining the floor in simultaneous talk (NG et al., 1995). West and Zimmerman (1983) render interruptions as small insults that women experience in their everyday lives. An additional moral character of overlap is its association with participants' deontic rights and obligations (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2014). Sacks et al. (1974) described overlap as "a violation of turn-taking rules" (pp. 706-707). To Hutcby (1996), overlap "effectively denies, or at least challenges, the right of a current speaker to take his or her turn to such a completion point" (p. 77). Using hand gestures may indicate the moral dimension of overlapping talk, in particular when speech proves insufficient as an interactional source for resolving the overlap.

Impoliteness in interaction, or first-order impoliteness, has been described as evaluative (Eelen, 2001; Kadar & Haugh, 2013). According to Eelen, "the notions of politeness and

impoliteness are used to characterize other people's behavior and to do so judgmentally" (p. 35). Likewise, making use of hand gestures to resolve simultaneous talk results in being denied the floor. Struggling to keep or retain the floor manifests itself in gestures and its perturbations. Mondada and Oloff (2011) found that "gestures exhibit the participants' orientation to the current speaker's rights and obligations and their changes" (p. 336). Haptic, successive, and perturbed gestures in overlap can be interpreted as "doing interrupting" or "being interrupted" (Hutchby, 2008, p. 226; 1992, p. 343). The degree of gesture perturbation, their affiliation with other prosodic resources, and other emotive reactions can depict participants' moral orientations motivating gesticulation.

Data

The examples analyzed come from Iraqi reality TV, in particular from two candid camera programs called tawgiːʕ 'making someone stumble' and 'ʔasʕiːdak ʔasʕiːdak "I sure will hunt you' which both comprise 20 hours. The findings of this study are based on a close investigation of more than 47 cases. In these pranks, the pranksters deploy linguistic practices to irritate their victim. One such interactional practice is interruption. For methodological reasons, the episodes analyzed here take place behind the scenes, where the participants communicate relaxedly. Despite its limitations, this type of data has a number of advantages. Garfinkel (1967) illustrated that investigating how social norms operate stipulates the existence of what he called 'special motive' (p. 37). According to him, a 'special motive' "consists in the programmatic task of treating a societal member's practical circumstances, which include from the member's point of view the morally necessary character of many of its background features, as matters of theoretic interest" (p. 37). Because of the absence of this special motive, collecting naturally occurring data for impoliteness is difficult. One reason is that people are particularly reluctant to be recorded when they

behave inappropriately (Culpeper, 2010, p. 2341; 2011, p. 8). In transcribing, this paper has adapted a modified version of Jefferson's (1984) as well as Streeck's (2009) conventions. It keeps the transcription system simple for reasons of understanding and clarity.

Analysis

As previously mentioned, overlaps may be problematic and yet necessitate resolution. The following examples show that participants tend to use hand gestures to resolve simultaneous talk. The analysis will demonstrate that gesticulation functions as an effective interactional medium for resolving overlap where speech may not warrant the same outcome.

1. Using gestures after words fail:

In competitive overlaps, gesticulation proves a useful resource, in particular when the other party is determined to complete his turn beyond the transition-relevance place. In the following example, Fayez tries to obtain the floor twice, first in the middle of Jawad's utterance and second in the transition relevance place. Fayez's hand gesture occurs after two beats (Schegloff, 2000, p. 19) (attempts).

```
(1)
01.Jawa:d:   w tʃa:n irtiba:k ʕindak w:::
02.      ma: gdart tzʕa:hi ʃaxsʕjjiatsta:ð
03.      ma:dʒid faknt ʔ:hjaʕni:
04.      ʔatmanna:lak >ʔinʃa:llah<[loʺ
05.      tʕi:d ʔbha:ða lwazʕʕ tʃa:n knt
06.      ʔafzʕal [le:ʃ liʔan ʔinta faʃalit
07.      biha: faʃal ðari:ʕ]
06. Fayez:                        [mu:
07.       ʔa:nmi [gtlak
                        ((figure 1))
```

```
                _____|__
                 |
08.     ʔa:ni ʔiða: ʔaqi:s
        nafsi:binndʒu:m binndʒu:m]
        ʔiða:


        _____
                          |
09.     ʔaqi:s nafsi: binndʒu:m
        faʔa:ni ħasˤwa ʔama:m dʒabal
        ʔai wa:ħid min ʕidhum
```

```
01.Jawa:d:  And you were nervous you
02.     could not emulate Majid's
03.     character >I was hoping that<
04.     [you would redo the show
05.     >I was hoping that<[you
06.     would redo the show[why
07.     because you failed miserably
06. Fayez:              [because I
08.                     [I told you
   ((Stretching hand towards Jawad:
        figure 1))
        _____|_____
            |
09.     that if I compare myself to the
        _____
10.     stars to the Stars] if I compare
        _____
                     |
11.     myself to the stars I would be
12.     like a small stone in front of
13.     a mountain
```

Figure 1　　　　　　　Figure 2

The first overlap where Fayez tries to regain the floor (line 6) becomes competitive as Jawad raises his pitch contour, which can be understood as a sign that he is not going to give up. Consequently, Fayez withdraws with a gentle smile. Fayez's second attempt (line 7) has also been rejected again by Jawad. Here, Fayez's gesture follows what Jefferson (1986) called a "post completion onset," where a "recipient would start up just after the current speaker had produced a clear indication of going on, following a possible completion" (p. 159). This time Fayez uses a hand gesture to cease Jawad after he failed to do so verbally. The onset of his gestures occurs after the turn initial (gtlak ʔa:ni), (I told you line 7). Fayez stretches his hand towards Jawad and withdraws the gesture only after he succeeds in the task. The fact that the gesture was perceived as necessary by Fayez is evident in the perturbation associated with the turn-construction units with which the gesture is affiliated. During the gesticulation, Fayez recycles the sentence almost three times with a change in the word order (gtlak ʕa:ni ʕiða: ʕaqi:s nafsi: binndʒu:m binndʒu:m) (Lines 7-8).

Fayez's smile after his first try, in which he failed to get the floor, can be interpreted as an embodied evaluative stance. Notably, his hand gesture in his second try ensues his unsuccessful attempt to regain the floor through verbal resources: "I told you that." On the contrary, Jawad not only does not recognize Fayez's deontic rights but also offends him when

he describes Fayez as a miserable failure. This example displays how Fayez utilizes gesturing to secure participation.

2. Deploying gesture as a turn-entry device to avoid interruption

Gesture serves as a turn-entry device (Sacks et al., 1974; Streeck & Harge, 1992). By using a gesture, a participant can establish an incipient speakership and yet visualize his attempt (Mondada, 2007). Gesticulation, therefore, is a polite way to claim the floor when the other parties are engaged in confrontation, in particular in a multi-party conversation. Streeck (1995) convincingly illustrates that "using gestural displays, intending next speakers can make their claim to the floor known and shadow what they plan to do with it without interrupting the current speaker and without subjecting their own premature talk to overlap" (p. 104). In the following example, through a pre-beginning gesture, Fayez projects himself as an incipient speaker (Mondada, 2007) politely, i.e., without interrupting the ongoing controversy. The speakers, however, ignore it.

```
 (2)
01. Abba:s   hwwa ʔawwalan jiku:n lʕumur
02.      muna:sib ʔu ha:i ʕumr
03.      lsta:ð θa:nijan jiddaʕi
04.      w[jiqra hwa:ja ʔarbaʕw ʕiʃri:n
05.      sa:ʕah ʔusta:ð[Fayez ʔu:
06.      bha:jah ʃʃaɣlah ]ʕiddah
07.      ʕiddah ʕiddah [baka:lorjo:s
                          (())
                      ___|_____
06. Fayez:                |

      _____
                                      |
```

```
07. Fayez:((jebtasim wa jenzʕur ʔilalʔardʕ))
08. Abed:              [ʃaxsʕjjiat m ʔusta:ð ʃ
10.        [ ʃaxsʕjjiat ʔusta:ð ʃaxsʕjjiat[
```

```
01.Abba:s    First we have to think about
02.       that actor's age which is Mr.
03.       Fayez's age second the actor
04.       prays and [reads twenty four
05.       hours a day [in which Mr Fayez
06.       has has has a [Bachelor's degree
07. Fayez:               (())
                   _____|_____
                      |
                      |
           _____
                                              |
```

07. Fayez:((Smiling and looking down to the ground))
```
08. Abed:            [Dear the actor th[the
09.       actor th excuse me the actor the
10.       actor
```

Figure 3   Figure 4   figure 5

Fayez deploys a hand gesture as a "turn-entry device" (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 719) vainly to claim the floor by raising his stretched hand to Abbas (figure 3). He brings his fingers together to shape a 'purse gesture' (Kendon, 1995), which has an illocutionary

force of 'wait' in Iraqi culture (figure 5). According to Streeck (2009b), "gestures made along with the beginning of a turn do not seem to be effective devices to secure the speaker the floor" (p. 169). Faeyz's embodied actions, including his genuine smile, a side-to-side head movement, and looking down to the ground, constitute embodied multimodal resources for his moral evaluation and dissatisfaction. His emotive reaction displays his orientation to the overlap as an interactional problem; in particular, his attempt to obtain the floor was suppressed. Eventually, he withdraws his gesture when Abbas upgrades the overlap through a lexical repetition: "has has has". His reaction also displays the current speaker's inattentiveness to his emergent gesture.

3. Using gesture to prevent imminent interruptions

Sometimes participants deploy a hand gesture to block an intrusive interruption (Hutchby, 1996). This is particularly the case in situations of "turn-taking miscues, where "an incipient next speaker may project incorrectly (Schegloff, 2000, p. 24). Here, the hand gesture serves as an "overlap resolution device" (p. 4) resulting from the current speaker's pursuit of her deontic rights of speakership. In the following example, Anam deploys a hand gesture to secure the floor.

(3)

```
01. Jawa:d:  ?iħna ?iħna li?an dʒujjiah
02.     qari:bah mina nna:s sˤa:rat
03.     ?u: qari:bah [ minnatʃ
04. Anam              [ ?i: mu: li?an
05.         [ qari:bah
                    (())
                   ___|___
                   |       |
```

```
06.      tlabbisni: θo:ba Jawa:d nta

07.      tuʕrufni: Kulliʃ ze:n

08. Jawa:d   [ mu: (())

01. Jawa:d:  We we because Jwiyyah
02.      is so close to the fans and
03.      it is close to [your real
04.      personality
05. Anam [Okay but this it is
06.      close to me not
                     (())
         _____|_____
         |                     |
07.   [like my apparel to put on me Jawad
08.  you know me very well
05. Jawa:d    [But not
```

| Figure 6 | Figure 7 |

To secure the floor, Anam uses two different gestures attached to the same action. Her first gesture (figure 6, line 7), the stop-sign, prevents Jawad from interruption, as the latter is projecting a disagreement prefaced with 'mu:' 'but'. Her second gesture (figure 7) is a purse-hand used to urge someone to wait, as explained previously. In performing these two gestures. Interestingly, Anam's gesture comes after the turn-initial particle to secure the floor. Her gestures provide a visual resource (Mondada, 2007; Streeck, 2009b) for managing speakership

status, embodying her rights as the "turn-occupant" (Jefferson, 2004). Anam's first gesture, a palm that faces the recipient, which means "I shall say it" or "don't interrupt" (Wiener et al, 1972, p. 211) or "let me finish, don't interrupt" (Bavela et al., 1992, p. 475) is pragmatic, for it has a communicative function. According to Streeck (2009a) "gestures are pragmatic when they themselves enact a communicative function (for example, when a raised hand, palm facing the interlocutor admonishes him to wait his turn)" (p. 179). Pragmatic gestures also indicate a type of speech act. In producing these two gestures, she is displaying Jawad's conduct as inappropriate.

4. Using various gestures in competitive overlap

When overlap becomes competitive, participants use different "deflections" for "a fight for the floor" (Schegloff, 2000, p. 12). Even within the span of gestures, they utilize various types of gestures in managing overlapping talk, some of which indicate a different degree of tension. In the following example, Fayez tries to regain the floor, but Jawad invariably extends his turn, exasperating the tension. In response, Fayez uses perturbed (Mondada and Oloff, 2011) and various gestures.
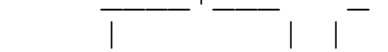
(4)
```
01. Fayez:   hwwa lmaʕru:f ʕannak
02.       nta matdʒa:mil
03. Jawa:d   ma:ʃi:[ʔa:ni: biʃʃuɣul ʔaxu:ku
04.       sˤadi:qak w kaða:[bas ʔa:ni:
05.       biʃʃuɣul ]ma: ʔadʒa:mil liʔan ha:ji
06.       Lħalqa [llimuʃa:hidi:n fiʃlat
07.       bisababak]bisababak]
08.       [ʔita fa:ʃil
10. Fayez:       [ʔi:jallahma:ʃi:           ]
11.                   [ jallah jallah
 (())           (())
```

```
        ____|__ _    _ _ _ _ _ _|_ _ _ _
        |       | |
12.     bas bas bas fdwa l
               (())

        _ _ _ _____
              |      |    |
13.     [ ʕindi ltiza:m ʕindi ] [ ʔo:::::h
```

01. Fayez:You are known for not flattering
02. Jawa:d Okay [during working I am
03.   like your friend brother and so
04.   on [but I do not flatter you
05.   because of that this episode
06.   is [for the viewers it failed
07.   because of you you are failure]
09. Fayez: [Okay go ahead ((taping
figure 8)) ((pointing to his watch))

```
            ____|___   _ _ |__ _ _ _
            |         | |
10.         [okay okay but but but please

            _ _ _ __ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
            _ _ _ _
                   |
            ((tapping on Jawad's hand
            repetitively, figure 8))
```

11.   [I have a commitment I
12.   have a commitment oh:::::][1]

Figure 8   Figure 9

Figure 10   Figure 11

Fayez repeatedly claims the floor to inform Jawad that he is running out of time. In his first bid, which is carried out verbally, "Okay go ahead" (line 9), he fails to regain the floor and gives up fighting for it. In his second attempt, he performs a gesture, showing some perturbations coupled with a verbal repetition, "okay okay but but but please" (line 10). He then taps on the back of Jawad's hand eight consecutive times in his first gesture. He also attempts to attract Jawad's attention by using a gestural act instead of a co-speech gesture. Here, Fayez halts talking when pointing to his watch with his index finger (Figure 9), raising his eyebrows and tilting his head backwards, inviting Jawad to attend to his gesture. Fayez then verbalizes the content of his gesture, "I have a commitment" twice after Jawad ignores it and signals his turn-completion. In his third gesture, Fayez grabs Jawad's hand (figure 10) when the latter says, "it failed because of you", in an attempt to

seize Jawad and attract his attention. But his gesture is met with a counter gesture on Jawad's part. Eventually, Fayez withdraws from the overlap with resentment, looking away while uttering an emotional interjection `oh:::::` shown in figure 11.

Fayez uses different multimodal resources. He first orients to his deontic rights pertaining to self-selection. He then uses gestures coupled with verbal actions. Consequently, he suspends his speech momentarily while indicating his watch. His interjection and facial reaction constitute negative moral evaluations vis-à-vis Jawad's violations of the turn-taking rules.

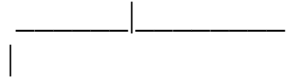## 5. Competitive hand gestures

Schegloff (2000) found out that an overlap becomes competitive when the participants upgrade the tension by means of prosodic features. Mondada (2007) pointed out that some gestures are oriented to be interruptive (pp- 207-208). In the following fragment, Fayez uses his hand when claiming the floor as he pleads with Jawad for the same purpose. Attending to Faeyz's gesture, Jawad finds the gesture intrusive and drives Fayez's hand back. Streeck (2009a) illustrates that one way to find out that a gesture is perceived by the recipient is by reciprocating the same gesture (p. 106). Fayez initially uses a purse-gesture, visualizing his incipient participation. He then touches Jawad's hand as if he does not amplify the first gesture when Jawad continues. Jawad, however, raises his pitch contour to shout Fayez down. Fayez's gestures and pleading action, along with Jawad's pushback and pitch contour, constitute a competitive trajectory of the ongoing overlap. Fayez's gestures are perceived as intrusive, yet they are met with counter gestures. Jawad, too, uses a purse-gesture and holds Fayez's hand, preventing it from moving.

(5)

```
01. Jawa:d   waqqif ttasˤwi:r ?axi: waqqif
02.     ttasˤwi:r ʃnu: ssa:lfa Fayez
03.     kil sa:ʕa w ra:dʒiʕ ʕala: ʕabd
04. Fayez: Ja:bah mu: rredʒdʒa:l jigullak
05.     ?a:ni:[gajilli
06.Jawa:d:     [?iħ?iħnah dansˤwwr Abed ma:
07. Abed     ?idʒa:k
08.     [bilfa:sˤl    (())
            _____|_____
              |              |
09. Fayez:[Jawa:d bas ʃhamni: f fdwa ʕale:k =
            (())
          _____|___
            |        |
10. Jawa:d:  = Fayez Abed ?idʒa:
11.     bilfa:sˤl muʃa:hid
12.     maħħad jidri: bi:h

01. Jawa:d   >Stop recording brother
02.     stop recording< what is wrong
03.     with you Fayez you never stop
04.     talking about Abed ((throwing
05.     the pen angrily))
06. Fayez:   Dude Abed said that the
07.     director [told him
08. Jawa:d:       [We we are recording Abed
09.     came during [the break =
                  (())
          _____|_____
            |
10. Fayez: = [Jawad just listen to me
          _____
                     |
11.     please=
```

```
           (())
        _____|_____
        |            |
09. Jawa:d:     = Fayez Abed came in the
break no viewer
10.     could have known about him
```

Figure 13   Figure 14

Figure 15   Figure 16

6: Using gesture in face of persistence

An incipient speaker may resort to gesturing when he tries to regain the floor repeatedly, while the current participant becomes reluctant to pass the floor, as in the example below:

```
(6)
01. Jawa:d   ʔusta:ð Abba:s ʔixta:r
02.     mumaθθili:n θala:θa wnta rafadˤt
03.     [lˤamal liʔan ʕindak xila:f
04.     [wjja:hum liʔan ʕindak xila:f
```

```
05.        wjja:hum[
06.Saba:h:[tˤabʕan
07.        [tˤabʕan mu: bke:f [mu: b > la:
08.        la: la:<
09. Jawa:d tˤabʕan ʔa:n[i: mawdʒau:d
10.        bil[ʕamal ʔusta:ð
11. Saba:h: ah:: Jawa:d [>ʔagullak
                         (())
            _____|_____
            |
12.        ʃ ʔagullak ʃ ʔagullak ʃaɣlah<
13.        gabil la:taʃtaɣul lka:mera
14. Jawa:d            [ʔala:
15.        kullin ʔala kullin
16.        ja:llah o:kai o:kai
17. o:kai o:kai ʔusta:ð o:kai

          _____
12.Saba:h Saba:h rħe:mah ma: ʕindah

          _____
13.        xila:f wija: ʔai wa:ħid

          _____
14.        bilko:n  killah


01. Jawa:d   The director Abbas chose three
02.        actors but you refused to [work
03.        with them only because you 0had
04.        personal disagreements[ with them
05.        because you had personal
06.        disagreements [with them
07.Saba:h                        [of
08.        course
09.                              [of
10.        course it is not up to
                              [not up
```

```
11.        >no no no<
12. Jawa:d   By the way[ Mr I was
13.        the[re as well
14. Saba:h   Ah Jawad [           [> let me
               (())
           _____|_____
           |
 15.       let me let me tell you one the
           _____
16.        camera restarts filming again thing
           _____
17.        before Sabah Rhema
18. Jawa:d              [anyway any [way
19.        forget about it okay okay okay.
20.        okay Mr okay]


           _____
21. Saba:h   does not have any dispute with
           _____
                                            |
22.        anybody in the whole universe
```

Figure 17

Sabah attempts to regain the floor three consecutive times through verbal resources, but he fails. The first two times (lines 7-10) he recycles his turn-beginning (Schegloff, 1987), and the

third time he restarts it (Goodwin, 1980) (line 11). This failure may be due to the fact that the overlap falls within a sharp disagreement. Jawad is accusing Sabah of declining to work with three actors only because he had subjective disagreements with them. This accusation invites an immediate response on Sabah's part. Schegloff (2000) mentions that there may be extraneous interests that motivate overlap prolongation (p. 24). The overlap here can be categorized as 'transitional' (Jefferson, 1986), occurring at "a place where speaker transition can, may, should occur" (p. 12). Jawad's declination to yield the floor is manifested in his repetition of the same utterance "liʔan ʕindak xila:f wjja:hum" (lines 3-5) as well as his next utterance "tˤabʕan ʔa:ni: mawdʒau:d bilʕamal ʔusta:ð" (line 10). After desperate attempts to get the floor, Sabah resorts to gesticulation to stop Jawad from persisting. Another fact that may be of particular interest behind Sabah's gesture is time limitation; the exchange takes place behind the scenes, and Sabah is compelled to make a response to Jawad's accusation before the camera starts recording again as he mentions it. Using a hand gesture in such a situation seems effective. Sabah's gesticulation continues to the end of his statement (the last turn) during a competitive overlap. His gesture and bodily performance, along with tapping on Jawad's hand, add directionality or emphasis to his response. Sabah wants to make clear to Jawad that the latter's allegation is not true through an extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986), namely that he does not have personal disputes with anybody. Sabah's embodied actions, his hand gesture, tapping, and looking at Jawad's eye directly while leaning forward towards him all portray his annoyance with Jwad's actions, and yet can be understood as an evaluative response to Jawad's inappropriate conduct.

7: gestures in multi-participant overlap

In multi-participant conversations, overlap seems more problematic. One situation of overlap is when two participants

talk to each other while the third one interrupts the talk. Another situation is when the third participant wants to politely get the floor while others are talking to one another. In what follows, I provide two examples explaining these two situations.

1. **Using gesture to prevent an overlap while talking to a third party**

Example (3) illustrates that gestures can be used to suppress sudden overlapping talk. The example below shows that gestures can be used to squelch an emergent overlap by a current speaker while orienting to another participant. Sabah is talking to Abd when Jawad interrupts him prior to a transition-relevance place. Sabah lands his hand on Jawad's to prevent him from continuing without attending to him while still talking to Abd and looks at his face (line 14) (figure 18).

```
(7)
01. Abed      nʔaadʒdʒil ttasˤwiːr
02.         [nʔaadʒdʒil ttasˤwiːr leː
03. Saba:h [la: la: ʕala ke:fak ʕala ke:fak
04.      ʕala ke:fak ʕala ke:fak kil (())
05.      ʕala gad ʕaqlah
06. Abed      (()) barna:madʒ ha:ða
07.      muntazˤriːnna w[ ]ʔaku: ʔaku:
08.      zˤuju:f ʔusta:ð wara:k jaʕni:
09.      [ hassah ʕindi: ʕamal wjja:hum]
10. Saba:h           [maixaLlif
09.      [ ʔa:ni:  ra:ħantˤi:
10.      ʃ ] ʔa:ni: ʔantˤi: miθl
11.      majiri:d liʔan ʔa:ni: ʔaʃu:fah
12.      jiri:d jisˤi:r mqaddim [balki:
13.      ʔallah jindʒaħ
              (())
```

```
                      _____|____
14.       →     |          | bittamθi:l
15.       bittamθi:l ho:sa w ha:ji tˤtˤʕarbaga
16. Jawa:d                      [la::::::::
17.       hjia mu mqaddim
01. Abed     We postpone filming
02.            [we postpone filming to
03. Saba:h [no no [slow down slow down
04.       slow down slow down slow down every
05.       (()) as much as his mind
06. Abed(()) this is a program and there
07.       are there are other guests
08.       [        ] waiting to be hosted
09.       after you
10.  [I mean I will be interviewing them]
11. Saba:h [No problem]
12.       [I will be I will be easy going
13.       with him] because I can see
14.       that he is trying to become a
                                (())
                      __|___
15.       host [may he succeed|     |in
16.       acting this is all messed up
17. Jawa:d     [no:::::::::: this is not about
18.       becoming a host
```

Figure 18

2. Using gesture for claiming the floor during a multiparty overlap

In the following example, Abbas and Abed are involved in a serious disagreement over Aseel's prospective role in the upcoming drama. Aseel enters in an overlapping talk with two beats "hassah" (line 11). She then uses a gesture to get the floor. She continues her gesticulation to the end of the multiple and prolonged overlaps between Abbas and Abed (lines 16-18).

```
    (8)
01. Abbas    ?usta:ð lmuxridʒ mntʕi:
02.      lilbnajjah btʕu:lah ?intu:
03.      [ʃnu: hal ?istiha:na bilfanna:n
04.      lʕira:qi
05.Abed  [mu: min ħaq mu: min
06.      ħaqha: mu: min ħaqha: mu:
07.      min ħaqha: mu: ħaqha:=
08. Abbas = la: min ħaqha [mu: min
09.      ħaqqaknta        [?a:ni: batʕal
10.      [batʕal lmusalsal min ħaqqi:=
         ((only gesture: figures 19-21))
                __ _|_ _ _ _____ __
```

```
11. Aseel = [ ah hassah |
12. Abbas = walla:h ha:i hjia lħaqi:qa
13.      walla:hi lʕazʕi:m
14.      [ħaqi:qatan hjia ddra:ma
15.      lʕira:qjiah hi:tʃi: sʕa:rat
16. Aseel → _ _ _   _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
         [hassah _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ __
             _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
17. Aseel ʔusta:ð Abbas ʔusta:ð Abbas

         _ _ _ _ _
                   |
18.      le:ʃ ttʕa:raku:n w::: tsʕi:r
19.      muʃkila w::: bisababi:


01. Abbas Mr. the director has given the
02.      girl a heroic role [what is this
03.      disregard of Iraqi actor?
04. Abed                   [She does not
05.      she does not deserve it she does
06.      not deserve it she does not
07.      deserve it she has no right =
08.Abbas = no she has[the right you do
09.      not have any right
10. Abed              [I am the
11.      [protagonist of the drama I have
12.      the right =
         ((only gesture: figures 19-21))
             _ _ __|_ _ _ _ _
13. Aseel[ah now |
14. Abbas = I swear to God this is
15.      the reality of Iraqi drama
16.      alas [this is what Iraqi
17.      drama has become
```

```
18. Aseel →  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
19.        _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
20.        _ __[now _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                |
21. Aseel Mr Abbas Mr Abbas why are you
22.      both fighting over me and
23.      causing a problem because of
24.      me
```

Figure 19   Figure 20   Figure 21

Aseel probably intended to avoid being rude by adding fuel to the fire; in particular, they are quarreling over her role. The only polite way to claim the floor is through gesturing. In addition to claiming speakership, her gesticulation may also have a mediation function. This interpretation may be reinforced by her turn in the last line (21-24). Previous research has shown that gestures have multiple functions (Heath, 1992, p. 119), among them urging an angry current speaker to give up talking and pass the floor, as shown in the figures. Despite intending to take a turn, Aseel's gesture also has a mediating function.

8. Touch as an overlap resolution

Touching gestures perform embodied communicative actions and yet can replace verbal resources (Poggi, 2014, p. 638). A participant may use a tactile gesture to encourage the current speaker to pass him the floor without interrupting him (Meyer, 2014). Tactile contact, such as touching or grasping the

recipient's hand, is a noticeable interactional practice in organizing turn-taking and managing simultaneous talk in Iraqi culture. In the exchange below, Jawad becomes angry at Fayez (his guest). At line 4, he interrupts his guest in an illegitimate place, and the latter withdraws from the overlap. Fayez holds Jawad's hand and lowers it down on the table in a friendly manner. Then he taps on it a few times to urge Jawad to relinquish the floor. While grabbing Jawad's hand, Fayez calls Jawad twice and urges him to pass the floor by saying "dismaʕni:" "listen to me." In Iraqi Arabic, 'd' is a syntactic device that has a pragmatic function. It is used to push someone to take action without delay. Fayez is seemingly annoyed by Jawad's interruptive behavior. His gesticulation is congruent with his words.

```
((10)
01.Jawa:d ʔa:ni: ma:ri:d ʔaqa:rnak
02.     ʔinta tqa:rn nafsak ((angrily))
03.Fayez Jawa:d bas[
04.Jawad        [ʔinta ʔinta la:
05.     ttʃabbaθ ʕala
06.     [ʔasmaʔ nndʒu:m] min ʔadʒil [ʔan
07.     tabni::::
                        (())
08. Fayez        _ _ _ |_ _ _ _ _ _ _
                 [ |

09.     _ _ _ [Jawad- -jawad]_ _ _
_ _ _ _ [dismaʕni:ʔinta |
10.     le:ʃ mʕasˤsˤib bas ʕala [ke:fak
11. Jawad        [mu:mʕasˤsˤib bas
12.     nta matuʕruf tiħtʃi:

01. Jawa:d I am not comparing you it
02.     is you who compares himself
```

```
03. Fayez Jawad just[
04. Jawad          [You you do not cling
05.     to the [names of the stars] to
06.     Build
                      (())
          _ _ _ _ _ _|_ _ _ _ _
            _ _[Jawad_
07.Fayez          [|
08.     Jawad]- - - - | just listen to
09.     me Why are you so angry you
10.     just [take it easy
11.Jawad      [I am not but you do
12.     not know how to talk
```

Figure 21

Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to examine how gestural practices contribute to the organization of overlap resolution in Iraqi Arabic. The examples show that, unlike verbal resources, gestures have a number of interactional affordances pertaining to overlap resolution. Gestures come into play when other verbal resources fail to resolve the overlap. We saw when Fayez indicated to his watch, implying a time restriction, reacting to Jawad's reluctance to terminate his turn and pass the floor. Perhaps this is one of the situations where gestures replace verbal resources. Moreover, participants may resort to multiple successive gestures when individual gestures prove insufficient for the resolution task. Another set of gestural practices for overlap resolution in Iraqi Arabic are tactile actions for ceasing the current speaker. Interestingly, example four displays that there was a practical upgrade on the part of Fayez from verbal to touch to ceasing actions in order, as shown in figure 8. Future work may research this gradable issue between different verbal and nonverbal practices. The visual character of gestures enables participants to obviate a possible overlap. Incipient speakers may visualize their eminent participation, and current speakers may make visible their willingness to continue their speakership status. In multiparty interaction, participants can upgrade to the multitask organization pertaining to overlap resolution by talking to someone and gesturing to others who are trying to take the floor. Gestures can be used before, during, and after the occurrence of simultaneous talk. This means that gestures can resolve not only the trajectory of overlap but also prevent it from happening.

Upgrading from verbal to nonverbal interactional resources during overlapping talk may have moral consequences. The examples showed that when gestures fail to resolve the overlap, they end up in emotive reactions such as expressing

annoyance. Moreover, the hand gestures, accompanied by a great deal of perturbation, prosodic features, and other emotive reactions, were loaded with embodied moral evaluations. Appealing to gesture during overlap can be a methodical practice, either for doing being deprived of the floor or being interrupted. The use of these various gestures constitutes embodied evaluations of the other party's performance, which is characteristic of first-order impoliteness or impoliteness in interaction.

Transcription conventions:

The paper has kept both the transcription and gestures
simple in favor of understanding. The following conventions
have been used in transcribing the gestures:

17

[---] the beginning and end of gestures
--- gesture duration

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